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SECTION ONE: CULTURAL STUDIES

**FIRST AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE:
SLAVE SHIP VOYAGES REFLECTED IN NARRATIVES, POETRY,
MOVIES AND ART**

NATALIA ALHAZOV
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Abstract: Syncretic approach to the subject of slave ships implies literary and historical analysis of “The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano” paralleled by interpretation of Robert Hayden’s anti-epic “Middle Passage” and followed by looking at an extract from Spielberg’s “Amistad” and some pictures of the unprecedented black victory.

Key words: African-American, slave ships, the Atlantic voyage, Middle Passage, slave narrative.

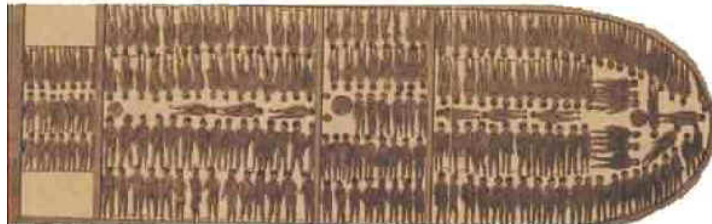
African-American experience began with slave ship voyages. By 1540 an estimated 10,000 slaves were being brought from Africa to West Indies annually, while between 1540 and 1850 such ships transported to America 15 to 20 million Africans. There were several causes for bringing slave labor force, which modeled the slave import dynamics:

1. In the 14th century Europeans started taking people from Africa against their will as servants for the rich, but then they justified it arguing that they provided a happy opportunity for Africans to convert to Christianity. By the 17th century the extraction of slaves from Africa was proclaimed a “holy cause” and had blessing and support of the Christian Church.
2. The arrival of Europeans in the Americas resulted in a sharp decline of the local population on the Caribbean Sea islands. Large numbers had been killed, others died of starvation, diseases or from the consequences of being forced to work long hours in the gold mines. It is estimated that, when the Europeans reached Cuba, its population was over a million people, but 25 years later only 2,000 left. It created a problem as the Europeans needed labor power to exploit the natural resources of the islands and eventually the colonists came up with the solution of importing slaves from Africa.
3. In the 17th century, starting in Virginia and spreading to New England, the plantation system came into existence in America. The plantations of tobacco, rice, sugar cane and cotton required intensive labor. Europeans had immigrated to the New World to become colonists, possess their own land

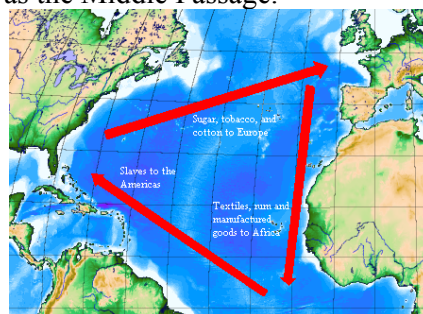
and not work for others. As labor force, convicts were sent over from Britain, but not many enough to satisfy the fast growing demand. American planters began purchasing slaves that first came from the West Indies.

Slaves could be purchased in Africa for about \$25 and sold in the Americas for about \$150. After the slave-trade was declared illegal, prices went much higher. Even with a death-rate of 50 per cent, merchants could expect to make tremendous profits from the trade. Maximizing the profits slave merchants carried as many slaves as possible on a ship. For example, the *Brookes* slave ship was built to carry a maximum of 451 people, but was used for carrying over 600 slaves from Africa to the Americas. Only half of the slaves taken from Africa became effective workers in the Americas. Many died on the journey from undernourishment and diseases such as smallpox and dysentery; others committed suicide by refusing to eat or jumped over the board; many became crippled for life as a consequence of the way they were chained up.

The famous diagram shows how slaves were tightly packed into the slave ships.

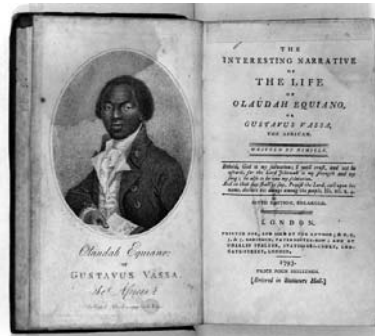


As part of the Atlantic slave trade, the forced transportation of black people from Africa to the New World had a triangular route. Ships left Europe for African markets, where their goods were sold or traded for prisoners and kidnapped victims on the African coast. Traders then sailed to the Americas and Caribbean, where the Africans were sold or traded for goods for European markets, which were then returned to Europe. The third part of it was referred to as the Middle Passage.



British merchants got involved in the slave trade and gradually began to dominate the market. They built coastal forts in Africa to keep the captured Africans until the slave ships arrived. The merchants had bargains with African chiefs trading the slaves for goods from Europe. Initially these slaves were mostly the enemy soldiers captured in tribal wars. However, with a soaring demand for slaves raiding parties were organized to obtain young Africans that were transported to America by slave ships.

The author of the *first-ever slave narrative* is *Olaudah Equiano*, an individual born in Africa and transported to America by a slave ship, of which he offers a vivid first-hand account. The book was a dramatic success both in England and America and became a *phenomenal best-seller* rivaling in popularity Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Equiano narrates his life from boyhood onwards: born in a gold-coast African village, he was sold into slavery to another village, moved to yet another village as a slave, and finally captured and sold to European slavers.



Chapter
autobiography
slave in Africa
sea-passage to

Two of his
describes his ordeals as a
and concludes with his
America, a particularly

inhumane practice that killed perhaps 50 per cent of the Africans captured by or sold to European slavers. The selection details the circumstances of his *voyage to America on a slave-ship*. More than two centuries later, this work is recognized not only as one of the first works written in English by a former slave, but perhaps more important as *the paradigm of the slave narrative - a new literary genre.*

The complimentary source, *Middle Passage*, is composed by *Robert Hayden* (1913-1980), who was the first black American to be appointed as Consultant in Poetry to the Library of Congress (later called the Poet Laureate). He had an interest in African-American history and explored his concerns about race in his writing. The epic is based on historical records that he assembled and transfigured into a collage of the slave ship accounts. Experimenting with form Hayden creates a synthesis of historical voices recalling the inhuman cruelty of people transported as

chattel. He criticizes society, ostensibly founded on principles of freedom and justice, but actually interwoven with threads of racism and injustice.

In the introduction to *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African. Written by Himself London [1789]*, the author states the main purpose of the book as arising “a sense of compassion of the miseries which the Slave-Trade has entailed” (Equiano 1789: iii) and calls his Narrative “the production of an unlettered African, who is actuated by the hope of becoming an instrument towards the relief of his suffering countrymen.” (Equiano 1789: iv)

Here is the account of *The Atlantic Voyage* (Equiano 1789: 70-88), which we have analyzed in terms of the *embodied themes and reflected feelings based on the author’s choice of words*. To our surprise, it turned out that the text may be shaped into ten paragraphs, which can be provided with conventional titles, determined by the narrator’s vocabulary! Investigating Hayden’s poem, we noticed distinctive thematic and lexical parallels and made an attempt to compare the two slave ship descriptions.

(1) Terror of the unknown and strange:

The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast, was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into *terror*, when I was carried on board. I was immediately handled and tossed up to see if I were sound, by some of the crew; and I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a *world of bad spirits*, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions, too, *differing* so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, (which was very different from any I had ever heard) united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed, such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have freely parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave in my own country. (Equiano 1789: 70-71)

(2) Horror and anguish:

When I looked round the ship too, and saw a large *furnace of copper boiling*, and a multitude of black people of every description *chained* together, every one of their countenances expressing *dejection and sorrow*, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with *horror and anguish*, I fell motionless on the deck and *fainted*. When I recovered a little, I found some black people about me, who I believed were some of those who had brought me on board, and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not *to be eaten* by those white men with *horrible looks, red faces, and long hair*. (Equiano 1789: 71-72)

(3) Consternation:

They told me I was not: and one of the crew brought me a small portion of spirituous liquor in a wine glass, but, being afraid of him, I would not take it out of his hand. One of the blacks, therefore, took it from him and gave it to me, and I took a little down my palate, which, instead of reviving me, as they thought it

would, threw me into the greatest *consternation* at the *strange feeling* it produced, having never tasted any such liquor before. Soon after this, the blacks who brought me on board went off, and left me *abandoned to despair*. (Equiano 1789: 72)

(4) Wish for slavery and death:

I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country, or even the least glimpse of hope of gaining the shore, which I now considered as friendly; and I even *wished for my former slavery in preference to my present situation*, which was filled with horrors of every kind, still heightened by my ignorance of what I was to undergo. I was not long suffered to indulge my grief; I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the *loathsomeness of the stench*, and crying together... (Equiano 1789: 72-73)

Cf. Hayden:

A charnel stench, effluvium of living death
spreads outward from the hold;
where *the living and the dead, the horribly dying,*
lie interlocked, lie *foul* with blood and excrement.

I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste any thing. I now *wished for the last friend, death*, to relieve me... (Equiano 1789: 73)

Cf. Hayden:

...their moaning is a *prayer for death*,
our and their own.

...soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across, I think the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely.

I had never experienced any thing of this kind before, and although not being used to the water, I naturally feared that element the first time I saw it, yet, nevertheless, could I have got over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side, but I could not; and besides, the crew used to watch us very closely who were not chained down to the decks, *lest we should leap into the water*; and I have seen some of these poor African prisoners *most severely cut*, for attempting to do so, and *hourly whipped* for not eating. (Equiano 1789: 73-74)

Cf. Hayden:

Some try to *starve themselves*.
Lost three this morning, leaped with crazy laughter
to the waiting sharks, sang as they went under.

This indeed was often the case with myself. In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind. I inquired of these what was to be done with us? They gave me to understand, we were to be carried to these white people's country to work for them. (Equiano 1789: 74-75)

(5) Fear of death and of spell, magic, spirits:

I then was a little revived, and thought, if it were no worse than working, my situation was not so desperate; but still I *feared I should be put to death*, the white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so *savage a manner*; for I had never seen among any people such instances of *brutal cruelty*; and this not only shown towards us blacks, but also to some of the whites themselves. One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on deck, *flogged so unmercifully* with a large rope near the foremast, that *he died in consequence of it*; and they *tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute*. This made me fear these people the more; and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the same manner. I could not help expressing my fears and apprehensions to some of my countrymen; I asked them if these people had no country, but lived in this hollow place? (the ship) they told me they did not, but came from a distant one. 'Then,' said I, 'how comes it in all our country we never heard of them?' They told me because they lived so very far off. I then asked where were their women? had they any like themselves? I was told they had. 'And why,' said I, 'do we not see them?' They answered, because they were left behind. I asked how the vessel could go? they told me they could not tell; but that there was cloth put upon the masts by the help of the ropes I saw, and then the vessel went on; and the white men had some *spell or magic* they put in the water when they liked, in order to stop the vessel. I was exceedingly amazed at this account, and really thought they were *spirits*. I therefore wished much to be from amongst them, for I expected *they would sacrifice me*; but my wishes were vain -for we were so quartered that it was impossible for any of us to make our escape. (Equiano 1789: 75-77)

(6) Hunger:

...One day they had taken a number of *fishes*; and when *they had killed and satisfied themselves* with as many as they thought fit, to our astonishment who were on deck, rather than give any of them to us to eat, as we expected, they *tossed the remaining fish into the sea* again, although *we begged and prayed* for some as well as we could, but in vain; and some of my countrymen, being pressed by *hunger*, took an opportunity, when they thought no one saw them, of trying to get a little privately; but they were discovered, and the attempt procured them some very *severe floggings*. (Equiano 1789: 80-81)

(7) Preferring death to slavery; illnesses:

One day, when we had a smooth sea and moderate wind, two of my wearied countrymen who were chained together, (I was near them at the time,) *preferring death to such a life of misery*, somehow made through the nettings and *jumped into the sea*: immediately, another quite *dejected* fellow, who, on account of his *illness*, was suffered to be out of irons, also followed their example; and I believe many more would very soon have done the same, if they had not been prevented by the ship's crew, who were instantly alarmed. (Equiano 1789: 81-82)

Cf. Hayden writing about illnesses:

A *plague* among
our blacks--Ophthalmia: *blindness*--& we
have jettisoned the blind to no avail.
It spreads, the terrifying *sickness* spreads.
Its claws have scratched sight from the Capt.'s eyes

Those of us that were the most active, were in a moment put down under the deck, and there was such a noise and confusion amongst the people of the ship as I never heard before, to stop her, and get the boat out to go after the slaves. However, two of the wretches were *drowned*, but they got the other, and afterwards *flogged him unmercifully, for thus attempting to prefer death to slavery*. In this manner we continued to undergo more hardships than I can now relate, hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade. Many a time we were near suffocation from the want of fresh air, which we were often without for whole days together. This, and the stench of the necessary tubs, carried off many. (Equiano 1789: 82-83)

(8) Dread of merchants and planters; trembling:

At last, we came in sight of the island of Barbados... Many *merchants and planters* now came on board, though it was in the evening. They put us in separate parcels, and *examined us attentively*. They also *made us jump*, and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there. We thought by this, *we should be eaten* by these *ugly men*, as they appeared to us; and, when soon after we were all put down under the deck again, *there was much dread and trembling among us*, and nothing but bitter cries to be heard all the night from these apprehensions, insomuch, that at last the white people got some old slaves from the land to pacify us. They told us we were *not to be eaten, but to work*, and were soon to go on land, where we should see many of our country people. This report eased us much. And sure enough, soon after we were landed, there came to us Africans of all languages. (Equiano 1789: 83-85)

(9) Slave sale:

We were conducted immediately to the merchant's yard, where we were all *pent up together, like so many sheep* in a fold, *without regard to sex or age*. ...We were not many days in the merchant's custody, before we were *sold* after their usual manner, which is this: On a signal given, (as the beat of a drum) the *buyers rush* at once into the yard where the slaves are confined, and make choice of that parcel they like best. The *noise and clamor* with which this is attended, and the eagerness visible in the countenances of the buyers, serve not a little to increase the apprehension of *terrified* Africans, who may well be supposed to consider them as the ministers of that *destruction to which they think themselves devoted*. In this manner, without scruple, are *relations and friends separated*, most of them never to see each other again. I remember, in the vessel in which I was brought over, in the men's apartment, there were several *brothers, who, in the sale, were sold in different lots*; and it was very moving on this occasion, to see and hear their *cries at parting*. (Equiano 1789: 85-87)

The last passage differs greatly from the above-mentioned, being a desperate appeal of the enslaved blacks to the slavers and the white people in general and their passionate condemnation.

(10) O, ye nominal Christians:

O, ye nominal Christians! might not an African ask you - *Learned you this from your God*, who says unto you, *Do unto all men as you would men should do unto you?* Is it not enough that we are *torn from our country* and friends, to *toil for*

your luxury and lust of gain? Must every tender feeling be likewise sacrificed to your avarice? Are the dearest friends and relations, now rendered more dear by their separation from their kindred, still to be parted from each other, and thus prevented from cheering the gloom of slavery, with the small comfort of being together; and mingling their sufferings and sorrows? *Why are parents to lose their children, brothers their sisters, husbands their wives?* Surely, this is a *new refinement in cruelty*, which, while it has no advantage to atone for it, thus aggravates distress; and *adds fresh horrors* even to the *wretchedness of slavery*. (Equiano 1789: 87-88)

It is a fervent supplication but also a wrathful tirade, both moving and denunciatory, targeting the heart as well as the mind. The author resorts to archaic language (“Learned you this from your God?”), rhetoric questions (“Why are parents to lose their children, brothers their sisters, husbands their wives?”), biblical allusions (“Do unto all men as you would men should do unto you”), alliteration (“luxury and lust”), choice of stylistically colored and high-flown words (“torn from our country”, “toil for your luxury”, “lust of gain”, “your avarice”, “cheering the gloom of slavery”, “new refinement in cruelty”, “aggravate distress”, “add fresh horrors”, “wretchedness of slavery”). The martyr condemns “nominal Christians”, who do not deserve to be called god’s children.

Christian element is present in Hayden’s *Middle Passage* as well and it is full of sarcasm as the entire poem. The reference to religion in Section I, the lines from the hymn, emphasize the irony of the Christian acceptance and justification of the slave trade as a means of bringing pagans, “heathen souls”, to Christ.

Jesus Savior Pilot Me
Over Life's Tempestuous Sea
We pray that thou wilt grant, O Lord,
safe passage to our vessels bringing
heathen souls unto Thy chastening.
Jesus Savior

Besides the above analyzed and other narratives and poems, there are various art sources reflecting slave ship experience, a most vivid probably being Steven Spielberg’s award-winning movie *Amistad* (1997). The experience on board the slave ship, which is so scrupulously pictured in Olaudah Equiano’s *Narrative*, is but a short episode in the film. However, it may be considered an illustration to slave ship narratives, vivid and masterfully shot. The screen story of Cinque's kidnapping and slave ship voyage closely echoes that of Equiano’s transportation, but certainly the film-makers applied various visual metaphors. The retrospect episode has practically no verbal track, but an impressing sound track, abounds in close-ups and symbolic details (e.g. blood from whipping gets on Cinque’s face);

refusal to eat is substituted by deprivation of food and its ferocious devouring, etc.



Among fine art pieces depicting slave trade and *La Amistad* in particular, the first to mention should be the triptych by *Hale Woodruff* (1900-1980). The African-American regionalist belonging to the school of social realism is famous for his paintings and prints, but more for his murals that he mastered learning from Diego Rivera. The triptych was created in 1939 to mark the centennial of the Amistad Revolt and is exhibited in Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama. The pictures have the following titles: “Mutiny” (on *La Amistad*), “Trial” (of the *Amistad* rebels) and “Return” (of Cinque and his compatriots to Africa).

The principal figure in all the three is Cinque - the hero of the Amistad case and leader of the Africans. He is the protagonist of the film and the subject of multiple other pictures that mostly demonstrate an idealized image of a white-clothed graceful black hero eloquently preaching to the hearing blacks and whites. Robert Hayden writes about the black hero: “Cinquez its deathless primaveral image, /life that transfigures many lives.”



Courtesy of the *Chicago Historical Society*. Caption: *Cinque addressing his Compatriots, on board the Spanish Schooner, AMISTAD, 26: Aug. 1839.*

To sum up, we can state that slave ship voyages can be considered the earliest African-American experience and they are reflected in different art genres – slave narratives, modern poetry, cinematography and fine arts – through the lenses and using the specifics of each genre. Comparing samples

of the first two, we came to certain conclusions. Writing on the same subject, the authors not only have different techniques - prose and in poetry, but also bear a vivid imprint left by the time of execution.

Thus, Equiano is influenced by several literary forms: Protestant conversion narrative with its confessional spirituality, anthropological treatises summarizing travelers' accounts, adventure novel about an exciting undertaking full of risk and physical danger, Enlightenment discussions of inequality. The indirect characterization of his persona is shaped as a *blending of sufferings and the feelings they arise*. As a child of nature, he experiences an acute terror of the unknown, picturing what he has not seen before as spell and magic and hostile white people as spirits. Anguish, hunger and consternation are natural sensations at the sight of miseries, the more so in case of personal involvement. The last paragraph stands aside and is a product of later reasoning and meditation where the form is brought to perfection. The appeal built on rhetoric questions, using biblical allusions, archaisms, stylistically colored and high-flown words sounds moralizing. Equiano composed his slave autobiography on being manumitted, as a freed slave living in England and his narrative fueled a young but growing anti-slavery movement.

Though Hayden's lines echo those in the *Narration*, he is more concise and poetic. The "I" of the poem is not a slave, but a slaver, "twenty years a trader" and, consequently, he voices the position of the abuser and not the abused. Therefore, here are *objective miseries depicted and not subjective emotions and perceptions evoked by disasters*. However, the significance of Middle Passage is not limited to this. Hayden glorifies the heroic struggle by the black victims for freedom. This middle journey implies the middle or transitional stage in the progress of the Afro-American people, and ultimately of mankind upon the shores of physical reality and history.

The collective effect of the pieces belonging to different genres possesses the synergy that multiplies the impressive power. In our "clip" time visual aspect acquires an ever-growing potential and, in a better case, adds to the profound impact of the word or, in a worse case, compensates for its absence with the people who lost the habit of reading "serious" literature. In any case, the more learning styles are satisfied and the more of multiple intelligences are affected - the better, which needs to be taken into account in the teaching and educational processes.

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INVESTIGATING STATUS OF LA COSA NOSTRA IN CONTEXT OF U.S. CULTURE: LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY ASPECT

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Abstract: The U.S. underworld is not homogeneous, it is structured by various criminal groups, with each of them having its own social dialect (Klymenko, Bakalinsky, 2006:113. The U.S./Italian Mafia or “La Cosa Nostra” (Mobspeak, 2003:49) is one of those criminal groups, and the object of this paper.

Key words: anti-culture, counter-culture, dialect, sub-culture

I. Introduction

Nowadays, great attention is paid to social and ethnic dialects, and to those social and ethnic groups who are their speakers. This trend is rested on the idea that linguists should be ethnographers of those peoples whose languages they are studying (Mounin, 1973). This has become the grounding principle of a contemporary linguistic anthropology. In recent years, a number of research works devoted to the U.S. ethnical and social groups and their dialects have been published, e.g. African Americans and their *African American Vernacular English* (Rickford, 1999), Hispanic Americans and their *Spanglish* dialect (Yunats’ka, 2006) etc.

However, the society at large is comprised not only by “the civic society” (Smelser, 1993:3), but also by the underworld. The U.S. underworld and its social dialect or “cant” (Crystal, 2002:183) have been addressed both in Ukraine (Stavyts’ka, 2005) and in the West (Crystal, 2002). However, as I have mentioned in my previous paper, the U.S. underworld is not homogeneous, it is structured by various criminal groups, with each of them having its own social dialect (Klymenko, Bakalinsky, 2006:113) and the U.S./Italian Mafia or “La Cosa Nostra” (Mobspeak, 2003:49) being one of those criminal groups and the object of this paper. In my previous publications, I have focused on *Mobspeak* (Mobspeak, 2003:xi), La Cosa Nostra social dialect, with La Cosa Nostra ethnoculture left unstudied. In social anthropology, there exist a principle of historical interpretation of culture (Radcliffe-Brown 1973) for tracing the ontology of the culture. This principle is recognized by modern anthropologists as the key in research (Comaroff, Comaroff 1986). However, the paper in question belonging to the linguistic division of anthropology, the aim is to survey La Cosa Nostra system of values on basis of its social dialect.

II. Speculations about La Cosa Nostra

La Cosa Nostra is characterized as an outlaw organization opposed to the civic society and its culture, in other terms, its system of values is regarded as counter-culture or even anti-culture. Another point of view suggests that La Cosa Nostra system of values should be classified as sub-culture (“the sub-culture of mobsters” (Pistone, 2004: 5)). The second law of dialectics postulates that mutual penetration of polar opposites and transformation into each other when carried to extremes. Hence, to investigate and find out the true status of La Cosa Nostra system of values in the context of the U.S. culture, the two extreme standpoints should be contrasted.

a) La Cosa Nostra as anti-culture

M. Halliday called the underworld “anti-culture” (in Mehrorta 1977: 8); the similar point of view is shared by Russian scholars E. Ephimova (2007), Y. Lotman, and B. Uspensky (1982: 116), who claimed that criminals’ behavior is anti-behavior, their world is anti-world”, criminals live beyond the society, being outcasts and having nothing with the concept of culture,. It stands to reason that the characteristics mentioned are qualities inherent in the underworld provided it is analyzed as a homogeneous body. However, the traits enumerated are annexed to minor outlaw groups or “unorganizables” (Mobspeak, 2003:220-221), but not to the organized crime, with La Cosa Nostra belonging to it.

However, despite the “anti-cultural image”, La Cosa Nostra has a clear-cut hierarchical structure similar to that of society and, which is more, has much in common with the civic society. According to A. Grimshaw’s theory of isomorphism of language and social structures, these characteristics are reflected in La Cosa Nostra social dialect, e.g., the following concepts of *Christmas*, *Mickey Mouse*, *John Wane*, *Union* are the meta-signs of both the U.S. culture and La Cosa Nostra, i.e., they are isomorphic: *white Christmas bash* – a cocaine party (Mobspeak, 2003:230) (Mafiosi do their best for this kind of parties because they want to have fun as if it were Christmas, with Christmas being one of the most important holidays in the USA); *Mickey Mouse Mafia* – the pejorative term used by Mafiosi to refer to California crime families, none of whom has ever been able to built up anything resembling an empire (Mobspeak, 2003:129) (these are fake criminals, just like Mickey Mouse, one of the U.S. most popular cartoon heroes); *John Wayne Syndrome* – a tendency of new Mafiosi to act extra tough, to show that they are no worse than old-style wiseguys (Analyze that, 2002) (*John Wayne is the U.S. movie-actor, famous for his roles in westerns*); *the Mob Union* – the meeting of the Mafia bosses of all the Families (Pistone, 2000:

229) (unions are the integral part of the U.S. life).

The Mob Union idiom is of a particular interest from the semiotic stylistics standpoint. The semantics of the idiom in question contains logical opposition because its constituents *the Mob* and *Union* are opposite according to associations they trigger off: *the Mob* – La Cosa Nostra (the association is negative), *Union* – a workers' organization (one of the U.S. culture meta-signs). Hence, *the Mob Union* idiom is oxymoron, for its coherent connection is broken. It might lead to the foregrounding of the "ludic function" (Crystal 1999) based on associative irony, since La Cosa Nostra is known for controlling trade unions of various U.S. companies and sometimes "takes care of" unity members unwilling to cooperate with it (Boss of bosses 2001).

Molchanova points out that language expressions make it possible to create certain perceptions (2004: 93). Accordingly, seeing the *Mob Union* idiom ("union of Mafiosi"), one can assume that La Cosa Nostra functions in the same manner as law-abiding citizens and therefore it cannot be characterized as anti-society.

The U.S./Italian Mafiosi incorporate the same language units into their use to foreground the expressive, phatic, and vocative language functions as the rest of the U.S. society: *-ass*: *half-ass wiseguy* – stupid person (Pistone 1989: 50). Particle *-ass* is highly used not only in *the Mobspeak* but, for example, in *African American Vernacular English*: *clown-ass nigga*, *fake-ass nigga* – stupid person, in military slang: *to cover one's ass* – to watch one's back etc. The examples given demonstrate that U.S./Italian Mafiosi share the same values, and use the same language units as other U.S. social and ethnic groups, and therefore the idea of classifying La Cosa Nostra system of values as the "anti-culture" is seen as groundless.

b) La Cosa Nostra as counter-culture

La Cosa Nostra system of values is sometimes described as counter-culture (McLucas 2006), because it is in antagonism with the civic society and has its own traditions and social dialect in particular. The concept of "counter-culture" (Shweitser, 1983:173) was introduced in the 1960s to nominate groups of hippy that opposed the culture of free emotions to the existing dominant materialism-oriented norms.

The opposition of counter-culture to greater culture can be called "WE-GROUP – OUTSIDERS". This opposition can be designated as the universal symbol WE-GROUP – OUTSIDERS. Hereafter, the author, following the concept of ethnomethodology, incorporates the elements of semiotic analysis because as Sapir (1929:207-214) wrote languages are symbolic manuals for understanding culture.

Symbol WE-GROUP – OUTSIDERS is a characteristic one for La Cosa Nostra system of values. Sadikov (1979:73) mentioned that Mafiosi through their social dialect oppose their values to “all the generally-accepted human ones”. Symbol WE-GROUP – OUTSIDERS is represented in La Cosa Nostra social dialect or *Mobspeak* in a number of dichotomies as follows: *underworld* – criminal society (Crystal, 2002:183) – *upperworld* – society itself (Davis, 2004:91); *connected guy* (associates of the made men (Mobspeak, 2003:44-45) – *unconnected guy* – citizens who have no connection with La Cosa Nostra (Fisher, 2002) etc. One of La Cosa Nostra rules, *the Martial Law*, states that “we live civilians (un-connected guys) alone, we do not hurt them and we do not work for them” (Fisher 2002).

The symbol WE-GROUP – OUTSIDERS can be traced in the sentence as follows: *Remember, whatever happens to me, never call the police* (Find me guilty, 2003). The constant threat from “outer enemies” of La Cosa Nostra (law-enforcement agencies) has worked out the system of warnings. It can be interpreted as the symbol CAUTION that is represented in *Mobspeak* in the phrase *never put your name on anything* – a watchword of many of the more cautious wiseguys. They never put their names on their doorbells; they never have a phone in their own name, etc (Mobspeak, 2003:139). This sentence is built up as an instruction or even commandment that must be followed by the U.S./Italian Mafiosi.

However, the research data collected have demonstrated that La Cosa Nostra can be viewed as “counter-culture” only through diachronic perspective. It was founded as a counter-culture opposite to the U.S. culture, e.g.: *Chicago amnesia* – the set of Mafia rules in Al Capone times with the key idea to demonstrate opposition to and mockery of the U.S. norms and rules (Mobspeak, 2003: 36).

c) La Cosa Nostra as sub-culture

In the course of time, La Cosa Nostra has evolved from counter-culture to sub-culture. J. K. Pistone (2004:5) sees La Cosa Nostra as a sub-culture. The term “sub-culture” means an alternative set of moral values and conventional expectations to which the person can turn if he cannot find acceptable routes to the objectives held out for him by the broader society (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2004).

Despite the fact that sub-cultures possess a number of qualities allomorphic with those of general cultures, they cannot exist without the latter. Riesman (1950) says that sub-cultures contain a lot of traits of their mother cultures, however, in some aspects they may be opposite to each other. Y.K. Alexandrov (2002), has formulated a succinct definition of underworld sub-culture: “it is the way of life of those who have grouped up

in criminal groups and follow the outlaw customs and tradition, and speak underworld dialect”. Suppositions that La Cosa Nostra can be seen as sub-culture can be proven, because according to C. Dodd (1995), the U.S. sociolinguist, the typical traits of every sub-culture are as follows:

1) the same language and set of rules: La Cosa Nostra has its own social dialect, *Mobspeak*, and a set of rules generally called “*omertà*” (Mobspeak, 2003:151-152);

2) common enemy: the U.S./Italian Mafiosi see law-enforcement agencies and government as their enemies: *wrong guy* – honest police officer (Mobspeak, 2003:234); *Elliot Ness and the Untouchables* – Drug Enforcement Agency (Pistone, 2000:249); *a whore with the heart of gold* – derogative way of calling honest police officers (the Untouchables, 1987). The ultimate example, *a whore with the heart of gold* vividly demonstrates a negative attitude of the U.S./Italian Mafiosi to the law-enforcement agency officers –the negative attitude is verbalized in the taboo lexeme *whore*);

3) common symbols: the symbol of the U.S./Italian Mafia is “*La Cosa Nostra*”, Italian for “*the thing of ours*” (Mafia Empire, 1999).

The results of the research carried out have shown that the U.S./Italian Mafiosi are not just to be opposed to the rest of the U.S. society. On the contrary, they try to do their best to be regarded as the part of the U.S. culture. This phenomenon can be called symbol ENCULTURATION that is verbalized in the idiom *safe streets* – neighborhoods controlled by the Mob (Mobspeak, 2003:179). In these neighborhoods people are “saved” from muggings, snatchings, rape, etc.

The artwork analysis has shown that one of the key symbol of La Cosa Nostra is that of “COMMUNITARITY” (Voinoff, 1994: 80) or COMMUNITY. However, the language material analyzed has demonstrated that the community means not only La Cosa Nostra (*social club* – Mafiosi hangout (Pistone, 2004:127); *the thing of ours* – all the criminal activity of La Cosa Nostra, “Mafia business” (Boss of bosses, 2001), but common people as well: *Make people happy, I like that* (Boss of bosses, 2001).

This fact in its turn corresponds to the theory of human sociogenesis, in our case, means ENCULTURATION of the outlaw group representatives, shifting from their superstitions concerning the mother culture (*Martial law*) and accepting values of the mother culture that the outlaws (US/Italian Mafiosi) have been in antagonism with.

La Cosa Nostra is a complex system: it has its own hierarchal system, the fact that contradicts hypothesis about La Cosa Nostra as the counter-culture because counter-cultures have been found on the basis of fraternity and *equality*, e.g., the hippy counter-culture. The purpose of counter-culture is to oppose itself and its members to other social groups (Hebdige, 1981).

The research carried out has proven that the goal of La Cosa Nostra is not to oppose itself to the U.S. culture, but on the contrary to integrate into it. The proof of this can be found in one of the Soviet movies: “*Outlaws do not have I-am-a-criminal note in their IDs, they are official citizens like me and you and live somewhere in West Side*” (Место встречи, 1979).

III. The contemporary status of La Cosa Nostra

Nowadays, La Cosa Nostra has clear-cut characteristics of sub-culture; however it has preserved qualities that can classify it as counter-culture. The characteristics and qualities mentioned constitute La Cosa Nostra system of values that is verbalized in *Mobspeak*: from the one hand, La Cosa Nostra has worked out a strict system of checking new members (*to have insurance* – to have an approval from two “made men” that the newcomer is not a police officer or an undercover FBI (Donnie Brasco, 1997); *made hit* – murder carried out by newcomers to prove that they are neither police officers nor undercover FBI agents because all the undercover agents are prohibited to commit such crimes) (Donnie Brasco, 1997); on the other hand, though, La Cosa Nostra is a small social group belonging to the U.S. society and culture, its ethnoculture has a number of meta-signs isomorphic with the culture of the U.S. society, it is indeed a part of Americana.

This phenomenon can be vividly demonstrated by a thorough analysis of the idiom already mentioned: *a whore with the heart of gold*; the component *whore* suggests a negative attitude of Mafiosi towards honest police officers, however, this taboo lexeme is followed by the expression *with the heart of gold*. From the stylistic point of view, the idiom *whore with the heart of gold* is an oxymoron, a combination of two semantically contradictory notions. Yet, should we look at it from a semiotic standpoint, *heart of gold* might carry a positive meaning: “heart” is a somatic metaphor for “kernel level”, with “gold” bearing meanings of “goodness”, “honesty”. Thus, the idiom in question is a bright example of La Cosa Nostra system of values: its heart are the counter-culture traits, with sub-culture ones adjusting them.

IV. Conclusions

In brief, despite the conventional view that La Cosa Nostra as anti-culture, it has a number of traits making it a part of the U.S. society and culture. The research work based on the combination of linguistic and social anthropology analysis (A.R. Radcliffe-Brown’s methods to study cultures) has identified meta-signs of La Cosa Nostra, isomorphic with those of the U.S. culture.

Based on language material and following the dialectics principle of comparing polar opposites, from diachronic standpoint, the status of La Cosa Nostra and its system of values have evolved from pure counter-culture (symbols of WARNING and WE-GROUP – OUTSIDERS) to sub-culture (symbols of ENCULTURATION and COMMUNITARITY or COMMUNITY), with some qualities of counter-culture having been preserved. The research data obtained make it possible to conclude that La Cosa Nostra status in the context of the U.S. culture can be interpreted as “sub-culture with definite qualities of counter-culture” or “COUNTER-SUB-CULTURE”.

This kind of evolution can be explained from the synergetics and socio-genesis standpoint: La Cosa Nostra has been found as Chaos opposed to existing Order and has evolved into Order itself (hierarchical system, rules, and *Mobspeak* in particular) structuring bigger Order (the U.S. underworld and the U.S. culture).

The results achieved can become a springboard for further investigation of La Cosa Nostra and its system of values, integral analysis of its social dialect, and the U.S. underworld society and social dialect at large. The analysis in question can be used when surveying numerous social groups and their dialects. This will contribute to the linguistic and social anthropology studies.

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HUMOUR IN WORKPLACE MEETINGS

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***Abstract:** The paper is based on an on-going research into intercultural communication in international companies in Brasov. The analysis focuses on instances of humour as a relevant resource in the construction of power relationships in the workplace. Humour, as a feature of workplace culture, is shown to be a discourse strategy and a means of constructing solidarity in an intercultural environment*

***Key words:** humour, CAT, intercultural communication, workplace meeting, frame.*

1. Background to the research

Within the context of increased transnational mobility, the present paper examines intercultural data in an international company in Romania where English is used as the language of communication at work. This is part of a CNCSIS project – Institutional Talk and Intercultural Communication in International Companies - carried out by a research team from Transilvania University of Brasov, and the report here is the result of a team work. By institutional talk we understand the verbal/written interactions oriented towards a work task, as a means through which participants develop their professional activity. The project proposes the understanding of new types of workplace interactions in situations where the employers and employees come from different cultural backgrounds. Our research starts from the interactionalist assumption that, within the context of international companies, the organizational culture is being created through a process of adaptation to the two constitutive cultures, and that identifying and defining the communicative practices may lead to more efficient process of communication.

Theoretically, the project is prompted by studies on Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Gallois and Giles et. al, 1995) which contributes to an understanding of interactions like these by focusing attention on the language used by interlocutors to realize moves of ‘speech *convergence* and *divergence*, that is, linguistic moves to decrease and increase communicative distance’ (1995:115-116). Such a theory focuses on actual communication and is based on empirical research.

As has been accomplished in previous studies (e.g. in Gallois and Giles et al., 1995:133-136), we have operationalized the strategies in the CAT model by investigating the following:

- The vocal behaviour (number and length of turns)
- The interactional process (the use of questions vs. statements; positive (jokes, laughter, agreement) vs. negative (sarcasm, disagreement) speech forms.

From a cultural perspective, interactants from different cultures will endorse different and perhaps incompatible values, relationship styles, and different communication styles and rules. The possibilities for miscommunication and misunderstanding arising from these differences have been long studied (Banks, Gao, & Baker, 1991, Gumperz, 1982, Gumperz and Roberts, 1991, Bremer, et al, 1996).

In our research, we view culture as the discursive patterns emergent in communication, and in this acceptance the focus is on naturally occurring interactions, on the one hand. On the other hand, we also regard culture as behavioral norms and beliefs shared among people from the same group. Consequently, we also aimed at eliciting employees' perceived image of the organization they are working in.

1.1. Data collected

The main objective in collecting data for our project was to get access to and record task-oriented interactions between Romanians and employees with different cultural backgrounds in two international companies that we have identified and gained access to, in Brasov. One is a multinational company specialised in software and mechanical engineering services, with 700 employees all over the world. It was founded in Brasov in 2005 and started functioning in 2006, with 2 foreigners, a Belgian technical leader and a Turkish employee, and 40 Romanian employees. The official language is English, and the daily communication involves both face-to-face meetings and telephone conferences. The second is a Romanian company with American shareholders, which has 200 employees in Brasov and Craiova. It is specialised in automatic industry and was founded in 1997. All employees in Brasov are Romanians, including the management. They get into direct relationships with their clients all over Europe and US. The communication in English takes place on the telephone.

We have recorded three types of communicative activities in English: 5 telephone conferences, 2 face-to-face work meetings conducted by the Belgian technical leader, 10 VNC sessions (Virtual Networking Communication).

For the Romanian employees' perception of the organizational culture, the sociologists in our team have applied an exercise called The Personified Company, in which employees were asked to describe their company by comparing it with an animal, a plant, a kind of food, a musical instrument and an automobile. Finally, they were asked to relate an event that happened at work which they fondly remember and one event they do not remember with pleasure.

The analysis shows that the company is perceived by the Romanian employees as a stable environment and the relationship between superiors and subordinates as being tight. What is perceived as a tension is the lack of control and the necessity to continuously adapt to the needs and requirements of the company. The total dependence of Brasov company on the headquarters, on decision-makers who are physically distant, seems to be the main discontent. The employees perceive the stigma of being Romanian as a threat (which may not be real). In an international company, which is a subsidiary, they may be constantly under the lens of comparisons. Generally, the employees have a positive representation of the company. They recognize its value and appreciate its values: competition, quality, performance.

1.2. Defining a meeting

Researchers have examined the discourse of organisational meetings from a variety of different perspectives. In our research, we define a meeting as multi-party interaction, which focuses on workplace business, in our case the business being consistent with the official workplace goals. The meetings in our data were prearranged, with a pre-set agenda of topics, mainly meant to report, clarify, give feedback, request information, update. The case study analysed here is such a 2-hour meeting, with 14 participants, of which twelve Romanians, a Turk, and the Belgian technical leader conducting the meeting.

From a structural point of view, the meeting has the classical three-part structure, with an opening section, the main body, and the closing section. The topics are announced in advance, in the opening section, and in our case study, the following topics have been addressed:

- QC (quality analysis) of the current project 7A
- the development of a further project (7B)
- work visits of a number of Romanians to Belgium
- visits from Belgium to Brasov
- shared use of Unix accounts

From a discursive/analytical perspective, we use Goffman's (1974) notion of 'frame'. Goffman has introduced this notion to address the situational meaning of any interaction. He says that people are constantly addressing the question: 'What's going on here?'. They adjust their actions to their understanding of the situation. This amounts to people identifying, for example, whether the situation is a serious or a joking business, whether the talk is on professional or personal matters, and adjust their talk accordingly. Our claim is that meetings contain different framings, with shifts from the serious to joking frames, from professional to personal issues, and that participants constantly adjust themselves to their understanding of the situation.

2. Analysis of humour in meetings

In this paper we will focus on the interactional process – jokes and laughter in the work face-to-face meeting.

The most accepted general explanation of humour is that it arises where there is incongruity of some kind. In this explanation (cf. Mulkay, 1988, Eggins and Slade, 1997), humour is seen as involving a duality of meaning where both a 'serious' and a 'non-serious' meaning can be recognised. Because simultaneous meanings are made, interactants can claim either that the 'serious' meaning was not intended, or that the 'non-serious' meaning was not. In either case, humour enables interactants to speak off-the record, in a light-heartedness, to say things without strict accountability.

Humour has been found to be a valuable multifunctional resource in interactions (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003), releasing tension and affirming group solidarity. Humour is also a relevant resource in the construction and management of power relationships (Brown and Keegan, 1999), constructing participants as equals, emphasising what they have in common. Holmes and Stubbe (2003:110-136) have explored, among other specific types of workplace talk, humour in the workplace, and identified two functions of humour: nurturing harmonious work relationships (such as amusing workmates, maintaining good work relations) and licensing a professional challenge (jocular abuse and challenging authority). Humour makes a major contribution to workplace harmony by virtue of its mitigating or hedging effect on 'controlling' speech acts, such as directives and criticisms.

Unlike Holmes and Stubbe's study which focuses on mono-cultural contexts, we are looking into humour in intercultural communication at the workplace, and have identified functions of humour related to the specific context of the interactions: firstly, the language used is not the native

language of the participants and presumably, the participants have expectations of cultural differences and possible breakdowns in communication. Secondly, the Romanian employees, as mentioned above, have to constantly adapt to the requirements of the headquarters, though, as we will see in the analysis, they try to make their voices heard.

The opening and closing phases of meetings are obvious sites for humour. These are ‘out-of-frame’ activities, occasions seen more like conversations than the typical meeting speech event. But out-of-frame humour also occurs within the meeting, at strategic point in the development of the talk. In this particular context, in which Romanian employees have to constantly adapt to the requirements of the headquarters, non/misunderstandings are expected.

2.1. Mitigating non/misunderstandings

The excerpt analysed in this section shows the strategy used by the participants to deal with an explicit non-understanding.

In the following example, B1’s question (line2) makes reference to a planned visit to headquarters in Belgium, for which everybody involved had received a schedule. The lines of interest for the analysis are those which produce laughter, lines 4, 10 and 20.

- 1) 1 B1: OK.
2 everybody has a clear idea of what to do next week ?
3 ?: yeah
→ 4 R10: no
→ 5 [laughter]
6 R10: what? you asked
7 B1: it’s a good answer.
8 R10: yes.
[overlapping talk]
9 R10 :// there are some there are some big points like er
→10 for example, Wednesday we have er(.) a party
→11 [laughter]
12 R10: I don’t know what to
13 G : and you said(towards B1) they won’t party
14 [laughter – R10 and R12 sidetalk]
15 B1 : so why there’s a difference[overlapping talk]
16 R14 : it’s good that you remained with the most
important things. that’s=
17 G : = that’s the most important//thing
18 B1 : // so how come there’s a difference in interpretation
19 between you and R?
→20 R13 : there’s difference between A and us.
→21 [laughter]

As we can notice, R10 acknowledges that he has no clear idea about what he is expected to do during the one-week visit to Belgium, and this produces laughter. Many researchers claim joking and laughter to be an adjacency pair. Hay (2001), however, illustrates that there are a range of strategies for supporting humour, of which laughter is just one. Common support strategies include contributing more humour, playing along with the gag, using echo or overlap, offering sympathy and contradicting self-deprecating humour. In our example R10's negative response to the question is recognised by the other participants as a clue for a humorous frame, and not as a serious response. The response is obviously self-deprecation humor, and singles R10 out of the group. This is further shown in B1's support strategy, in line 7 (it's a good answer), by which he appreciates the humorous response, and also in line 20, where a Romanian colleague excludes R10 from the group. This is a sort of playing with the gag strategy.

From the point of view of the initiator of the laughter, we can notice, in line 10, that the humorous sequence is up-graded by R10, by explicitly linking the non-understanding issue to a social event, thus re-orienting the talk from the professional topics to a social one.

This excerpt shows that explicit acknowledgement of non-understanding is not recognised as an in-frame activity and is thus transformed into an out-of-frame activity, changing the serious frame into a humorous one.

2.2. Mitigating face-threatening acts

The most obvious contribution of humour as a discourse strategy in workplace is that of constructing good relationships or solidarity between work colleagues (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003). Humour has been found to be a resource whereby Face Threatening Acts (Brown and Levinson, 1987), such as directives and criticism, are mitigated or hedged in order to maintain good working relationships. In our data humour was found to be used by the Romanians to perform suggestions and requests and to soften the superior's criticism, and by the Belgian leader to refuse suggestions.

In the following example, B1 is presenting the results of QC, the conclusion being that one of the teams has not performed the task according to the requirements. We can notice that this produces overlapping talk and laughter, hence attenuating the force of the negative evaluation of the team's work.

- 1) 1 B1: so global QC is done, er every team is basically green,
- 2 main exception is Motion.
- 3 (2) overlapping talk [laughter]

The following example is meant to show, on the one hand how the Romanian R9 is challenging the authority in Belgium, by questioning a state of affairs in the internet connection and by suggesting a change, and on the other hand how B1 uses a deprecation strategy which produces laughter, in order to postpone/prepare the grounds for the refusal of the suggestion.

2)→1 R9: why are we using L to go out the internet?
 2 B1: // [unclear]
 →3 R9: // why why are we using L as a proxy?
 4 because we are using an VNC
 5 B1: yes because we don't have erhm (2)
 6 a [ei] out connection here, in Brasov, (.)
 7 which is indeed stupid, but (1)
 8 so our internet connection, is (.)
 9 only a VPN so all our traffic is only on the VPN.
 10 R9: yes why?
 11 B1: er (.) because some people in L think
 12 that that is er more secure.
 13 (2)
 → 14 R9: can't we have our local VPN or just
 15 (2)
 16 B1: yeah, we can, but some people in L think
 17 that that is not secure.
 18 [laughter; overlapping talk]
 19 R10: the: people.
 20 R9: it makes sense to use this VPN
 21 for (1) XXX traffic, but er=
 22 B1: =I completely agree
 23 R10: each second
 24 B1: so I completely agree the only problem is I have to (.)
 →25 convince some people in L who are very stubborn in this area.
 →26 (2)
 →27 more stubborn than I am
 →28 [laughter]

The lines of interest are lines 1,3 for what we called 'challenging a state of affairs', and 14 for the suggestion made by the Romanian employee, and lines 25-28 for the refusal of the suggestion. We can notice, firstly, that there is a quite long sequence in the negotiation of the suggestion and its refusal, which is part of the in-frame, serious activity in the development of the meeting, and secondly, that the refusal is being made by using two strategies. One is the prefacing of the refusal with an agreement ('I completely agree'), followed by a 'but'-prefaced postponing/refusal of the suggestion, and the second is the shift to the joking frame, by deprecating

both the authorities in Belgium and himself. By this, an in-group bound is being created (me and the superiors in Belgium), but in an off-record, light-hearted manner, which is recognized as such by the Romanian participants.

The discussion on the topic of the internet connection and possible solutions continues and in the following example we can see how other suggestions of solutions are being put forward by Romanians but again are framed as not serious.

- 3) 1 R12: if if we could do such device [with our work].
 2 [loud laughter]
 3 B1:so: er can you suggest that?
 4 [laughter]
 5 B1:can I can I make an action out of that?
 6 [laughter]
 7 R12: it would be fun.

As we can see R12's suggestion is responded to with laughter, showing that the other participants have perceived it as not a serious one. On the other hand, B1's contribution may show that he accepts that as a possible way forward. However, that is also responded to with laughter, signalling that it may be interpreted as contributing more humour and turning the whole episode into a joking one. We have found out other similar sequences in the data for the act of requesting.

2.3. Fantasies to construct harmonious relationships

The example below is meant to illustrate how humour succeeds in amusing workmates by constructing humorous 'fantasies' (cf Hay 1995), imagining scenarios both on personal and work matters.

In the example below, R11, who is engaged to be married, shifts to the joking frame, by making reference to the personal event, and fantasising as to his whereabouts when the visitors from Belgium come. As we can see, the humour is shared by general laughter and by R8 echoing the joke.

- 1) 1 R11: who's going to come ?
 2 B1: er an R. St is not coming.J.
 3 R11: because I'm leaving on Monday.
 4 B1: yeap. so that's why St is not coming to join
 5 because you're not here.
 6 R11: I'll be in Bahamas.
 7 [laughter]
 8 R8: you will be in Bahamas.
 9 [laughter]

Similar examples occur in relation to work topics, such as the acquisition of larger screens.

2.4. Easing the tension

Finally, humour has been found to be related to the organisational structure/culture, by hints to the hierarchical positions in the company. In such cases, hints to an open position of team leader produce laughter. In an organisation in which there is only one (Belgian) team leader working in the subsidiary, Romanian company, and the Romanians are subordinates, references to the person who wants to access to a higher position, equal to that of the non-Romanians, might create a tensioned atmosphere. This is being eased by laughter which is linked to any humorous situation or event. Here are examples of such instances:

1) R9: so how many open positions for
project leader do you have? [laughter]
B1: right now we have zero
[laughter]

2) R5: so what's the chances that he will become a structure project leader?
[laughter]

3) R5: is he a structured guy? [laughing]
[laughter 5]

In all the examples above, the person deixis (he) refers to a Romanian (outsider) who is suggested to become a project leader.

3. Conclusion

We have seen in this paper that in the context of a small international company based in Romania, during a reporting meeting conducted by a foreign technical leader, humour is a resource which builds and maintains good relationships at work. It releases tension when hierarchy is being discussed, is used to amuse the participants in the meeting and to mitigate face-threatening acts. However, such discursive strategies have been found in mono-cultural workplaces as well. Unlike, for example, Holmes and Stubbe's (2003) study of humour in the workplace, we have found instances of participants' dealing with non-understandings by retorting to humour.

As the analysis of the personified company has shown, the total dependence of the Brasov company on the headquarters, on decision-makers who are physically distant, seems to be the main discontent expressed by the Romanian employees. Hence, as we have seen, suggestions and requests are mitigated by softening them into light-hearted acts that produce laughter. In this particular meeting, where power and status were not an issue, humour

has been supportive and positive, and most importantly, collaboratively constructed, showing speech convergence of participants. Where divergence occurred, as in refusing suggestions and requests, this has been framed as a humorous issue.

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ANALYSING QUESTIONS IN INSTITUTIONAL TALK: POWER IN QUESTIONS

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***Abstract:** The paper investigates the nowadays widely discussed topic of talk in institutional or professional settings. It focuses on the function of questions in work-related verbal interactions between Romanian and foreign staff members of an international company where English is the language of daily communication. The analysis of the interrogatives identified in a telephone conversation is based on contextual clues and the easily detectable power relations. The paper aims to show that this type of investigation adds to a better understanding of intercultural communication.*

***Key words:** questions, power, institutional talk, interaction*

1. Introduction

There is already an extensive body of literature on talk in professional or institutional settings (see for example, Boden, 1994; Drew and Heritage, 1992; Wodak and Idema, 1999). As noted by Drew and Heritage (1992: 3) in institutional settings

[t]alk-in-interaction is the principal means through which lay persons pursue various practical goals and the central medium through which the daily working activities of many professionals and organisational representatives are conducted.

It is therefore possible to consider that the study of institutional talk can help with the study of institutions themselves. In this way, institutional talk appears to acquire a certain sociological significance which gives even more importance to the interest in this type of language of analysts of language and discourse.

To show how institutional talk is different from everyday or 'ordinary' talk, Drew and Heritage (1992) start from Levinson's (1992) discussion of the topic and propose that this type of language can be characterised as follows:

1. Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientations* of a relatively restricted conventional form.
2. Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.

3. Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts. (1992: 22)

In this line of thought, the data discussed in this paper – a telephone conversation between - (see below) seem to be an example of institutional talk because ‘goal orientation’ can easily be seen in that the participants deal with various topics oriented towards solving various company problems. Next, this type of interaction clearly involves ‘special and particular constraints’ in that it takes place in the rather formal work-related context and it is led by the foreign participant who appears to be one of the decision-makers in the company and the analysis of the data shows that he is in a position of power in terms of the number and types of questions he asks. And finally, since the telephone conversation has particular institutional goals which make it different from ordinary conversation, in it there tend to be ‘aspects of the reasoning, inferences, and implicatures that are developed in institutional interactions (Drew and Heritage, 1992: 24).

The issue of the role of questions in institutional talk and subsequently that of the inherent power that can be detected in their use in various types of interaction in the aforementioned context has been the focus of both theoretical and empirical work reported in the literature (see for example, Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Van Dijk, 2001, Wang, 2006).

That questions and power can be related is well known. Cameron (2000: 44) for example, suggests that questions are a means for the ‘skilled communicator’ questions are a means by which she/he can ‘exert control over the behaviour of the interlocutor’.

In this respect, one can find in the literature various taxonomies of questions (see for example, Bonvillain, 2003; Cameron, 2000; Wang, 2006) drawn according to the purposes, advantages and disadvantages each type holds for certain types of interaction. For instance, the most common distinction is made between *open* and *closed* questions, which are typically equated with *polar interrogatives* or *yes/no* and *wh-* types respectively. *Alternative questions* which include disjuncts like ‘would you like X or Y?’ and *tag questions* are also part of the best known classifications (Cameron, 2000: 44). Since questions cannot be discussed without reference to their answers, it seems worth noting that the syntactic form of questions triggers particular types of responses. According to Bonvillain (2003: 395), the type of question also triggers the amount of elaboration or detail in the response. In the author’s words:

Polar interrogatives require a yes/no answer, tag questions ask for yes/no confirmation, and disjunctives provide two alternatives, constraining the addressee to choose one. Many wh-questions also are highly conducive and lead to narrow

response alternatives. For instance, questions of “how much” or “what” require minimal responses, as do of “where”, “when” and “who”. Only “why” and “how” questions allow some latitude and elaboration of replies.

Other than their strict syntactic form and linguistic function, in spoken interactions questions are known to be related to various types of speech acts and therefore to ways in which participants in interactions position themselves and take certain (often temporary) social roles.

2. Power in questions in the literature

In relation to cross-cultural exchanges or interactions, as is the case in the discussion of the telephone conversation data examined in this paper, it appears that participants tend to rely to a large extent on their own cultural background when interpreting the talk of others (Mishler, 1975; Wardhaugh, 2006). In this respect, it may be that the question-answer sequences identified in the data mentioned above are also related in some way to the speakers’ cultural background and to the way in which they see themselves in a position of power or not.

Spoken discourse is seen as a place where relations of power are ‘actually exercised and enacted’ (Fairclough, 1989: 43). Relations between/among participants in interaction clearly demonstrate that there are always two visibly different parties in terms of how they take part in the interactions: the powerful and the ones who for various reasons have to accept the position of the former and to comply with what they say. In Fairclough’s (1989: 46) words: ‘power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants’.

Similarly, Wang (2006: 531) states that power can be characterized as: a) the ability to control and constrain others, b) the capacity to achieve one’s aim, c) the freedom to achieve one’s goal and d) the competence to impose one’s will on others. The author also notes that in institutional talk power can be more easily detected and has a stronger impact than in naturally occurring casual conversation or, what she calls ‘mundane talk’. Wang (2006: 532) writes:

Power in institutional settings is much more overt than in close-knit family discourse and talks between friends (...) because institutional discourse tends to be highly conventionalized and open to public scrutiny.

All this seems to be so because institutional talk is basically deemed to be asymmetrical with power and status. This obviously contrasts with symmetrical and equal ordinary conversation or informal talk.

As the focus of this paper is on questions in institutional talk it appears necessary to state here that they are one of the means of exerting power by powerful individuals over subordinate individuals in institutional contexts. How questioning defines and positions the two sides of the question-answer sequence was documented by Mishler (1975: 105). The author claims that:

Through the act of questioning, one speaker defines the way in which the other is to continue with the conversation and thus defines their relationship to each other along a dimension of power and authority.

In Wang's (2006) view, questions are possible means for dominant participants to exert power over subordinate individuals. For the former, questions are an exercise of control and this is seemingly so because they expect and anticipate response and information which imposes their will as questioners on their addressees. In addition to this, it is clear that rights and obligations for the participants in interactions are the result of the discursive position of questioner and answerer.

Moreover, with Wang (2006), questions are means of interaction which appear to restrict, constrain and ratify the topic of a response. Most researchers in the field of spoken language studies such as sociolinguistics or conversation analysis agree that what actually constitutes a *topic* in conversation is not clear at all. Brown and Yule (1983: 89-90) discuss topics as features of conversation which are not fixed by interactants beforehand, but which they tend to negotiate during the 'process of conversing'. In the same line of thought, for Wardhaugh (2006: 301) the topic is 'the thing' the participants in spoken interaction are talking about. However, each of the 'talkers' may often have different opinions when it comes to what exactly was talked about.

In fulfilling their function of restrictors, constrainers and ratifiers of topics questions are considered by Wang (2006: 533) to be doing this through three major forms: a) Wh- questions can select and constrain topics, b) alternative questions can sift topics by way of alternative choices and c) yes/no questions can confirm and ratify topics. This is how a questioner exercises his/her control over an answerer.

In what follows I discuss the analysis of an item of a data corpus collected for the examination of institutional talk: a telephone conversation.

3. Data in this study

The data under examination in this paper is the transcript of a telephone conference from the data corpus of a larger study which

investigates intercultural communication in international companies. The larger study aims to identify the areas that create difficulties when Romanian and foreign speakers of English communicate in international companies in Brasov. This research is based on the assumption that, in the context of international companies, organisational culture is shaped within a process of adaptation to the features the constitutive cultures and languages. A 'new' type of culture hereby emerges which may lead to more effective and efficient communication.

In this larger study the concept of institutional talk is understood as spoken or written interaction oriented towards achieving work related goals and a medium for the participants to deploy professional activities. The scientific objective of the study is the identification of communicative and cultural practices specific for such companies in Brasov. The focus of the analysis of the data is both linguistic (speech acts, language for specific purposes, register) and cultural (values and attitudes, beliefs and behaviour). A better understanding of intercultural communication in the Romanian context thus the main aim of the study.

The data examined in this paper- a 34-minute telephone conference- were collected in May 2007. After gaining access to the research setting, a digital recorder was placed in the conference room by the leader of the research team. She was introduced to the participants but was silent during the recording of this instance of institutional interaction. The data were then transcribed according to transcription conventions agreed on by the members of the research team and then coded and analysed by means of a specific computer programme: the Ethnograph.

The participants in the telephone conference are: a foreign interlocutor from the Netherlands (FI) and a new team of Romanian hardware specialists working for a joint venture company in Brasov (I, O, Z). They are all male non-native speakers of English but they all use this language for purposes of communication in the company.

4. Question types in the data

The analysis of the questions in the telephone conference and their definition and classification according to various types is based on a prior analysis of similar data by Coposescu and Chefneux (2008). Question types which appeared to be different from the ones identified in this prior analysis are defined here according to the function they seem to have in this specific interaction.

Therefore, the types of questions discussed here are:

Confirmation questions. According to Coposescu & Chefneux, (2008) these are questions 'by means of which the questioner shows need

for confirmation on his/her own understanding of the topic [in these data]. The question often contains the questioner's assumption about the answer'. There were 15 confirmation questions in this interaction and they were all what Bonvillain (2003) calls 'polar interrogatives' requiring a yes/no answer. Here is an example from the data (all the examples from the data examined in this paper are in italics):

*#FI #-CONFIRM
 and that your pc is connected already 77 -#
 to the network er Ion, 78 -#
 I: er yes my pc is connected to the er 80
 network er I have er installed er (.) 81
 er on Friday CAT XXX I had erm er 82*

In this example, FI seems to want confirmation on whether IT technology is operational in the Romanian branch of the company and I answers affirmatively and gives details about his contribution to the respective task

Information seeking questions. These are questions 'by means of which the questioner seeks new information'. (Coposescu & Chefneux, 2008). 11 such questions were found in the telephone conference and they were yes/no, wh- and alternative questions. The example below is an illustration for such questions:

*#FI #-INFOSEEK
 FI: // ok that's 566 -#
 good, that's good, er did you 567 |
 examine the er action documents soft 568 |
 VB8? 569 -#
 O: erm (2) yes er at the beginning 571
 when I er started here on Brasov. 572
 but er the last few days I don't study 573
 very much if er in these days I think. 574*

Here, it is FI again who is asking apparently to obtain information which he did not have on completion of certain tasks and O not only gives a 'yes' answer, but also gives details about the extent to which he managed to complete the respective task.

Clarification questions. As (Coposescu & Chefneux, 2008) put it, these are questions 'by means of which the questioner checks the others' understanding of the topic/previous utterance'. In these data 3 such questions were found and they were yes/no and wh- interrogatives. There is an example of clarification question below:

#-FI #-CLARIF
 FI: *yeah er why didn't you choose to* 376 -#
 select the same marks we did? 377 -#
 O: *er it's er expensive. it's er almost* 379
 ten ten dollars. and has er four four 380
 four ducks integrated it's a quart 381
 duck and I need o only one er 382
 because I I will use a central power 383
 supply for all the bridges. 384

In this instance of institutional talk, the questioner, FI, appears to need clarification on non-completion of some work-related task and O's answer brings a lot of detail.

Polite requests. This question type utterance identified in these data was defined as a means by which the questioner politely requires action from interlocutor in relation to a work task. Three such polite requests were present in the data. This is an example:

#-FI #-POL R
 FI: *ok yes I understand. (2) ok just* 159 -#
 er could you er (.) er could you er 160 |
 examine the 5:55 defaults the er the 161 |
 schematic diagrams soft see a tool for 162 |
 VSP? 163 -#
 I: *yes the schematic diagrams I* 170
 examined, er the digital part er the 171

In this example, FI is the speaker who politely requests action on the part of his interlocutor in order for some work task to be completed.

Topic closure questions. These are questions by means of which the questioner closes the previous topic. Three such questions were present in these data and they were yes/no questions. There is an example below:

#-FI #-I TOP CL
 FI: *ok that's good. I will I will* 857 -#
 try I will make arrangements, (1) 858 |
 and you will see that in your e-mail 859 |
 'cause we have already [unclear] 860 |
 and make an appointment. (10) 861 |
 er I think we have proved all our 862 |
 notes, (2) do you have any 863 |
 questions? 864 -#
 Z: *for the moment I don't have.*

In these data all three topic closure are asked by FI and this seem to be a way in which he checks completion of topics and clear understanding by his interlocutors of the work-related issues under discussion.

Incomplete question. Only one such question was found in the data. It seemed however useful to discuss it here due to other possible occurrences in the larger data corpus. By means of such a question the questioner attempts to change the topic but seems to give it up and go along with the previous topic.

!-INC Q

O: // how is the how is the 586 !

FI: ok because in the in the later 588

stages you have to re: draw and to 589

rewrite the //exam 590

O: //yes yes I 592

know that. 593

The example above may be treated as an attempt on the part of O to change the topic. He appears to fail to do so and to accept to continue his involvement in the previous topic. This reaction on O's part seems to be triggered by FI's dismissive 'ok' because he continues the previous topic.

5. Conclusion

As already stated, the data analysed in this paper are part of the corpus of a larger study. Therefore, the concluding remarks in terms of number and types of questions identified in these data are themselves only partial but may be significant in the economy of the larger study. With respect to the number of questions in these data, 36 questions were asked by the participants in the telephone conference. FI asked 23 questions, I and O contributed 6 questions each, and Z only one.

The questions FI asked are: confirmation, clarification, information seeking, topic closure and polite requests (yes/no; wh-; alternative). He appears to confirm and ratify topics, select and constrain them and shift topics by way of alternative choices. As expected, he seems to be the dominant participant in the encounter. Of the Romanian participants, I asked confirmation, clarification, information seeking and polite requests (yes/no; wh-). He then seems to confirm and ratify topics and also to select and constrain them. O's questions are: confirmation, clarification, information seeking, incomplete (yes/no; wh-). Finally, Z asked an information seeking (yes/no) question. The Romanian participants appear to ask questions which are similar to the ones asked by FI. However, they do not initiate or close

topics. All this appear indicative of the fact that FI is the person controlling the interaction in the data analysed here.

It can therefore be stated that the characteristics of questions keep them naturally bound up with power in that they are endowed with inherent abilities to control and dominate. This seems to be so because first, the fact that questions expect and anticipate response and information imposes a questioner's will on the addressee, which is an obvious exercise of control (Wang, 2006). It is therefore obvious that the discursive position of participants in interactions (questioner and answerer) shows clearly perceived rights and obligations related to it. Second, when a question is asked, the questioner has the privilege to take a turn. She/he thus controls the turn and chooses the next speaker. This, according to Wang (2006: 533) can be regarded as the questioner's 'freedom to achieve [her/his] goal'. And third, some questions can be considered face threatening-acts (Tsui, 1994: 103). This may be so since they show future action of the addressee and put pressure on her/him to do or to refrain from doing an action, or show future action of the speaker and put pressure on the addressee to accept or reject it. An example of this can be seen in the incomplete question identified in these data.

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CINEMATIC LANDSCAPES – ANGELA CARTER'S MOVIE ADAPTATIONS

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***Abstract:** One function of heterotopia refers to its openness. Two otherwise unrelated spaces are connected and we are granted entry into what may be called a tangible utopia, a space that is not so perfect as to forbid us from experiencing it. My paper relates Foucault's characteristics of **heterotopia** to Angela Carter's habit of interrogating frozen beliefs. I will turn to her cinematic adaptations to investigate the notes of her narrative echoes across media.*

***Key-words:** cinematic point-of-view, gaze, heterotopia, narrative voice*

Foucault uses the example of a movie theatre, where our physical space combines with the visual and virtual space onscreen to create an amalgam of two experiences: “a very odd rectangular room, at the end of which, on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three-dimensional space.” (1986: 25)

In the cinema we venture into heterochrony, another characteristic of heterotopia; we step into another world for two hours or so, experiencing a disjunction and removal from the real world, without reaching the actual setting of the movie. Yet, as the ending credits roll, we feel as if we had.

The importance of cinema in the topography of Angela Carter's work is evident if we pay attention to her interviews, in which she asserts her fascination with

[...] the tension between inside and outside, between the unappeasable appetite for the unexpected, the gorgeous, the gimcrack, the fantastic, the free play of the imagination and harmony, order. Abstraction. [...]The cinema with its mix of the real and the false [...] public and private at the same time. (Evans and Carter, 1992:8-9)

She criticizes the way Hollywood sells illusions and perpetuates dreams, but she also celebrates cinema as a creative medium:

It seemed to me, when I first started going to the cinema intensively in the late Fifties, that Hollywood had colonized the imagination of the entire world and was turning us all into Americans. I resented it, it fascinated me (1992:5).

Carter's appeal for the cinema is easily discernible in her narrative style, which is indebted to the grammar of the medium, in the characters' cinematic experiences or their dreams of populating the world of celluloid:

I'm perfectly conscious of using all kinds of narrative techniques that I've taken from the cinema. Our experience of watching narrative in the cinema has completely altered the way that we approach narrative on the page, that we even read nineteenth-century novels differently. (1989: Radio 4)

All her novels are filled with cinematic allusions and her indebtedness to film has influenced her highly visual representation of action on page and the two subsequent transpositions on screen.

Adrienne Rich talks about 'writing as re-vision' in her essay 'When We the Dead Awaken':

Re-vision – the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction – is for women more than a chapter in cultural history; it is an act of survival. Until we understand the assumptions in which we are drenched, we cannot know ourselves... A radical critique of literature, feminist in its impulse would take the work first of all as a clue to how we live, how we have been led to imagine ourselves, how our language has trapped as well as liberated us, how the very act of naming has been till now a male prerogative, and how we can begin to see and name – and therefore live afresh... We need to know the writing of the past, and know it differently than we have ever known it, not to pass on a tradition but to break its hold over us. (1980:35).

The multiple texts and the degree of collaboration involved in their realization gives rise to complex questions about authorial control and responsibility, making it difficult to identify the relationship between author and text. These questions must be addressed, outdated as they may seem in an era of 'the death of the author'. Lorna Sage (1994:58) notes that Carter "had a position on the politics of sexuality. She went in for the proliferation, rather than the death, of the author." Carter's mediated texts perform this 'proliferation' both in terms of the multiple adaptations of texts and the collaborative relationships between her as author/scriptwriter and the directors she worked with. She paid attention to both the aesthetic and the technologies of the medium, in the process of adapting her work

In her analysis of Carter's style, Mulvey notes the prevalence of a "magic cinematic attribute even when the cinema itself is not present on the page" (1994:230).

In the essay 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', she operates a division of looking, typical of classical cinema, into passive and active, namely into female 'to-be-looked-at-ness' and male gaze. In traditional narrative film,

there are two ways for the male unconscious to ‘escape from this castration anxiety’: voyeurism, which is located in a “preoccupation with the re-enactment of the original trauma (investigating the woman, demystifying her mystery)” and ‘fetishistic scopophilia’, which entails “the substitution of a fetish object or turning the repressed figure itself into a fetish so that it becomes reassuring rather than dangerous” (1989:21)

The Magic Toyshop is Carter’s first novel assigning the female character agency and a voice to tell the story of coping with patriarchal rule and with her blooming sexuality. The same themes resurface in the closing short story of the volume *The Bloody Chamber*, ‘The Company of Wolves’, where narrative layers bridge the animality of humans to the humanity of animals.

The director of *The Magic Toyshop*, David Wheatley, was drawn to Carter’s writings because of the cinematic quality of her work: “I thought that her book was influenced by films” (1996:327).

Neil Jordan, the director of *The Company of Wolves*, remembers about his collaboration with Angela Carter in the process of adapting her short story, that “she was thrilled with the process, because she loved films, and had never actually been involved in one” (Carter, 1996:506)

When she decided to adapt her writing to the cinema, Angela Carter experienced a different type of excitement:

the quite unhealthy sense of power with which you feel that you’re actually beaming the figments of your imagination across the city, across the century, across the world, is actually quite extraordinary. [...] It’s quite different to a novel which is very much a one to one, you know, blasting all these cinema screens with these images of unrepressed libido is really a very exhilarating thing to do. (Mars-Jones, 1984)

Carter’s stated in an interview, “I’ve always written with visual images first and no adaptor could crack it” (Baron, 1987:27). *The Magic Toyshop* (1967), Carter’s second novel, proved too difficult to turn into a movie script, according to Baron: “there have been some fifteen attempts to turn it into a successful film script” (1987:27). Carter identifies the reason in an interview with Stephanie Bunbury: “when I read it again I realized it didn’t have a plot. It had a vague beginning and an end but not much middle. And one of the things this particular kind of film needed was a coherent narrative structure, so one had to reassemble the novel in that form” (1987:38)

It was turned into a magical movie in 1987 by David Wheatley, who found the cinematic quality of the novel appealing, and worked very closely with Angela Carter in the process of adaptation:

I felt the book was filmic, I felt there were images that were referred to in the book, and when she told me she was a film reviewer and also fascinated by film, I just became fascinated by the notion of what films she might have been looking at when she wrote the book and if they'd had any influence. (1996:243)

Melanie, the main character in *The Magic Toyshop*, envisages uncle Philip as a character in an Orson Welles movie, and herself acting in a new-wave British film. She also dreams of her brother Jonathon, and he begins “to flicker; as in a faulty projected film” (1967:175)

David Wheatley interprets the abundance of visual elements in Carter’s novel as a marked influence of popular culture on the collective imagination:

If you look at Garcia Marques at you look at Borges, or you look at other Latin American writers, I think you find the magical realism they talk about, the magic somehow has transcended itself, it’s gone from books into films and then come back again, and I think it’s actually percolated into the way that people think about story-telling. (1996:237)

The opening sequence of the movie brings before our eyes the main themes of the novel, namely puppetry, the female gaze and cinematic illusion.

Laura Mulvey discusses three cinematic looks: “that of the camera as it records the pro-filmic event, that of the audience as it watches the final product, and that of the characters at each other within the screen illusion” (1989:25), and Paul Willemsen mentions a fourth, ‘the look at the viewer’, where “the subject of the look is an imaginary other” (1994:108).

Melanie’s active gaze subverts the voyeuristic gaze of the camera lens, for Carter conferred upon the heroine the power to invert the relationship between the image and the viewer. Caroline Milmo, the actress playing the main heroine, played her part to this end: “I was keen for Melanie not to be passive – I wanted to catch the camera with my eye and make the audience conscious of her voyeurism of them.” (Hill, 1987:12)

Traditional structures of looking are broken with Melanie’s appropriation of the voyeuristic pleasure, despite the constant threat of Uncle Philip. Carter does not allow her to succumb to the role of the victim, as Doane suggests was the rule of classical cinema: “the woman’s exercise of an active investigating gaze can only be simultaneous with her own victimization” (1984:72).

One sequence that combines Melanie’s active looking with the uncanny atmosphere created by grotesque animation presents her spying on Finn and Francie through the peephole she has discovered earlier in the wall dividing her room from that of her cousins’. The hole frames her eye that looks

straight into the camera. While Francie is playing the fiddle, Finn's inert body is animated by unseen strings, in a transposition of the script indications: he "shudders convulsively jerking and twisting. The candle flames shiver, creating grotesque shadows" (Carter, 1996:274).

In the magical opening sequence, the slow, vertical tilt of the camera links the main settings and establishes their atmosphere. On the dark street outside the toyshop, a kiss hints at the incestuous relationship between Aunt Margaret and one of her step brothers, Francie. The spinning toys in the window shop parallel the whirl of the camera, as the line between fantasy and reality is blurred. In the gloomy basement of the toyshop, Aunt Margaret, Francie and Finn complete the crew and audience for Uncle Philip's private shows. This second setting constitutes a heterotopia as it combines freedom of expression with control of the puppet master, while alluding, self-reflexively, to our position as spectators. The image of the puppet dancer spinning clumsily dissolves to the third setting, Melanie's contemporary bedroom, a place of secrets preserved in the mirror and the nude paintings that establish the theme of the girl's blooming sexuality. Melanie's reverie on her first night in the strange house of Uncle Phillip is initiated by her stare at the wallpaper. The scene is a literalization of a paragraph in the novel:

Now, who has planted this thick hedge of crimson roses in all this dark, green, luxuriant foliage with, oh, what cruel thorns? Melanie opened her eyes and saw thorns among roses, as if she woke from a hundred years' night [...] But it was only her new wallpaper, which was printed with roses, though she had not before noticed the thorns. (1981:53)

The slow editing technique called *dissolve*, is employed to mark the border between reality and dream, while the luxuriant garden Melanie dreams about is flattened to the drawings on the walls of her room. The same techniques transpose Jonathon from his dark room, presented in low-key lighting, to a beach of freedom, animated by an energetic non-diegetic tune. The movie overwhelms us with instances conveying the potential of animation for expressing the uncanny. Carter declares that the novel reflects her timely passion for the trope of animation:

I had a passion for automata at one stage; I think it's the simulations of human beings that I'm interested in. (Bunbury, 1987:37).
I'm very interested in the idea of simulacra, of invented people, of imitation human beings, because, you know, the big question that we have to ask ourselves is how do we know we're not imitation human beings? (Evans and Carter, 1992:24)

The animated beings can be aligned with the capacity of cinema to create the illusion of life, as Mulvey suggests: “the cinema, too, is inanimate, consisting of still frames which the projector’s movement brings to life” (1994:233).

In one of her writing stages Angela Carter focused on famous fairytales. Her modern interpretations were aimed at subverting traditional values and patterns that she viewed as constraints. The stories were collected in a volume, *The Bloody Chamber* (1979), in which she “produced her own haunting, mocking, sometimes tender variations on some of the classic motifs of the fairytale genre [...] drawing them out of their set shapes [...] into the world of change” (Sage, 1994: 39).

The short story ‘The Company of Wolves’ is a feminist rewrite of *Little Red Riding Hood*. It combines elements of fairytale and myth for the taste of the modern reader. Charles Perrault’s story is modernised by Carter, as she adds pieces which existed in the original eighteenth century folklore version but which Perrault gave up, considering them too rough for the reading public of his times. In that variant the villain was the werewolf.

The movie based on the short story has the same title and was directed by Neil Jordan and co-scripted by Jordan and Carter herself in 1984. Mark Bell, the editor of Carter’s dramatic writings, recalls that she first approached Neil Jordan with the idea of turning the radio play *The Company of Wolves* into a movie (Carter, 1996), but he considered the play too short, and decided to develop it into a “Chinese box structure, using the dream of Rosaleen, and the thread of Granny’s storytelling as the connecting points, thereby enabling us to integrate other stories and themes of Angela’s own” (Carter, 1996:507)

In the movie there are elements from two other stories from the same volume, which revolve around werewolf myths, namely ‘The Werewolf’ and ‘Wolf Alice’. Adolescence and the process of growing up, viewed as danger and passion, are explained in both the story and the movie through a twisted re-enactment of the fairytale. Neil Jordan and Angela Carter “mapped out an outline of proposed scenes, which she then wrote up” (Carter, 1996:507). The director mentions that “the writing seemed to flow quite naturally, since it gave free rein to Angela’s own taste for narrative subversions” (Carter, 1996:56).

The movie is frightening in its violence and peopled by ambiguous characters living in a dangerous world. It is about a twentieth century teenage girl named Rosaleen who dreams of living in a nineteenth century village, together with her family. The narrative is built with an alternation of layers – reality, dream, tale – whose boundaries become increasingly more difficult to discern for both the main character and the viewer.

The movie represents a heterotopia woven out of overlapping discourses on metamorphosis viewed as adaptation from page to screen, as bodily transformation from human into animal, or transition from childhood to adolescence. The movie remakes Carter's texts, which in turn re-write the original fairy-tale of Red Riding Hood, while pointing intertextually to the conventions of the horror-genre.

Carter's choice of the horror genre for the adaptation multiplies the possibilities of preserving the qualities of her narrative style, such as intertextuality, parody, doubling, humour, the same features Philip Brophy attributes to contemporary horror movies (1986).

Kristeva's theory of abjection is concerned with figures that are in a state of transition. The abject is located in a liminal state that is on the margins of two positions. Kristeva defines the abject in connection with bodily functions that "mark the boundary between clean and proper symbolic order and abyssal, impure abject" (Vice (ed.), 1996:153)

When we enter the world of the abject, our imaginary borders disintegrate and the abject becomes a tangible threat because our identity system and conception of order have been disrupted.

There are violent transformation scenes in the movie that can be read as examples of 'body horror', a subgenre of fantasy films dealing with "crisis of identity through a concentration on processes of bodily disintegration and transformation" (Jancovich, 1992:112).

Lind Ruth Williams (1994) also maintains that body horror stands for fantasies of interiority, as the boundaries between inside and outside are transgressed and the abject is rendered visible.

In the short story the tension between the visible and the invisible forces accumulates through a series of opening tales reminding the reader of the werewolf superstitions through the voice of the narrator whose role is taken up in the movie by the sometimes witch-like figure of the grandmother or by Rosaleen.

Rosaleen is driven by instincts and guided by two voices. One is the voice of her grandmother, expressing the superstitions centred around werewolves and her theories are supported by tales: "never trust a man whose eyebrows meet in the middle". The other is the voice of reason, expressed by the mother whose interpretations are grounded in reality: "if there is a devil in men there's a woman to match it". In the short story the narrator is the one presenting the tales and superstitions, setting the background for the re-telling of *Little Red Riding Hood* and some lines appear in the movie unchanged: "Before he can become a wolf, the lycanthrope strips stark naked. If you spy a naked man among the pines, you must run as if the devil were after you" (1996:113).

One technique used in the short story to keep up the suspense is that of tense switching. The writer mixes the use of the Present tenses and that of the Past ones. The traditional function of the latter is to establish a psychological distance between reader and events, while the use of the former involves the reader more. Tense switching also signals the alternation between reality and the archetypal world of the fairytale: “One beast and only one howls in the woods by night. The wolf is carnivore incarnate and he’s as cunning as he is ferocious; [...] There was a hunter once, near here, that trapped a wolf in a pit” (Carter, 1996:111).

The use of direct speech is a second technique that increases the degree of reader involvement and causes the reader’s alternating roles, that of witness and that of interlocutor: “it is winter and cold weather. In this region of the mountain and forest, there is now nothing for the wolves to eat.[...] Fear and flee the wolf; for, worst of all, the wolf may be more than he seems” (1996:111).

Barbara Creed considers the horror movie an equivalent of the rites of defilement in its attempt to purify the abject and “redraw the boundaries between the human and the non-human”. (1993:14)

The most violent transformations appear framed by Granny’s tales of aggressive sexuality. In one of them, the runaway husband comes back years later to find the wife he has left on their wedding night, married to another man and mother to his children. He turns into a werewolf under the horrified gaze of the woman. The scene is rendered with the use of close-ups and extreme close-ups, jump cuts and slow motion, filmic techniques that deepen the emotional impact of a scene on the viewer. The husband peels off his skin, revealing the tissue and muscles beneath, before becoming a werewolf. The difference between the surface of the skin and the flesh under it is no longer apparent.

Rosaleen’s two stories, on the other hand, situate the women in a position of agency when it comes to the metamorphoses of the others. The first story expands a short tale from the short story, about a pregnant woman who turns “an entire wedding party into wolves because the groom had settled on another girl” (1996:111). The woman’s laughter is reminiscent of that of Cixous’ Medusa, ready “to smash everything, to shatter the framework of institutions, to blow up the law, to break up the “truth” with laughter” (1997:357). The metamorphosis of the greedy guests into famished wolves is displayed in slow motion, with carnivalesque non-diegetic music as background, relating the tilt shots smoothly and inter-cutting to extreme close-ups of the woman’s face. The climatic moments of transformation occur in the mirror, the heterotopia where everything is distorted by the power of the woman’s words.

In the movie, the alternation between relaxed attention and involvement is achieved through the cuts between long shots and point of view shots. The horror genre has taught us to be afraid of wolves and the woods and the suggestion of danger is conveyed through the technique of the point of view shot. For example, the opening of the movie is presented by the camera eye identified to that of the family's dog, or the woods seem explored by the hungry eyes of a wolf. A second technique employed in the movie is that of repetition. Actions take place twice, or even three times, once in the real world with no hidden meaning, and the second time either in the characters' dreams or in the tales they hear. For example, there are two cars in the movie; the first is driven by Rosaleen's parents at the beginning of the movie when they come home, the second is driven by Rosaleen in a tale of superstition, where she is the chauffeur of the Devil who corrupts young boys into an instinctual adulthood.

The abject is foregrounded through the position of the heroine animated by the innocence of a childlike curiosity, and the shock realisation caused by the confrontation with the abject.

Rosaleen is active, very determined and full of initiative in disobeying her mother and grandmother's advice not to stray away from the path. The short story points to the lack of patriarchal authority:

she is a closed system; she does not know how to shiver. She has her knife and she is afraid of nothing. Her father might forbid her, if he were home, but he is away in the forest, gathering wood, and her mother cannot deny her. (1996:114).

In order to mature, she has to become aware of the changes within her. The development of her awareness is marked in the movie by symbols that have the short story as starting point. Rosaleen is no longer a child, not yet a woman, so that her in-between status alligns her with the figure of the werewolf. Her developing sexuality is represented in a sequence that uses the symbols of the short story, the mirror, the lipstick and the miniature eggs. The opening shot of the movie presents Rosaleen asleep holding a mirror and wearing her sister's lipstick. Later on, as she strays from the path she finds both objects in the woods and carries them with her all the time from then on. On meeting the hunter she tries on his hat and admires herself in the mirror, but she gives up the mirror as soon as she realises the power of her beauty. Having his admiring gaze as reinforcement, she no longer needs the mirror. In the short story she is ready to face danger and temptation: "He went through the undergrowth and took her basket with him but she forgot to be afraid of the beasts, although the moon was rising, for

she wanted to dawdle on her way to make sure the handsome gentleman would win his wager” (1995:115).

Red is the symbol of passion, the moon turns red when the world of dreams opens up, Rosaleen’s shawl is “as soft as a kitten” as it ensures protection or “as red as blood” when it restrains her movements. In the seduction scene the girl has to give it up and throw it into the fire along with the clothes of the wolf/hunter. The short story warns of the effect of burning the clothes “Seven years is a werewolf’s natural span but if you burn his human clothing you condemn him to wolfishness for the rest of his life”(1996:113), but “the flaxen-haired girl” is ready to accept her sexuality.

Rosaleen’s second tale, the one ending the movie, reconciles the animal and the human worlds, as the girl has found a voice to break the rigid frame of werewolf lore and its damaging superstitions. The well links all the layers in the movie. It is outside Rosaleen’s house, it is the centre of the village she inhabits in her dream and the passage to the world of the instincts where the wolf-girl in her last story comes from. After the seduction scene she tells the wolf the story of a wolf-girl who comes in the world of the humans as a wounded wolf to heal her physical and spiritual wounds and leaves it as a naked woman. The story is inspired from the short story *Wolf Alice* which is about the search for subjectivity. The wolf-girl in Rosaleen’s tale has no voice and no identity, and is a stranger in both worlds because her shape is never the appropriate one. She will be marked for a while, as the priest in the story tells her: “It will heal. . . in time...”. The narrator’s voice, in fact Rosaleen’s voice, tells the wolf/hunter her story of her becoming a woman, helped by the metaphor of the red rose presented in close-ups:

ROSALEEN (voice) And the wound did heal. . . . for she was just a girl after all.

. . .

CLOSEUP of a white rose in full bloom.

ROSALEEN (vo) . . . who had strayed from the path in the forest. . .

CLOSEUP Slowly the rose opens and turns deep red.

CLOSEUP of the WOLF GIRL weeping.

ROSALEEN (vo) . . . and remembered what she'd found there”. (1984: script)

Toys represent stereotypes of childhood and innocence. In Rosaleen’s dream her older sister is running through the forest and the toys are threatening her. At the end of the movie wolves invade real life and break through the window in Rosaleen’s room. The first thing they destroy and the only thing the viewer sees destroyed are the toys. Rosaleen’s scream is ambiguous, as she is not attacked. She might scream on realising what she loses in the process of growing up. The short story on the other hand places

the girl in the dominant position. The seduction scene shatters the traditional mentality that regards the woman as property

What big teeth you have![...] All the better to eat you with. The girl burst out laughing; she knew she was nobody's meat. She laughed at him full in the face, she ripped off his shirt for him and flung it into the fire, in the fiery wake of her own discarded clothing. (1996:118).

The short story ends with a direct address from the narrator to the reader, pointing out the way she has upset the traditional ending of the fairytale: "Midnight; and the clock strikes. It is Christmas Day, the werewolves' birthday, the door of the solstice stands wide open; let them all sink through. See! Sweet and sound she sleeps in granny's bed, between the paws of the tender wolf" (1996:118).

In the ending of the movie the narrator's voice takes over, a voice that is neither that of the grandmother nor that of Rosaleen. The moral of the movie is told overlapping with the closing credits and warns of the risk involved in letting adulthood corrupt innocence:

Little girls, this seems to say:
Never stop upon your way;
Never trust a stranger friend
No one knows how it will end.
As you're pretty, so be wise
Wolves may lurk in every guise
Now, as then, 'tis simple truth:
The sweetest tongue hides the sharpest tooth.(1984:script)

John Collick (1989) describes three types of dream films: those which present the viewer with dream imagery and cast the viewer as an analyst who will interpret the hidden meanings; those which replicate the experience of dreaming, unsettling the viewer's expectations about narrative coherence, and those that throw the viewer's own position into question. *The Company of Wolves* and *The Magic Toyshop* belong to the third because they challenge the viewer to interpret their endings. The dream framework serves a double purpose: it enlarges the space for the assertion of Rosaleen and Melaie's subjectivity, and draws the viewer into a fantastic territory balanced at times by flashbacks to the contemporary bedrooms and sleeping girls.

The convoluted narrative lines in the novel and in the short story are mirrored in the movie adaptations by the full range of editing techniques. Angela Carter has her heroines stray away from the path they have

traditionally followed, that of victims, to become a generic “she” who can expose the flaws of Western culture.

The third principle of heterotopias refers to the combination of several separated spaces into one space and Carter’s fiction and cinema mingle different places before our very eyes.

Making movies is all about inducing a heterotopia, about finding the juxtaposition and intersection where we can simultaneously experience an imaginary and real concept of space. We give in to the enchanting voice of Carter’s storytellers in her fiction and her cinematic adaptations, just as the author observes that “Dora, the heroine of *Wise Children*, is perfectly aware that when they go to Hollywood they’re taking leave of their senses” (Evans and Carter, 1992:32)

In my analysis I have pinpointed tense switching, direct address, smooth and abrupt editing and non-diegetic sound as the main techniques at work in the cinematic adaptations, breaking the frames and boundaries separating fiction from reality.

In the *Omnibus* documentary made shortly before her death, *Angela Carter’s Curious Room*, she asserts her belief that

there is something sacred about the cinema, which is to do with it being public, to do with people going together, with the intention of visualizing, experiencing the same experience, having the same revelation” (Evans, 1992:12)

“Everybody always assumes because I’m a writer I don’t know what cinema is. I do, I do, I do.” (Carter in O’Brien, 1987)

The movies based on her work represent a heterotopia woven out of overlapping discourses on metamorphosis viewed as adaptation from page to screen, as bodily transformation from human into animal, or transition from childhood to adolescence.

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**PUPPETS ON STRINGS:
HOW AMERICAN MASS MEDIA MANIPULATED
BRITISH COMMERCIAL RADIO BROADCASTING**

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Abstract: *The article demonstrates how the American mass-media system manipulated British off-shore commercial radio from 1964 to 1967, in link with dissent elements within the British Establishment. This demonstration undermines the popular re-rendering of the “radio pirates” as rebels against the Establishment, and shows thereby that cultural change requires dominant-interest collaboration to be effective.*

Keywords: *British off-shore radio; Miller, Beatrix; Queen magazine; Stevens, Jocelyn; Radio Caroline*

“I may win on the roundabout, then I’ll lose on the swings, in or out, there is never a doubt, just who’s pulling the strings, I’m all tied up in you, but where’s it leading me to?” Sandie Shaw’s winning performance of *Puppet on a String* at the 1967 Eurovision Song Contest (Puppet) - could have been a lyrical description of British commercial radio broadcasting during the nineteen-sixties under manipulation by American interests. (Gilder 2003: 69)

Beginning in 1964 the staid domestic daytime radio airwaves of the British Broadcasting Corporation were continually joined by commercial programs beamed from transmitters located in international waters. The origin of these broadcasts began in the editorial offices of an Establishment magazine in London owned by a member of the younger set within British Establishment itself, albeit to be later tied in to an often-uncontrollable alliance with external American partners. (Gilder and Hagger, 1965: 214)

Challenging the BBC radio monopoly

Almost since the birth of broadcasting in Britain, the American advertising agency J. Walter Thompson (JWT) has had an interest in sponsored broadcasting capable of reaching British ears and eyes. (Wilson, 1961: 135) By 1954, under pressure from a lobby with assistance of JWT, (*ibid*: 52) a Television Act had introduced licensed British commercial television stations with limitations. (*ibid*: 191n) and leaving active, a commercial radio pressure group.

Brash young giant

Following the debacle of the Suez Crisis in 1956 in which a rift developed between UK and USA, the younger generation within the British Establishment began to denounce the older generation in a rising crescendo of satire and criticism via the stage and television and print media. (*The Queen*: August 30, 1961: 118) By 1962 the media doyen of British publishing giving aid and comfort to critics was 30 years old Jocelyn Stevens, headlined by *Time* magazine as a “Brash Young Giant” (02-23-1962: *Online*). *Time* described him as being “fresh out of Cambridge in 1955” and thanks to “a background of wealth and all the right schools” he “had access to the highest palace circles”. Stevens was “blond and dashing ... throwing lavish soirees and slewing recklessly about in one Aston Martin after another ...” Then Stevens did an about face “(s)uddenly ashamed of his playboy past, he toured newspaper libraries, surreptitiously destroying all unflattering clips about himself.” This change seems to have been brought about by his interest in the woman he married and perhaps by pressure from his wealthy uncle, publisher Sir Edward Hulton.

Stevens enrolled in London's School of Printing and Graphic Arts where he “crammed a three-year course into twelve months.” When Sir Edward closed down *Picture Post* magazine in 1957, Stevens was 25. On February 14 he bought the *Ladies' Newspaper and Court Chronicle* that first saw light of day in 1861 with the blessing of Queen Victoria. Until 1962 it became known as *The Queen* magazine (Coleridge: 6) where over the years “Hitler is praised for his kindness to animals, pneumatic tyres are dismissed as a passing fad, jazz is written off as a temporary craze.” (Crewe: 1961: 8) Stevens brought the same kind of screeching halt to that editorial approach that he had previously practiced when driving his Aston Martin.

In an interview with the *Observer* in 2006, (02-12-2006: *Online*) Stevens, by then Sir Jocelyn, said that in those early days he had come to the conclusion that he wanted to destroy society with his new magazine. He was asked why? His reply: “it was embarrassing!” He was again asked why? He replied: “Suez! Our fathers had no balls. They couldn't even pull off a little thing like that!” In the autumn of 1957, Stevens recruited Beatrix Miller as editor and it would be her job to actually transform the magazine. Miller had previously been employed by *Vogue* in New York where she would return as editor at the end of 1963. (Coleridge: 9)

Beatrix Miller

Miller is described by Liz Tilberis (1998) in her book *No Time To Die* as an “upright, elegant, and formidable editor-in-chief ... She was a

woman devoted to her career, with no mention of a significant other.” Beatrix Miller “staged revolutions” wrote Tilberis when she later worked with her after Miller had left *Queen*: “She’d stride down the corridor, hands on hips, pointing and declaring, ‘Today is a revolution.’ She would change all sections of the magazine, or all the layouts, or all the models, just to shake everyone up ... She derived great glee from doing it, with a lovely smile on her face.” (76 *supra*)

Stevens and Miller had an *ad hoc* methodology for editing *Queen*. When a young Mary Quant came into the editorial offices with a box of her own photographs featuring fashions she had created (which other fashion magazine publishers had dismissed), Stevens and Miller featured them and launched both Ms. Quant’s career and the miniskirt fashion icon of the 1960s. (*Observer Online*: February 12, 2006) Stevens also brought *Queen* into closer contact with Princess Margaret when he hired her husband Antony Armstrong-Jones (Lord Snowdon) as a photographer. He retained Robin Douglas-Home, nephew of the Prime Minister and elder brother of the editor of *The [London] Times*. Robin Douglas-Home established personal literary relationships with both Frank Sinatra and Jacqueline Kennedy before and after the assassination of the president, and in 1965 he engaged in a romance with Princess Margaret. Stevens’ magazine was run in a petulant manner where psychoanalysis could have been the required order of the day. When Jocelyn Stevens fired his Fashion Editor she threw her typewriter out of the window causing it to splatter upon hitting the ground. He heard the noise and decided to join her in throwing everything else out of her office window, and when they had finished, they both sat on the carpet for a rest. (*ibid*)

Her name is Caroline

Miller had the peculiar habit of naming things and this made an impression upon Liz Tilberis. “Miss Miller had nicknames for people and inanimate objects.” She called the British edition of *Vogue* magazine “*Brogue*” and her white Jaguar car she called “*Arctic*”. (Tilberis, 1998: 77) When *Time* magazine covered the rise of Stevens in 1962, it claimed that he had,

converted *Queen* into a magazine for “*Caroline*,” an imaginary young woman whom he conceives of as his audience: An ambitious, intelligent bachelor girl—or the same girl married to a young executive on the way up—who wants all the material things in life. To reach Caroline and her husband, Stevens filled his magazine with avant-garde photographs ...and appealed shrewdly to the intellectual and social interests of the smart crowd. (“Brash Young Giant”)

Upon turning the pages of *Queen*, readers discovered both published output in conformity with the “*Caroline*” style-sheet, and the name “*Caroline*” in big headlines: “A Christmas present for Caroline: The Queen.” (*The Queen*: Christmas Edition 1961) No other explanation is offered as to who Caroline is, but as *Time* reported in 1962, “*Caroline*” was at that time the name of the theme.

With the passage of time, obfuscation has taken over. On February 12, 2006, Clement Freud, the grandson of psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud and brother of artist Lucian Freud, told the *Observer* that:

Beatrix’s idea was: ‘This is Caroline’. Look at her carefully and don’t ever write anything Caroline wouldn’t understand. Caroline was the sort of person one ended up in bed with. Caroline had fair long hair, and went to school and thought ‘16 and out!’ – of school that is.” (*The Observer* 12 February, 2006).

In 1962 *Time* had reported that Beatrix’s *Caroline* was a stereotypical successful woman who could be married to a stereotypical successful man, while Clement Freud claimed in 2006 that Beatrix’s *Caroline* was an air-headed teenager. Clearly *Queen* magazine was intended to reach the former, not latter reader, but Freud often contributed to *Queen* as a jester using the pen name of “Mr. Smith” (Coleridge: 6). However, in 1962 there was a real ‘Caroline’, sixteen years-of-age, who seems to fit the description given by Clement Freud in 2006. From July 1962 until October 1964, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (under both Prime Ministers Harold MacMillan and Sir Alec Douglas-Home) was Conservative Member of Parliament Reginald Maudling, who resided at his official home of 11 Downing Street. Sharing that address was his daughter Caroline, who was sixteen at the time. Although the formal London debutante balls hosted by the Queen had been abolished in 1958 (“we had to put a stop to it; every tart in London was getting in,” Princess Margaret is reputed to have later explained [cf. “Buckingham Palace”]), that inconvenient fact did not stop writers from identifying Caroline Maudling as a “debutante” (“Grey to Black for the Tories”). Thus known to the staff of *Queen*, much of the noise surrounding young Caroline Maudling came from Nigel Dempster (later a writer for Stevens and a contributing source to a gossip columnist at the *Daily Express* famous for exposing the peccadilloes of high society). Dempster’s 2007 obituary claims that he “cultivated his relationship with Caroline [Maudling]” and “found himself dining at No. 11 Downing Street before he had reached the age of 18.” Dempster also attended parties at the home of Prime Minister Harold MacMillan and those “significant functions he was not invited to, he gate-crashed.” Later still, Dempster gained his own newspaper column and became a close friend of Princess Margaret and

other members of the British Royal Family (*The Times Online*, Obituary [Nigel Dempster]).

On June 8, 1963, *The Times* reported that Caroline Maudling had jaundice at the time that she was scheduled for filming a part in *The Chalk Garden* and had thus failed to make her movie debut. However, Producer Ross Hunter said, "She is a fascinating beauty with a great deal of ability." She later appeared that year as herself in a musical in which a stagehand and his friend attempted to live out their dreams of seeing all of the London shows. Featured were Dusty Springfield, The Hollies and several other popular music artists and groups of that time, (IMBd). The film also starred William Rushton who on October 25, 1961 as both layouts artist and cartoonist created the first edition of *Private Eye* magazine in his bedroom at his mother's house in Kensington. Jocelyn Stevens later aided this satirical endeavor by turning over two pages of *Queen* to *Private Eye* content (Rushton, Willie Obituary).

Radio Caroline

By 1960, the British Government had commissioned a committee under the chairmanship of industrialist Sir Harry Pilkington to consider the future of broadcasting in the United Kingdom. Its 1962 Report stated that the British public thought that commercial television was dreadful and that commercial radio would be just as bad so they did not want it. *The Pilkington Report* was a slap in the face to the aims of the National Broadcasting Development Committee which lobbied for licensed commercial radio. ("Ship Broadcasters: The Witch Hunt Begins").

In 1963, Jocelyn Stevens met an Irishman in his twenties named Ronan O'Rahilly. Ronan dabbled in acting classes, club management and he associated himself with some of the well-known popular music performers of that time. O'Rahilly was a rebel looking for a cause. As a very young man his father had fought the British in the continuing struggle to liberate Ireland. His Grandfather called himself 'The O'Rahilly' and died during the original 1916 Uprising at Dublin. Ronan was not without access to means: his affluent father had bought a disused British Railways port facility at Greenore on the borders of the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland. (Venmore-Rowland, 1967: 24)

The purpose of O'Rahilly's meeting with Stevens was to show him plans for an offshore commercial radio station. Ronan had been given them by Australian music publisher Allan Crawford who was working in London and looking for investors ("Radio Pirates"). Crawford commissioned these plans partially upon advice and direction from Gordon McLendon, a

legendary “top 40” radio pioneer in Dallas, Texas. McLendon had already engaged in a similar venture off Sweden and due to changes in Swedish laws his Radio Nord and the ship that it was located upon were up for sale at Galveston, Texas. (“Radio Pirates”) O’Rahilly had previously met Crawford in his Soho office on Dean Street. But instead of persuading his father to invest in Crawford’s project, Ronan decided to interest Stevens in a new venture that would trade the use of Crawford’s studio where Crawford planned to record radio programs for later transmission, for use of the O’Rahilly family port in Greenore which could be used to outfit both the Crawford ship and a rival Stevens-O’Rahilly venture. It was at this juncture in time while Beatrix Miller was still editor of *Queen* that the idea of Radio Caroline was born. (ibid & cf. “Commercial Radio: Dial 199 for Caroline” & “World in Action”.) Radio Caroline began broadcasting on March 28, 1964 and claimed to be “Britain’s first all-day music station.” It was not all-day ‘rock and roll’, but a mixture of the same fare that the BBC might play, if it had one network devoted to popular music – which it did not.. Those early broadcasts from Radio Caroline were a very formal affair with only two radio personnel on board. One of them introduced records from a small booth facing the second person sitting behind a glass screen in another booth, and that person played the records, or played recorded programs on a tape recorder. (“The First Radio Pirate”)

Shortly after Radio Caroline began to pepper the headlines of the British press in March, Nigel Dempster successfully promoted 18 years old Caroline Maudling in April with two newspaper photographs showing her clad in a bikini and nightwear on behalf of a British charity group. *Time* reported:

the Daily Mirror headlined it as ‘Caroline Maudling’s Budget Look,’ while *The Daily Express* [which carried Dempster’s social notations] observed that ‘Far from damaging her father’s career, she probably added hundreds to the votes he will get next general election day.’ (“Grey to Black for the Tories”)

On May 12, 1964 Radio Caroline was joined at anchorage off south east England by Crawford’s radio broadcasting ship. Crawford called his station Radio Atlanta, a name that seems to have been inspired by McLendon who graduated from school in Atlanta, Texas where his family-owned drive-in theatres and radio business had begun. (However, it was not an auspicious time for Gordon McLendon of Dallas to make his presence felt because it had only been a matter of months since President John F. Kennedy had been assassinated there on November 22, 1963, and his identified assassin had then been slain just two days later while in the custody of the Dallas Police

Department. The assassin's assassin had gained access by claiming to represent McLendon's KLIF radio station in Dallas.) (Gilder, 2003: 97:45) By July 12, 1964, with neither offshore radio station making enough money to justify their rivalry, the two sales operations merged into one organization. As part of this arrangement, the original Caroline ship moved to a location in Ramsay Bay, Isle of Man as Radio Caroline North, while Atlanta became Radio Caroline South, thus eliminating further questions about the origin of its former name. Until this time Stevens and O'Rahilly had been joint managers of the Radio Caroline sales time as seen on the Grenada TV program "World in Action". But under the new arrangement, O'Rahilly and Crawford became joint managers and the sales company representing the radio venture and Radio Caroline was moved out of the offices of *Queen* into a new office address in the Mayfair district of London. Actual ownership of the two stations remained the same for some time after this. (Venmore-Rowland, 1967: 57)

While Crawford's blueprint had been obtained from one of America's most successful broadcasting companies, Crawford did not follow the business formula that made McLendon's radio stations successful. However, 142 miles west of Dallas in Eastland, Texas, Don Pierson read about Caroline and Atlanta and decided to offer competition to them. (Gilder, 2003: 54:97) Using the name *Wonderful Radio London*, Pierson's own offshore venture took the best ideas from McLendon's programming and hired a former New York employee of JWT (McMillan and Harris, 1968: 183) to sell airtime in London. (Gilder, 2003: 87) During that time 'Big L' took listeners away from both the BBC and Radio Caroline South. In desperation Caroline turned to the USA for a new format and knowledge of how to sell it. The sound of British commercial radio was now decidedly American while its voice became a hybrid known as the "transatlantic accent": further defined as an Americanized English accent.

Nunc pro tunc: birth of a myth

When the original offshore era (1964-1968) was brought to an end by legislation, Beatrix Miller had been editing *Vogue* in New York for several years; Caroline Maudling was planning her family in South Africa, and Jocelyn Stevens sold *Queen*. O'Rahilly was left then with a free hand to engage in *nunc pro tunc* by substituting his mythological version of events for the documented record of how Radio Caroline had actually begun. Via interviews in print and on the BBC airwaves, Ronan claimed that he alone invented the concept of Radio Caroline, and that he had named the station after Caroline Kennedy as a result of reading a magazine article while flying to Dallas. Ronan's version became undisputed with no references to Beatrix

Miller's adoption of the name Caroline at *Queen* - long before Radio Caroline was born in its editorial offices. ("Commercial Radio: 'Dial 199 for Caroline'"). However, in 1964 Caroline Kennedy was but a child and her mother Jacqueline shielded her daughter Caroline from manipulative publicity. (In fact the photojournalism story that Ronan cited was not about Caroline, but about her brother John Jr.) Some have recently reasoned that Ronan named the station after Caroline Maudling because he was infatuated with her. By 1967, Caroline Maudling had vanished from the headlines and the name of Caroline Kennedy had taken her place. (Venmore-Rowland, 1967: 27)

Jocelyn Stevens moved on to edit newspapers and became Chairman of *English Heritage*. Unfortunately no one was safeguarding the story of how Britain's quest for commercial radio had not come about by an external youthful rebellion, but by the younger faction within the British Establishment who had in turn seen their venture hijacked by Americans because they knew "how to sell in England" (PAMS).

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REPRESENTATIONAL MEANING IN THE BRITISH TABLOID COVERAGE OF ROMANIAN ECONOMIC MIGRANTS: A CASE STUDY

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***Abstract:** The paper looks at the representation of Romanian economic migrants in a corpus of 34 news stories and news features from three British tabloids. It uses a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective to investigate the construal of Romanians in the context of a press campaign against New Labour's open-door policy.*

***Keywords:** sociosematic categories of social actor representation, Critical Discourse Analysis, media construal of immigrants*

The present paper looks at the representation of Romanian economic migrants in three British tabloid newspapers, the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*. The case study is chronologically located in 2006, covering the period from mid-July to the end of December, when the British political environment was characterised by open dissensus around policy-making, in a context which I shall briefly outline below.

The regular surveys carried out both in the UK (e.g. MORI polls) and in the EU (the Eurobarometers) indicate an overall lack of enthusiasm among British citizens about EU integration (initially) and enlargement, as well as a strong anti-immigration attitude, which has intensified during New Labour's government (Geddes 2004; Somerville 2007). This tendency among the population has found an echo in the British press, especially in the Eurosceptical right-wing publications with high circulation rates, such as the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Express* (Geddes 2004: 219). In the summer-autumn of 2006, the year before Romania's and Bulgaria's scheduled accession, British public opinion had the lowest confidence in EU's positive image of all the 25 member states surveyed and placed immigration at the top of its concerns, followed by terrorism, crime and healthcare (Eurobarometer 66, p. 6). The same Eurobarometer showed that UK citizens considered that immigration and crime should be dealt with nationally rather than within the EU (p. 8).

It is often difficult to establish to what extent the media can influence policy-making or use public attitudes in order to trigger a certain response from a government willing to maintain the popularity of its party

with the voters. Over the years, New Labour has shown considerable interest in the management of its public image and has weighed its policies in the light of their impact on the public and the media (Fairclough 2000, Somerville 2007). Somerville (2007) gives the example of the introduction of the Worker Registration Scheme in 2004, as a result of tabloid pressure to New Labour's open-door policy, in combination with the action of Conservative leaders. It is, nevertheless, a complex matter, as media effects are at best indirect and public attitudes are just one factor in the equation. They normally require "the existence of a feedback loop composed of the media, the public and senior opinion formers, in which each actor influences the others" (Somerville 2007: 138).

In the summer of 2006, the political context was characterised by elite dissensus around the introduction of restrictions for Romanians and Bulgarians, not only between Labour and the Conservatives, but also in the ranks of the Labour Party and of the Government (Home Secretary John Reid and Immigration Minister Liam Byrne eventually declared themselves to be pro-restrictions, while Europe Minister Geoff Hoon and Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett were against). Within this frame, think-tanks, business organisations, senior opinion formers (among whom Labour members and former leaders), representatives of the local administration, all joined the media in their attempt to run a campaign in support of the introduction of restrictive measures for economic migrants from the two states. It is in general the tabloid press that is considered responsible for allegedly setting the political agenda; Britain makes no exception, the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* being often foregrounded in this sense (Somerville, 2007: 135). My analysis of the construal of Romanian economic migrants is carried out against this particular socio-political background, on a type of media discourse which is likely to bear the marks of tabloidisation the most.

The paper presents the main findings of a study done on 34 news stories and news features from the three tabloids, which have been selected starting from the topics mentioned in the Romanian press (the headlines of the articles analysed are included in the Appendix). Here I shall deal only with Representational Meaning, focusing mostly on the sociosemantic categories developed by Van Leeuwen (1995, 1996), from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective (Fairclough, 2001, 2003).

Van Leeuwen's categories employed in my textual investigation are the following:

- (1) For social actor representation:

Role allocation

It is of two types: *activation*, with the actors represented as the “doers” of the action, and *passivation*, with the actors represented as the “receivers” of the action, the ones affected or advantaged by it. Passivated actors may thus be *subjected* or *beneficialised*.

Individualisation and assimilation

Social actors may be represented in texts as individuals or as groups. *Assimilation* takes the forms of *aggregation*, which construes the groups as statistics or percentages, with the help of definite or indefinite quantifiers (employed as Numeratives or Heads of the nominal group), and *collectivisation*, realised by mass nouns, nouns denoting a group of people, or pronouns such as “we” (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 50).

Association and dissociation

Van Leeuwen uses *association* to refer to the construal of a social group which is not named in the text as a distinct category, but which nevertheless forms one, by means of alliance. Association can be built through parataxis or realised by possessives or Circumstances of Accompaniment. *Dissociation* is the reversed process. Both association and dissociation are frequently realised at paragraph level.

Indetermination and differentiation

The former occurs when the social actors remain unspecified, through the use of indefinite pronouns or of “they” for exophoric reference, which has the effect of investing social actors with authority. The latter specifies an actor or a group of actors in marked opposition to another, on the patterns “self” – “other” or “us” – “them” (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 52).

Nomination and categorisation

Nomination construes the identity of social actors through the use of proper nouns, at different levels of formality, which may be accompanied by honorifics, affiliation or specification of a personal or kinship relation. *Categorisation* represents actors in terms of their functions (functionalisation) and identities (identification). *Functionalisation* points to the social activity, occupation or role of the actors, while *identification* may be of three types: *classification* (on the basis of age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, ethnicity, race, religion etc. of the group), *relational identification* (which has to do with personal or work relationships) and *physical identification* (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 54-57).

Personalisation and impersonalisation

As a further option, social actors may be presented in their capacity as human beings, which is called *personalisation*, or, on the contrary, construed through *abstraction* and *objectivation* (both subtypes of *impersonalisation*). Abstraction represents social actors on the basis of a

quality they are said to possess, which may be negative or positive, whereas objectivation resorts to metonymies which entail using a place or a thing associated with the actors in order to refer to them. Impersonalisation plays an important part in effacing social identity and agency or in bestowing a sense of authority upon social actors (Van Leeuwen 1996: 59-61).

(2) For the representation of social action:

Van Leeuwen (1995) discusses the significance of the following categories of social action: *reactions* (related to mental processes) in contrast to *actions* (material, behavioural and verbal); *material* and *semiotic* action (“doing” as compared with “meaning” in textual representation); *objectivation* (the representation of processes as if they were entities, realised by nominalisations and metonymic displacements) and *descriptivisation* (the representation of processes as if they were qualities through the use of epithets and attributes of descriptive clauses), both subtypes of *deactivated* actions and reactions (contrasted with *activated* ones, which are realised by the verbal groups of non-embedded clauses); *de-agentialisation* (social action construed as not caused by human agency), with the subtypes of *eventuation* (representing a social action as an event), *existentialisation* (representing a social action as something that “simply exists”), and *naturalisation* (representing a social action as a natural process); *generalisation* and *abstraction*, which are present in some discourses in degrees that may prove difficult to determine; and, finally, *overdetermination* (representing social action as belonging to several social practices). Each category has specific lexico-grammatical and rhetorical realisations which I shall not detail here.

As mentioned before, the main focus of the analysis lies with the representation of Romanian migrants, most often associated with Bulgarian migrants, due to the joint candidacy for EU membership of the two states. However, since the news articles are discursively built around a comparison with the 2004 economic migration wave, mentions of other Eastern European immigrants, especially Poles, are both recurrent and significant. They constitute the departure point for predictions of and assumptions about a future “disaster”, as perceived by the opponents of Labour’s open-door economic migration policy. As a result, many of the categories of social actor representation also describe Eastern European migrants from the 2004 enlargement wave and I take them into consideration whenever relevant for my analysis.

One of the most salient types of representation encountered in the corpus is that of *aggregation*. Aggregations construe migrants as numbers,

statistics or percentages, apparently for the purpose of providing readers with documented data, as required by journalistic professional practices. At the same time, the play upon figures contributes to the de-humanisation and objectification of the targeted group. It may serve strategic goals such as persuading readers of the extraordinary proportions of the migration phenomenon or of the risks posed by the large numbers of immigrants allowed into the UK (see also Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Van Leeuwen 1995).

Aggregations become prominent in the news texts at issue through the frequency of their occurrence, potentially verging on excessive use, and through the high numbers they put forward. The analysis carried out in this study is predominantly qualitative, but, to give an example that illustrates the point just made, the 14 news articles from the *Sun* contain a number of 85 aggregations, whether Numeratives or Heads of nominal groups, which leads to an average of approximately 6 numerical references per news story. Moreover, their expressive force stems from particular values they are assigned in combination with other, less “objective” lexical items, such as “invasion”, “influx” or even the rather neutral “intake”.

The aggregations encompass a wide range of figures, some of which acquire the status of topics that will be referred to with certain regularity: such are the 45,000 “undesirables” to arrive from Romania and Bulgaria in the wake of their EU accession, the estimated number of economic migrants from the two states, which oscillates between 140,000 and 600,000, or the impressive and variable figures of 600,000 to one million immigrants to have come into Britain over a period of two years, mostly from Eastern Europe. The aggregations included in the news stories cover not only estimates about the total number of immigrants, but also about cases of highly infectious diseases or crime. The sources quoted by newspapers are Government reports, official statements by various political elites, or surveys and opinion polls. However, the aggregations are frequently legitimised through their inclusion in the journalistic account in indirect unattributed speech. They merge with other types of construal, most often with the classification “migrants” or “immigrants”, but also with classifications indicating provenance and nationality, such as “Eastern Europeans” or “Romanians and Bulgarians”, or with negatively laden functionalisations and classifications: “crooks”, “undesirables” or “foreigners”.

In the examples below (a small selection from the three newspapers), I italicise the entire representation, which may be complex, and I highlight with bold italics the Numeratives or the Heads of nominal groups that constitute the aggregations as such:

- (a) numbers of immigrants: “*up to 140,000* will flock here” (“Warning on new EU invasion”, *S*); “**Three hundred thousand Romanians and Bulgarians** are expected to follow *in the footsteps of the 600,000 Eastern Europeans* – including **430,000 Poles** – who came to Britain to find work after their nations joined the EU in May 2004.” (“Halt the tide of EU migrants”, *SE*); “*Their numbers* will swell the **600,000 eastern Europeans** who have arrived in the last two years.” (“How many more immigrants can Britain take?”, *DM*); “The MPs want the committee to come up *with accurate statistics on immigration.*” (“Labour MPs pile pressure on Reid”, *DM*)
- (b) numbers of criminals and crime statistics: “Experts fear **the 45,000 figure** is a **gross underestimate**” (“Warning on new EU invasion”, *S*); “Romanian gangs commit **80 to 85 per cent** of all cashpoint crime in Britain, the Sun can reveal.” (“Romanians commit **85% of crime at cashpoints**”, *S*)
- (c) disease-related statistics (restricted to several news stories which cover this topic in particular): “Immigrants are also responsible **for 70% of TB and malaria incidences**, the report said. The HPA gathered *infectious disease statistics* from GPs and hospitals between 2004 and 2006”; “And it warned TB was still a major issue, revealing that rates in UK-born citizens are **four per 100,000**, compared to **103 per 100,000 in immigrants.**” (“Migrants’ AIDS epidemic threat”, *S*)

Another category of social actor representation, which gains an extra dimension through its association with aggregations, is that of negatively laden *collectivisations*. They seem to be employed in relation to crime and to the high demand for UK visas. While they do not appear with a high frequency, their negative load may provoke strong reactions, such as the response in the Romanian press to the use of “hordes” to describe Romanian citizens queuing for visas (*Adevărul*, October 10, *Gândul*, October 6). The collectivisations are in bold italics: “**an army of 45,000 crooks and gangsters from Eastern Europe**”; “**the mob** - many posing a security risk - will head here when Bulgaria and Romania join the EU next year” (“Warning on new EU invasion”, *S*); “**Romanian organised crime groups**”, “**Romanian crime gangs**” (“Eastern European immigrants carry out tenth of crime”, *DM*); “**HORDES** of Romanians queued for passports” (“See you all in January”, *S*, the newspaper’s capitalisation).

Romanians and Bulgarians are also *classified* on the basis of various criteria, such as the activity of migration (in this sense they are subsumed to a larger class, that of immigrants arriving in the UK), geographic location, nationality or citizenship. A special type of classification resides in the explicitly negative appraisal of the activities or provenance of the social actors, such as “undesirables” or “foreigners”. By contrast, a classification

such as “migrants” acquires its negative connotation at a discursive level, through assumptions and contextual links. *Classifications* are highlighted in bold italics:

“We WILL restrict *EU migrants*” (“Eastern block”, *S*)
“*Eastern European immigrants* carry out tenth of crime” (*DM*, Headline)
“*Migrants from Romania and Bulgaria* could be flooding into Britain by Christmas” (“Romania migrants: we open the door”, *DE*)

“*Romanians* will swamp Britain” (*DE*, Headline)

“45,000 known ‘*undesirables*’ with links to crime” (“Eastern European immigrants carry out tenth of crime”, *DM*)
“Brits are losing their jobs to *cheaper foreigners* driving down wages.” (“See you all here in January”, *S*)

“four out of five cashpoint crimes here are down to *Romanian ex-pats*” (“Ganging up on us”, *S*)
“*Romanian and Bulgarian citizens*, who are due to join the EU next year” (“Labour MPs pile pressure on Reid over immigration”, *DM*)
“And from January 1, *impoverished villagers* whose living conditions wouldn’t look out of place in the world’s worst slums, will be *EU citizens*. (“We’re leaving Borat’s village for a dream life in Britain”, *S*).

Another type of construal encountered in the texts is *functionalisation*: the categorisation of social actors by reference to what they do. As might be expected, economic migrants are often referred to in their capacity as workers. While lexical items of this type have no negative implications in themselves, when used to portray Romanians and Bulgarians, they take on a negative dimension which is most frequently context-dependent. A separate group of functionalisations, overtly negative, comprises those Romanians (and Bulgarians) who have made crime their profession. Functionalisations are in bold italics:

(a) workers:

“an open door to *migrant workers*” (“Eastern block”, *S*); “*hundreds of thousands of impoverished workers*” (“Wave of *migrant workers* from new EU countries heading for Britain”, *DM*); “But officials are powerless to stop those travelling as *self-employed workers, tourists and students*” (600,000 heading to Britain”, *DE*).

(b) criminals:

“It is feared *ruthless gangsters like those who sold Maria* are ready to assault Britain”, “*other crooks*” (“Ganging up on us”, *S*); “including *fraudsters, gangsters and people traffickers*” (“45,000 undesirables heading to Britain”, *DE*); “There are also fears in Britain that *criminal warlords* will shift their operations to the UK” (“See you all here in

January”, *S*); “the **crooks** will be joined *by a new wave of recruits* after Romania and Bulgaria join the EU in January.” (“Eastern European immigrants carry out tenth of crime”, *DM*).

(c) illegal workers:

It is also possible for the two types of functionalisation to coalesce, forming a category of workers that can only spell bad news: “My brother is *in charge of a gang of labourers*.” (“We’re leaving Borat’s village for a dream life in Britain”, *S*); “thousands could gain entry to Britain posing as businessmen”, “**Conmen** – such as *the one-legged roof tiler* whose case was revealed in a visa scandal two years ago – will be free to enter the UK” (“Why we are powerless to halt tide of Eastern European migrants”, *DE*).

As concluded by Baker *et al.* (2008: 289-290), following a quantitative study of a large corpus of news articles about immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in the British press over a period of ten years (1996-2005), tabloids use “pose as” with chiefly negative implications (in a proportion of 98.1%) and they adopt a negative stance towards these categories in general.

Not all references to immigrant workers are negative. Moreover, the examination of context is often necessary to establish their sociosemantics, since lexical items become negatively charged through techniques that go beyond word-level. In terms of social actor representation, *association* may be used to raise doubts about the actions of the newcomers into the European club. It is one of the categories that may be built up at sentence level, as illustrated in the examples below, but also at paragraph level (discursive):

There are fears that, from next January 1, **along with the legitimate workers and holiday-makers coming to our shores** there will be *many people from the criminal underbelly of the two nations*. (“Ganging up on us”, *S*, my emphases)

Association occasionally places Eastern European immigrants, Romanians and Bulgarians included, into the same category as African or Asian immigrants, for whom a negative pattern seems to have already been established, not least of all due to factors such as black migration or extreme poverty. Similarly, Turkey is also negatively connoted because of its borderline location, between Europe and Asia, and because of Islam and its Ottoman history:

Almost 59,000 Brits have an HIV infection that leads to Aids, right. There were almost 8,000 new cases last year – and 70 per cent were **in immigrants, mostly from Africa and Eastern Europe**, the Health Protection Agency revealed. (“Migrants’ AIDS epidemic threat”, *S*)

Experts fear deadlier forms of TB could be carried here *by immigrants from Turkey or new EU state Romania.* (“Britain faces tuberculosis crisis”, S)

While being associated with immigrants from Africa and Asia, Romanians and Bulgarians are clearly *differentiated* and *dissociated* from British citizens. This manner of construing the economic migrants as essentially different from the Brits, in the sense of *deviant*, is integral to the positive self-presentation – negative other-presentation strategy.

As a brief conclusion to the types of social actor representation outlined so far, figures and negatively laden categories hold a prominent place in the construal of Romanian migrants. They most likely create the impression of an anonymous mass of social actors capable of destabilising the British economy, security and state of health through sheer quantity and concentrated action. The potential effect of such a depiction does not originate exclusively in the high frequency of aggregations, the contextual derogatoriness of usually neutral or positive terms, or the explicitly negative lexical items employed, but also in an overall intermingling thereof, which gains strength at the macro-level of discourses, styles and genres.

I now turn to *the representation of the main types of social action* carried out by Romanian economic migrants, inasmuch as they can be disentangled from the larger group of immigrants, and to the *allocation of roles* in this context. Significantly, both Romanians and Bulgarians are construed as Actors in material actions indicating movement towards one main destination (the UK), crime and the spreading of contagious diseases.

The *material processes* encoding the action of travelling to Britain are often metaphorical realisations which represent immigrants in terms of natural phenomena, war, sports events (racing), or actions specific to animals, especially sheep or birds (for example, “flock” has a regular occurrence). Their purpose is twofold: to enhance the sense of imminent danger and aggression coming from the immigrants and to strip them bare of any human features or, on the contrary, to assign them warrior characteristics. A frequent case in the grammatical construal of the immigrants’ actions or behaviour consists in combinations between certain adjectives (such as “ready” and its synonyms) and infinitives that encode the actions as such. Following Halliday (1994) and Martin et al. (1997: 125), I consider such realisations verbal group complexes and in the examples below they will be underlined, with the non-finite forms in bold. The verbal group complexes may also contain mental verbs and infinitives or other non-finites, as well as causative constructions. The Actors are in italics:

(a) migration:

“*Desperate migrants dashed* to the British Embassies in Romania and Bulgaria yesterday after rumours that UK visas were up for grabs.” (“Migrants’ siege for UK visas”, *S*)

“*Scores besieged* the diplomatic HQs in the two Eastern European countries who are due to join the EU on January 1.” (“Migrants’ siege for UK visas”, *S*)

“*It will allow the Eastern Europeans to flock* to the UK early and *get ready to start looking for* jobs from the New Year.” (“Romanian migrants: we open the door”, *DE*)

“Hundreds of thousands of Romanians *plan to flood* into Britain, one of their officials warned last night” (“Romanians will swamp Britain”, *DE*)

“*Hundreds of Romanians are poised to jet* into Britain” (“£ 4 flights to bring new EU invasion”, *S*)

(b) crime and disease:

“A tenth of all crime in some parts of Britain *is now committed* by eastern European immigrants, shocking new figures reveal” (“Eastern European immigrants carry out tenth of crime”, *DM*)

“Experts fear deadlier forms of TB *could be carried* here by immigrants from Turkey or new EU state Romania.” (“Britain faces tuberculosis crisis”, *S*)

As already mentioned, some of the verbs used to describe material action are behavioural (“dash”, “besiege”, “flock”, “flood”). A special instance shows behavioural processes suggestive of the migrants’ defiance of the British authorities, as a consequence of the permissive British migration policies and of EU free movement rights:

“But in the streets *ordinary people were rubbing their hands* and openly *sneering* at Tony Blair.”

“*Builder Mihai Ionescu, 33, smirked*” (“£ 4 flights to bring new EU invasion”, *S*)

“Now *80,000 Moldovans eye* UK” (*DM*, Headline)

In the examples above, the immigrants are Behavers in a series of processes that point to their sheer delight at the thought of the New Labour Government’s inability to prevent them from settling in the UK, once they get their EU citizenship. The negative effects of the migrants’ arrival in

Britain are highlighted when they are portrayed specifically as Beneficiaries of measures and policies affecting the Brits, in a zero-sum game:

“in the face of warnings that Brits are losing their jobs *to cheaper foreigners driving down wages*” (“See you all in January, *S*)

“Ministers promised to restrict access *to benefits for migrants.*” (“A million migrants in 2 years”, *S*)

“No wonder he relishes the prospect of collecting *the hundreds of pounds in benefits and child allowance he will be entitled to* if Britain gives the green light to Romanian workers in January.” (“Look out Britain, here we come”, *DE*) – metaphorical realisation by an identifying circumstantial relational process (underlined)

Migrants are not “activated” only in non-embedded clauses with finite verbs, but also within nominal groups and nominalisations, where material action is conveyed through objectivations and similar categories. This results in improbable and, therefore, dramatic correlations between human agency and events or phenomena, either natural (floods, tides, waves) or abstract (threat, explosion – used as an abstract noun). These lexico-grammatical realisations also contribute to generalising and exaggerating the dimensions of the migrants’ action: “arrivals”, “influx”, “invasion”. The nominal groups are in italics, with the Action in bold and the Actors underlined:

“leaving Britain to accept *a flood of immigrant workers seeking to escape the poverty and low wages of Romania and Bulgaria*”

“Halt *the tide of EU migrants*” (Headline, *SE*)

“Budget airlines are opening new routes to cater *for waves of workers from Romania and Bulgaria* when they join the European Union”. (“Romanian Migrants £8 flights to Britain”, *DE*)

“British workers lost their jobs and wages were driven down *by a far bigger influx of foreign labour* than had been expected as the EU expanded in 2004.” (“Eastern block”, *S*)

“£4 flights to bring *new EU invasion*” (Headline, *S*)

“*Migrants’ AIDS epidemic threat*” (Headline, *S*)

“*an eastern European crime explosion on Britain’s streets* once Romania and Bulgaria become the latest states to join the EU in two months time” (“Eastern European immigrants carry out tenth of crime”, *DM*)

In the examples above, the nationality or geographical location of the immigrants is rendered through adjectives (descriptivisations) or prepositional phrases with “from” or “in” (circumstantialisations). Possessivation is also used to indicate the agents responsible for the action or event in question. In “Migrants’ AIDS epidemic threat”, the possessive noun may be taken to refer both to “epidemic” and “threat”, thus increasing the confusion and risk whose source the migrants are. The inclusion of Actors within nominal groups eventually leads to situations where agency is completely suppressed or backgrounded, the action taking on extra-emphasis and becoming an entity in itself: “*a mass exodus* to Britain” (“Now 80,000 Moldovans eye UK move”, *DM*); “*the huge surge* would put massive pressure on schools, hospitals and housing services” (“Britain ‘needs breathing space from migrants’”, *DM*).

By objectifying and abstracting action, nominalisations make possible references to general aspects. Their presence in texts helps to underscore the amplitude and seriousness of what becomes invested with the status of a phenomenon. “Immigration” is a relevant case in this sense, as it occurs in a wide range of contexts, with or without agency. It entails various levels of abstraction as it can be related to problems, effects and fears: “*with grave concerns about the effect of immigration*” (“A million migrants in 2 years”, *S*); “Government plans to halt *mass immigration from Bulgaria and Romania*” (“Migrant work quotas ‘a sham’”, *S*); “the sheer scale and pace of change and the effect such historically high levels of immigration are having on wages and services like housing and healthcare and more fundamentally on the very nature of our community” (“Labour MPs pile pressure on Reid”, *DM*); “*Free immigration from the two new EU member countries* will begin...” (“Wave of migrant workers from new EU countries heading for Britain”, *DM*). To conclude, human actions are represented as events, existentialisations or naturalisations (Van Leeuwen 1995), forces that may easily escape social control and wreak havoc whenever they are unleashed.

Apart from the two waves of economic migrants from Eastern Europe, where Romanians and Bulgarians also belong, a new source of immigrants, namely Moldova, is brought to the fore in two news stories in the *Daily Mail*. This raises the issue of security and indirectly casts doubt on the rightfulness of the decision to welcome Romania into the European Union in 2007, since it is so easy for Moldovans of any background to be granted Romanian citizenship and access to EU free movement rights. They are represented mostly through aggregations and classifications based on

nationality, their actions falling under the same pattern of imminent migration to the UK. The chief Attribute they are assigned relates to extreme poverty.

While most construals of immigrants are characterised by a high degree of assimilation and categorisation, there are news stories and particularly news features that introduce Romanians as individuals with a recognisable and well-defined identity. However, such *individualisations*, specific to human angle stories, do not actually give a genuine voice to Romanian migrants, but foreground them as typical examples, illustrating the points conveyed through classifications and abstractions. In other words, they are made to stand as concrete proof of the Romanians' determination to migrate to the UK upon the very moment of EU accession, and, most importantly, of their poverty, innate character flaws and intentions to benefit from British social welfare.

The news feature that outraged the Romanian press in the summer of 2006 was printed in the *Daily Express* on August 26, 2006. It claims to present to the British public a Romanian family considered representative for the entire group of future Romanian migrants: a drunkard, lazy father, a disheartened housewife and four children living in abject poverty on the outskirts of Bucharest, all dreaming of British social benefits that would surpass by far what they receive from the Romanian state. The *Daily Express* news feature was supplemented in time by other individualised case studies in the *Sun*, culminating in December 2006 with the construal of the inhabitants of Glod, the Romanian village which had risen to questionable fame, due to its presence in the controversial film "Borat". Poverty is the main presence in the socio-economic background, and migrating to the UK in order to escape it seems to be the natural answer:

"Gheorghe Ion is a rag and bone man from Bucharest who believes his future lies far away from this filthy squat and in the welcoming arms of Britain. And he wants to bring his wife and four children with him when Romania joins the EU in January."

(“Look out Britain, here we come”, *DE*, my emphases of the nomination, physical and relational identifications, and circumstantialisations used to represent a typical Romanian migrant to the UK)

“Unsurprisingly, many who live in the part of the village called Glod – Romanian for MUD – want to escape the grinding poverty, and Britain is in their sights. *Local Dan Nelu*, 38, said: “It’s my dream to work in Britain. I want to go for one reason – the money...””

(“We’re leaving Borat’s village for a dream life in Britain”, *S*, my emphases of the nomination and classification based on age used in the excerpt above; the excerpt from the Verbiage is underlined)

In human interest stories of this type, the *semiotic action* in which Romanian migrants engage simply reinforces the information put forward in the journalistic account, and in the other less personalised news stories, especially in terms of the Romanians’ low living standards and their plans to migrate to Britain.

Overall, Romanian migrants are construed as integral parts of two larger groups: the envisaged 2007 migration wave, where they are joined by the Bulgarians, forming together a hardly separable whole, and, by extension, the 2004 migration wave, which wears the label “Eastern Europeans”. Association is sometimes employed to extend the group even further, beyond EU economic migrants to migrants from developing countries in Africa and Asia, as well as to illegal immigrants and asylum seekers. Consequently, Romanians hardly stand out as having an identity of their own. They appear to activate beliefs and stereotypes that have been established for immigrants of various provenance (see Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Van Dijk 1988b, 1993, Van Leeuwen 1996), which have now been indiscriminately projected onto citizens from Eastern Europe and onto the Balkans. Pre-eminent among the construals used to depict Romanian (and Bulgarian) migrants are figures and statistics, pejorative classifications, functionalisations in negative undertones, and occasional individualisations which lend immigrants faces and voices. Like all the immigrants in the attention of the British tabloid press, Romanians are involved in one fundamental non-transactive action, that of coming to the UK, and in several transactive actions indicating crime and risk. Starting from concrete examples, social action is transferred onto a different level of abstraction with the help of nominalisations and nominal groups that transform migration into a large scale phenomenon and a security issue.

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Appendix

Headlines of the news stories and news features analysed:

- The *Sun*: “Warning on new EU invasion” (July 24), “Eastern block” (August 21), “A million migrants in 2 years” (August 23), “Romania jobs plea” (September 5), “See you all in January” (September 27), “Perv awaydays” (October 2), “Migrants’ siege for UK visas” (October 5), “Migrant work quotas ‘a sham’” (October 25), “Romanians commit 85% of crime at cashpoints” (November 1), “Ganging up on us” (November 2), “Britain faces tuberculosis crisis” (November 3), “Migrants’ AIDS epidemic threat” (November 3), “We’re leaving Borat’s village for a dream life in Britain” (December 14), “£ 4 flights to bring new EU invasion” (December 30).
- The *Daily Mail*: “45,000 criminals bound for Britain” (July 24), “Labour MPs pile pressure on Reid over immigration” (August 9), “Britain ‘needs breathing space from migrants’” (August 15), “Ministers hint at immigration u-turn on Eastern Europe” (August 20), “How many more migrants can Britain take?” (August 23), “Now 80,000 Moldovans eye UK move” (September 16), “300,000 immigrants secure backdoor route into Britain” (October 5), “Eastern European immigrants carry out tenth of crime” (November 16), “‘Putting limits on our immigrants is illegal’, says Romania” (December 7), “Wave of migrant workers from new EU countries heading for Britain” (December 29).
- The *Daily Express*: “45,000 undesirables heading to Britain” (July 24), “Halt the tide of EU migrants” (August 20), “Romanians will swamp Britain” (August 26), “Look out Britain, here we come” (August 26), “How cash bribes open a backdoor for migrants’ route to Britain” (August 29), “Romanian migrants £ 8 flights to Britain” (September 26), “Romania migrants: we open the door” (October 4), “No place at school, if you’re British” (October 9), “Why we’re powerless to halt the tide of Eastern European migrants” (December 9), “600,000 heading to Britain” (December 30).

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CRIME AS ROUTINE STUFF: A CRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: According to certain criminological theories, crime emerges from the routine that people follow as they go about their daily lives.

Although routine seems perhaps an implausible (rather cynical) motivation to commit offenses, theorists argue that the crime rate is not necessarily influenced by pathological factors, but by the normal organization of society.

The present study explains that crime is not always due to deep-rooted inclinations or predispositions, and that it may simply be a question of choice, just like any other pastime or routine activity.

Key words: rational choice theory, routine activity theory.

MOTTO: “Everybody could do at least some crime at some time”. (Felson, M. *Crime and Everyday Life*, 2002).

Just as a chemical reaction cannot occur without all the necessary ingredients mixed together, there has been suggested (Felson, 1998:52) that the “chemistry for crime” takes several essential ingredients.

The approaches to what such essential crime ingredients could be have been very different, according to the various criminological theories.

Most of the classical theories share the view that criminality – an individual’s orientation or predisposition to commit crime – is something that develops over time. They usually take into consideration the psychological, sociological and anthropological factors that may account for the widespread phenomenon of crime committing.

Thus, they focus on the conditions that surround people as they are raised in disorganized communities, are ineffectively parented for years, spend their youth in schools that frustrate them or are unable to commit, associate with delinquents in gangs or are incarcerated for a long period of time.

In case of such approaches, crime, the actual behavioral act of breaking the law, is implicitly assumed, that is it needs no special justification.

This traditional theoretical interest has been reversed by some new criminological theories that are concerned with crime and not with criminality. They focus on what occurs in the present situation, not on what happened in the distant past.

Offenders are not regarded as some billiard balls, pushed into crime in a mechanical way. Instead, such theories assert that offenders are active thinking participants in their criminal ventures. They make decisions, they make choices, given the ***opportunity for crime***. The opportunity for crime comes, of course, from everyday life, crime feeds upon routine activities.

The psychological motivation for crime may matter a great deal, but such willingness (the so-called *mens rea*) cannot be automatically translated into a concrete criminal act. Opportunity is a necessary ingredient for any specific crime to be committed.

The focus on the proximate situation and opportunity, rather than on the remote background is able to explain why and how offenders decide to break the law.

According to the ***rational choice theory*** - developed by the American criminologists Derek Cornish and Ronald Clarke - offenders are rational about the crimes they commit. For instance, they choose crimes that offer immediate gratification, that take little or almost no effort to complete and that expose them to scant risk of detection and arrest.

This perspective also suggests that much, if not most, crime occurs in the context of the everyday life that offenders and their victims lead. This idea was captured as well by Cohen and Felson when they proposed their ***routine activity theory***.

There is an increasing preference for relating crime to the mundane or everyday features of society. Life immediacy offers most occasions for transgressions to occur.

For these transgressions to take place, three essential ingredients must converge in time and space: 1. ***suitable target(s)***; 2. ***absence of guardianship***; 3. ***motivated offender(s)***.

The major catalyst of this convergence is precisely the routine activity of people in society.

The term *routine* carries out two meanings. Most important, it is a technical term that refers to the “everyday activities” that people follow in society: when and where they work, attend school, recreate and stay home. More implicit, *routine* implies the mundane existence, not the special or the abnormal. Actually, Cohen and Felson called attention to the fact that the amount of crime is influenced not by the pathological features of society, but by its normal organization.

As people spend more time at large in society – going to and from work, school and leisure activities – they are more likely to come into contact with motivated offenders in circumstances where guardianship is lacking. Thus, the possibility for robbery and assault increases. Furthermore, Cohen and Felson link some property crimes not to economic deprivation

but rather to the production of goods that are expensive, durable and portable and that have become more common in an increasingly affluent society.

In an article published in *The Guardian* (June 29th 2006), journalist Neal Lawson complains about his son being mugged for an iPod and himself being robbed for a mobile phone, that is two nice and “ever upgradable gadgets”. Nowadays offenders are much of an outcome of the modern consumerist society.

As the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2004:87) points out, to be a successful consumer now defines what it is to be "normal". Therefore to be "abnormal" is to be a failed consumer. No wonder that consumer offenders usually live next to shopping malls, commercial strips, warehouses, parking lots, bars, medical facilities and so on.

Contrary to many criminological approaches, prosperity in the consumerist era actually brings about higher rather than lower crime rates, by expanding the number of attractive targets available to motivated offenders. Attractive targets are to be found in the all types of routine activity.

In Felson’s (1998:73) words, the routine activity approach “emphasizes how illegal activities feed on routine activities”. Or, as Bottoms (1994:605) put it, “Routine activities theory in fact embeds the concept of opportunity within the routine parameters of the day-to-day lives of ordinary people”.

The chemistry for everyday crime involves the above-mentioned ingredients, which will be analyzed in what follows:

1. A Suitable Target

The first condition for crime is that a suitable target must be available. The word *target* has been chosen carefully, rather than other words such as *victim*. The choice is explained by the fact that targets are meant to include not only people that is human targets, but also property.

There are 3 major categories of targets. A target can either be:

- a person
- an object
- a place.

There are plenty of potential targets around us, but not all of them are suitable. Two acronyms are sometimes used to describe suitable targets:

1. **VIVA**: Value, Inertia, Visibility, Access
2. **CRAVED**: Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable, Disposable.

Targets may also be repeat targets. No matter how suitable a target is, an offence will not occur unless a capable guardian is absent and a motivated offender is present.

2. Absence of a Capable Guardian

The second condition is that a capable guardian whose presence would discourage a crime from taking place must be absent. Again the term *capable guardian* was chosen, instead of police, because the reference is not only to law enforcement personnel but also to all means by which a target might be guarded. Most often, such guardianship is provided informally by family members, friends, neighbors, or other members of the public. Guardianship can also be provided by other means, such as watchdogs and security cameras. So, a capable guardian is a person, an animal or a device that by their mere presence would deter potential offenders from perpetrating an act.

Some examples of capable guardians:

- police patrols
- security guards
- Neighborhood Watch schemes
- doorstaff
- vigilant staff and co-workers
- friends
- neighbors
- Close Circuit Television (CCTV) systems

Some of the guardians are formal and deliberate, like security guards; some are informal and inadvertent, such as neighbors. It is also possible for a guardian to be present, but ineffective. For example a CCTV camera is not a capable guardian if it is set up or sited wrongly. Staff might be present in a shop, but may not have sufficient training or awareness to be an effective deterrent.

3. Motivated Offenders

When a suitable target is unprotected by a capable guardian there is a chance that a crime will take place. The final element in this picture is that a motivated offender has to be present. Routine activity theory looks at crime from an offender point of view. A crime will only be committed if a likely offender thinks that a target is suitable and a capable guardian is absent. It is their assessment of a situation that determines whether a crime will take place.

Routine activity theory is controversial among sociologists who believe in the social causes of crime. Despite an inherent degree of mistrust,

several types of crime are very well explained by routine activity theory, including copyright infringement (a), related to peer-to-peer file sharing (b), employee theft (c), and corporate crime (d).

(a) The unlawful downloading of copyrighted material and sharing of recorded music in the form of MP3 and other audio files is more prominent than ever.

Bootleg recordings are musical recordings that have not been officially released by the artist or their associated management or production companies. They may consist of demos, outtakes or other studio material, or of illicit recordings of live performances. Music enthusiasts may use the term "bootleg" to differentiate these otherwise unavailable recordings from "pirated" copies of commercially released material, but these recordings are still covered by copyright despite their lack of formal release, and their distribution is still against the law.

(b) Although file sharing is a legal technology with legal uses, many users use it to download and upload copyrighted materials without permission, which can be copyright infringement if done without authorization for improper purposes. Despite the existence of various international treaties, there are still sufficient variations between countries to cause significant difficulties in the protection of copyright. This has led to attacks against file sharing in general from many copyright owners and litigation by industry bodies against private individual sharers. The legal issues surrounding file sharing have been the subject of debate and conferences, especially among lawyers in the entertainment industries.

(c) The term employee theft refers to the unauthorized taking, transfer, or use of property of a company by an employee during the course of work activity.

The problem in applying the definition to practice, centers on the question of what constitutes company property. Not only are there several types of property in an organization - company, personal, and property of uncertain ownership (e.g., items in a wastebasket, unsolicited samples from vendors) - there are also forms of company property that do not ordinarily "qualify as" employee theft. The latter might include the use of facilities and equipment for personal use - personal phone calls, typing personal correspondence on company computers, the use of sick leave for personal days off, or the theft of work time through simply "goofing off."

(d) Corporate crime overlaps with:

- white-collar crime, because the majority of individuals who may act as or represent the interests of the corporation are employees or professionals of a higher social class;

- organized crime, because criminals can set up corporations either for the purposes of crime or as vehicles for laundering the proceeds of crime. Organized crime has become a branch of big business and is simply the illegal sector of capital;
- state-corporate crime because, in many contexts, the opportunity to commit crime emerges from the relationship between the corporation and the state.

Although quite disinterested in why people are motivated to offend, routine activity theory is most compatible with rational choice theory.

The link between these apparently dissimilar perspectives is the notion of the *effort* it takes to commit a crime or, conversely, the *ease* with which a crime can be accomplished.

Felson (1998:23) argued that crime is less likely to occur when it is made less attractive. Due to the fact that offenders are guided by the lure of “quick pleasure” and the avoidance of “imminent pain”, anything that makes crime harder to commit also makes it less likely to occur.

So, rational choice theorists embrace a simple view of why people choose crime: it pays.

The rewards of crime are treated as self-evident: as long as the offenders do not get caught, they have access to a wide variety of pleasures

This logical deduction is reduced to a balancing of how much can be gained from crime (usually money) and how much can be lost in terms of being caught and punished by the state. In this sense, leniency is seen as the main cause of crime, while more certain and lengthier prison terms are seen as a chief solution for the lawlessness in society.

Derek Cornish and Ronald V. Clarke describe crime as an event that occurs when an offender decides to risk breaking the law after considering his or her own need for money, personal values or learning experiences and how well a target is protected, how affluent the neighbourhood is or how efficient the local police are. Before committing a crime, *the reasoning criminal* weighs the chances of getting caught, the severity of the expected penalty, the value to be gained by committing the act, and his or her immediate need for that value.

It is arguable whether, when deciding to commit a crime, offenders bring with them background factors that include many of the influences articulated by classical criminological theories, such as temperament, intelligence, cognitive style, family upbringing, class origin, gender etc. Such criminal motivations – “deep-rooted inclinations or dispositions to commit crime”(Clarke and Cornish, 2001:33) may give people a “taste for crime” or increase the probability that crime will be “subjectively available” to people, that it will fit their personality.

From a rational choice perspective, the problem with traditional theories is that they stop their analysis of crime causation at this point.

The point is crime is not simply due to underlying motivations or predispositions, it also involves a concrete choice.

That is why central issues in the rational choice theory include the decision to commit a particular type of crime, how an area in which to commit a crime is selected, how offenders take steps to avoid detection and how they decide to recidivate.

Another important element to consider is the consequences of crime in terms of the real chances of getting caught – the certainty of punishment - and, if caught, the severity of punishment.

In short, what matters a great deal is that the perception of reality, in this case punishment, and not the objective reality is what shapes behavior.

Whereas objective punishments exist at a distance from individuals, perceptions are inside and carried by people as they pursue their daily lives.

The major advantage of perceptions of punishment is the deterrent effect (put forward by the perceptual deterrence theory).

Clarke and Cornish (2001:32) pointed out that traditional theories are interested in the “wider social and political contexts that mold beliefs and structure choice. Consequently, they have taken little interest in the details of criminal decision making”. By contrast, from the rational choice perspective, “it is these details that must be understood”.

The decisions that offenders make are said to be purposive. That is, they are “deliberate acts, committed with the intention of benefitting the offender” (Clarke and Cornish, 2001:24).

However, there is need not make the extreme claim that crime is fully or even primarily motivated by rational considerations. There are many crimes, particularly violent crimes, where it seems unlikely that the criminal gives thorough consideration to the punishment.

The intuitive objection that some crimes are less determined by rational factors is not a flaw in the model, but instead is a hypothesis which we should be able to test: different crimes should have different elasticities of supply with respect to changes in punishment, depending upon how “rational” they are.

Indeed, Ehrlich (1973:530) finds that crimes against property “vary positively with . . . income inequality . . . and with the median income,” whereas “these variables are found to have relatively lower effects in the case of crimes against the person.”

Levitt (1998:357) finds that violent crimes and property crimes respond to punishment differently, with violent crimes responding mostly

through an incapacitation effect and property crimes responding primarily through a deterrence effect.

Witte (1980:62) similarly finds that “deterrence works through different variables for individuals who specialize in different types of crime.”

So the rational element is definitely not the most prominent in committing crimes and therefore the offenders’ rationality is said to be “bounded”. Their choices may be based on limited information, made under pressure, insufficiently planned, subject to fear of apprehension rather than to long-term consequences.

It is worth considering that, irrespective of the crime motivations adopted, the less traditional criminological theories, such as routine activity theory and rational choice theory argue for the causal importance of the “foreground” of crime (Katz, 1988:71).

Thus, they do not consider how criminal motivations or criminality develops over time, as a result of the interaction of psychological traits, social context and structural location. Their concern is to a large extent with the present and with the crime-inducing factors that are proximate or simultaneous with the criminal act that is about to occur.

This theoretical solution may look as if it ignored the background of crime, meaning that much about crime causation is omitted. Actually, these theories bring special insights.

The first insight to consider is that theories of choice and opportunity focus on the fact that offenders are active and not passive participants in the decisions to infringe the law. In other words, they use the “human agency”. They may be led to commit a crime because of background factors, but a crime event is not foreordained; they will make decisions that will influence them either to offend or not offend – this explains why many offences take the form of an attempt.

Second, such theories address the need to consider how the decision to offend is affected by perceptions of costs and benefits and by situational factors such as the attractiveness of targets and the presence of guardians.

Third, and perhaps most important, the theories have important criminal policy implications. In particular, they identify how crime prevention might be best achieved not by the threat of legal sanctions, but by reducing opportunities to offend.

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SECTION TWO: TRANSLATION STUDIES

DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSLATING *UN-X-ABLE* ADJECTIVES INTO ROMANIAN

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Abstract: *This paper offers an analysis of the difficulties one encounters while translating into Romanian certain English adjectives which display the internal structure un-X-able (the prefix un- is added to the base X-able; X is the root to which the suffix -able is attached). The ways these adjectives are rendered into Romanian are presented with an emphasis on those situations where there is no one-word equivalent in the target language; the patterns of such non-equivalence instances and the reasons for their occurrence are discussed in detail.*

Key words: *word formation, equivalence in translation, adjectives*

Word-formation pattern and meaning of components

Un-X-able adjectives are formed according to the pattern $[[un-] + [[X] + [-able]]]$ where $[X]$ is the root, $[[X] + [-able]]$ is the base, and $[un-]$ is the prefix added to the base, e.g.: *unbearable*. The suffix *-ible* is only an allomorph of the basic morpheme *-able*, conditioned by certain rules; very few adjectives in our corpus take this allomorph, e.g.: *unaccessible*.

There are several adjectives which only apparently follow this pattern. *Unifiable*, for instance, does not imply a prefix, the suffix *-able* is attached to the root/ base *unifi*; a form such as *undoable* actually implies two lexemes: *undoable*₁, which follows the pattern under analysis (the prefix *un-* attached to the base *doable*), and *undoable*₂, where the suffix *-able* is attached to the base *undo*. For other adjectives the root cannot be traced back to a word form, thus the root/ base is only apparently derived by means of the suffix *-able*, e.g.: *unaffable*, *unfeasible*, *unamiably*. Such forms will not be taken into account here.

The class to which the base belongs is that of adjectives; the root to which the suffix is attached is a verb, with extremely few cases where it is a noun (*unfashionable*, *unmarriageable*, *unvintageable*). The suffix *-able* is said to be the most productive affix which forms adjectives from transitive verbs. (Bauer, 1983:224)

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED, 2006) mentions that the use of *un-* with adjectives in *-able* began in the 14th century. The *un-X-ables* are said to be sometimes...

...due to the antithesis of the form 'not only...but', as 'not only unpainted but unpaintable'. (OED, 2006)

The meanings of the prefix *un-*, as provided by any dictionary (AHDEL, *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 2007, for instance), are:

Not; contrary to, or opposite of.

The meanings of the suffix *-able* are:

Susceptible, capable, or worthy of a specified action; inclined or given to a specified state or action. (AHDEL, 2007)

The *-able* adjectives may have either an active or a passive meaning; the active meaning may be expressed in the following phrases (*baseword* refers to our *X* root):

Likely to have the process or action described by the baseword', 'having something/ showing the quality described by the baseword', 'liable to have the process or action described by the baseword', 'can/ able to have the process or action described by the baseword'. (Munandar, 2002:2-3)

The passive meaning of the adjectives in *-able*, more frequent, may be described as follows:

That can/ is able to be affected by the process or action described by the baseword', 'suitable/ fit for something', 'worthy of/ deserving something described by the baseword. (Munandar, 2002:3)

Thus, the meaning of *un-X-able* should be obtained by simply combining the definitions of *un-* and those of *X-able*, e.g.: *that cannot/ is not able to be affected by the process or action described by the root, that cannot/ is not able to have the process or action described by the baseword, etc.*

Romanian equivalents of *un-X-able* adjectives

The Romanian equivalents of the English prefix *un-* provided by the comprehensive English – Romanian (ERD, 2000) dictionary are the prefixes *ne-* and *in-*. The equivalents of the suffix *-able* provided by the same dictionary are *-abil* and its allomorph *-ibil*. Thus, Romanian has patterns

which follow the English pattern *un-X-able*, i.e. *ne-X-abil* and *in-X-abil*. However, there are instances where the pattern is not followed in Romanian.

My corpus includes more than 300 *un-X-able* adjectives; the ERD includes 220 entries, the ERD Supplement (ERDS, 2002) has 15 entries. The OED (2006) also provides a list of approximately 80 *un-X-ables* (recent formations) which are not included in the two bilingual dictionaries.

Typology of equivalents

The English *un-X-ables* have either one meaning or several meanings. The monosemous adjectives may display one-word equivalents or multiword equivalents. The polysemous adjectives follow these patterns: one-word equivalents for all meanings; multiword equivalents for one or several, but not for all of their meanings; multiword equivalents for all their meanings. However, the distinction between monosemous and polysemous will not be made here, since it is not relevant for our analysis; thus, the monosemous patterns will be included into the patterns characteristic of polysemous words.

The Romanian **one-word equivalents** are very often adjectives which display the word-formation pattern mentioned above (*ne-X-abil* and *in-X-abil*), which corresponds to the English pattern, e.g.: ‘netransportabil’ (*untransportable*), ‘nearabil, necultivabil’ (*untillable*), ‘inutilizabil’ (*unusable*), ‘inacceptabil’ (*unacceptable*) etc. The rules for the addition of the prefix *in-* (which changes into *im-* when the base begins with a *p/ b* or becomes *i-* when the base begins with an *l* or with an *r*) lead to forms such as ‘impardonabil’ (*unpardonable*) ‘ilizibil’ (*unreadable*), ‘irealizabil’ (*unaccomplishable*). The Romanian one-word equivalent is sometimes an adjective derived with the help of *ne-* from a past participial base, e.g.: ‘nejustificat, nemotivat’ (*unaccountable*), or by attaching *ne-* or *in-* to a base which is an adjective other than a past participle, e.g.: ‘neconvingător’ (*unsustainable*), ‘neprietenos’ (*unsociable*), ‘inoportun’ (*unseasonable*₁), etc. There are instances when the Romanian one-word equivalent is a non-derived adjective, such as ‘deplasat’ (*unseasonable*₂), ‘stabil, sigur, remanent’ (*unabolishable*), etc.

Multiword equivalents

The English entries in the English-Romanian dictionaries which have at least one multiword equivalent represent about 75 percent of the total number. The percentage is approximately the same as regards the recent formations listed in the OED.

There are adjectives which have multiword equivalents for one meaning, but one-word equivalents for the other, e.g. *unreliable*₁

(‘nestatornic, inconstant’); *unreliable*₂ (‘care nu prezintă încredere/ garanții/ siguranță;’); *unreliable*₃ (‘pe care nu te poți bizui, în care nu poți avea încredere’). Many meanings are rendered into Romanian by both one-word and multiword equivalents, given the fact that the multiword equivalents are more suitable in certain contexts than their one-word synonyms, e.g.: *uncorruptible* (‘incoruptibil, corect, cinstit, care nu poate fi mituit/ corupt’).

Approximately one quarter of the corpus is represented by adjectives which have only multiword equivalents for all meanings, e.g.: *uncapsizable* (‘care nu se poate răsturna’), *unmarriageable* (‘care nu se poate căsători/ mărita, greu de urnit din casă’), etc.

As to the internal structure of the Romanian multiword equivalents, one notices several patterns. The commonest one is actually the oldest Romanian expression for the meaning of *un-X-able*; it implies a supine construction made up of the preposition *de* and a past participle prefixed by the negative *ne-*, e.g.: ‘de nerecunoscut’ (*unrecognizable*), ‘de nerostit’ (*unsayable*), ‘de nedobândit’ (*unacquirable*), etc. The negative prefix added to the past participle may be suppressed and replaced by *imposibil* (‘impossible’), an adjective with an absolute negative adverbial meaning, e.g.: ‘imposibil de atins’ (*unattainable*), ‘imposibil de conceput’ (*unthinkable*), ‘imposibil de oprit’ (*unstoppable*₁), etc.

A second Romanian pattern implies an adjectival expression made up of a noun preceded by a (one-word or multiword) negative preposition, which renders the meanings of the affixes. The most frequent preposition is *fără* (‘without’), e.g. ‘fără odihnă’ (*untirable*), ‘fără răspuns’ (*unanswerable*₁), ‘fără declinare’ (*undeclinable*), etc. Other prepositions are *contrar/ în contradicție cu*, e.g.: ‘contrar/ în contradicție cu statutul’ (*unstatutable*).

A third pattern implies an adjective followed by a prepositional noun phrase or by a noun in the Dative case. The adjective renders the meanings of the affixes; it is in most cases derived from a past participle, e.g.: ‘ieșit din uz’ (*unfashionable*₃), ‘lipsit de înțelepciune’ (*unadvisable*₂), but also a non-derived adjective, such as in: ‘refractor la sfaturi’ (*unadvisable*₃). The adjective preceding the Dative noun is prefixed by the negative *ne-*, e.g.: ‘nesupus impozitului’ (*untaxable*), ‘nesupus negocierii’ (*unnegotiable*₁).

A fourth pattern implies an adjective quantified by an adverbial (expression). The adverb usually precedes the adjective, e.g.: ‘total schimbat’ (*unrecognizable*), ‘deloc remarcabil’ (*unremarkable*), but it may also follow the adjective, e.g.: ‘agitat peste măsură’ (*unappeasable*₂).

The fifth pattern is represented by relative clauses. There are several sub-patterns to mention, basically established by taking into account two criteria: the above-mentioned active and passive meanings of the base; the

syntactic function that the noun (represented by the relative pronoun in the relative clause) modified by the *un-X-able* has in a structure where the root is the predicate. Thus, the commonest sub-pattern implies the Romanian relative pronoun *care* ('which, who') functioning as a subject of a passive structure; the suffix is rendered by the verbal form *poate* ('can, be able to'); the root is rendered by a passive form, [*fi* (*be*)+ past participle]; the prefix is rendered by the negation *nu* ('not'), e.g.: 'care nu poate fi gătit' (*uncookable*), 'care nu poate fi angajat' (*unemployable*), 'care nu poate fi tipărit' (*unprintable₁*), etc. The passive base may also be rendered by a reflexive-passive construction, [*se poate* + infinitive], 'care nu se poate face' (*undoable₁*), 'care nu se poate acorda' (*untunable₁*), etc.

A second less common sub-pattern involves the relative pronoun followed by an active verb in the negative form. The verb *poate* is no longer used, e.g.: 'care nu îngheață' (*uncongealable*), 'care nu arde' (*unburnable*), 'care nu concordă' (*unagreeable₂*), etc.

There are very few examples for a third sub-pattern, which involves a relative pronoun functioning as an indirect or prepositional object; the aforesaid internal structure of the Romanian passive equivalent remains the same with the difference that the indirect object function implies the Romanian forms *căruia/ căreia* for the singular, and *cărora* for the plural, e.g.: 'căruia nu i se pot aduce obiecții' (*unexceptionable*). The prepositional object will be rendered by the relative *care* preceded by a preposition, e.g.: 'de care nu poți scăpa' (*unavoidable₁*).

Reasons for the lack of one-word equivalents

As mentioned before, only a quarter of the corpus implies a total lack of one-word equivalents. In the majority of cases there are one-word equivalents alongside multiword equivalents for one meaning. The usual, natural Romanian equivalent is a multiword equivalent, the supine construction [*de ne-* + past participle]. The co-occurrence of this construction and of a one-word equivalent is caused by the neological forms suffixed by *-abil* which entered the language starting with the 19th century. Thus, in many contexts the multiword equivalent (be it a supine construction, a relative clause or any of the other patterns) is preferred as it is easier to understand, rendering the meaning of the noun phrase or of the sentence less ambiguous; the multiword equivalent is also less formal, less technical, e.g.: 'care nu poate fi îmbunătățit/ îndreptat, de neîndreptat' instead of 'neamendabil' (*unimprovable*), 'care nu poate fi cucerit, de necucerit' instead of 'inexpugnabil' (*uncapturable*).

As to which element of the derived word causes most multiword equivalents in Romanian for an English lexical item, we can say that it is

definitely the base or, to be more precise, the addition of the suffix. The base may not even exist as an actual word in English, e.g. **cookable* in *uncookable* ('de negătit, care nu poate fi gătit'), **askable* in *unaskable* ('care nu trebuie pusă'), **whisperable* in *unwhisperable* ('despre care nu se poate sulfa o vorbă/ șopti un cuvânt'), etc. The root may itself lead to multiword equivalents, but the instances are less frequent, e.g.: one of the meanings of *shrink* in *unshrinkable* ('care nu intră la apă'), *hint* in *unhintable* ('la care nu se poate face o aluzie/ referire'), etc. The addition of the prefix may also cause the occurrence of a multiword equivalent in Romanian. There are several instances where there is a one-word equivalent for the base, but only a multiword equivalent for the prefixed base, e.g.: 'purtabil' (*wearable*), but 'care nu se poate purta, de nepurtat' (*unwearable*); 'colorabil' (*stainable*), but 'care nu se poate colora, care nu prinde culoare' (*unstainable*₂), etc.

Conclusions

The paper has offered an analysis of a corpus of around 300 adjectives derived according to the pattern [[*un-*] + [[*X*] + [*-able*]]]. Almost three quarters of the English lexemes have at least one multiword equivalent. A quarter of the English words have only multiword equivalents.

Multiword equivalents occur alongside one-word equivalents because they are less ambiguous or less formal. The instances where there is no one-word equivalent for the English adjective are mainly dictated by the semantic complexity of the English base ([[*X*] + [*-able*]]); considerably fewer multiword equivalents are caused by the lack of a one-word equivalent for the root ([*X*]) or for the derived word as a whole.

The commonest patterns of the Romanian multiword equivalents are the following: a supine construction made up of the preposition *de* and a past participle prefixed by the negative *ne-*; an adjectival expression made up of a noun preceded by a preposition; an adjective followed by a prepositional noun phrase or by a noun in the Dative case; an adjective quantified by an adverb; a relative clause displaying several sub-patterns of which the most frequent includes the relative pronoun *care* ('which, who') functioning as a subject of a negative passive structure.

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A TRANSLATIONAL APPROACH TO SENTENCE LENGTH AND STRUCTURE IN THE EU DOCUMENTS

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***Abstract:** The paper focuses on the genre of the European legislation, looking at the norms which characterize the sentence level of the EU texts written in English in comparison to those presented by their official Romanian variants. The main objective of this contrastive analysis is that of pointing to some of the problems which the Romanian translators of such texts might encounter.*

***Key words:** translation, genre, norms, syntactic features, sentence, subordinate clauses*

It is generally acknowledged that the translator who wants to produce effective target texts in specific professional contexts must internalize the norms and conventions of the text-type, or of the genre, in which s/he is working (cf. Bhatia 1997). No matter to which level they belong, all these norms play an important part in the fulfilment of the communicative purpose of a particular genre. In this paper, I will analyze some of the relatively newly formed syntactic norms of the Romanian texts belonging to the genre of the EU legislation, and, additionally, the manner in which they were influenced by the corresponding norms of the English original texts. More specifically, I will consider aspects regarding the length and the structure that sentences typically present in the EU documents, without focusing on those features which are primarily determined by grammaticality (which still plays a major part), but on the norms which are dictated by appropriateness in a certain context.

The corpus that I used for my analysis includes, on the one hand, EU texts originally written in English, texts which, according to the official site of the European Union (cf. <http://europa.eu.int>), represent „legislation in force”, that is regulations, decisions, directives, agreements, conventions, etc. Since my intention was to arrive at findings of interest for the translators working in the EU field, I also included in my corpus the official Romanian translations of these English texts (cf. <http://www.ier.ro>). Reference to the texts in my corpus is made by means of the Celex number, which is a unique combination of elements, giving information on the code of the sector to which the document belongs (the first figure), the year in which the document was adopted (the next four figures), the type of

document (represented by a letter), and the number of the document (made up of the last four figures).

Before making any considerations about the length and the structure of the average sentence of the EU legislation, it is important to state that, in my study, the concept of sentence is to be understood from a formal perspective, i.e. as a string of words which begins with a capital letter and ends with a full stop, a semi-colon, a question mark or an exclamation mark. Thus, a first conclusion regarding the English texts under analysis is that the sentences present varying lengths, ranging from 6 (e.g. in 32003D0597) to 91 words (e.g. in 32003R0058). The length of the average sentence in this type of documents can be established at about 30 words, which represents much more than the average sentence characterizing other genres. The sentences revealed by the Romanian variants of these documents, which generally reproduce the structure of their originals, irrespective of the length and complexity that such a structure might imply, are characterized by comparable lengths. The following example, in which the Romanian translator respects the limits of the original English sentence and renders its complex structure as closely as possible, without dividing it into several shorter sentences, is illustrative in this respect:

ST: “Since the objectives of the proposed action concerning the contribution of the Community to combating social exclusion cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States for reasons including the need for multilateral partnerships, the transnational exchange of information and the Community-wide dissemination of good practice and can therefore, by reason of the scale and effects of the proposed action, be better achieved at Community level, the Community may adopt measures in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity as set out in Article 5 of the Treaty.”

TT: Deoarece obiectivele acțiunii preconizate cu privire la contribuția Comunității la combaterea excluderii sociale nu pot fi suficient îndeplinite de statele membre din motive care includ necesitatea parteneriatelor multilaterale, a schimbului transnațional de informații și a diseminării bunelor practici în întreg spațiul comunitar și pot, în consecință, având în vedere dimensiunea și efectele acțiunii propuse, să fie mai bine realizate la nivel comunitar, Comunitatea poate adopta măsuri în conformitate cu principiul subsidiarității prevăzut în art. 5 din Tratat. (32002D0050)

The length and the complexity characterizing the sentences in the EU documents, be they English or Romanian, are two aspects which, actually, go hand in hand. The complexity of the sentences present in these texts is not always given by the fact that they contain a great number of constituent clauses, but especially by the structural complexity that these clauses themselves present. In addition to this, the sentence complexity is

also determined by the variety and the nature of the linking devices richly represented in my texts both at the level of the sentence and at the level of the clause. Anyway, no matter if the sentences under analysis are simple, compound or complex, the agglomeration of constituents which generally characterizes them is an expression of the text producer's desire to convey all the meaning that has to be conveyed by means of only one self-contained unit.

Subordinate clauses of various types are present in the EU documents that I considered for analysis. While I noted a one-to-one correspondence with regard to the number of the sentences contained by the English originals and their Romanian translations, not the same can be said about the number and the types of clauses making up these sentences. This is understandable if we consider the fact that, although the two sets of texts illustrate one and the same genre, they are still creations of two different language systems. Consequently, in what follows, I will discuss the clause typology revealed by the English EU documents in comparison to their Romanian counterparts, pointing out the various translation problems that might appear at this level, as well as the (in)appropriateness of their solutions.

Nominal Clauses, which, according to Quirk (1991: 1047), play roles similar to those of the noun phrases, functioning as subjects, objects, complements or appositions, are well represented in the texts making up my corpus: e.g. "National central banks shall ensure *that the exchange of banknotes ... can be performed at par value.*" / "Băncile centrale naționale asigură că *schimbul bancnotelor ... poate fi efectuat la valoarea nominală.*" (32000O0006); "This means *that it is necessary ...*" / "Aceasta înseamnă că *este necesar ...*" – (32003D0639). Among the clauses in this category, a quite high frequency is registered by the Nominal Clauses functioning as subjects after impersonal expressions like *it is necessary* or *it is important*, which build some of the strongest arguments in favour of the adoption of the legal document in which they are used: e.g. "It is important *that night workers should be entitled to a free health assessment prior to their assignment*" / "Este important ca *lucrătorii de noapte să beneficieze de un control medical gratuit înaintea numirii într-un post de lucru*" (32003L0088).

As the examples offered above illustrate, the Romanian translations generally preserve the Nominal Clauses contained by their originals, and thus create the same impression of an elevated style. Moreover, the frequent use of the impersonal verb *trebuie* as a translation solution for the modals *should* or *must* (which, according to the rules of the English language, can only be followed by a short infinitive verb) leads to a greater number of

Nominal Clauses functioning as subjects in the Romanian texts: e.g. “Member States, producers and users *should* have the possibility to make alternative arrangements.”/ “Statele membre, producătorii și utilizatorii *trebuie să aibă posibilitatea de a adopta măsuri alternative.*” (32003L0108); “To qualify for detachment to the General Secretariat, a national expert *must* have at least three years’ experience of advisory or supervisory duties ...”/ “Pentru a fi eligibil pentru detașarea la Secretariatul General, un expert național *trebuie să aibă cel puțin trei ani de experiență într-o funcție de conducere sau de consultanță ...*” (32001D0041). The fact that the Romanian variants of the EU documents contain more Nominal Clauses than their English counterparts can certainly be taken as one of the explanations for the increased abstract character of the translated texts under analysis in comparison to their English sources.

I must stress that, in my opinion, the frequent use of Nominal Clauses, and especially of those functioning as subjects, is not in itself a norm of the EU documents. This characteristic should rather be interpreted as a syntactic feature determined by the high percentage of impersonal verbs and constructions, which, in turn, may be considered as a norm characterizing the category of texts under analysis.

In spite of the feature mentioned above, the EU texts making up my corpus also reveal some isolated cases when the Nominal Clauses of the English texts are translated into Romanian by means of a unit shift (cf. Catford 1965: 76, 79, Chesterman 1997: 95), and are, therefore, rendered as target text noun phrases. The following example, in which the English Object clause is paralleled by a Romanian noun phrase, i.e. a clause constituent, is illustrative in this respect: “The contracting parties shall certify *that the provisions as laid down in the Protocol to this Agreement have been observed.*”/ “Părțile contractante garantează **respectarea dispozițiilor stabilite în protocolul la prezentul acord.**” (21974A0917(01)).

The subordinate clauses which may indeed be considered as stylistic markers of the EU documents under analysis are the Relative Clauses, on the one hand, and the Adverbial Clauses, on the other. These two categories of clauses reveal certain peculiarities that are worth mentioning in what follows.

All my texts offer numerous examples of Relative Clauses, which are meant to insert elaborate explanations at any point in the sentence where this necessity arises: e.g. “The Brussels Convention also continues to apply to the territories of the Member States *which fall within the territorial scope of that Convention_ and which are excluded from this Regulation ...*”/ “Convenția de la Bruxelles continuă, de asemenea, să se aplice teritoriilor

statelor membre *care intră în domeniul de aplicare teritorială a acestei convenții și care sunt excluse din prezentul regulament ...*” (32001R0044).

I must stress that the Romanian translations of the EU documents reveal more numerous instances of Relative Clauses than their English originals. This happens because the Romanian translators resort to Relative Clauses not only when this structure is present as such in the English documents, but also when they consider these clauses as appropriate translation solutions for other types of constituents. Thus, the EU documents in my corpus reveal many situations where a Romanian Relative Clause renders the meaning of an English non-finite participial clause (e.g. “a financial framework *constituting the prime reference*”/ “o acoperire financiară *care reprezintă referința privilegiată*” – 32003D0291) or infinitival clause (e.g. “the type of accountancy data *to be given in the farm return*”/ “natura datelor contabile *pe care le conține fișa exploatației*” – 32003D0369). There are also obvious cases when the Romanian translator uses a Relative Clause because of the higher degree of precision and explicitness that it brings about in the text: e.g. “The Economic and Social Committee ... called on the Commission to take new measures to reduce the risks *to workers*.”/ “Comitetul Economic și social ... a cerut Comisiei să ia noi măsuri de reducere a riscurilor *la care sunt supuși lucrătorii*.” (32003L0018)

It may be concluded that, as a result of the translation process, the EU documents in Romanian are characterized by an agglomeration of Relative Clauses, which are often embedded in each other and which sometimes make the discourse in question rather difficult to follow. The example offered below is a very good illustration of this feature:

ST: On the basis of the estimate, the Commission shall enter in the preliminary draft general budget of the European Union the estimates *it deems necessary for the establishment plan and the amount of the subsidy to be charged to the general budget, which it shall place before the budgetary authority in accordance with Article 272 of the Treaty.*

TT: Pe baza estimării, Comisia introduce în proiectul preliminar al bugetului general al Uniunii Europene estimările *pe care le consideră necesare în ceea ce privește organigrama și cuantumul subvenției care urmează să fie adăugată bugetului general, pe care îl prezintă autorității bugetare în conformitate cu art. 272 din Tratat.* (32003R1654)

The Adverbial Clauses, which are mostly represented by Conditional Clauses or by other types of clauses with a conditional value, are also very numerous in the texts making up my corpus. The peculiarities presented by

these clauses are generally related to their positioning in relation to the main clause.

Even if, both in English and in Romanian, the normal position of the Adverbial Clauses is after their matrix, this happens quite rarely in the EU texts that I analyzed. As a general rule, the position of the Adverbial Clauses in these documents is determined by the text producer's efforts towards a clear and logical presentation of the events or of the arguments. Consequently, these clauses are often placed before their matrix, representing either initial case descriptions (e.g. "*Where by virtue of this Regulation a court of a Member State has jurisdiction in actions relating to liability from the use or operation of a ship*, that court ... shall also have jurisdiction over claims for limitation of such liability."/ "*În cazul în care, în temeiul prezentului regulament, o instanță dintr-un stat membru este competentă în soluționarea de acțiuni în răspundere pentru utilizarea sau exploatarea unei nave*, instanța în cauză ... are, de asemenea, competență cu privire la cererile referitoare la limitarea acestei răspunderi." – 32001R0044), or other types of qualifications which delay the introduction of the legal subject (e.g. "*Where reference is made to this paragraph*, Articles 5 and 7 of Decision 1999/468/EC shall apply, having regard to the provisions of Article 8 thereof."/ "*Când se face trimitere la prezentul alineat*, se aplică art. 5 și 7 din Decizia 1999/468/CE, având în vedere dispozițiile art. 8 din decizie." – 32002L0006). In addition to these cases, the texts in my corpus reveal frequent instances of Adverbial Clauses intercalated within the structure of their main clause (e.g. "This means that the Commission must have the power to decide to create and, *where appropriate*, wind up an executive agency ..."/ "Prin urmare, Comisia trebuie să poată decide crearea și, *dacă este cazul*, lichidarea unei agenții executive ..." – 32003R0058).

In spite of the similarities noted so far, the English and the Romanian variants of the EU texts in my corpus also reveal an interesting point of difference. Thus, when the qualifications present in the English documents are rendered by elliptical Conditional Clauses such as *if necessary* or *where appropriate*, they are usually assigned a post-position in relation to their main clause. In the Romanian translations of the documents in question, this type of clauses are given more emphasis, being intercalated within the structure of their matrix, like in the case illustrated below:

ST: Not later than 1 August 2009 the Commission shall ... in particular examine whether these provisions remain appropriate ... with a view to proposing suitable amendments, *if necessary*.

TT: Până la 1 august 2009 cel târziu, Comisia ... verifică în special dacă aceste dispoziții rămân adecvate ... în vederea prezentării, *dacă este cazul*, a modificărilor corespunzătoare. (32003L0088)

or even being placed in a position preceding the main clause, like in this example:

ST: ... the personal protective equipment referred to in Article 11(1)(a) shall be provided, *where necessary*

TT: *dacă este necesar*, se furnizează echipamentul de protecție individuală prevăzut în art. 11 alin. (1) lit. (a) (32003L0018)

As a rule, the Romanian translations generally preserve the position occupied by the Adverbial clauses in the contexts of their English sources. However, in the cases when the exact rendering of the order in the original documents may lead to the creation of a somewhat awkward target text, which is likely to produce difficulties of processing, the Romanian translators perform changes at the level of the position occupied by the Adverbial Clauses in the original texts. It may be concluded, therefore, that, in the EU documents translated into Romanian, the Adverbial Clauses are inserted at such points where the resulting utterance not only achieves its communicative purpose, but also sounds natural to its intended audience.

The constituent clauses in the sentences making up the EU documents are also interesting from the point of view of the relations established between them. The elements marking such relations – be they of coordination or of subordination – do not generally raise special translation problems. However, the various linking devices characterizing the English EU texts at this level are worth discussing because of the particularities that they present in the Romanian translations.

Thus, coordination is realized by means of both conjunctions and juxtaposition. Conjunctions (such as *and/ și, iar, but/ dar, or/ sau*) are generally used in the case of two or more coordinated main clauses: e.g. “*All workers should be protected against the risks associated with exposure to asbestos and the derogations applicable to the sea and air sectors should therefore be removed.*”/ “*Toți lucrătorii trebuie să fie protejați împotriva riscurilor legate de expunerea la azbest și, prin urmare, excepțiile prevăzute pentru sectorul maritim și cel aerian trebuie eliminate.*” – 32003L0018). However, the frequent rendering of the English infinitives and participles by means of Romanian Relative Clauses sometimes leads to situations in which, in the translated text, a coordinating conjunction links a clause of this type to an Attribute belonging to another clause: e.g. “funding may also

be provided ... for expenditure *on* technical and administrative *assistance* for the mutual benefit of the Commission and the beneficiaries of the measure **and falling** outside the realm of ongoing public service tasks”/ “pot fi finanțate ... cheltuielile *de asistență* tehnică și administrativă, în beneficiul reciproc al Comisiei și beneficiarilor măsurii, **și care nu fac parte din sarcinile permanente ale administrației publice...**” (32003D0291).

Juxtaposition is also well represented, being used especially when a series of clauses of the same type are part of an enumeration. The matrix of all these clauses, as well as the conjunction introducing them, are expressed only once and are valid for each of the following subordinate clauses, a fact which serves the purpose of concision associated to this text-type. The example offered below is a good illustration of this feature, even if the translator resorted to a sentence structure change (cf. Chesterman 1997: 97) and rendered the Nominal “that” Clauses of the original text by means of two juxtaposed Purpose Clauses in the Romanian variant:

ST: Member States shall take the measures necessary to ensure *that*:

- (a) *night workers are entitled to a free health assessment before their assignment and thereafter at regular intervals;*
- (b) *night workers suffering from health problems ... are transferred whenever possible to day work to which they are suited.*

TT: Statele membre iau măsurile necesare *pentru ca*:

- (a) *lucrătorii de noapte să beneficieze de un control medical gratuit înaintea numirii și la intervale regulate ulterior;*
- (b) *lucrătorii de noapte care au probleme de sănătate ... să fie transferați, ori de câte ori este posibil, la muncă de zi pentru care sunt calificați.* (32003L0088)

This example is interesting not only because it illustrates features of coordination, but also because it reveals some characteristics of the subordinating devices employed in the texts making up my corpus. In fact, it is at the level of subordination that the differences between the linking devices used by the English EU documents, on the one hand, and the Romanian ones, on the other, are more evident. Three main points of difference will be mentioned in this respect.

Firstly, as the pair of fragments above demonstrated, the Romanian translator sometimes changes the grammatical value of the clauses present in the original texts. Such shifts are generally justified, having either the role to bring more clarity at the level of the target text or to make the translation sound as natural as possible in the Romanian language.

Secondly, the Romanian EU documents often use finite subordinate clauses as translation solutions for various types of clause constituents in the source texts; this brings about an increase in the number of subordinating

conjunctions in the Romanian variants of these texts by comparison with their English originals. Consequently, the English documents in this category are more concise, presenting, at the same time, the risk of raising some difficulties of interpretation; the Romanian EU documents, on the other hand, are characterized by a greater degree of explicitness, thus being more accessible to the non-specialist audience.

Finally, the linking devices encountered in the Romanian EU documents also differ from their English counterparts in terms of complexity. The subordinate clauses presented by the English texts in my corpus are generally introduced by simple conjunctions such as *if, where, when, which, that, whereas*, etc. Even if the Romanian translations frequently resort to the corresponding simple forms of such conjunctions (e.g. *dacă, unde, când, care, că, încât*, etc), they show a marked preference for the use of conjunction phrases, in which the constituent elements preserve their original meanings (e.g. *în măsura în care, cu condiția ca, în ceea ce privește, dat fiind că, în cazul în care*, etc.). These linking phrases are used in the belief that they render the syntactic relationships between the various sentence constituents with more precision, and that they are also an expression of the elevated style supposed to characterize the legal-administrative discourse in general.

As I have already suggested, it is difficult to establish strict correlations between the structure of the sentences making up the English EU documents and that of their Romanian counterparts. The various characteristics discussed above reveal that the Romanian translators of the EU texts in my corpus frequently resort to shifts, changing either the status (for example, from clause to phrase or the other way round), or the type (for example, from Nominal to Purpose Clauses, like in the excerpt taken from 32003L0088) of a certain English unit. Such changes are generally determined by the grammatical differences between the two languages involved in the process of translation (e.g. an English infinitive is most frequently translated into Romanian as a Subjunctive mood: “the Council invited the Commission *to bring forward proposals*”/ “Consiliul a invitat Comisia *să prezinte propuneri*” – 32003L0018). In addition to these cases, my research has also revealed shifts which were most probably motivated by the translator’s attempt to ensure a greater degree of clarity and naturalness to the target text (e.g. an English finite clause turns into a Romanian nominalization: “This provision is adopted *on the understanding that the Member States will apply strictly ...*”/ “Prezenta dispoziție se adoptă cu condiția *aplicării* stricte de către statele membre ...” – 32000E0722). Unfortunately, there are situations when the shift, far from clarifying the sense of the original utterance, causes a certain degree of

distortion. Consider, for example, the fragment below, in which the status, the type and the position of an English Temporal Clause are changed in the Romanian text:

ST: *When implementing paragraphs 1 and 2*, Member States shall adopt appropriate provisions to prevent fraud and abuses.

TT: Statele membre adoptă măsurile necesare pentru a evita deturnările și abuzurile în ceea ce privește punerea în aplicare a alin. (1) și (2). (32002R2090)

The elliptical Temporal Clause, which, due to its front position, represents the focus of the original utterance, is not only moved after its main clause in the translated text, but also rendered by means of an Adverbial Modifier of Relation, which generally denotes a notion of lesser importance in the economy of the sentence. Moreover, this example is a good illustration of the manner in which an infelicitous shift at the level of the syntax affects the functionality of the translated text from other points of view, too. More specifically, these changes in word order bring about some modifications at the level of the thematic structure of the whole paragraph, and make the information flow more difficult to process.

One of the most important conclusions of my study refers to the fact that, even if there is no perfect correspondence between the sentence constituents of the English texts and their translations, it is obvious that the structural complexity characterizing the original EU documents has turned, as a result of the translation process, into a major syntactic feature of the Romanian documents in this category, too. Moreover, the sentence complexity is supported by the use of a wide range of linking devices. Fairly often, in Romanian, these linking devices are represented by complex conjunction and prepositional phrases; their use is prompted by the need for clarity usually expected from the documents in question, and indicates, at the same time, the text producer's care for an elevated style. However, the Romanian translators of such texts should be aware that the all-inclusive and the elevated character of the EU legislation – although meant to make the documents as precise and clear as possible – may sometimes lead to difficulties of processing or even understanding, as it has been illustrated in this paper.

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CREATING 'ABSENCE' IN TRANSLATION

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***Abstract:** Remarks have been recently made about creating 'absence' in translation. The translator's invisibility is closely related to domestication and foreignization. The translator's 'absence' will be 'felt' in the situations of creativity in spite of the linguistic and cultural constraints, which we would call **creativity in constraints**. Such constraints require adjustments and transformations of the ST to the TLC which are necessary in giving the ST the 'clothes' of the TLC.*

***Key words:** absence, approximation, creativity in constraints, fluency, selective appropriation, transparency*

1. Creativity in constraints and the clash of cultures

As Sternberg (1981: 221) said more than two decades ago, "each language carries the burden of reporting messages originally encoded in other languages. This forms of course the common source of all translational problems."

The ways of discharging this burden include all the translation techniques and strategies covering all types of translation, from code switch to full translation, through literal, free translations and adaptations.

1.1. Many approaches to translation range from very close translation, including the so-called direct translations, i.e. faithful renderings of the source text (the ST being the most important in the translating act), to free adaptations and transformations of the ST in order to suit the author's aims and intentions. The target text (TT) is of utmost importance, whereas the ST is the bottom layer of the creative art, or, as Genette (1982) put it, of the creative "palimpsest". Above all, the relationship between the ST and the TT is hypertextual: the end result of the textual manipulation, which presupposes the transformation of the target hypotext, is a text which exists on its own right (Genette, 1982).

The question may arise: *What is the result of the translator's use of adaptation(s) and transformations or free translation of the source text?* Is it a) creativity in rendering the ST, i.e. the translator's creative use of words, phrases and structures specific to the target language culture (TLC), b) an actual faithfulness of the free translation, or c) a text inspired from the ST (especially in translating poetry)? Furthermore, in dealing with our topic, the

question arises: *Which of the results does 'creating absence' refer to?* One answer is that the translator will not create 'absence' when using literal renderings that are often even more inexact than imitation. Moreover, the sterility of the faithfulness/ fidelity to the ST will even kill the original. Thus, the translator's 'absence' will be 'felt' in the situations when creativity is used, in spite of the linguistic and cultural constraints, which we would call **creativity in constraints**. It is a real fact that *such constraints require adjustments to the TLC and transformations of the ST* which are necessary when *giving the ST the 'clothes' of the TLC*. Nevertheless, the excess of free translation, the danger of naturalization and the foreignness of the TT will always be denounced.

1.2. The ideas should be considered that 1) many speech communities have, to a certain extent, some level of understanding other languages, on the one hand, and that 2) the gaps between languages cannot always be bridged, on the other. The existence of some level of understanding is possible due to social and linguistic factors. However, one may wonder: *What is to be done when such an understanding is very difficult or is not possible due to the great differences between the two languages and cultures?*

The translator is usually 'caught' not just between languages but also between cultures, and between the ST and the target readers (TRs). In other words, translation involves the translator's task of mediating between two cultures. The greater the differences and the deeper the gap between the two cultures, the more serious the translation problems and the more difficult the translator's task. However, as Baker (2006: 41) says, it is not always accepted that "in addition to the familiar gulf between the two cultures, the translator is often called upon to bridge the ideological chasm separating the two cultures. In fact, cultural differences tend to take over from ideological differences and become practically indistinguishable from them, especially when there is a clash of civilizations. Or, rather, as Samuel Huntington, who claimed the phrase *clash of civilizations*, predicted, ideological differences metamorphose into cultural differences as civilizations enter into a collision course.

We suggest that the whole translating process has some **clash of cultures** at its basis, since culture is a non-negotiable given, i.e. a given that cannot be changed. In this respect, we share Huntington's opinion that "cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones" (Huntington 1996: 24, qtd. in Baker 2006: 40).

2. Fluency in translation

It is generally accepted that *naturalness, fluency, transparency* and *readability* are the basic coordinates of a successful translation. In order to make the TT sound natural, fluent and easily readable, the translator has to use easily flowing syntactic structures, i.e. continuous syntax that “breezes right along”, not a “doughy” one to avoid clouding the clarity of ideas and to render the precise meaning (Venuti 2008: 4). Awkwardness is the first enemy of fluency, together with anything that could not give the TRs access to what is there in the original. Therefore, once awkwardness is eliminated as well as anything else that could prevent the TRs from concentrating on the language itself, the TT will seem transparent to the TRs, by creating the translator’s ‘absence’ or “invisibility”, as Venuti (2008: 1) calls it.

2.1. The TT will seem transparent to the TRs on condition it reads fluently and lacks any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities, or any discursive features that may distract the TRs’ attention and that may prove the translator’s language manipulation. Furthermore, the translator’s ‘absence’ or “invisibility” will give the TRs the feeling that they grasp the writer’s personality and the meaning of the ST.

In setting forth the above arguments, I consider it vital to mention Venuti’s (2008:1) wonderful complex definition of “invisibility” related to the translator’s own manipulation of the translating language and to the practice of reading and evaluating translations: “A translated text, whether prose or poetry, fiction or non-fiction, is judged acceptable by most publishers, reviewers and readers when it reads fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer personality or intention, or the essential meaning of the foreign text – the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the original” (ibidem).

The degree of the TT fluency depends therefore on the translator’s ‘absence’ or ‘invisibility’. Thus, the more invisible the translator, or the less felt his presence (his/her manipulation of the language), the more fluent the TT. To put it differently, in creating ‘absence’, the more ‘invisible’ the translator, the more visible the writer and the clearer the meaning of the ST. As a matter of fact, this seems to be the strangest and most difficult of the translator’s tasks: to create ‘absence’ or ‘invisibility’ in spite of the numerous shifts and transformations involved in the translating process.

3. Transparency in translation

If translation is considered to be a second-order representation, the most important condition it has to fulfil is to “efface its second-order status

with the effect of transparency, producing the illusion of authorial presence whereby the translated text can be taken as the original” (Venuti 1998: 35).

Nonetheless, a translated text is different in intention and effect from the original text. Thus, the effect of transparency created by the fluency of the TT, i.e. the translator’s ‘absence’ in the TT, can be considered the most important coordinate of translation. Therefore, the TRs need to feel the author’s ‘presence’ and intention, which still remains an ideal to reach.

3.1. As a matter of fact, “the perfect translation is a useful (but unattainable) ideal in touching”, as Dollerup (2006: 53) puts it. He considers that “the ideas of the omnipotent translator, the perfect translation, and the supremacy of the source text are incompatible.” Attention is turned towards the concept of equivalence, notably the distinctions made by Eugene Nida and Peter Newmark between the differences in the orientation of this ‘equivalence’. The concept is not clear and cannot easily be applied to translation today, so the term ‘*approximation*’ is preferred. This, in turn, allows for the use of ‘*adequacy*’ as a criterion for whether users find a translation acceptable or not (ibidem, my emphasis).

The argument put forward by many translators is that their relationship with the author is obviously psychological consisting in their steady efforts of foregrounding the author’s personality and repressing their own. Thus, the more successful such efforts, the more invisible the translator, hence the better the translation. To put it more briefly, the translator’s ‘absence’ or ‘invisibility’ implies a sort of weird self-annihilation.

3.2. The concept is not new if we remember other opinions brought up even some decades ago. Thus, mention should be made, in this respect, of Nida’s phrase “naturalness of expression” aimed at by his concept of dynamic functional equivalence: “a translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression” (Nida 1964: 159). In fact, with Nida, fluency involved domestication: “the translator must be a person who can draw aside the curtains of linguistic and cultural differences, so that people may see clearly the relevance of the original message” (Nida and Waard 1986: 14).

I agree with Venuti (2008:16) that Nida showed in fact very much concern in the transparency of translation and in eliciting a response similar to the original when he said: “an easy and natural style in translating [...] is nevertheless essential to producing in the ultimate receptors a response similar to that of the original receptors” (Nida 1964: 163). Thus, Venuti is right that Nida “is in fact imposing the English language valorization of transparency on every foreign culture, masking a basic distinction between

the foreign and the translated texts which puts into question the possibility of eliciting a ‘similar’ response” (Venuti 2008: 16).

Furthermore, Nida’s concept of *accuracy* in translation depends on producing an equivalent effect in the receiving culture and is closely related to the transparency of translation created by using a fluent strategy.

A fluent strategy will avoid syntactical fragmentation, polysemy and shifts in register, as well as imitation of the obscurity or ambiguity of the original. Its aims will be an ease of expression and naturalness specific to the TLC, which will mask the second-order status of the TT, on the one hand, and the translator’s domesticating strategies of the ST, on the other.

Thus, the translator creates, through his/her ‘absence’ or ‘invisibility’ a sense of originality that necessarily goes hand in hand with fidelity to the ST. As a matter of fact, this is what the translator’s competence lies in. Fidelity has to stand on fluency’s side because “the effect of transparency conceals the translator’s interpretation of the foreign text, the semantic context he has constructed in the translation according to receiving cultural values” (Venuti, 2008: 66).

4. Strategies used in mediating “public narratives”

Public narratives are stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations larger than the individual, such as the family, political, religious or educational institutions, the media, and the nation. Individuals in any society either buy into dominant public narratives or dissent from them. In social and communication theory, narratives are the everyday stories we live by and which are continually changing in keeping with the people’s experience and contact with other new stories daily. (Baker 2006:4)

Translators and interpreters have recently been considered to play a crucial role in both disseminating and contesting *public narratives* within and across national boundaries, as Baker (2006: 4-5) puts it. Translators may modify aspects of the narratives encoded in the ST. The changes made in the process of (re)framing are related to numerous linguistic devices such as tense shifts, code-switch, collocability, idiomacity, etc.

Baker (2006:4-5) mentions four strategies used to mediate public narratives of the ST: 1) temporal and spatial framing; 2) framing through selective appropriation; 3) framing by labelling (place names, titles, etc) and 4) repositioning of participants. In my analysis of an EU text, I have labelled them 1) TS; 2) SA; 3) L and 4) R. We also suggested *approximation* (A) to render equivalence (see the Appendix).

Translation, including translation of specialized texts, plays a very important role in naturalizing and promoting narratives across linguistic boundaries.

5. Translating EU texts: a case study

The translator's 'absence' or 'invisibility' comes into question as much with literary translations as it does with non-literary ones, such as professional areas where labour-market demands are growing: community interpreting, European Union texts, multimedia translations, text revisions, etc. This is also one of the essential problems of practicing, professional translators and translator trainers, since they work on authentic texts and have to find problem solving solutions from examples and case studies they have encountered and analysed.

5.1. Focus is now laid on the language requirements of the European Union institutions and of other institutions, each with its own responsibilities and with its own translation service and problems. Special attention is paid to the EU documents used in the Member States.

The concept of "*equally authentic texts*" in different languages, first occurring in the Final Provisions of the European Commission Treaty is of utmost importance, especially as regards legal English. "The concept of multiple authenticity safeguards the equal rights of all languages and therefore the national identity of all Member States" (Wagner, Bech and Martinez 2002: 7).

However, the questions may arise: *Isn't this only an ideal to touch? How can this ideal be touched?* Such questions are legitimate as long as perfect equivalence of different language versions is not possible. One of the possible solutions may be that suggested by Wagner, Bech and Martinez who are translators for the European Commission: "[...] multiple authenticity and 'drafting in 11 languages' present no problems: if equal meaning is not possible, there should at least be equal effect; and if that does not arise, one can try to solve the problem by invoking equal intent" (ibidem). Many EU texts address the general reader to promote European integration and the work of the EU institutions. The activities of the EU institutions involve the translation of a lot of documents, generally exchange of documents. There are three types of documents according to the three directions of document flow: *in-house*, *outgoing* and *internal*. *In-house* (incoming) texts, produced in the member states of the EU and submitted by governments, ministries and members of the public, are translated into one language, i.e. either English or French. *Internal* documents, including administrative information etc. are not generally translated, or are translated only into English or French, occasionally into German. *Outgoing* documents,

i.e. texts written inside the EU institutions in English or French, for readers outside the EU institutions are translated into the language of the member states, as it is the case of my text samples.

The text samples had to be translated by the candidates to the examination organized by the European Personnel Selection Office (EPSO) in order to select professional translators for the European Union. Being invited by the European Commission to evaluate and mark these examination tests, I considered the selected text samples very interesting and useful for the purpose of the present paper. (see the Appendix).

5.2. My concern here is in translating *outgoing* documents. It is a real fact that translators of *outgoing* documents face the problem of translating a different reality including assumptions about the cultural, historical, political, economic etc. knowledge of the readers. In such institutions, the translator suggests another way of getting at the same idea.

In the EU general texts, there are a lot of terms and structures that are not “reader-friendly” being very difficult to render because there are no corresponding equivalents in Romanian. For example, *vote-losers* → *neaducătoare de voturi*, *heralds of decline* → *analizști/comentatori care prevăd declinul*, *the price in confort...to pay* → *confortul la care sunt dispuși să renunțe*, *statist couch* → *trai riguros planificat*, *tentative jabs* → *încercări*, *to unhook the concept of reform from people’s belief* → *să-i facă pe oameni să renunțe la convingerea că reforma...*, *temblors* → *măsuri radicale*, *a mix of planned potions for change* → *pachetul de măsuri reformiste*, *jagged-edge measures* → *măsuri reformiste radicale*, *feel-good areas* → *domenii fără probleme*, *to forge ahead with watered down plans* → *a continua punerea în aplicare a unor planuri mai puțin radicale*, *draft services bill* → *proiect de lege privind sectorul serviciilor*, *weakened services directive* → *caracterul mai permisiv al legislației serviciilor* etc.

It is obvious that structures such as the above seem most unfriendly to the Romanian readers in terms of collocability and of their contextual restraints. It is a well-known fact that collocations are often a major stumbling block for non-native translators. However, this may also happen with Romanian native translators who lack linguistic competence. This is obvious in the table below that shows a lot of wrong contextualizations of dictionary meanings, mistranslations, especially of denotative meanings, and wrong interpretations; they are all taken from evaluation tests. For the full context see the appendix.

COLLOCATIONS	STRATEGIES USED TO MEDIATE	SERIOUS MISTAKES WRONG TRANSLATION MISTRANSLATION MISINTERPRETATION	ROMANIAN EQUIVALENTS
<i>presumptive answer</i>	SA	răspunsul prezumtiv/probabil/presupus	<i>răspunsul așteptat/scontat</i>
<i>heralds of decline</i>	SA, A	trâmbițașii declinului, crainici/ vestitori ai declinului, precursorii principali ai declinului	<i>analizști/ comentatori care prevăd declinul</i>
<i>on the price in comfort ...to pay</i>	SA	cât sunt dispuși să cheltuiască	<i>comfortul la care sunt dispuși să renunțe</i>
<i>national undertaking</i>	SA, A	sarcină națională	<i>efort național</i>
<i>a cosy, risk-averse statist couch</i>	SA, A	părăsirea unei canapele naționale commode și căreia nu-i plac riscurile, care are aversiune față de risc; loc călduț, confortabil, de nemișcat; bârlog protector	<i>un trai tihnit, riguros planificat, lipsit de riscuri.</i>
<i>awkward business</i>	SA	afacere greoaie/încâlcită	<i>problemă foarte dificilă.</i>
<i>sharp defeat</i>	SA	înfrângere crasă.	<i>înfrângere categorică.</i>
<i>tentative jabs</i>	SA, A	vaccinul tentativ al guvernului; terapii de șoc tentative ale guvernului	<i>încercări</i>
<i>on parallel rails</i>	SA, A	aflate pe linii/șine paralele	<i>având direcții de dezvoltare proprii, mergând în paralel</i>
<i>scales of societal change</i>	SA, R	scara schimbărilor impusă de	<i>schimbări sociale</i>
<i>a mix of planned potions for change</i>	SA, A	amestecul de poțiuni pregătite pentru aducerea schimbărilor	<i>pachetul de măsuri reformiste</i>
<i>jagged-edge reform measures</i>	SA, A	măsurile neuniforme/ inconsecvente/ în zigzag	<i>măsurile reformiste radicale.</i>
<i>feel-good areas</i>	SA, A	zone confortabile	<i>domenii fără probleme</i>
<i>the EU single market</i>	SA, A	singurul comisar al pieței UE	<i>comisarul pentru o piață unică a UE</i>

<i>commissioine r</i>			
<i>to forge ahead</i>	SA, A	a forța aplicarea	<i>a continua punerea în aplicare</i>
<i>watered-down plans</i>	SA, A	planuri diluate/ subțiate/ atenuate	<i>planuri mai puțin radicale</i>
<i>radical attempt</i>	SA	încercare dură/ tăioasă/ viguroasă	<i>încercare mai fermă</i>
<i>resounding backing</i>	SA	sprijin răsunător	<i>sprijin extraordinar, susținere spectaculoasă</i>
<i>a new draft services bill</i>	SA, A	un nou proiect de propunere legislativă	<i>un nou proiect de lege privind sectorul serviciilor</i>
<i>the weakened services directives</i>	SA, A	directiva (serviciilor) slăbită a serviciilor	<i>caracterul mai permisiv al legislației serviciilor</i>
<i>a separate piece of legislation</i>	SA	un articol de lege separata; o parte din legislație	<i>o lege separată</i>
<i>posted employees</i>	SA, A	angajați expediați din țară/ forțați să plece/ răzleți/ fixați	<i>angajați detașați</i>
<i>construction workers</i>	SA, A	muncitori în construcție	<i>(muncitori) constructori, muncitori în domeniul construcțiilor</i>
<i>work on limited contracts</i>	A	a lucra pe contracte limitate/ cu (o) limită	<i>a lucra pe baza unor contracte pe termen limitat</i>

The translator has to avoid interferences from English in terms of vocabulary and syntax, on the one hand, and appearing pedantic, on the other. In order to achieve this goal, the translators need, besides linguistic and cultural knowledge, to read their national press, not only for information, but also to get familiar with the way their mother tongue (Romanian in our case) is used to observe the changing national attitudes. Such interferences usually occur due to the large number of false friends. As a matter of fact, EU texts are full of Eurojargon and false friends. In this respect, Wagner's (2002: 71) opinion is worth mentioning: "Everyone working in the EU institutions is subjected to a flood of Eurojargon, *franglais* and false friends, and it is difficult not to be swept along by the tide."

An example may be the noun *certification*, that cannot be translated by *certificare, adeverință, atestare*, i.e. the equivalents given in the bilingual dictionary. In this context, it is the synonym of the nouns *sense, meaning*, the correct Romanian equivalent being *accepțiune, sens*. Other examples may be found in the table below:

FALSE FRIENDS	STRATEGIES USED TO MEDIATE	WRONG CONTEXTUALIZATIONS OF THE DICTIONARY MEANINGS CONTEXTUAL MISTRANSLATION CONTEXTUAL MISINTERPRETATION	CORRECT TRANSLATION (IN THIS CONTEXT)
<i>to reform</i>	R, SA	a reforma/ îmbunătăți/ ameliora/ îndrepta/ corecta; (amer. jur.) a amenda/ modifica (o lege); a se îndrepta/ corija	<i>a se reforma/ a înfăptui reforma</i>
<i>certification</i>	SA	certificare, adeverire, atestare	<i>accepțiune, sens</i>
<i>presumptive</i>	SA	ipotetic, probabil	<i>așteptat</i>
<i>heralds</i>	SA, A	vestitor, herald, crainic; prevestitor, prooroc; mesager, sol	<i>analști/ comentatori</i>
<i>undertaking</i>	SA	întreprindere; sarcină; promisiune	<i>eșfort, inițiativă.</i>
<i>statist</i>	SA	statistician; partizan al economiei planificate/dirijate	<i>(trai) riguros planificat.</i>
<i>couch</i>	SA, A	sofa, canapea, divan; bârlog, vizuină	<i>trai.</i>
<i>business</i>	SA	afacere	<i>problemă</i>
<i>sharp</i>	SA	ascuțit, tăios, incisiv, mușcător; ironic, sarcastic	<i>categoric</i>
<i>tentative</i>	SA	de probă, empiric, experimental; provizoriu, temporar	<i>încercare</i>
<i>jab</i>	A	împunsătură	-
<i>overhead</i>	SA	de sus, superior; global; deasupra, în cer.	<i>cheltuieli suplimentare</i>
<i>unhook</i>	SA, A	a scoate/ da jos din cârlig; a descopcia; a desface	<i>a face pe cineva să renunțe la ceva</i>
<i>rails</i>	SA	șină, linie	<i>(linie de) dezvoltare</i>
<i>persist</i>	SA	a persista	<i>a continua</i>
<i>faint</i>	SA	neclar, palid, estompat; slab, fără putere, neputincios	<i>neînsemnat</i>
<i>tembors</i>	A	cutremur (de pământ)	<i>măsuri radicale</i>
<i>societa</i>	SA, R	de societate	<i>social</i>

<i>l</i>			
<i>chaste n</i>	A	a pedepsi; a liniști/ calma/ modera.	<i>a trezi la realitate.</i>
<i>potion s</i>	SA, A	poțiune, băutură	<i>măsuri.</i>
<i>dilute</i>	A	a dilua, a slăbi, a atenua	<i>a reconsidera</i>
<i>swerve</i>	SA, A	a face o mișcare laterală; a se depărta brusc de; a se abate de la; a se clătina	<i>schimbare (bruscă) de atitudine</i>
<i>spurt</i>	SA	a țâșni/izbucni; a crește, a spori, a se ridica; jet, țâșnătură; izbucnire	<i>spectaculos</i>
<i>abloss om</i>	SA	în floare.	<i>din plin</i>
<i>jagged -edge</i>	SA, A	cu margine zimțată/crestată; cu sau în zigzaguri	<i>măsuri radicale</i>
<i>line</i>	A	linie de demarcație, hotar, limită; mentalitate, mod de a gândi	<i>convingere</i>
<i>watere d – down</i>	SA, A	subțiat, îndoit cu apă, atenuat, moderat (declarație)	<i>mai puțin radicale</i>
<i>resoun ding (backi ng)</i>	SA	răsunător	<i>spectaculos</i>
<i>posted</i>	SA	expediat (prin poștă), pus la cutie	<i>detașați</i>

All these aspects are very useful to those who struggle daily with the “miseries” and “splendors” of translation, and who know very well that translation is many times approximate.

Studying aspects related to the translator’s invisibility in the TT will be helpful in gaining further insight into the realities of professional practice.

To conclude, the translator’s ‘absence’ or ‘invisibility’ is created when the TT reads naturally and easily so as to produce the illusion that the author wrote it in the TL. Thus, the author’s intention and the essential meaning of the ST are made available in the most transparent way, the most important coordinate being fluency.

Translation being the recovery of the author’s intended meaning, a translated text is considered to be successful when the intended meaning of the ST is correctly, fluently, precisely and adequately expressed. Consequently, the TT seems to represent the clothes in which the author gets dressed. In our case, the English text needs authentic Romanian “clothes”.

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Appendix

T1: Is it possible for France and Germany *to reform* (R, SA) – despite the word's new *certification* (SA) as both terrifying and a *vote-loser* (SA) – and stop what is seen *in some places* (TS) as their decline as poles of allegiance and emulation in Europe?

T2: The *presumptive answer* (SA) is mostly yes, say the countries' most aggressive *heralds of decline* (SA, A), depending *on the price in comfort* the two societies and their politicians are willing *to pay* (SA). But as Jacques Chirac acknowledged last week (he could have been speaking for Germany too), a *national undertaking* (SA) that requires leaving a *cosy, risk-averse, statist couch* (SA, A) for a more open, more competitive, more growth-oriented world is very *awkward business* (SA).

T3: In Chirac's case, this statement followed a *sharp defeat* (SA) in regional elections that was mostly a protest vote against his government's *tentative jabs* (SA, A) at reducing the *enormous cost* of French public sector's *overhead* (SA). The president was asked *on television* (SA) how he could *unhook the concept of reform from the people's belief* (SA, A) that it *really meant sacrificing the benefits they liked the most* (R). "By using *the word* (SA) less," he said.

T4: *On parallel rails* (SA, A), political will and reality on each side of the Rhine meet here. If the French and German reform *efforts persist* (SA), however *faint* (SA) compared with the *temblors* (A) of the Thatcher or Reagan *scales of societal change* (SA, R), they point in the direction of more difficulties at the *polls* (S) and perhaps in the streets for Chirac's neo-Gaullists and Schröder's Social Democrats, who face 13 elections in Germany's regions in the coming months.

T5: *Chastened* (A) by elections, Chirac told the nation that *a mix of planned potions for change* (SA, A) will be *diluted* (A). But the president's *swerve* (SA, A) was hardly *precedent-setting* (A).

T6: In Germany, where some taxes have been lowered and some *suppleness brought* (SA) to the labour market (but without a *spurt of economic growth* (SA), *speculation is now blossoming* (SA) that *jagged-edge reform measures* (SA, A) are *over and done* (SA). The r-word, it is said, should be used by the government only in connection with *feel-good areas* (SA, A) like research, vocational training and innovation. The *line* (A) among Social Democrats is that if the Legislature in the federation's biggest state, *North-Rhine-Westphalia* (S), falls in 2005 after 39 years with an SPD hand on power, Schröder goes, too, in 2006.

T7: Charlie McCreevy, the European Union's *single market commissioner* (SA, A), on Tuesday, defended his decision *to forge ahead with watered down plans* (SA, A) to liberalise EU services by arguing that a more *radical attempt* (SA) to create a free market in the sector was "never going to become *a piece of legislation*" (SA).

T8: Mr. McCreevy on Tuesday got a *resounding backing* (SA) from members of the European Parliament for a new *draft services bill* (SA, A) that incorporated most of the amendments demanded by MEP earlier this year.

T9: Partly to *offset* (A) their frustration over the *weakened services directive* (SA, A), *Brussels* (L) on Tuesday presented new legal guidance on a separate *piece of legislation* (SA) designed to guarantee that *posted employees* (SA), such as *construction workers* (A), *can work abroad on limited contracts* (A).

IDENTIFYING AND ANALYSING THEME-RHEME RELATIONS FOR DISCOURSE PRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

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***Abstract:** The article presents an approach to the identification and analysis of Theme-Rheme semantic relations in texts and shows two of its possible applications to discourse production and translation. A step-by-step procedure based on the IATRIA approach (Integrated Approach to Theme-Rheme Identification and Analysis) is presented and exemplified on a multidimensional translation method.*

***Keywords:** Translation method, source text analysis, Theme-Rheme identification and analysis*

1. Introduction

Usually, Theme-Rheme structures are considered to be syntactic, e.g. the Theme is seen as the starting point in the utterance and whatever follows is the Rheme (Mathesius, 1942; Daneš, 1974; Halliday, 1994), but as syntactic structures, they fail to provide consistent identification of individual Themes and Rhemes, to account for the length of sentence Themes, and to account for coherence on different text levels, i.e., episodic or global (Dejica, 2006a, 2006b). This article continues to report my research in the area of information identification and analysis in texts, and comes as an effort to answer the question whether Theme-Rheme semantic structures can be established and analysed starting from the pragmatic identification of Themes and Rhemes in text. The article is to be seen within the framework of translation for which the IATRIA approach [Integrated Approach to Theme-Rheme Identification and Analysis] has been developed (Dejica, 2008a).

2. Working with Theme-Rheme relations in texts

The Theme-Rheme relational analysis at text level reveals the structural relations between all the information universe constituents of the text (Dejica, 2008a), and shows the way in which subsequent discourse re-uses previous Themes or Rhemes according to an overall textual plan (Daneš, 1974).

Daneš was the first to use the term *thematic progression* to show how Themes and Rhemes are organized in an ordered and hierarchic way:

By [thematic progression] we mean the choice and ordering of utterance Themes, their mutual concatenation and hierarchy, as well as their relationship to hyper-

Themes of the superior text units..., to the whole text, and to the situation. (Daneš, 1974: 113)

Daneš developed the model of thematic progression and observed different patterns of matching sentence arrangements: *linear progression* (the Rheme of a sentence becomes the Theme of the immediately succeeding sentence), *progression with constant Theme* (the same Theme is repeated at the beginning of each sentence), and *progression with derived Theme* (subsequent Themes are derived from a superordinate item at the beginning of a text).

I use Daneš' (1974) terminology to label different types of progression between Themes and Rhemes; what differs in this approach is the pragmatic perspective used for the identification of Themes and Rhemes.

The suggested approach for the identification and analysis of Theme-Rheme relations for discourse production and translation implies a procedure based on the IATRIA approach (Dejica, 2008a) and consists of the following steps:

- a. the identification of information universe (IU) constituents using a pragmatic Theme-Rheme (PTR) model:

The term 'universe' is borrowed from science, where it stands for the sum of everything that exists in the cosmos. Just like in science, in this approach, universe stands for the sum of all the information that exists in a text. The IU constituents are seen as carriers of information which structurally can be divided into a two-part information system, which in this approach is formed of Themes and Rhemes. The pragmatic Theme-Rheme model uses pragmatic parameters for the identification of information, e.g., background knowledge of participants, shared knowledge, etc. The model has been extendedly presented in Dejica (2008a, 2008b).

- b. the hol-atomistic analysis of Theme-Rheme relations (Dejica 2008a) and setting up the thematic progression of the text.

The thematic progression is seen as a thematic holon, a system which is a whole in itself as well as part of a larger system, i.e., the information universe (Dejica 2008a). For theoretical purposes I assume thematic holons to be particular to the cultural system of the source text, or to the semantic structure of genres, which may differ in different languages.

The hol-atomistic analysis suggested here, together with the atomistic and holistic analyses, is part of a theory of text perspectives which has been used for the analysis of information universe constituents (Dejica,

2009). The *atomistic perspective* is used for the analysis of individual constituents of the Information Universe, i.e., Themes and Rhemes, the *hol-atomistic perspective* for the analysis of different relations between them at text level, and the *holistic perspective* for the analysis of the relations that can be established between them and other constituents from different information universes, e.g., cultural relations, above text levels.

In Fig. 1, these perspectives are represented as follows:

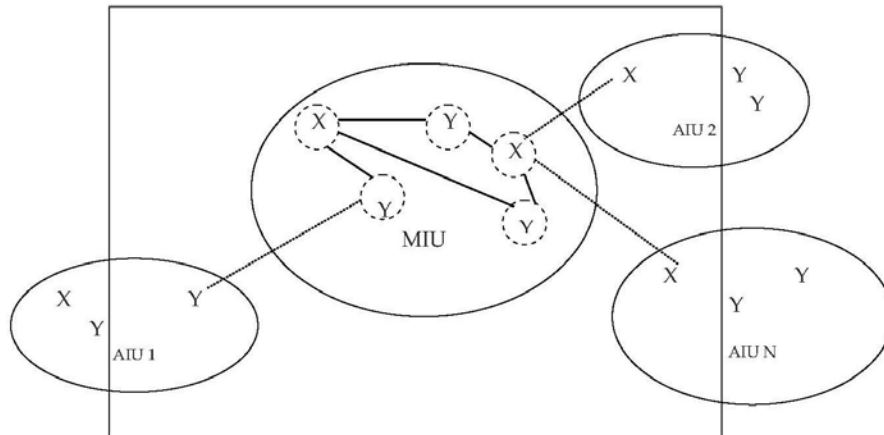


Fig. 1 Perspectives of analysis

- *the atomistic perspective* is represented by the dotted circles around the individual constituents of the main information universe (MIU);
 - *the hol-atomistic perspective* is represented by lines between the individual constituents of the MIU; it covers all possible relations between these constituents at text level: syntactic, semantic, cognitive, lexical and grammatical, etc.
 - *the holistic perspective* is represented by dotted lines between the individual constituents of the MIU and the constituents of other auxiliary information universes; it covers all possible relations above text level: cultural, stylistic, etc.
- c. the identification of holistic relations between the thematic holon(s) of the source text and the preferred thematic progression of the target language;

It is implied here that genres display structural preferences. Dejica and Superceanu (2004) have discovered that Romanian project proposals show preferences for progressions with derived Themes and progressions with constant Theme from Rheme position. The two thematic holons in the form of these thematic progressions are exemplified in Fig. 2:

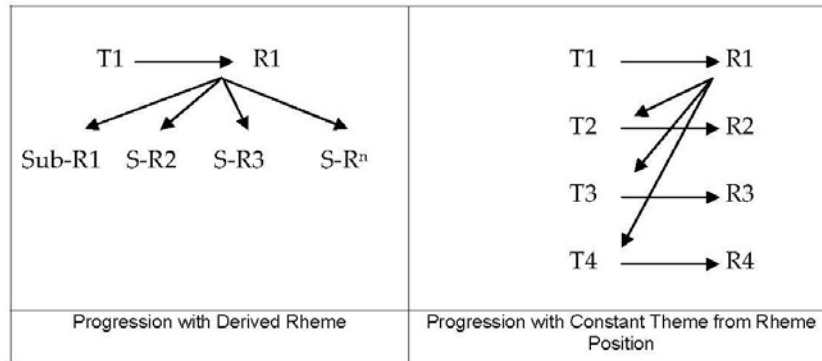


Fig. 2 Thematic progressions in Romanian project proposals

- d. the re-creation of the thematic holon (Dejica 2008b) in the target text.

I view translation as an activity which transfers into the target text, with a specific purpose in mind, the writer's intention expressed in the source text. Integrated into a three-phase multidimensional translation method (Fig. 3) (Gerzymisch-Arbogast, 2008: 12), the approach to Theme-Rheme identification and analysis can be used as follows: steps (a) and (b) performed in the reception phase, step (c), in the transfer phase, and step (d), in the reproduction phase.

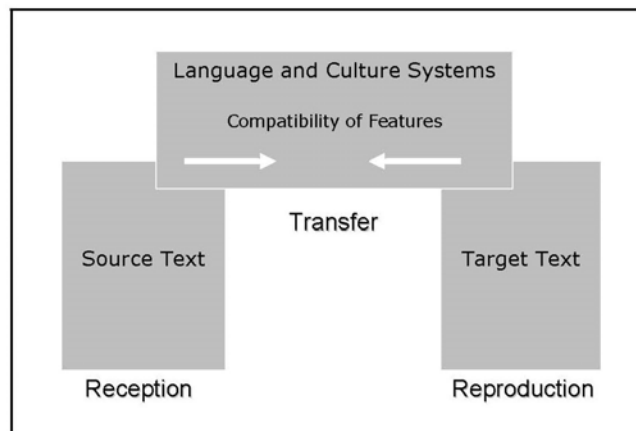


Fig. 3 Translation Process Stages (following Gerzymisch-Arbogast, 2008)

3. Exemplification of the approach

For exemplification and analysis I chose the same text which I used to describe other relations, i.e., cognitive (Dejica, 2007), lexico-grammatical (Dejica, 2008b), etc. between the information universe constituents in texts:

The project aims to develop techniques supporting heterogeneous modelling, including both formal "meta-models" and a software laboratory for experimenting with heterogeneous modelling. In this context, it will explore methods based on dataflow and process networks, discrete-event systems, synchronous/reactive languages, finite-state machines, and communicating sequential processes. It will make contributions ranging from fundamental semantics to synthesis of embedded software and custom hardware.

(Ptolemy Project, <http://ptolemy.eecs.berkeley.edu/>)

The analysis follows the steps in 2:

a. Identification of the IU elements in the reception phase. An extended analysis of this text using the IATRIA model is available in Dejica (2008a). The analysis revealed the following IU constituents in terms of Themes and Rhemes:

Themes – given information, already mentioned in the title: *'the project'*; the Theme in the first sentence is resumed in sentences 2 and 3;

Rhemes – new information (i.e. the objectives proper): *'development of techniques supporting heterogeneous modelling, including both formal "meta-models" and a software laboratory for experimenting with heterogeneous modelling; exploration of methods based on dataflow and process networks, discrete-event systems, synchronous/reactive languages, finite-state machines, and communicating sequential processes; making contributions ranging from fundamental semantics to synthesis of embedded software and custom hardware.'*

b. In the reception phase, the translator establishes hol-atomistic semantic relations between Themes and Rhemes, and sets up the thematic progression of the text. The hol-atomistic semantic analysis between the Themes and the Rhemes in the text reveals the following relations:

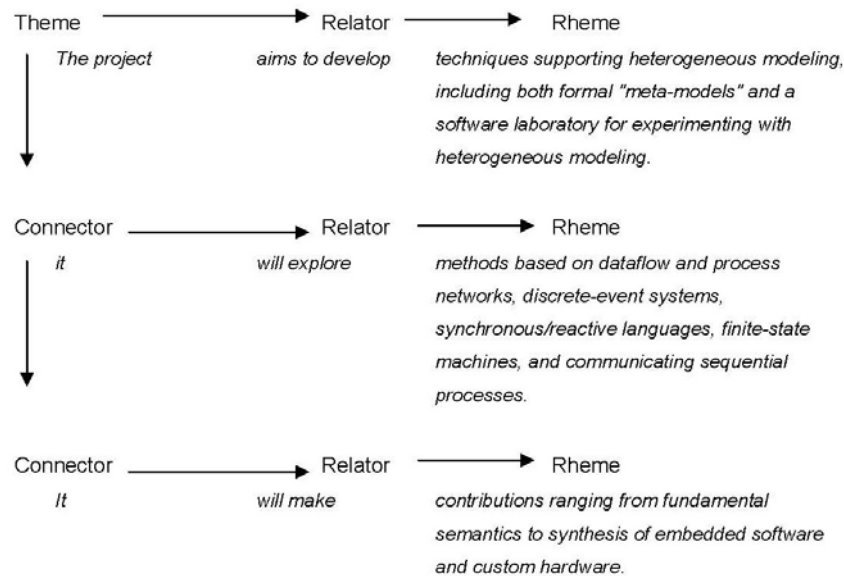


Fig. 4 Exemplification of a thematic progression with constant Theme

As the analysis in Fig. 4 shows, the text displays a thematic progression with Constant Theme. The Theme is resumed at the beginning of each sentence which gives the text a more emphatic or argumentative power.

c. Next, in the transfer phase, the translator identifies holistic relations between the thematic holon of the information universe of the source text and the thematic progressions which form holons particular to the cultural system of the target language. Since English and Romanian display more or less identical sentence structures (in the Ptolemy Project example the sentence structure is S+V+O), the thematic holon in Romanian will preserve the same structure as in the English text; however, there are other languages, i.e., German, where the relator, i.e., the verb which joins IU constituents, is placed towards the end of the sentence which creates more or less emphasized holons in the target text.

d. In the reproduction phase, depending on the Theme-Rheme preferences of the target language or of the target genre, the translator reproduces the most adequate thematic holon to suit the translation order, the client's requirements or simply his/her own preferences.

4. Conclusion

The Ptolemy Project text is relatively short, displaying a classical thematic progression, easily identifiable. Even if I have managed to show that Theme-Rheme semantic structures can be established and analysed

starting from pragmatic identification of Themes and Rhemes in text, quantitative studies are needed to validate this claim.

The purpose of the proposed analysis was not to identify new types of structures, but to see how the thematic and rhematic information in a text is structured starting from a pragmatic identification of Themes and Rhemes. The main beneficiaries of such an analysis are translators, but the method can be easily used by writers or discourse analysts to improve overall text coherence or to produce coherent texts.

This approach is part of a wider translation method designed to help translators take reasonable and consistent decisions as to the relevance and reliability of source text features in the target text. It also accounts for the fact that a target text may have several versions, all 'correct', depending on the audience or discourse style of the target language, or client's preferences. It is meant to be used integrated with the cognitive, syntactic and semantic approaches to the analysis of the information universe in texts for translation.

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PHRASAL VERBS IN ENGLISH AND THEIR TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS IN SERBIAN

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to look into the basic semantic and syntactic features of phrasal verbs in English as well as to point out the most frequent translation equivalents in Serbian, with special focus on grammatical categories of aspect and transitivity in these languages.

Key words: phrasal verbs, translation equivalents

1. Introduction

The use of phrasal verbs is a very important feature of everyday English language, as they represent a practically limitless group of verbs which combine with adverbial or prepositional particles to produce new meanings. They act as complete syntactic and semantic units, sometimes with more than one, usually idiomatic, meaning. Phrasal verbs are highly productive since a particle can be added to almost any verb and they are also frequently used in all forms of written and spoken modern English. The main reason for their frequent usage is linguistic economy, i.e. one phrasal verb can be used instead of many particular one-word verbs as it can have a vast range of meanings. They are an inevitable part of vocabulary to such an extent that, as Bradley stated, their number is 'beyond all calculation, and in fact we are continually inventing new ones.' (Anastasijević 1968: 36).

The aim of this paper is to look into the basic semantic and syntactic features of phrasal verbs in English, as well as the problem of translating them into Serbian which lacks verbs of this kind. The examples are corpus-based, taken from the novel *History in 10 ½ Chapters* by Julian Barnes, a renowned contemporary British writer, and translated into Serbian by Ivana Đorđević and Srđan Vujica. All the verbs and their meanings were found and checked in *Longman's Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. In this paper the focus is not on the distinction between adverbial and prepositional particles, and for that reason, the term 'particle' will be used throughout for both. The status of the "particle" is still being discussed and debated, whether it is an adverb, a prepositional adverb, a postpositional affix or a special part of speech etc (Yatskovich:1999). It is useful to remember that although it is possible to decide in almost any sentence whether a particle is an adverb or a preposition following their features, an important characteristic of many particles is that they can function as either. Distinguishing between verbs followed by prepositional particles and verbs followed by adverbial particles

is rather straightforward. The position of pronoun objects, adverbs of manner and stress in spoken English varies depending on the particle.

2. Phrasal verbs in English

The collected corpus includes both phrasal and prepositional verbs, as this paper does not intend to make a distinction between these two. Moreover, all the examples are of the type verb + 1 particle (both prepositional and adverbial), hence only the term phrasal verb that is widely accepted will be used throughout. The total number of sentences in the corpus is 107.

2.1. Semantic features

Although there do exist a number of phrasal verbs with more or less transparent (i.e. literal) meaning, which can be deduced by defining the individual parts (such as *go out*, *fall down*, and *stand up*), others such as *put up*, *look after* and *carry on* have meanings which cannot simply be understood as the sum of their parts and they are opaque (i.e. idiomatic). However, some grammarians claim that only the figurative, idiomatic or metaphorical use of the combination should be called a phrasal verb, and that the literal use, where both the verb and the particle are analysed, and both are found to have literal meaning in a phrasal context, should be called *verb and particle* or *verb-particle constructions*. Other linguistic experts are of the opinion that all verb-particle constructions in both literal, as well as idiomatic use should be called phrasal verbs, irrespectively of whether they have an individual meaning or not. Since in *Longman's Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*, which was used as the reference by the author of this paper for the existence of phrasal verbs, both meanings are included, here this second criterion will be applied. There are three groups of phrasal verbs according to the level of idiomaticity: literal, semi-idiomatic and idiomatic.

1. Literal

In this category, the verb and the particle retain their original meaning (*stand up* – to be in a high position, *run away* – to move from a position). Nearly all phrasal verbs of motion tend to be transparent. The reason why this is so is the fact that phrasal verbs have roots back in the earliest Old English writings, where verbs with short adverbs and prepositions were used in a very literal sense showing mostly the direction, place, or physical orientation of a noun in the sentence. Here are some examples from the corpus (the numbers in brackets denote the pages in the book):

- (1) ...he would have to stop and **look around** with a puzzled smile... (35)
 (around – physical orientation – surrounding sb/sth)
- (2) ... his annual game of guessing where his audience **came from**. (33)
 (from – place – starting at a particular place, position)
- (3) She had told the girls...she was **going away** with a schoolfriend. (36) (away – direction – from a position)

2. Semi-idiomatic

In this subgroup, the verb more or less retains its concrete meaning, but the particle adds a nuance that would not be predictable from its basic meaning (usually of completion and intensification). Even though the exact meaning of these phrasal verbs might not be clear, an approximate meaning can be grasped. For example:

- (4) ...promising to keep the world's supply of miracles **topped up**. (27)
 (up – intensification)
- (5) ... old Noah didn't seem to **dry out**... (18)
 (out – completion)

3. Idiomatic

Their meaning is unpredictable from the sum of the meanings of their constituents. Originally all idiomatic phrasal verbs almost certainly started out as a verb and [particle](#) in literal usage (*Wikipedia*). However, in everyday life an idiomatic phrasal verb too, like any other grammatical constructs, becomes fixed and authentic in time by its frequent use.

- (6) ... a terrible flush of apprehension would **break out** in him. (37)
 (break out – if something unpleasant breaks out, it starts to happen)
- (7) ... and then there was Franklin's other opening lecture, one just as necessary to **bring off**... (36)
 (bring off – to succeed in doing something very difficult)
- (8) He rather wished he'd **made up** some Minoan aphorism... (42)
 (make up – to invent)

Similarly, according to the level of idiomaticity, Bolinger (1971:113) divides phrasal verbs into: 1. first-level metaphors (the verb retains its literal meaning, while the particle changes its meaning – the meaning is extended), e.g. *load up*, 2. second-level metaphors (both the verb and the particle do not retain their literal meaning), e.g. *make up*, and 3. third-level metaphors – fully idiomatic (even with noun phrases), e.g. *turn over a new leaf*.

2.2. Syntactic features (transitivity, word order, adverbial insertion)

Phrasal verbs can be transitive or intransitive. If they are transitive, they can be separable or inseparable. Verbs which are separable are those which, under certain conditions, may have the object inserted between the verb and the particle. However, if the direct object is a pronoun, for

example, we must separate the phrasal verb and insert the pronoun between the two parts, if the particle is adverbial; but if it is prepositional, the pronoun always follows the particle. Inseparable phrasal verbs take the object after the particle; in these cases the verb and the particle cannot be separated by the direct object. On the other hand, intransitive phrasal verbs are those that do not take a direct object and cannot be separated from the particle – they are always inseparable. In the corpus there are slightly more transitive verbs, (47 examples, 58% than intransitive verbs, 34 examples 42%).

According to Anastasijević (1968:67), intransitive verbs are almost always immediately followed by a particle. Not one Vi in the corpus was separated from the particle by any intervening language material (only continuous word order is present in the corpus). On the other hand, transitive phrasal verbs can equally have two word orders, depending on the position of the particle: 1. continuous word order – verb + (either prepositional or adverbial) particle + object and 2. discontinuous word order – verb + object + (only adverbial) particle.

2.2. 1. Transitive phrasal verbs with continuous word order

a) Passive constructions are representatives of continuous word order with transitive verbs. In the passive it is most common to find phrasal verbs without an object following them. There is an object, but formally it occupies a different position, since it functions as a grammatical subject. The original position of the object before the passivization is after the verb.

(9) *The fact that not much gopher-wood grew nearby was **brushed aside** (the fact).(21)*

(10) *...no-one had yet been **beaten up** (no-one) or **shot** (no-one) ... (46)*

b) Similarly, this movement of the object from its original position after the verb is evident in relative clauses as well:

(11) *The second story - which again I **pass on** (the second story) without comment... (24)*

c) if an object is a clause, a gerund or a noun denoting an activity, or if an object is long, a particle precedes it (normally, we do not put the particle at the end, as, otherwise, it would lose the connection with the verb):

(12) *Noah had it **put about** that the raven... had been malingering... (25)*

d) fixed phrase – only that word order is possible:

(13) *... to **hold down a job** beyond your capabilities... (30)*

(14) *...he could easily **pass up the chance** of seeing Venice ... (35)*

(15) *... to **stir up a dispute** among the animals. (25)*

2.2.2. Transitive phrasal verbs with discontinuous word order

a) if an object is pronominal, the adverbial particle has to follow it. Almost always the pronoun is unstressed, whereas the adverb is stressed.

(16) ... and **locked them up** in a packing-case. (22)

(17) **Bump that up** to about four years. (4)

However, this is only applicable if a particle functions as an adverb, but if it is a preposition, then no matter what kind of object appears (both noun phrases and pronouns of any kind), it always follows the preposition (continuous word order). For example:

(18) ... I can **vouch for that**. (16)

b) two objects with the verb (verb + object + preposition + object)

(19) ... you could hardly expect to **cram the entire animal kingdom into something a mere three hundred cubits long**. (4)

(20) Some of those scholars who **devote their lives to your sacred texts** have even tried to prove... (29)

c) fixed order (not fixed phrases); they require objects between a verb and a particle (only that word order is possible):

▪ turn **sb/sth** around/round

(21) **Turn the stone round** so that you can't see it. (44)

(*turn round the stone is not possible)

▪ get **sb** down

(22) It was the sitting alone like this that **got him down**. (47)

2.2.3. Transitive phrasal verbs with both word orders - separable Vt

If an object is a noun phrase, relatively short, a particle can either precede or follow the object. However, if the order of phrasal verb is fixed – verb + preposition, that order cannot be changed – the particle immediately follows the verb. Usually when a noun is used for the first time, it follows a phrasal verb, but once it is repeated, it is not stressed anymore and is placed before the particle. Taking into account the examples from the corpus, continuous word order is more common and frequent. For example:

(23) That **set off quite a panic**. (18) (*set panic off* is also possible)

(24) **Keep up** the good work. (47)

If the particle is prepositional, the object always follows:

(25) ... we were euphoric when we **got off** the Ark. (30)

All the examples previously mentioned in this part illustrate the possible positions of the particle. However, the position of adverbials should also be highlighted. Adverbials are not inserted between a verb and a particle, as they form one unit. They are either in mid (before the verb) or in final position (after the object).

(26) Sick animals, for instance, were always **ruthlessly dealt with**. (13)

(27) I can **vouch for it personally** ... (7)

3. Translation equivalents in Serbian

Translation is the complicated process of finding the closest and most natural unit in the target language (L2) which matches in meaning and/or in form the unit in the source language (L1), while avoiding interference with the source language. The most common [misconception](#) about this process is that there exists a simple ‘[word-for-word](#)’ correspondence between any two [languages](#), and that translation is therefore a straightforward [mechanical](#) process. In contrast, translators need to understand and notice nuances in the semantics of both L1 and L2. This is the case with phrasal verbs which possess quite a lot of semantic, grammatical and stylistic peculiarities, and for that reason translating them into Serbian can be difficult and demanding. The Serbian language does not have the possibility of forming such verbs with particles, which either modify or completely change the meaning of the verb. English can convey semantic nuances with one phrasal verb, while Serbian most frequently uses a highly developed system of verbal prefixes for the same or similar purpose, as these prefixes are lexically ‘strong’ and hence resemble English adverbial particles in their semantic functions, in that they indicate various qualities of actions and states. For example, the Serbian prefix ‘raz-’, among other meanings can denote: 1) the division into parts (*razdvojiti, razdeliti etc*); 2) the distribution, occurrence of an action in different directions (*razgranati, razgrabiti etc*); 3) an action in reverse (*razgraditi, razmrsiti etc*); 4) the termination of an action or a state (*razjasniti, razmisliti etc*); 5) the intensification of an action (*rasplamtati se, razmahati se etc*) (Klajn 2002:277-279). Thus, in translation from English into Serbian, it is usually the Serbian prefix that is used to describe the action or state most accurately, in the way the English adverbial component of the phrasal verb conveys the meaning. To a greater degree, this refers rather to nuances of semantics than grammar. Another problem that occurs when translating English phrasal verbs is their polysemy. Consider the example of *set up* and compare the following: *set sb up* (6) – informal, to deliberately make people think that somebody has done something wrong or illegal when they have not, *set sb up* (7) – to give somebody the money they need to start a business (*Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*, 2000: 452) or *take in* (2) – used in passive, to be completely deceived by somebody, *take in* (3b) – to let somebody stay in your home/country when they have nowhere else to stay (*Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*, 2000: 530,531). However, as mentioned above, Serbian prefixes also render different shades of meaning in different uses. Needless to say, the context in which phrasal verbs are

used plays a vital role if accurate translation is to be reached, as the context itself suggests the appropriate interpretation of the described action.

3.1. Ways of translating phrasal verbs

Using prefixes is the most frequent and common way when translating phrasal verbs into Serbian, and this is shown if the analysed sentences are taken into consideration (57 examples – 53% of the whole corpus – were translated with a prefix + a verb(root)).

(28a) ... either that the girl **move into** his flat... (37)

(28b) ... ili, da predloži da se ta devojka **useli u** njegov stan... (45)

In the above sentence the phrasal verb *move into* has the following meaning: to begin living in a new flat, house or area. The Serbian prefix ‘u-’ together with the preposition ‘u’, which repeats and reinforces the meaning of the prefix, adequately renders the idea that this person started to live in a new place.

(29a) ... he might have **dug out** a seersucker suit... (34)

(29b) ... mogao je da **iskopa** neko odelo od krepa... (42)

The adverbial particle ‘out’ in the phrasal verb *dig out* imparts the idea of searching for and finding something and shows that the action is completed. The most appropriate Serbian prefix is ‘iz-’ (actually in this particular example its allomorph ‘is-’), indicating the termination of the action.

The meaning of intensification indicated by the Serbian prefix is shown in these sentences:

(30a) That **set off** quite a panic. (18)

(30b) Pošteno smo se **uspaničili**. (26)

Instead of using the phrase that would simply copy the English word order, a translator opted for the prefix ‘uz-’ (allomorph ‘us-’) to describe the beginning of an action with high intensity.

Apart from this very productive translation technique using prefixes, phrasal verbs were translated in other ways (in a declining order of productivity):

1. monomorphemic (simple) verbs – 29 examples (27%)

(31a) ...before it was **wiped out** in the great wash of God's vengeance.(7)

(31b) ... pre nego što ga je **odneo** ogromni talas Božje osvete. (15)

2. phrases or clauses – 7 (6.5%)

(32a) The fact that not much gopher-wood grew nearby was **brushed aside**. (21)

(32b) To što goferovo drvo u blizini nije raslo u izobilju **nije bilo ni od kakvog značaja**. (29)

3. adverb + verb or verb + adverb – 5 (4.5%)

(33a) I can **vouch for** that.(16)

(33b) To **sigurno znam**. (24) (adverb + verb)

4. verb + noun – 4 (4%)

(34a) He **looked away** to a map of the Mediterranean... (48)

(34b) **Skrenuo je pogled** iza Frenklina na mapu Sredozemlja. (55)

5. noun – 2 (2%)

(35a) ... we were euphoric when we **got off** the Ark. (30)

(35b) ... po **izlasku** iz broda bili smo euforični. (38)

Three phrasal verbs were not translated at all, which makes 2.5% of the corpus, but the meaning could be reconstructed by using contextual clues.

How complex the process of translating may be is illustrated by one and the same phrasal verb translated in three different ways. One and the same phrasal verb was contextually dependent, and hence was translated differently, as an intransitive perfective verb (36b), as an intransitive perfective verb with the reflexive pronoun 'se' (37b) and finally as a noun (37b).

(36a) I escaped (**getting off** was no easier than getting on). (4)

(36b) ... pobegao sam (**izaći** je bilo isto tako teško kao i ući). (12)

(37a) We **got off**... (28)

(37b) Mi smo **se iskrcali**... (36)

(38a) ... we were euphoric when we **got off** the Ark. (30)

(38b) ... po **izlasku** iz broda bili smo euforični. (38)

3.2. Transitive vs. intransitive verbs

The majority of Serbian translated verbs reflected the same transitivity as the English original verbs, that is transitive verbs were translated as transitive and intransitive verbs were translated as intransitive.

English Vt – Serbian Vt

(39a) He rather wished he'd **made up** some Minoan aphorism... (42)

(39b) **Zažalio je što nije izmislio** neki minojski aforizam... (50)

English Vi – Serbian Vi

(40a) ... then the plane **went away**. (47)

(40b) ... **zatim je avion otišao**. (54)

However this correspondence in transitivity was not always the case:

English Vt – Serbian Vi

(41a) Well, first they had to **let the smell out**. (3)

(41b) U stvari, prvo bi ostavili da smrad **izađe**. (11)

English Vi – Serbian Vt

(42a) ... I am constrained to **go on**. (24)

(42b) ... moram da je **ispričam**. (32)

3.3. Perfective vs. imperfective verbs

In English, as opposed to Serbian, aspect is not a morphological but a syntactic feature, as it is ‘partly implied in the meaning of the prediction, partly indicated by words modifying its meaning, partly suggested by the context of the sentence’ (Anastasijević 1968: 101). Some common occurrences are that imperfective verbs in English tend to be in the progressive form, and that some particles contribute to the perfective value of verbs (e.g. *eat - jesti, eat up - pojesti*). In Slavic languages, prefixes, which are prepositions in nature, are commonly used for changing and forming a different aspect.

As Yatskovich (1999) suggests, while the English verb has no consistent structural representation of aspect, adverbial particles either impart an additional aspective meaning to the base verb (e.g. the durative verb *sit* merges with the particle *down* into the terminative phrasal verb *sit down*) or introduce a lexical modification to its fundamental semantics. In most cases adverbial elements denote the general spatial direction of the action or express its qualitative or quantitative characteristics, like beginning (*set out*), duration (*bum along*), completion (*think out*), intensity (*hurry up*), and so on.

The following sentences illustrate that most often progressive forms in English result in imperfective verbs when translating into Serbian. In the last sentence (45), there is no progressive form, but the verb phrase *begin + another verb* implies the beginning of the action:

- (43a) *Eventually came the day we **had been longing for**.* (9)
- (43b) *Konačno, došao je dan koji smo željno **iščekivali**.* (17)
- (44a) *His initial burst of emotion ... was **seeping away**.* (47)
- (44b) *Početni je nalet osećanja ... **nestajao**.* (54)
- (45a) *...their winter coat of pure white **began to show through**.* (14)
- (45b) *...**pomaljala se** snežnobela zimska odežda.* (21)

4. Conclusion

The paper discusses the basic semantic and syntactic features of English phrasal verbs and their translations into Serbian, whose verb system does not behave in the same way as the English one does. Translators’ strategies found comprise translations by (1) prefixes, which is by far the most common approach, then (2) simple / monomorphemic verbs, but also, though in more limited number of sentences, by (3) phrases or clauses, (4) verb + adverb, (5) verb + noun, (6) nouns and finally by (7) complete omission. It is proved, once again, that Serbian most frequently uses a highly developed system of verbal prefixes to indicate qualities of actions and states and that this system resembles the system of English adverbial particles in their semantic functions. Finally, two important verb categories, transitivity and aspect, are contrastively analysed, resulting in two

conclusions: (a) English phrasal verbs and their Serbian equivalents usually reflect the same transitivity and (b) English phrasal verbs used in the progressive form are translated by imperfective Serbian verbs.

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TRANSLATING THE AMERICAN SLANG OF THE 60'S IN JAMES ELLROY'S *WHITE JAZZ*

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Abstract. This paper explores the difficulties in translating James Ellroy's "White Jazz" which are linked to the author's peculiar style of writing. Reality is composed of texts: newspaper articles, police radio signals, bebop jazz. The use of the racist invective and the explosion of American slang are a direct representation of the era depicted in the novel.

Key Words: coinage, compensation, slang, translatability, translation loss.

1. Preliminaries.

White Jazz is part of the crime fiction *L.A. Quartet* written by the American novelist James Ellroy. In order to better understand the problem that arise in the attempt of translating Ellroy's texts one should endeavour to explore the techniques employed by the author himself.

One such technique, which seems to be highly favoured by the author, is that of collage and intercutting. This allows Ellroy to explore the relationship between memory and truth as well as that between fiction and history. (Walker 2002:190) Thus, memory is often compared to a tape or a photograph and subjective reveries are also intercut with all the texts that make up Ellroy's collage.

James Ellroy refers to all kinds of different media, juxtaposing references to tabloid gossip, police reports with subversive effect. He sees novels and television shows as responsible for constructing a vision of the world, which (although they may repress unpleasant truths) becomes part of a broad, encompassing notion of the real – one that includes images. (Walker 2002:188)

2.1. Problems encountered in the translation of Ellroy's text.

There are two main problems in translating James Ellroy's text: one is ellipsis and the other the use of slang, which after some research proved to be the slang used in 1960's America. The current paper does not deal so much with the problem of ellipsis. Our choice was that of dwelling upon the problem of slang and the way the translator chose to render slang in the target language (i.e. Romanian). However, we cannot ignore it altogether since it is constantly present throughout the text, so we present the most commonly used type of ellipsis by the author: situational ellipsis.

Exley – tall, easy to spot. (Ellroy 2001: 91)

Exley – înalt, ușor de găsit.

Jesus Chasco – fat, Mex – not my peeper. (Ellroy 2001: 95)

Jesus Chasco – gras, mexican – nu-i omul meu.

The author's choice of using situational ellipsis over textual ellipsis gives rise to register problems. Since *situational ellipsis* is associated with spontaneous / spoken language and *textual ellipsis* with standard / written language, Ellroy's text has the feature of being highly colloquial / spoken, something which obviously allows the extensive use of slang. In what follows, we shall attempt to make an analysis of its use starting from the features of slang and the problems it poses to translators.

2.2. Features of slang.

Following Hervey and Higgins (2001: 132) the characteristics of particular social registers are very often built up out of features of tonal register – and of dialect and sociolect, for that matter. This is especially true of social stereotypes characterized by 'downward social mobility'. For instance, a middle-class, educated person who is adept at the jargon of criminals and down-and-outs will have an active repertoire of vulgarisms and slang expressions. Thus, 'vulgarity' and 'slang' are points on the politeness scale of tonal register; but at the same time, they go towards building up the complex of features that define a particular social register.

A particular genre-marking translation problem occurs in the case of STs heavily marked by slang. Sociolect and register are crucial here, but so is the fact that languages differ from one another in respect of the referential domains covered by slang, and even in the kinds of slang available. (Hervey and Higgins 2001: 156)

2.3. Problems of equivalence.

An important guiding principle for translators is their (in)visibility. It is particularly difficult to preserve that with a text such as Ellroy's. *White Jazz* poses a real challenge especially since the slang employed by the author is typical of America's 1960's. Thus, one has to find the best way of rendering such language especially if, as is the case of Romanian, there is no equivalent slang to transpose the source text into. This is a problem that has to do with what Nida (2000: 126) calls *dynamic equivalence*.

Some translators are successful in avoiding vulgarisms and slang, but fall into the error of making a relatively straightforward message in the source language sound like a complicated legal document in the receptor language by trying too hard to be completely unambiguous; as a result such

a translator spins out his definitions in long, technical phrases. In such a translation little is left of the grace and naturalness of the original. (Nida 2000: 138)

3. Stylistic strategies in Ellroy's text: a translator's perspective.

This section deals with the comparative analysis of the target text (the Romanian translation of *White Jazz*) to the source text (the original English version). The translation tried to avoid the danger signaled by Nida (2001: 138) that of making a relatively simple message in the source language sound like a complicated piece of text in the target language in the attempt of trying too hard to explain everything. To this extent, let us compare the following excerpts:

(1) Recently, three wino bums were found strangled and mutilated in abandoned houses in the Hollywood area. *Very Hush-Hush*: we've heard the still-at-large killer snapped their windpipes postmortem, utilizing great strength. The press has paid these *heinously horrific* killings scant attention; only the *sin-sation slanted L.A. Mirror* seems to care that three Los Angeles citizens have met such *nauseatingly nasty nadirs*. The LAPD's Homicide Division has not been called in to investigate; so far only two Hollywood Division detectives are working the case. *Hepcats*, it's the pedigree of the victims that determine *the juice of investigation*. (Ellroy 2001: 7-8)

Romanian version: De curând s-au găsit trei vagabonzi alcoolici strangulați și mutilați în niște case părăsite din zona Hollywood. În *stilul binecunoscut al revistei Hush-Hush*: am aflat că ucigașul aflat încă în libertate, le-a smuls traheele post-mortem, folosindu-se de multă putere. Presa a acordat extrem de puțină atenție acestor crime cu adevărat *oribile și oripilante*; numai ziarului *L.A. Mirror* ahtiat după scandaluri și știri de senzație pare să îi pese de faptul că trei cetățeni ai orașului Los Angeles și-au găsit un astfel de sfârșit îngrozitor. Departamentul de omucideri al poliției orașului Los Angeles nu a fost sesizat ca să pornească o anchetă; până acum la acest caz lucrează doar doi detectivi din cadrul diviziei Hollywood. *Iubitori ai jazzului*, pedigree-ul victimelor este cel care provoacă *suculența anchetei*.

In this particular excerpt, there are instances of translation loss as well as compensation. In the case of *very Hush-Hush* rendered into the target text as *în stilul binecunoscut al revistei Hush-Hush*, the translator was faced with the impossibility of rendering the double meaning of *Hush-Hush* into the target language. *Hush-Hush* is both the name of the tabloid magazine as well as *Hush-Hush* [1930's, 1940's] = most secret, undercover (in Jonathon Green, 'The Cassel Dictionary of Slang', 2000 pp. 627). This loss could be recovered by an overtranslation, adding an explanation of the type *în stilul binecunoscut al revistei Hush-Hush, adică sub acoperire*. However, at the time, the translator chose not to overtranslate since this

double meaning of *Hush-Hush* would become apparent to the reader of the target text throughout the translation.

Another aspect that is quite difficult to render in the target language is the extensive use of alliterations in these *Hush-Hush* excerpts. For instance, *heinously horrific* killings is rendered as crime cu adevărat *oribile și oripilante*. The same was possible with *sin-sation slanted L.A. Mirror* where the target text resulted in ziarul *L.A. Mirror ahtiat după scandaluri și știri de senzație*. This is a case of compensation but also translation loss, even untranslatability due to the play upon words in *sin-sation*, which is a portmanteau, a blending between *sin* and *sensation*. A counterexample to the instances above is *nauseatingly nasty nadirs* which was rendered as *un astfel de sfârșit îngrozitor*, where the translator chose to explain by means of direct translation rather than preservation of the alliteration. *Hepcats* rendered as *iubitori ai jazzului*, is an instance of paraphrase. The translator chose to explain this term instead of finding an equivalent, even possibly creating one in the target language due to the lack of jazz terms in Romanian. The definition supplied by Cassell's Dictionary of Slang is: *hep / hip-cat* = n. [1930s+] (US Black) a jazz or swing fan; an aware, sophisticated person. The choice for *iubitori ai jazzului*, is justified given the entire atmosphere of the book and the title. Finally, *the juice of investigation* is rendered as *suculența anchetei* which is a true-to-the-text rendition of the author's words.

(2) Hush-Hush hereby names this anonymous killer fiend the “*Wino Will-o-the-Wisp*” and petitions the LAPD to find him and set him up with a hot date in *San Quentin's green room*. They cook with gas there, and this killer deserves a four-burner cookout. Watch for future updates on the *Wino Will-o-the-Wisp*, and remember you heard it first here: off the record, *on the Q.T.* and *very Hush-Hush*. (Ellroy 2001: 8)

Romanian version: Prin urmare revista *Hush-Hush* îl numește pe acest ucigaș netrebnic „*Wino Will-o-the-Wisp*” și îi cere poliției orașului Los Angeles să îl găsească și să îi aranjeze o întâlnire fierbinte în *camera de recreație de la închisoarea San Quentin*. Acolo se gătește cu gaz, iar acest ucigaș merită să fie gătit la un aragaz cu patru ochiuri.

Urmăriți viitoarele aventuri ale ucigașului „*Wino Will-o-the-Wisp*” și țineți minte că ați auzit prima dată despre asta aici: neoficial, *în secret și foarte mult în stilul revistei Hush-Hush*.

In the case of the nickname assigned to the killer sought by the LAPD, *Wino Will-o-the-Wisp*, the translator chose a direct borrowing thus leaving the name in the original due to the impossibility of translating it or transposing it into Romanian and preserving the sound effect at the same time. Instead, this can be explained in a footnote by giving the definition of

the words making up the nickname. Thus, *wino* [1910+] = (orig. US) an alcoholic, usu. living in poverty (in Jonathon Green, 'The Cassel Dictionary of Slang', 2000 pp. 1290) and *will o' the wisps* = [20 c] crisps [rhy. sl] (in Jonathon Green, 'The Cassel Dictionary of Slang', 2000 pp. 1288)

San Quentin's green room was rendered as *camera de recreație de la închisoarea San Quentin*. The green room is a term use din prisoner's slang as recreation room; therefore, it was explained in the target text thus losing the slang tinge. The phrase also contains an instance of compensation where San Quentin is explained as *închisoarea San Quentin* so that the target readers might understand the reference.

Finally, *on the Q.T.* meaning *pe furiș, pe ascuns, pe neve*, was rendered as *în secret*, while *very Hush-Hush* was rendered as *foarte mult în stilul revistei Hush-Hush*. The latter is an instance of both loss and compensation since Hush-Hush is, as explained above, a play-upon-words referring both to "something done secretly" and the title of the tabloid magazine, whose articles are recurrent throughout the novel.

(3) *Tail men* walked in and sat down. *Mixed bag: suits and ties, loafer types. Twelve men – eyes on me.* (Ellroy 2001: 284)

Romanian version: *Iscoadele* au intrat și s-au așezat. *O adunătură amestecată: oameni în costume și cravate, tipuri de haimanale. Doisprezece oameni – toți cu ochii pe mine.*

This excerpt offers us again an instance of situational ellipsis. However, what is more to the point of our discussion are the terms used in the police jargon such as *tail men* rendered as *iscoade, suits and ties – oameni în costume și cravate* and *loafer types – tipuri de haimanale*.

(4) *Little nods – Exley pre-briefed them.*

"Gentlemen, those folders on your desks contain Intelligence Division photos of the four Kafesjians, *along with State Records Bureau mugs of Richard Herrick, and a more recent artist's sketch of him.* Know those faces. Memorize them. You'll be stringing three-man tails on each family member, both mobile and on foot, and I don't want you losing them."

Folders open, pix out – pros.

"You're all skilled tail men, or Chief Exley wouldn't have chosen you. You've got radio-equipped civilian cars, and Communications Division has got you hooked up on band 7, which is absolutely Fed-listening-proof. You're hooked up car to car, so you can talk among yourselves or contact me here at the base. You all know how to *leapfrog* suspects, and there are boom mikes outside the Kafesjian house. There's a *man in a point car* listening, and once you assume your perimeter posts, he'll tell you when to roll. Questions so far?"

No hands up.

“Gentlemen, if you see Richard Herrick, apprehend him alive. He’s *a peeper* at worst, and both Chief Exley and I believe that *a man peeping on him* is in fact the Herrick family killer. (Ellroy 2001: 284-285)

Romanian version: *Încuviințări din cap – Exley îi informase deja.*

- Domnilor, dosarele acelea de pe birourile voastre conțin fotografii ale Departamentului de inteligență cu cei patru membri ai familiei Kafesjian, împreună cu *semnalmentele lui Richard Herrick din arhivele Biroului de Stat precum și o schiță recentă cu acesta realizată de un artist.* Cunoașteți chipurile acelea. Memorați-le. Veți înșira echipe de urmărire de trei oameni asupra fiecărui membru al familiei, atât mobile cât și pe jos, și nu vreau să le pierdeți urma.

Își deschid dosarele, își scot pozele – niște profesioniști.

- Cu toții sunteți urmăritori cu experiență, altfel șeful Exley nu v-ar fi ales. Aveți mașini civile dotate cu radiouri și Departamentul de Comunicații v-a conectat pe frecvența 7, pe care agenții federali nu o pot intercepta sub nici o formă. Sunteți conectați mașină de la mașină astfel încât puteți vorbi între voi sau puteți să mă contactați pe mine, aici la bază. Cu toții știți cum *să evitați* suspjecții și există microfoane sensibile în jurul casei familiei Kafesjian. Există *un om într-o mașină de urmărire* care ascultă și în momentul în care vă ocupați pozițiile vă va spune când să acționați. Aveți întrebări?

Nimeni nu ridică mâna.

- Domnilor, dacă-l vedeți pe Richard Herrick, prindeți-l viu. El e în cel mai rău caz un *benoclist* și atât șeful Exley cât și eu credem că *un om care-l urmărește pe furis* este de fapt ucigașul familiei Herrick.

This excerpt offers a number of instances of situational ellipsis: *Mixed bag: suits and ties, loafer types. Twelve men – eyes on me. = O adunătură amestecată: costume și cravate, tipuri de haimanale. Doisprezece oameni – toți cu ochii pe mine. / Little nods – Exley pre-briefed them. = Încuviințări din cap – Exley îi informase deja. / Folders open, pix out – pros. = Își deschid dosarele, își scot pozele – niște profesioniști. / No hands up. = Nimeni nu ridică mâna. / Whistles, smiles. = Fluierături, zâmbete.*

The target language lacks a series of synonyms for the word *peeper*, rendered in Romanian usually as *voyeur*, a French borrowing. So since the language employed by Ellroy is highly slangish, and Romanian does have the verb *a se benocla* which is marked as slang word, the translator resorted to the coinage of a new word by means of deriving a noun from this verb, namely *benoclist*.

(4) Bugs in my walls, bugs on my phone. Bugs snooping on Glenda, snooping on Meg. Fred Turentine – the “Bug King” – guarding Chick.

Bugs in my buildings – three hundred units plus. Tenants overheard: fix the roof, kill the rats. Bugs blasting bop – niggers tearing up my slum pads.

“Sir? Lieutenant Klein?”

I woke up aiming – trigger happy.

A bluesuit – scared. (Ellroy 2001: 285)

Romanian version: Microfoane în pereți, microfoane și în telefon. Microfoane ce o spionau pe Glenda, și pe Meg. Fred Turentine – „Regele microfoanelor” – îl păzea pe Chick.

Microfoane în clădirile mele – mai mult de 300 de echipaje. Chiriașii au auzit: reparați acoperișul, omorâți șobolanii. Microfoane bubuind când sunt lovite – negrotei distrugându-mi apartamentele din mahala.

- Domnule? Domnul locotenent Klein?

M-am trezit ochind – gata să trag.

Un om în uniformă – speriat.

Besides offering more examples of situational ellipsis in the source text that cannot always be rendered as successfully in the target language, this fragment also triggers problems of equivalence is due to the difference in structure between the two languages. Romanian prefers paraphrase in order to explain things and therefore preserving the ellipsis is not possible in all cases because it would render the target text opaque for interpretation by the target readers.

4. Conclusions.

The current paper explored certain aspects in the translation of James Ellroy's *White Jazz*. The comparison between fragments in the source text and their equivalent in the target text (Romanian) revealed the difficulties the translator was faced with in choosing the most adequate terms for rendering the slang used by the American author.

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ROMANIAN TRANSLATORS' PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES WITH OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS: THE EXPLORATORY PILOT WORK

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***Abstract:** The problems and difficulties with the translation of official documents can be most effectively investigated with the sociological approach and the survey as they can provide accurate and reliable data about the translators' experience. The paper reports the results of the exploratory pilot work, but first briefly describes the preceding steps: the conceptualization of the research, the exploratory questions and the respondents' answers.*

***Key words:** translation of official documents, translation problems and difficulties, sociological methods in translation studies*

Introduction

As any other type of translation, the translation of official documents bears the imprint of the context in which the target text is produced and of that in which it functions as a communication tool, notably that of the discourse community, in general, and of the process agents, in particular. The legal and administrative communities expect certain norms to be adhered to, while the translators' community expects ethical norms and traditions to be observed. Moreover, the initiator or the client constrains the process with requirements which often disregard either the legal or the ethical norms. As a result, the translator may be subjected to tensions caused by his/her desire to translate by meeting the professional quality standards and, at the same time, to produce a target text acceptable to the public authorities. Such a tension reflects in the clash between the style of the translated document and the fidelity of the original text necessary for document identification (Mayoral Asensio, 2003: 50). The constraints and the tensions result in cultural, social and linguistic problems, which are added to the problems arising from the differences between the linguistic systems of the source and target languages.

Considering, then, the context in which documents function, their most important property will be acceptability, i.e. they are accepted as legal documents by the public authority if they satisfy the legal, cognitive and formal requirements. Ensuring this property requires the translator to have specific translational competence including the capacity to solve the problems and to overcome the difficulties of each task. Romanian experienced translators may

have developed that competence, but translation trainees and beginners may not even be aware of such problems and difficulties, to say nothing of knowing their nature, causes and ways of solving or overcoming them. Translation didactics can be of help, but theory has first to define and describe the specific problems occurring in the process of translating official documents.

Of the three modes of identifying the problems and difficulties, namely *knowledge transfer* about other types of translation, the *analytical study* of the translators' way of solving them in actual target texts, and the *sociological research*, we have opted for the last two. We have decided on the sociological approach since it, though laborious, can lead to the actual problems and difficulties as they are experienced and perceived by the practitioners.

This article reports the pre-survey stage of a large-scale research project. We shall first present the strategy which underlies the research design and then describe the actions and the results of the exploratory pilot work.

The research strategy

The research strategy was designed according to the *objectives* and the *aims* of the study as well as the *methodology* imposed by the aims, on the one hand, and the sociological approach, on the other hand.

The general *objective* is to acquire the translational knowledge of problems and difficulties; such knowledge is needed for improving communication via official documents and for carrying out pedagogic purposes such as designing a syllabus or developing teaching methods and materials for training translators.

The *aims* deriving from the objective were defined as follows:

I. to draw up the inventories of problems faced by the translators of official documents from English, French and German into Romanian at pragmatic, textual, and linguistic levels;

II. to draw a list of systematic difficulties in translating such documents for the above mentioned pairs of languages.

Our pre-research observations showed that translators of official documents were aware only of some of their problems and difficulties, generally of social and cultural nature. In order to be able to identify them we decided for the empirical sociological research and as research instrument we opted for the survey, which includes questionnaires and interviews. As for the problems and difficulties of which they were not aware, we resorted to other research methods: parallel analyses of the source and target texts including error analyses of target texts and experiments involving pre-translation predictions of problems/difficulties

and after-translation reports of problems/difficulties and of the way they were dealt with.

Under these circumstances we have adopted the following *strategy*:

1. Conceptualization of the research
 - 1.1. Defining the concepts from the theoretical perspective;
 - 1.2. The pre-survey: the exploratory pilot work;
 - 1.2.1. Formulating the questions for the exploratory questionnaire;
 - 1.2.2. Selecting the respondents;
 - 1.2.3. The exploratory pilot survey;
 - 1.2.4. Processing the data.
2. The survey
 - 2.1. Formulating the final questionnaire;
 - 3.2. Selecting the sample;
 - 3.3. Administering the questionnaire;
 - 3.4. Processing the data;
3. Parallel analyses of source and target texts; error analyses;
4. Experiments with given translations;
5. Data processing;
6. Drawing up the problem inventories and lists of difficulties.

Conceptualizing the research issues

The purpose of this stage was to prepare the survey and the questionnaire, for which we had to a) formulate a pertinent and feasible set of issues; b) place the issues into a precise theoretical perspective; and c) formulate the topics, sub-topics (variables) as hypotheses and the answer categories.

The first action was to define the object of the research, i.e. the translation problems and difficulties, which was achieved by starting from extensive definitions or descriptions of the concepts in the translation studies literature and by completing them with our own ideas (notional elements) based on theoretical reflection.

The definitions were necessary for establishing not only the object of the research, but also, more importantly, to draw up the specific issues which would point to the indicators (topics, subtopics) to be studied. After reviewing the literature, we concluded that the key concepts capable of leading to relevant topics are: *official document, translation situation, translation requirements, target text characteristics, specific translation process, translation problems, and translation difficulties*. (Superceanu et. al, 2008: 178-180)

Of these we shall elaborate here only on the concepts of “problem” and “difficulty” since they are central to our study. According to Christiane Nord (1991, 1997a, 1997 b), *translation problems* have an objective nature, occurring in all translations and being determined by the differences between the communication situation of the source text and that of the target text, which also includes the differences between the linguistic systems of the two languages in contact. Ch. Nord classified the problems according to their nature into *pragmatic, cultural, linguistic, and text-specific. Translation difficulties* are more or less complicated translation problems for which the translator makes more efforts in finding solutions. The difficulties are subjective in nature and derive either from a poor translator’s competence or from the technically inadequate conditions in which the translation is performed.

The pre-survey: the exploratory pilot work

The exploratory pilot work is the research stage whose general purpose is the design of the survey *descriptive questionnaire*. It involves formulating and trying out the questions, followed by revisions where necessary. Its specific purposes are: a) to help the researchers decide on the topics and the sub-topics for the descriptive questionnaire, that emerged in the previous step of conceptualization; b) to collect the respondents’ ideas/concepts about the translation problems and difficulties, which will require changes or additions to the questions, question sequences and the answer categories for the closed questions (multiple-choice) to be used in the final questionnaire; c) to discover the respondents’ reaction to the questions; d) to identify poorly formulated questions, i.e. ambiguous or imprecise, with which the respondents have experienced difficulties in answering them (Chelcea, 1975, Oppenheim, 1996).

Selecting the sample and the respondents

The respondents, 9 translators representing a cluster, were selected from the prospective sample, which will be drawn from the population of Romanian official translators, who translate documents from English, French and German into Romanian on a regular basis. The representative survey sample will be drawn by means of the random sampling method, starting from the register of approved translators of Timișoara Chamber of Notaries, covering three counties: Timiș, Arad and Caraș.

The representativity of the sample will be ensured by its structure, which we have designed into three clusters according to the professional qualification of the translators: a) translators holding a university degree in philology; b) translators holding a university degree in translation; c)

translators who hold a university degree, but other than in philology or translation.

Formulating the questions for the exploratory questionnaire

The definitions of some of the concepts, namely *translation situation*, *translation requirements*, *target text qualities* and *translation process* make reference to the causes of some of the problems and difficulties, which has allowed us to break down the object of research into several general research topics and to formulate provisional and tentative sub-topics for the open questions and answer categories for the closed questions. Both the topics and the sub-topics represent the contents of the questionnaire, still weakly structured at this stage, i.e. exploratory, due to the fact that the domain which we intend to deal with and analyze is little known.

Formulating the questions for the questionnaire is a laborious activity, constrained by sociological rules, which, if followed, secure the success of the inquiry. For the pre-survey stage, one technique suggested by the sociological practice is the exploratory questionnaire administered to a sample of respondents who answer open questions freely. These questions will appeal to the respondents' own practice, to their behaviour during the tasks and to their mental representations of the research object. The point of this stage is to gather as much information as possible by stimulating the respondents' flow of memory (Chelcea, 1975, Oppenheim, 1996).

The step started with a set of open questions arranged in 7 sequences, three of them with two sub-topics.

1. Official documents (OD)

1. What types of texts are considered official documents?
2. Can you classify them? If the answer is "yes", what are the criteria for your classification?
3. Are the translation problems different with each group of text? If yes, what are they?
4. If no, what are the common problems?

2. The clients of official translations

2.1. Non-immigrant clients

1. What countries do the clients, who ask for official translations from English (French and German) into Romanian, come from?
2. Do the clients formulate any requirements for the translations? If yes, what are they?
3. Do these requirements cause problems? If yes, what are they?
4. Which problems are difficult to solve and what are their causes?

2.2. Immigrant clients

1. Do the translations requested by the immigrants to Romania show translation aspects different from those of the documents requested by non – immigrants?
2. Would you characterize these aspects as problems? If yes, what are the problems?
3. Do these aspects sometimes prove to be difficulties? If yes, what are the difficulties?
4. Do these clients formulate any requirements? If yes, what are the requirements?

3. The translators

1. What problems does the source text understanding and interpretation pose?
2. Are they difficult to solve? If yes, which are difficult?
3. What problems does the message expression in the target language pose?
4. Are any of the problems difficult to solve? If yes, which are they?
 5. Do you know of any situation in which the translation of a document was not accepted by the client or by the recipient? What were the causes for its rejection?

4. The requirements for official translations

4.1. Translation norms

1. Who imposes the requirements for the translation of official documents?
2. What legal norms are in force in Romania?
3. What ethical codes are there in Romania?
4. Which norms pose any problems and what are the problems?
5. Do any traditions operate in official translations? If yes, do you find it difficult to follow them?

4.2. Information requirements

1. What kinds of information does an official translation have to contain?
2. What kinds of information may be omitted according to the Romanian norms?
3. Do any of these kinds pose any problems? If yes, what are the problems?
4. Are the problems difficult to solve? If yes, what are the difficulties?
5. How do you overcome the difficulties?

5. The qualities of target texts

5.1. Qualities

1. What qualities do official translations have to have?
2. Who imposes the quality requirements and standards? Where do you know them from?
 3. Which qualities are always difficult to achieve?

4. Which qualities are sometimes difficult to achieve? Why is that?

5.2. The translator and the quality requirements

1. Are there situations in which the translator does not manage to achieve the quality standard he/she aspires to or is expected to achieve?
2. What can hamper the translator to achieve the required qualities?
3. Are such problems difficult to solve? If yes, what are the difficult ones?
4. How do you solve the problems?

6. Translation problems

1. What problems do you face in translating official documents?
2. Could you, please, group them?
3. According to what criteria have you grouped the problems?
4. What are in your opinion the causes of the problems?
5. What are in your opinion the solutions to the problems?

7. Translation difficulties

1. What difficulties do you have when translating official documents?
2. Could you, please, group them?
3. According to what criteria have you grouped the difficulties?
4. What are the common difficulties with all document types?
5. What difficulties occur with some document types? Give examples.
6. What are in your opinion the causes of your difficulties?
7. How do you overcome the difficulties?

The results of the exploratory pilot survey

Disappointingly, the pilot work yielded ideas about the answer categories for 8 questions out of 47. It did, however, help us more effectively to discover the weak points about the *content of the questions* and the *respondents' spontaneous interpretation of the questions*.

In concrete terms, we have discovered: a) the range of responses the questions produced to be used as answer categories in the final questionnaire; b) the questions asking for information which the respondents do not have or are not aware of; c) questions which are too vague, i.e. too wide in scope or too narrow, i.e. too technical; d) questions which require guidelines or definitions, explanations; e) questions which were simply misunderstood for various reasons; f) the poorly worded questions.

The respondents were asked to help by being insightful, spontaneous, critical, and by letting their thoughts flow. However, the non-response rate was 5, 87, i.e. 8 questions out of 47 were not answered.

As far as the *question content* is concerned, we discovered two weak points. The question sequence on non-immigrants includes questions about the requirements formulated by these clients (Q.2.1.2) and the problems

deriving from them, (Q.2.1.3), while the questions in the “immigrants” sequence enquire about general translation problems (Q. 2.2.1 and Q. 2.2.2.) This inconsistency will not allow the comparison between the problems/difficulties with the two groups of documents.

Another weak point was revealed about Q.1.2 which asks about the classification criteria of official documents, which the respondents, except those who have specialized training in translation, *do not have*, do not need for their current tasks and consequently will not cause any problems.

The *range of responses* was generally rather narrow. Only the translators with specialist translation studies have widened it, by elaborating on the topic of questions and providing content for the answer categories. The questions that produced a wider range than the majority were 7: 2.1.2., 2.2.3., 3.1., 4.2.1., 5.2.3., 6.1., 7.7.

Four questions proved to be *too vague* for the respondents to produce relevant answers. Q. 4.1.1. includes the word “requirements”, which is too general, and therefore the answers are incomplete or surprising. Other vague questions are those about qualities and problems, which are of several kinds and require answers with specific information.

This weak point is connected to another deficiency of the questions , the *lack of guidelines, definitions or explanations*. This is the case of questions about problems and difficulties, which should have included the definition of translation problems and that of translation difficulties. Q.4.1.3, should have given a few guidelines about ethical codes. Q.5.1.1., about qualities, should have included an extended definition of the kinds of qualities. The definitions could have produced more specific and richer answers.

Three questions produced illogical answers, either because *they were misunderstood* or because *they were poorly worded*. The cause can only be discovered in an interview with the respondents. Q. 1.3 asks about the name of specific problems with each class of official documents. One answer is about a circumstance/cause of such problems: - e.g. 1) specific problems occur when the client asks for an adaptation of the ST for a certain target receiver; e.g. 2) specific problems occur when the translator is not familiar with the subject matter. Clearly, the question has to be reformulated since, as it reads now, it requires too wide a range of information and a complete answer would be time-consuming and would need much thinking and recalling.

Quite a number of the above weak points are due to poorly worded questions. For example, Q. 1.1., “What types of texts are considered official documents?”, is about the translators’ knowledge of official documents, but since our purpose is to find out what official documents they usually

translate, the question should have read: "Name the kinds of official documents which you usually translate". Q. 2.1.4 reads "Which problems are difficult to solve and what are their causes?" For one thing, the interrogative sentence includes two questions. For another, the problems referred to are those caused by requirements, mentioned in the preceding question. Q. 2.1.4 is legitimate only if the answer to the preceding question is positive. Other poorly worded questions are those about norms and the problems deriving from them, (Q. 4.1.2., Q. 4.1.3., Q. 4.1.4.) The legal norms are called norms, but the ethical ones are called codes and the next question is about problems caused by all kinds of norm. This inconsistency resulted in inadequate answers to Q. 4.1.4., e.g. one mentioned problem, which pertains to linguistic rules or norms not legal or ethical, was that of connectors. Another was a non-answer, still another answer, which I quote "I have no problems in this respect", indicates that problems are mistaken for difficulties.

Conclusions

The exploratory pilot work is a necessary and helpful step in a survey as it yields suggestions and ideas for the corrections of the questionnaire and thus ensures the success of the research. Although the researchers started the question formulation with a sound theoretical background and clear ideas about the content of the questions, our pilot work revealed that some of the questions contain weak points, that others are too vague or poorly worded and that still others require definitions and explanations of the concepts to which they make reference.

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TECHNIQUES IN THE TRANSLATION OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC EXPRESSIONS

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Abstract: This study examines the techniques of making the culture-specific encyclopaedic content of source language expressions accessible for the target reader in the Hungarian translation of an English novel.

Key words: translation, translation technique, culture-specific expression, secondary communication situation

1. Introduction

In an earlier study (Vermes 2008) I examined how differences between the cultural background assumptions of the source and target readers influence the interpretability of a text and what solutions the Hungarian translator of Nick Hornby's *Fever Pitch* employed to tackle the problems of interpretation arising from such differences. In this study I will focus on the solution that I call encyclopaedic transfer: the case when in the translation only the relevant encyclopaedic content of the original, or an assumption that can be inferred from it, is available for the target reader. These target language expressions are readily interpretable for the target reader but their logical content is different from that of the original: the logical content is substituted by the encyclopaedic content or a content that can be inferred from the encyclopaedic content. I will show what inferential processes can be supposed to be at work behind the translator's solutions.

2. Culture-specificity

In translation, a *secondary communication situation* often arises (Gutt, 1991: 73), where the target reader does not have direct access to the contextual assumptions available to the source reader because their *cognitive environments* are different (Sperber and Wilson, 1986: 39). An individual's cognitive environment consist in the assumptions which are manifest to the individual, and *culture* can be defined as a subset of the mutual cognitive environment of a community, consisting in the assumptions which are mutually manifest to members of the community. Thus *culture-specificity* means that an assumption which is part of the mutual cognitive environment of one community is not part of that of another community.

3. Analysis

In the analysis the following abbreviations will be used. EA: encyclopaedic assumption, CA: contextual assumption, CI: contextual implication, and AI: analytical (context-free) implication.

Encyclopaedic and other assumptions, following Wilson and Carston (2006), will be shown in SMALL CAPITALS. Most of the encyclopaedic assumptions used have been collected from <http://en.wikipedia.org>.

3.1. Substitution

The original expression is substituted by a target language expression which activates the same encyclopaedic assumption in the mind of the target reader as the original did in the mind of the source reader.

I have already *dropped as many aitches* as I can (48) → Mindig buzgón *gyilkoltam a magánhangzókat* a beszédemben [*murdered the vowels* in my speech] (55)

EA: [IN COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH (ESPECIALLY IN COCKNEY) THE DROPPING OF THE AITCHES IN WORD-INITIAL POSITION,] IS CONSIDERED BY MANY AS A SIGN OF UNCULTIVATED SPEECH.

The target language expression activates the same assumption:

EA: [IN HUNGARIAN THE MURDERING OF VOWELS] IS CONSIDERED BY MANY AS A SIGN OF UNCULTIVATED SPEECH.

National Health reading glasses (54) → *esztéká* olvasószemüveg [“*Esztéká*” is a colloquial abbreviation for Workers’ Union Social Security Centre] (62)

In this case two assumptions are activated:

EA1: *NATIONAL HEALTH* IS THE NAME OF THE ENGLISH SOCIAL SECURITY CENTRE.

The expression *social security* activates one further assumption in the context of this sentence:

EA2: *READING GLASSES SPONSORED BY THE SOCIAL SECURITY ARE CHEAP AND UGLY.*

In the translation:

EA3: *ESZTÉKÁ* IS THE COLLOQUIAL NAME OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIAL SECURITY CENTRE.

EA2: READING GLASSES SPONSORED BY THE SOCIAL SECURITY ARE CHEAP AND UGLY.

Thus the expression *esztéká olvasószemüveg* activates the same assumption as the English original. However, this expression, being tied to Hungarian culture, may launch such further culture-specific associations which the English original definitely did not. With this solution, then, the translator made this part of the text culturally heterogeneous.

blutack (110) → *gyurma [plasticine]* (131)

EA: [*BLUTACK*] IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE.

In the translation the same assumption gets activated:

EA: [*GYURMA*] IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE.

... there is a higher proportion of nutters among the never-say-die, we'll-support-you-evermore hardcore than among the *sod-that-for-a-lark* floating punter (203) → ... mindenütt nagyobb arányban vannak dilisek a tűzön-vizen-át egy-életem-egy-halálom típusú kemény magban, mint az *ezt-a-játékot-a-nénikédnek-próbáld-eladni* fajtájú állhatatlan kocadrukkerek között [*try-and-sell-that-play-to-your-aunt*] (249)

EA: [*SOD THIS (THAT) FOR A LARK!*] MEANS THAT THE SPEAKER HAS HAD ENOUGH OF SOMETHING.

EA: [*EZT-A-JÁTEKOT-A-NÉNIKÉDNEK-PRÓBÁLD-ELADNI*] MEANS THAT THE SPEAKER HAS HAD ENOUGH OF SOMETHING.

3.2. Explicitation of an encyclopaedic assumption

The translator employs an assumption activated by the original (or a part thereof) instead of the target language equivalent of the original.

Sherbet Fountain (40) → *pezsgőpor [fizzy powder]* (44)

EA: *SHERBET FOUNTAIN* IS A FIZZY POWDER.

How we all wished we came from the *Chicago Projects* (48) → Mennyire szerettük volna mindannyian, hogy *Chicago nyomortelepéről* [*Chicago slum*] (54)

EA: THE *CHICAGO PROJECTS* ARE A POVERTY-STRICKEN PUBLIC HOUSING AREA IN CHICAGO (USA).

In a way nobody can blame any of us, the *Mockneys* (49) → Igazából senki sem vádolhat bennünket [...] az *affektáltan külvárosias kiejtésünkért* [*for our imitated suburban accent*] (55)

EA: [THE WORD *MOCKNEY* IS A BLEND OF *MOCK* AND *COCKNEY* ("EAST-LONDON WORKING CLASS ACCENT"), IMPLYING THAT] THE SPEAKER ASSUMES AN IMITATED SUBURBAN ACCENT.

Cockney (50) → *londoni akcentus* [*London accent*] (57)

EA: *COCKNEY* IS A LONDON ACCENT.

... was as *happy as Larry* inventing his gruesome and improbable lies (61) → *boldogan* találta ki vérfagylaló és valószínűtlen hazugságait [*was happily inventing*] (71)

EA: *HAPPY AS LARRY* MEANS (VERY) HAPPY.

3.3. Deduction

The translator employs an assumption which can be inferred deductively from an assumption activated by the original.

... I lived with my mother and my sister in a small detached house in the *Home Counties*. (15) → ... én az anyámmal és a húgommal éltem egy kis házban egy *London közeli városkában*. [I lived with my mother and my sister in a small house in a *small town near London*.] (12)

This can be explained as a series of deductions in the following way. The source reader has available this encyclopaedic assumption:

EA: THE *HOME COUNTIES* ARE THE COUNTIES SURROUNDING LONDON.

The explicit content of the sentence in the context of EA implies:

CI1: THE NARRATOR LIVES IN A COUNTY NEAR LONDON.

This analytically implies:

AI: THE NARRATOR LIVES NEAR LONDON.

By processing earlier parts of the text the reader has available the following contextual assumption:

CA: THE NARRATOR LIVES IN A SMALL TOWN.

AI contextually implies in the context of CA:

CI2: THE NARRATOR LIVES IN A SMALL TOWN NEAR LONDON.

Here the translation does not merely provide the encyclopaedic content of the original but the result of the deductive process that the activation of this assumption made possible. In other words, here the translator spares the target reader from some processing effort. Naturally, this also means that other possible directions of the deductive process are not made accessible for the target reader and thus the range of possible interpretations (contextual effects) is narrowed down in the interest of reducing the amount of necessary processing effort. The next one is a similar example.

... the vast majority of whom are *Scousers* (31) → ... amelynek a nagy része *semleges szurkolókból állt* [*neutral spectators*] (32)

This solution can be deduced from the encyclopaedic content of the original in the following manner:

EA: A *SCOUSER* IS A PERSON LIVING IN OR AROUND LIVERPOOL.

The explicit content of the sentence contextually implies in the context of EA:

CI1: THE MAJORITY OF THE SPECTATORS WERE FROM LIVERPOOL OR THE NEIGHBOURING AREAS.

By processing earlier parts of the text the reader has available the following contextual assumptions:

CA1: THIS SENTENCE IS ABOUT A MATCH PLAYED BY TWO FOREIGN TEAMS.

CA: THE ENGLISH SPECTATORS OF A MATCH PLAYED BY TWO FOREIGN TEAMS ARE NEUTRAL SPECTATORS.

CI1 implies in the context of CA1 and CA2:

CI2: THE MAJORITY OF THE SPECTATORS WERE NEUTRAL.

... suggesting as it did a safe haven for *Jennings and Darbshire, or William Brown...* (39) → ... azt sugallta, hogy az *arsenalos kölykök* mennyei biztonságban érezhetik magukat... [*Arsenal kids*] (43)

EA: *JENNINGS, DARBISHIRE* AND *WILLIAM BROWN* ARE TYPICAL ENGLISH PERSONAL NAMES.

CA: THIS PART IS ABOUT KIDS SUPPORTING ARSENAL.

EA implies in the context of CA the following:

CI: *JENNINGS, DARBISHIRE* AND *WILLIAM BROWN* ARE KIDS SUPPORTING ARSENAL.

... and the next day, when *Southern* show the highlights of the game on TV (42)
→ Másnap pedig, amikor a *tévében* mutatják a meccs összefoglalóját... [*on TV*]
(47)

EA: *SOUTHERN* IS A TV CHANNEL.

The explicit content of the sentence implies in the context of EA:

CI: THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE GAME ARE SHOWN BY A TV CHANNEL.

This analytically implies:

AI: THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE GAME ARE SHOWN ON TV.

on the 5.35 from Paddington (60) → *az 5.35-ös vonaton* [*on the 5.35 train*] (70)

EA: *PADDINGTON* IS A RAILWAY STATION IN LONDON.

The explicit content of the sentence contextually implies in the context of EA:

CI: THE 5.35 FROM PADDINGTON IS THE 5.35 TRAIN FROM PADDINGTON STATION.

This analytically implies:

AI: THE SENTENCE IS ABOUT THE 5.35 TRAIN.

Footlights (100) → *Egyetemi Színpad* [university stage] (119)

EA: FOOTLIGHTS IS CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY'S DRAMA CLUB.

This analytically implies:

AI: FOOTLIGHTS IS A UNIVERSITY DRAMA CLUB.

The next expression is the title of one of the key chapters of the novel, in which the narrator relates how Arsenal's win over Tottenham in a cup semi-final helped him overcome his depression.

From *NW3 to N17* (174) → *Csak szurkoló* [only a fan] (212)

The chapter begins with these words:

If this book has a centre, then it is here, on the Wednesday night in March 1987 that I travelled from a psychiatrist's office in Hampstead to White Hart Lane in Tottenham to see a Littlewoods Cup semi-final replay.

The game was won, amidst circumstances that would cause a release of monstrous surges of adrenalin, by Arsenal, the narrator's team, and the resulting delirium of the triumph somehow moved him over his long-time depression and also enabled him to separate his personal fate from Arsenal's. The chapter ends in this way:

That night, I stopped being an Arsenal lunatic and relearnt how to be a fan, still cranky, and still dangerously obsessive, but only a fan nevertheless.

The title of the chapter in the English original is metaphorical: the codes of the two London districts signal the journey leading from the psychiatrist's office, depression, to Tottenham's stadium, redemption from depression. The Hungarian translation makes possible the recovery neither of the background assumptions that serve as the basis of the metaphor nor the metaphor itself. What remains in the translation is the endpoint of the metaphorical journey – and even a narrowed down and impoverished sense at that.

What happens in this example is the following:

EA1: *NW3* IS THE POSTAL CODE OF HAMPSTEAD IN LONDON.

EA2: *N17* IS THE POSTAL CODE OF TOTTENHAM IN LONDON.

By processing earlier parts of the text the reader has available the following contextual assumptions:

CA1: THE NARRATOR VISITS A PSYCHOLOGIST IN HAMPSTEAD.

CA2: THE NARRATOR WENT TO SEE A FOOTBALL GAME IN TOTTENHAM, WHERE HIS JOY OVER THE VICTORY OF HIS TEAM PUT AN END TO HIS DEPRESSION.

The explicit content of the expression in the context of EA1, EA2, CA1 and CA2 implies:

CI: THE EXPRESSION SIGNALS THE NARRATOR'S METAPHORICAL JOURNEY FROM DEPRESSION TO REDEMPTION AND FROM MANIACAL FOOTBALL ADDICTION TO BEING A NORMAL FOOTBALL FAN.

Proper writers go on author tours, and appear as guests on *Wogan* ... (216) →
Aztán meg minden valamirevaló író felolvasó turnékra jár, vagy meghívják a
tévébe beszélgetni... [get invited into the *TV for a talk*] (265)

EA: *WOGAN* WAS A TALK SHOW ON BRITISH TELEVISION.

The explicit content of the sentence in the context of EA implies:

CI: A PROPER WRITER GETS INVITED INTO A TALK SHOW ON TV.

3.4. Induction

The translator employs an assumption which can be inferred with the help of the encyclopaedic content of the source expression through deduction and induction.

... unless one stands on the North Bank, or *the Kop*, or *the Stretford End* (77) →
... hacsak nem az Északi Sáncon vagy bármely másik nagycsapat „táborában”
szurkol [in the “camp” of any other great club] (91)

Here the following background assumptions are not available for the target reader:

EA1: THE *KOP* IS THE STAND TRADITIONALLY HOUSING THE MOST FERVENT SUPPORTERS OF LIVERPOOL FC IN THE CLUB'S STADIUM.

EA2: THE *STRETFORD END* IS THE STAND TRADITIONALLY HOUSING THE MOST FERVENT SUPPORTERS OF MANCHESTER UNITED IN THE CLUB'S STADIUM.

The explicit content of the sentence in the context of EA1 and EA2 implies:

CI1: THE SENTENCE IS ABOUT THE SUPPORTERS OF LIVERPOOL FC AND MANCHESTER UNITED.

EA3: LIVERPOOL FC AND MANCHESTER UNITED ARE TWO OF THE GREAT CLUBS OF ENGLISH FOOTBALL.

CI1 in the context of EA3 implies:

CI2: THE SENTENCE IS ABOUT THE SUPPORTERS OF TWO GREAT CLUBS.

From this inductively follows this assumption: THE SENTENCE IS ABOUT THE SUPPORTERS OF ANY OF THE GREAT CLUBS.

4. Conclusion

Probably the most important thing a translator needs to learn is that translation is a kind of interpretation, in at least two senses. On the one hand, translators interpret the source text for themselves. This is an indispensable prerequisite for interpreting the source text for the target reader in order to produce a translation that the target reader will be able to make sense of. It is important to distinguish these two kinds of interpretation because the translator and the target reader occupy two different positions with regard to the source text: the translator is a direct interpreter, while the target reader is a subsumed interpreter, dependent on the translator's assistance. Therefore translators cannot be satisfied with a superficial interpretation of the source text. If they themselves are not able to make sense of a text segment, it is very likely that this will also make the translation impossible to interpret. Translators need to learn that there are no compromises in interpretation. (Naturally, I am only talking about the lower levels of interpretation).

In a secondary communication situation one prerequisite of correct interpretation is that translators recognise that they are working in a secondary communication situation. They must be aware that their task also involves a bridging of the differences between cultural contexts. The translator is not merely an expert of linguistic mediation but also of cultural mediation. Of course, not even the translator can know everything but today it does not take much time and energy to find things. We do not even have

to leave our desks to carry out research, since all the information we need is there in front of us, a few clicks away on the Internet. With the help of the Internet and some ingenuity, we can find a solution to almost any such translation problem today.

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SECTION THREE: AMERICAN LITERATURE

REDEFINING HOMELANDS IN JHUMPA LAHIRI'S AMERICA

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Abstract: *The paper analyzes Jhumpa Lahiri's prose and its creative accounts of U.S. immigrant issues. Focusing on the Indian community 'at home' and 'abroad', it bears witness to the process of redefining homelands and reshaping identities in the context of physical and mental border crossings. Dislocation, adjustment, reinvention are challenges recorded by private and public memory and faithfully translated into fiction.*

Key words: *homelands, identity, memory*

The Pulitzer Prize for Fiction is one of the most important awards in the field of American literature. As one can easily find out from the official site, Joseph Pulitzer himself was “*the son of a wealthy grain merchant of Magyar-Jewish origin and a German mother who was a devout Roman Catholic*”. In this light, this token of appreciation given to novels of American life can be regarded as a celebration of diversity, a particular kind of homage to multiculturalism. As if to illustrate this perception, Jhumpa Lahiri became the first woman of Indian descent to ever win this prestigious distinction – in 2000. Her debut volume of short stories (*Interpreter of Maladies*) and her acclaimed first novel (*The Namesake*) provide highly sensitive accounts of immigrant issues in the U.S. A third book, *Unaccustomed Earth*, has recently come out to further the journey into the complex territories of human emotions and responses to difference.

Faithful to her own background and experience, Jhumpa Lahiri chooses to focus on the Indian community, both ‘at home’ and ‘abroad’. From this point of view, her writings bear witness to the process of redefining homelands and reshaping personal and group identities in the context of literal and psychological border crossings. By means of investigating private memory and feeling, she plunges into the problematic

sphere of 'hyphenated identities', where dislocation, transmutation, adjustment, reinvention are but a few of the challenges that whole generations of immigrants have to deal with on a daily basis. Self-definition and exploration of circumstances are thus essential features of a writing that blends ethnic specificity with insights into human nature as an intricate given.

With a view to this issue, the *Introduction* to a 1994 volume on *Memory, Narrative, Identity. New Essays in Ethnic American Literatures* makes the following point:

In his essay "Ethnicity: Identity and Difference" (1991), Stuart Hall has noted that identity is neither simple nor stable. Instead, it "is always a structure that is split; it always has ambivalence within it". In preferring to see it as a "process of identification" rather than as "one thing, one moment", Hall reconceptualizes identity as "something that happens over time,... that is subject to the play of history and the play of difference". Thus identity, instead of being seen as fixed, becomes a dynamic construction that adjusts continually to the changes experienced within and surrounding the self (Singh et al 1994:15/16)

Jhumpa Lahiri's prose seems to constitute the perfect example of devotion to capturing the sinuous development of such a malleable construct. Her shorter or longer pieces are well-documented testimonies of transformation - under various aspects and over varying periods of time in the history of families and individuals. The lives of her characters retrace the formation and consolidation of the Indian community within the United States, as well as its acquiring a particular type of consciousness and trajectory.

When talking about Indian-American Literature as part of *New Immigrant Literatures in the United States*, Gurleen Grewal (1996) emphasizes from the very beginning that it "*is among the very 'young' literatures in the United States, barely forty years old. Indians came in significant numbers to the United States only after the changes in the U.S. immigration policy of 1965*" (1996: 91). One will easily notice that such milestones of Indian immigration and history make their way into Lahiri's writing almost unnoticeably, as parts of a natural flow of events. Thus, in the 2008 story *Once in a Lifetime*, Hema writes to her childhood acquaintance and future lover, Kaushik,

your parents were older – seasoned immigrants, as mine were not. They had left India in 1962, before the laws welcoming foreign students changed. While my father and the other men were still taking exams, your father already had a PhD, and he drove a car, a silver Saab with bucket seats, to his job at an engineering firm in Andover (Lahiri, 2008: 224).

The inherent differences between generations are ubiquitous in the dense literary tissue. On the one hand, parents and children, first and second (or even third)-wave immigrants are closely observed. Their adjustment in the new world, their reactions to its commonest features incorporate the significant changes that occur in their very notion of “home”. On the other hand, individuals belonging to the same age-group are often distinguished between by means of close examination of their personal options, cultural inclinations and social behavior. The confrontation between the traditions and mentalities of the continent once left behind and those of the one but recently discovered and embraced (or not) is constant and unfolds on several levels.

In a March 2008 interview preceding the publication of her latest volume, when asked about her predilection for depicting individuals whose definition of “home” is under challenge, Lahiri confessed:

It interests me to imagine characters shifting from one situation and one location to another for whatever the circumstances may be. In the first collection, characters were all moving for more or less the same reason (which was also the reason my parents came to the United States): for opportunities or a job. In this collection there's a similar pattern of movement, but the reasons are more personal somehow—they're reasons of family dynamics or death in the family or things like that. In this book I spend more time with characters who are not immigrants themselves but rather the offspring of immigrants. I find that interesting because when you grow up the child of an immigrant you are always—or at least I was—very conscious of what it means or might mean to be uprooted or to uproot yourself. (<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200802/jumpa-lahiri>)

What might ‘uprooting’, then, mean to Lahiri’s characters? How is it translated into her writing? How does she capture the bizarre mix of estrangement and adaptation that seems to lie at the heart of the matter? First and foremost, one should point out the fact that the writer’s choice is made in favour of an intimately quiet tone rather than the grand Bollywood epic one might be tempted to anticipate or fear. Grand themes, although obviously thriving, are carefully toned down, symbols are discretely woven into the narrative fabric. The result is a prose that speaks directly to its reader by the open use of significant detail. Lahiri has a keen eye for things that, under regular circumstances, would probably appear insignificant. In the world of her characters, though, they manage to acquire gravity and status, echoing situations that otherwise tend to be merely left unspoken or just briefly addressed.

The mere knowledge of Indian culture and history to American-born immigrants is always an issue separating them from their parents. While

nostalgia dominates the lives of those who have left India behind and continue to think of it as 'home', their children have a different sort of representation about a territory to which they feel but slightly connected by kinship. Gogol, the Boston-born, college-educated protagonist of *The Namesake*, gives Lahiri the opportunity to theorize upon the matter:

One day he attends a panel discussion about Indian novels written in English [...] 'Teleologically speaking, ABCDs are unable to answer the question 'Where are you from?' the sociologist on the panel declares. Gogol has never heard the term ABCD. He eventually gathers that it stands for 'American-born confused deshi'. In other words, him. He learns that the C could also stand for 'conflicted'. He knows that deshi, a generic word for 'countryman', means 'Indian', knows that his parents and all their friends always refer to India simply as desh. But Gogol never thinks of India as desh. He thinks of it as Americans do, as India (Lahiri, 2004: 118).

The different ways in which different generations relate to their land of origin are followed throughout Lahiri's three volumes. There are inevitable encounters between past and present, between native and adoptive spaces. Exotic India is clad in a mythical aura by the older members of the family, who miss its genuine charm and unmistakable customs. It is how community develops, as clearly showed on various occasions:

As the baby grows, so, too, does their circle of Bengali acquaintances. Through the Nandis, now expecting a child of their own, Ashoke and Ashima meet the Mitras, and through the Mitras, the Banerjees. More than once, pushing Gogol in the stroller, Ashima has been approached on the streets of Cambridge by young Bengali bachelors, shyly enquiring after her origins. Like Ashoke, the bachelors fly back to Calcutta one by one, returning with wives. Every weekend, it seems, there is a new home to go to, a new couple or family to meet. They all come from Calcutta, and for this reason alone they are friends, most of them live within walking distance of one another in Cambridge. The husbands are teachers, researchers, doctors, engineers. The wives, homesick and bewildered, turn to Ashima for recipes and advice (Lahiri, 2004: 38).

This particular pattern is to be noticed in most of Lahiri's stories. The American environment she describes is not necessarily the one that might be expected from struggling immigrants. Even when money is scarce, there are certain intellectual standards that most of these families seem to meet. The struggle is rather one of a deeper, psychological nature, and it is often women who are portrayed as having a harder time adjusting to the new living conditions. Their fears and dilemmas are all the more distinct as their time is spent almost exclusively in the domestic space, which they rarely

manage to appropriate as a real 'home'. Thus, one may witness the formation of unexpected, even unlikely associations for the mere sake of companionship and shared memories:

They became instant friends, spending their days together while our fathers were at work. They talked about the lives they had left behind in Calcutta; your mother's beautiful home in Jodhpur Park, with hibiscus and rosebushes blooming on the rooftop, and my mother's modest flat in Maniktyala, above a grimy Punjabi restaurant, where seven people existed in three small rooms. In Calcutta they would probably have had little occasion to meet. Your mother went to a convent school and was the daughter of one of Calcutta's most prominent lawyers, a pipe-smoking Anglophile and a member of the Saturday Club. My mother's father was a clerk in the general post Office, and she had neither eaten at a table nor sat on a commode before coming to America. Those differences were irrelevant in Cambridge, where they were both equally alone (Lahiri, 2008: 225).

What naturally happens to first-generation inhabitants of this territory is the urge to recreate what they have left behind. Thus, food, clothing, interior decorations are meant to revive the homely Indian atmosphere on American territory. Numberless dishes seasoned with elaborate spices accompany the day's main moments; moreover, they represent a special type of communication in themselves, managing to bridge (otherwise frighteningly wide) gaps. Like traditional outfits or typical social habits, they simultaneously represent a means of retrieving and preserving national identity and one of particularizing existence in the American space. However, no matter how reassuring such a procedure might seem to the first generation, it is rarely fully appreciated by the second, not to mention by complete strangers to the community.

She is surprised to hear certain things about his life: that all his parents' friends are Bengali, that they had had an arranged marriage, that his mother cooks Indian food every day, that she wears saris and a bindi. 'Really?' she says, not fully believing him. 'But you're so different. I would never have thought that'. He doesn't feel insulted, but he is aware that a line has been drawn all the same. To him, the terms of his parents' marriage are something at once unthinkable and unremarkable; nearly all their friends and relatives had been married in the same way (Lahiri, 2004: 138).

The notion of an arranged marriage, quasi-unconceivable of in the Western world, is recurrent. As incomprehensible as it may sound to Americans, it is voluntarily embraced by the Indian community. While parents are usually intent on preserving this custom in the new world, very few of the children are still as conservative as to accept it without questioning their feelings, their wishes, all the new values implanted into

their being by the acquired appurtenance to a world with changed rules. Even if they are not necessarily critical of the practice as such, they tend to oppose it out of reasons that have to do with growing up in a society which advocates freedom of choice above anything else. Meanwhile, their mothers fear exactly that: an independence they are unaccustomed to, let alone appreciative of (“*She is terrified to raise a child in a country where she is related to no one, where she knows so little, where life seems so tentative and spare*” – Lahiri, 2004: 6).

Maybe one of the most impactful passages in *The Namesake* comprises the parallel that Ashima draws between the two particular states that she finds herself undergoing after her arrival to the United States together with her academic husband. At once surprising and challenging, it offers the best possible description that she is able to provide:

Being a foreigner, Ashima begins to realize, is a sort of a lifelong pregnancy – a perpetual wait. A constant burden, a continuous feeling out of sorts. It is an ongoing responsibility, a parenthesis in what had once been ordinary life, only to discover that that previous life has vanished, replaced by something more complicated and demanding. Like pregnancy, being a foreigner, Ashima believes, is something that elicits the same curiosity from strangers, the same combination of pity and respect (Lahiri, 2004: 50).

Such passages capture the torment of the immigrant, the paradoxical state of in-between-ness that seems to perpetuate itself through generations. From language to gestures, from the minutest details of everyday life to general perceptions and expectations, every little thing that Americans take for granted is problematic to the newcomers. A relevant example comes from *Unaccustomed Earth*, when KD takes his little step-sisters for a treat at Dunkin’ Donuts, an all-American favourite. Surprised by the fact that the two girls point at the things they want instead of asking for them, KD remarks:

You could have said the kind of donuts you wanted instead of pointing, you could have thanked the cashier when he gave them to you. And you should always start off by saying hello’.

Rupa looked down at the table. ‘Sorry.’

‘Don’t apologize. I’m just saying, you guys don’t have to be shy. The more you use your English in these situations, the better it will be. It’s already good.’

‘Not like yours,’ Rupa said. ‘They will laugh at us in school.’

‘I am afraid to go to school,’ Piu said, shaking her head and covering her eyes with her hands.

It was not my intention to reassure them, but it seemed cruel not to. ‘Look, I know how you feel. A few kids might laugh in the beginning, but it doesn’t matter. They laughed at me, too. I came here from Bombay when I was sixteen and had to

figure things out all over again. I was born here, but it was still hard, leaving and then coming back again (Lahiri, 2008: 274).

The language barrier cannot be overlooked in the case of the immigrant experience. In Lahiri's writing, it plays an important part because it is the kind of feature that can either help or prevent integration. Adaptation is seen as both a way of "giving in" to the new culture, and as one of "giving up" various remnants of the old one. It happens on various levels, Lahiri's favorite being, once more, that of details.

Though Ashima continues to wear nothing but saris and sandals from Bata, Ashoke, accustomed to wearing tailor-made pants and shirts all his life, learns to buy ready-made. He trades in fountain-pens for ballpoints, Wilkinson blades and his board-bristled shaving brush for Bic-razors bought six to a pack. Though he is now a tenured full professor, he stops wearing jackets and ties to the university (2004: 65).

One may easily argue that Lahiri is writing manifestoes against consumerism and globalization. However, the tone and the attitude are hardly militant. The situations described are rather acknowledgements of change and its stages than mere means of criticism. Lahiri's novels are more about the co-operation of cultures than about confrontation: stereotypes are examined from a number of angles and deconstructed from both sides – Indian and American. Witnessing the preconceived ideas of both communities about each other is a fascinating spectacle. The ways to deal with individual and social clichés are personalized. Though the general tone is mildly melancholic, the solution is many times one of mutual understanding and compromise:

My mother and I had also made peace; she had accepted the fact that I was not only her daughter but a child of America as well. Slowly, she accepted that I dated one American man, and then another [...] She welcomed my boyfriends into our home and when things didn't work out she told me I would find someone better. After years of being idle, she decided, when she turned fifty, to get a degree in library science at a nearby university (Lahiri, 2008: 82).

The three volumes signed by the Indian-American writer document dislocation and adjustment to new surroundings both in physical and in psychological terms. Redefining homelands becomes a matter of redefining identity. The resulting issues are a matter of humanity more than one of race and their minutious study distinguishes Jhumpa Lahiri among the impressive wave of ethnic writers that has been gaining momentum in recent years.

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VIEWING TRIP: POINT OF VIEW AND MEANING IN THE NOVELS OF JEFFREY EUGENIDES

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***Abstract:** The paper looks at the way in which the particular choice of narrative point of view functions in Jeffrey Eugenides' two novels, **The Virgin Suicides** and **Middlesex**, arguing that besides acting as a structuring element, essential for the way in which the novels build (and undermine) meaning, it also lies at the core of some of the novels' inherent weaknesses.*

***Key words:** closure, meaning, narration*

There is one scene in Sofia Coppola's film of *The Virgin Suicides* (1999) which is particularly interesting for the light it casts on Eugenides' use of point of view. Trip Fontaine has persuaded the Lisbons, against all odds, to allow the girls to go out to homecoming with him and his friends – at which point in the otherwise mostly realistic account a surreal element intervenes: the camera focuses on Lux's dress and 'sees through' it, giving us a glimpse at her underwear, and Trip's name written in black pen on it. In the film, there are a couple more surreal or magical elements which do not appear in the book (one of the very few liberties Sophia Coppola takes with the text) and, besides being suggestive of the Lisbon girls' magic fascination upon the boys, they can be accounted for as elements used to build up the sense of narrative unreliability which exists in the novel, and which would have been hard to convey otherwise in the language of film. However, this particular instance seems to me extremely significant, because it raises issues not only of who speaks and of who sees, but also of who knows, who remembers, and how. Coppola's striking device would be out of place within the film if it weren't used (I would argue, consciously) to highlight such issues.

In both Eugenides' novels (*The Virgin Suicides*, 1993, and *Middlesex*, 2002), point of view is one of the most striking aspects of narrative experimentation, and is crucial for understanding the way in which the stories construct meaning. *The Virgin Suicides* is narrated in the first person plural, from the perspective of a group of boys who are trying to piece together the story of the lives and deaths of the five teenage daughters of the Lisbon family. In *Middlesex*, the narrator Callie/Cal is a transsexual who relates his/her family saga at first from an omniscient point of view, and then in first person.

In an interview with Jonathan Safran Foer (*Bomb*, 2002), Eugenides confesses:

I like impossible voices. Voices you don't hear every day. The 'we' voice in *The Virgin Suicides* came easily, however. It was the first thing I had, really. The first paragraph was told by this collective narrator and the book grew from that. With *Middlesex*, it was different. I had a story in mind but I didn't have the right voice to tell it with. The voice had to be elastic enough to narrate the epic stuff, the third-person material, and it had to be a highly individualized first-person voice, too. (78-79)

Indeed, the voices are “impossible”, yet not only in the sense which seems at first sight to arise from Eugenides’ words, namely that of difficulty and uncommonness, but also in the sense that they are highly artificial or unlikely voices, and play with literary conventions in ways which, I shall argue, are only partially successful. Let us consider again the scene from Coppola quoted in the beginning. Here is the corresponding fragment in the book – which, incidentally, occurs in the narrative just before the boys arrive to pick up the girls:

Lux didn't seem to mind [that her father would chaperone the dance] because her thoughts were filled with Trip Fontaine. She had gone back to writing names on her underthings, using water-soluble ink so that she could wash the "Trips" off before her mother saw them. (All day, however, his name had been continuously announcing itself against her skin.) Presumably she confessed her feelings about Trip to her sisters, but no girl at school ever heard her mention his name. (117)

The access to this information is not explained in the novel; on the contrary, it seems that Eugenides is going to some length to emphasize that there is no way in which anyone could have known that. Interestingly, this is the only slip into blatant omniscience within an otherwise consistently first person plural narrative.

The “we” narrator used by Eugenides is vague by definition; not only is it a rare form of narration, but it is also inherently ambiguous, as Uri Margolin notices in his study on “we” narratives, which mentions three referential ambiguities that generate semantic instability and internal contradiction:

Whenever more than two agents are involved in a 'we' state or action description, the exact scope of 'we' may remain ambiguous, since it may cover most, but not all members of G [the group], since it may or may not include the speaker, and since its reference group may consist of somewhat different subsets of G on different occasions of use (quoted in Marcus, 2008: 61).

All of this is true in *The Virgin Suicides*. The 'we' is a shifting entity, constructed and deconstructed continually. Any attempt to establish how many boys belong to this community, or what exactly their names are, is bound to fail. Sometimes one or more of the boys are detached from the group and become individualized, or referred to as "one of us", but the exact identity of those who tells the story remains indeterminate. The narrator is an ambiguous collective consciousness; it helps construct the boys as a parallel entity to the many-limbed beast of the girls ("a mythical creature with ten legs and five heads", 42); thus, the book becomes as much about the girls' suicides as about the boys' experience of them and the impossibility to fully understand it.

In terms of effect on the reader, this use of the first person plural narrative triggers not identification with a human subject who tells the tale, as in typical first person narratives (in the singular), but rather a sense of inclusion within a group, a sense of belonging to a communal subject. The reader becomes part of the voyeuristic group watching the girls, and shares in its failure to piece together the events. As the boys desperately attempt to find the reasons why the Lisbon girls commit suicide, they collect memorabilia which prove hard to interpret, and in time crumble to pieces anyway; they talk to people, whose memories of the events are contradictory; they gather photographic evidence, which is constantly in conflict with eye witness accounts; they explore hypotheses which are contradicted one by one. Their failure to find meaning in the suicides is strictly linked to the 'we' posited as (central) collective consciousness of the narrative – a 'we' which is unreliable, or, to use Greta Olson's more accurate term, fallible, as its "reports" are "insufficient because their sources of information are biased and incomplete" (2003: 100).

Within this context, the singular omniscient intrusion becomes particularly intriguing (assuming it is intentional, and not a mere slip of the pen), because it breaks through the point of view convention established by the text, and in consequence undermines its consistency.

The use of point of view in *Middlesex* might provide some clues as to why this happens. As Eugenides says in the already quoted interview, he needed a voice that "had to be elastic enough to narrate the epic stuff, the third-person material, and it had to be a highly individualized first-person voice, too" (in Foer, 2002: 79). Consequently, he uses an omniscient impersonal narrator for Cal's reconstruction of the events that led to his/her birth, and a first person voice for the events Callie/Cal perceives as direct, subjective experiences. This alternation will prove, as I shall try to demonstrate, problematic.

Omniscience has had bad press in literary theory over the past years, with narratologists either deploring its artificiality or denouncing as an outmoded or even illegitimate centre of authority. As Audrey Jaffe (1991) notes, "The omniscient narrator has long been identified as an intrusive, authorial voice, interfering with the dramatic representation of character and action and hence with the reader's willing suspension of disbelief." Others, such as Culler (2004), deny the usefulness of the term altogether, suggesting that the analogy with an all-knowing God is misleading, as the notion has little to do with knowledge as such, and everything to do with invention and choice. But Eugenides knows that the first part of Cal's narrative will be labelled omniscient, and labels it as such himself in the text, going to some length to account for it.

Thus, after a long omniscient section which relates Cal's family history, about half-way through the book, in utterly Shandean postponement, baby Callie is finally conceived, and thus slips out of the Eden of narratorial omniscience:

I feel myself shift, already losing bits of my prenatal omniscience, tumbling toward the blank slate of personhood. (With the shred of all-knowingness I have left, I see my grandfather, Lefty Stephanides, on the night before my birth nine months from now, turning a demitasse cup upside down on a saucer. I see his coffee grounds forming a sign as pain explodes in his temple and he topples to the floor) (2003: 211).

This would suggest a narrative convention by which baby Callie uses omniscience to relate the world before she becomes a human subject; and that this descent into personhood will entail an inherent limitation of knowledge; a reasonable idea, which the reader will find easy to accept, because it is consistent with general assumptions about the epistemological status of third and first person narrators. However, surprisingly, the narrator does stay omniscient even after Callie's birth, and has omniscient narrative incursions all the way to the end of the book, using the pre-existent pact with the reader made in the first half of the book in order to perpetuate the same mobility for the rest of the narrative.

Eugenides accounts for this several pages later, when he talks about Lefty's stroke at Callie's birth:

As I cried my first cry, Lefty was silenced; and as he gradually lost the ability to see, to taste, to hear, to think or even remember, I began to see, taste, and remember everything, even stuff I hadn't seen, eaten, or done. Already latent inside me, like the future 120 mph serve of a tennis prodigy, was the ability to communicate between the genders, to see not with the monovision of one sex but

in the stereoscope of both. So that at the *maharia* after the funeral, I looked around the table at the Grecian Gardens and knew what everyone was feeling (269).

This is a seductive idea, and a very sexy metaphor, but it is problematic on at least two levels. Firstly, it comes in contradiction with the previous justification of omniscience, in which omniscience promises to disappear as the baby falls from the state of pre-natal grace. Secondly, the idea is not sustained or developed in what follows, and we are left wondering as to why gender ambiguity would entail such paranormal vision, and how exactly that would work. The only other hint is the appearance of Tiresias, who Cal compares himself with, and who has both the experience of androgyny and the gift of prophecy, a “telepathic” view of omniscience akin to that Culler points out is used by Proust to justify Marcel’s omniscient reconstructions of events (2004: 29). But the Tiresias reference is yet another link unexplored, because this is where the analogy stops. The reader is left with the impression that Eugenides is counting on the fact that these clues will not be followed up, and accepted merely as momentary excuses for whatever he chooses to make happen in the text.

There are other interesting things going on in his use of omniscience. Traditionally, omniscience has been perceived as authoritative, not least because of the fact that the author’s presence is felt more strongly behind a text which is not obviously filtered through the subjective consciousness of a character. As Wayne C. Booth notes in *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, “In fiction, as soon as we encounter an ‘I,’ we are conscious of an experiencing mind whose views of the experience will come between us and the event” (1983: 151-152). Omniscience is usually by definition devoid of personhood, or at least characterhood, as marks of subjectivity will normally be attributed to the implied author: “The omniscient narrator’s knowledge thus importantly depends on his immateriality or invisibility: the narrator remains indeterminate, exempt from the constructedness of character” (Jaffe, 1991).

In *Middlesex*, however, omniscience is associated with characterhood, as from the very beginning we recognize the forty-year old Cal as the one who reconstructs the events. This is a breach of narrative norms, and it stretches narrative plausibility, as the authority of omniscience is undermined at the same time as it is asserted. While in *The Virgin Suicides* such play with narrative conventions (and even inconsistency) is justified thematically, as it parallels the epistemological fallibility of the narrator, in *Middlesex* it works against the text, as it makes us wonder if we are supposed to perceive Cal’s account as authoritative or not. If we are indeed supposed to believe that the whole family saga, with its genetic,

historical and mythological components, leads to the appearance of Cal as a fulfilled transsexual, then there is no point in undermining the narrative; if the omniscience itself is projected as unreliable, it undermines the closure – Cal's implied acceptance of his newly formed identity.

There is one further complication in the equation of Eugenides' narrative voice, namely the fact that the author himself makes repeated cameo appearances in the text – by including the name *Eugenides* in a quotation from *The Waste Land* (50); and by including a number of autobiographical elements, some of which are recognizable to the well-informed reader, others which the author volunteers in interviews. Gérard Genette notes that the “rigorous identification” between author and narrator “defines factual narrative”, while “their dissociation ($A \neq N$) defines fiction, that is, a type of narrative whose veracity is not seriously assumed by the author” (1993: 70). The use of the autobiographical convention endows the narrator of *Middlesex* with an authority which goes beyond that of omniscience, i.e. that of factual narrative.

This authority helps Eugenides extend the significance of his narrative to a wider, more generally valid scale – the national narrative; like in the case of the ‘we’ of the *Virgin Suicides*, the omniscience of *Middlesex* turns the saga from an individual one to a communal one. However, this extension is not sustained either, especially due to the book's closure. At the end, Cal takes over the narrative, and casts a retrospective personal meaning on it which makes the analogy with the American dream or the typically American family saga hard to sustain.

By eluding the limitations in knowledge inherent to a conventional character-narrator, the text can only be understood as either a fabrication, or a super-human narratorial feat; neither of these is however satisfactorily supported by the rest of the novel. All that these narrative games seem to do is highlight the artificiality of conventions such as point of view, underline the status of the novel as artifact, and the impossibility of building such a narrative, of attaining and telling the truth. In both books, Eugenides goes for two inherently artificial points of view, which highlight through their very artificiality the fictionality of the texts. They do so only partially for the purpose of metafictional play, and mostly to contribute to a sense of the fictionality of memory, and history itself. While in *The Virgin Suicides* this fictionality is one of the main themes of the novel, in *Middlesex* it works against what seems to be the text's main focus.

In *Reading for the Plot*, Brooks looks at how readers relate to narratives, arguing that plot and closure are essential for the way in which stories build meaning. Within a psychoanalytical framework, he accounts for the fact that readers desire closure, and narratives only acquire meaning

in retrospect, after the reading has reached that moment. In both Eugenides' books, the treatment of closure is significant to the meaning of the narrative. In *The Virgin Suicides*, we are given the ending first. The factual level of the story holds no secrets – so the closure we read for cannot lie in the events themselves, but in what lead to them and their significance; the reader will we read on not to find out what eventually happened, but to find out the meaning of what he already knows happened. Yet during the reading it becomes clear that this meaning is bound to remain obscure and incomplete, so in a sense we read for the inconclusive ending, and are satisfied by its inconclusiveness. In *Middlesex*, closure is more complicated. We are given hints which seem to lead in a certain direction, and we are made to desire that retrospective look which will help the sense-making process, but closure refuses to articulate meanings and bring all loose threads together. Cohen argues that the book fails aesthetically precisely because of its closure: “Eugenides's *Middlesex* imposes healing closure on what begins as a more open-ended story,” (2007: 376) that “In the telling of this story, *Middlesex* sets itself up to make a brief for free will against the determining effects of both biology and society. Eugenides's handling of the gender issue, however, undercuts this brief because he resolves his hero's conflict too quickly and too neatly” (377). Cohen argues that this attitude to closure is due to a change in American culture post 9/11, namely that there is a rejection of the hitherto general postmodern distrust of closure, and a desire to reconstruct the past in the light of the desired future outcome of the present; yet part of the problem is triggered, as I have tried to show, by the shifting point of view, by the fact that the grand American narrative and its omniscience, which asserts it with a certain degree of authority, is given resolution in the personal narrative; omniscience allows Cal to rebuild history into a coherent narrative, which should build towards understanding the personal history of the main character; however, the two fail to cohere.

Middlesex offers a significant number of narrative ‘clues’ which are not developed. It paradoxically draws attention upon the existence of those clues, albeit suggesting that we can't always read them properly: “Chekhov was right. If there's a gun on the wall, it's got to go off. In real life, however, you never know where the gun is hanging” – and still it is supposed to fire in one way or another, as

The gun my father kept under his pillow never fired a shot. The rifle over the Object's mantel never did either. But in the emergency room things were different. There was no smoke, no gunpowder smell, absolutely no sound at all. Only the way the doctor and nurse reacted made it clear that the body had lived up to the narrative requirements (396).

What Eugenides implies here is Cal's androgyny, which the text is supposed to have built up to – while in fact this claim is not sustained. The truth is that in Eugenides' novels not all guns get fired. There are quite a few Chekhov's guns which, unlike the one that is actually played with in the narrative and is at least in a sense fired, are not employed and consequently undermine its cohesiveness.

There are false leads in *The Virgin Suicides*, but here they are consistent with the focus of the book. To come back to what Coppola is doing in her film, this is precisely what she points out: she involves us in the same "viewing trip" as that of the boys – one that is as much imagination as reality, and combines voyeurism with desire and wishful thinking. She uses the voice over to establish the "we" narrative voice, and employs a largely omniscient camera, sometimes following the girls when the boys are not present as witnesses, but at the same time she questions the eye witness account by questioning what the camera sees. Like in the book, the slip into omniscience is used to highlight the fallibility of the reconstruction of meaning in the process of remembering and reporting. In the novel we are consistently reminded that this is a limited reconstruction of reality, as the very position of the narrator excludes omniscience, and it is quite plausible to assume that Coppola notices and exploits this detail in the film. In *Middlesex* there is no thematic justification of the false leads, and we remain wondering whether this is mere indecision on the writer's behalf. In the *Bomb* interview with Jonathan Saffran Foer (2002), Eugenides confesses that he was uncomfortable with the voice of the hermaphrodite, and that he used to be prudish about the physicality of Cal. The interviewer argues that this does not feel like a book about a hermaphrodite, but a family saga with a very unusual narrator – which might be precisely the problem. Faced with a problematic narrator whose sexual/textual ambivalence he has only partially explored, Eugenides has not managed to fully write the book he has set out to write; and the ending tries but fails to give retrospective meaning to the story. In both novels, the "impossible" voices have the property that they highlight the narrative and narrative conventions as artificial; however in *The Virgin Suicides* this is sustained throughout the book and justified thematically, because the novel is at least partially about the insufficiency of narrative and retrospective, while in *Middlesex* it sidetracks from the various meanings that the writer seems to want to weave into his novel, but is not very decided about.

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THE FIRST JEWISH-AMERICAN NOVEL
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***Abstract:** My paper deals with Henry Roth's novel *Call It Sleep* (1935) which presents the ghetto life of the newly arrived immigrants struggling to find a new identity. David, the protagonist of the novel has to find the balance between his inherited culture and the one that wants to assimilate him.*

***Key words:** assimilated culture, identity, inherited culture, Jewishness , struggle*

Henry Roth's novel *Call It Sleep* (1935) presented the ghetto life of the newly arrived immigrants struggling to find a new identity. The novel got very positive criticism and most of the critics and newspapers called it a remarkable novel. In the book edited by Hana Wirth-Nesher, *New Essays on Call It Sleep* (1996), one comes across several critical opinions, as, for example, John Chamberlain's in *The New York Times*: "Mr. Roth has done for the East Side what James T. Farrell is doing for the Chicago Irish...The final chapters in the book have been compared to the Nighttown episodes of Joyce's *Ulysses*; the comparison is apt" (1996:2).

Another review appeared in the Sunday *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*, where Fred T. Marsh described the novel as "the most compelling and moving, the most accurate and profound study of an American slum childhood that has yet appeared in this day...Henry Roth has achieved the detachment and universality of the artist" (1996: 2-3). But the novel disappeared from public attention for more than twenty-five years until it was reprinted for the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa journal. Leslie Fiedler stated:

For sheer virtuosity, *Call It Sleep* is hard to best; no one has ever distilled such poetry and wit from the counterpoint between the maimed English and the subtle Yiddish of the immigrant. No one has reproduced so sensitively the terror of family life in the imagination of a child caught between two cultures. To let another year go without reprinting it would be unforgivable (qtd. in Wirth-Nesher ed., 1996: 3).

Roth admitted that he started the story as an autobiography but he could not resist the possibilities granted by fiction. The protagonist of the novel, David Schearl arrives to the Golden Land with his mother. The story is told from his perspective, as the child tries to find his way and identity in this new, unknown world. David is caught among several languages: Yiddish symbolizes the language of home, coziness and of the Yiddish

neighborhood of the Lower East Side. Roth reproduces the cadence and musical rhythm of Yiddish without caricaturing it. On the other hand, we have Hebrew and Aramaic. David goes to the cheder (traditional school or classes teaching the basics of Judaism and Hebrew language) to study the Law of the Fathers and the liturgy of Jewish ceremony. Hebrew appears as the language of the Divine bearing power. The other language is Polish, the language used on the old continent. David is shut out of the world of his mother and her sister. They share their secrets in this language, David can only guess or invent the meaning of the words. We can divide all these languages into two groups: Hebrew, Aramaic and Yiddish, standing for the Jewish languages; English and Polish for the Gentile ones. The first group ties all Jews together destroying all geographic and historical barriers. The second group puts him into a new world where he has to find his Jewish-American identity. David's consciousness travels through this world of languages and dialects.

It is interesting to look for the meaning of the name of the main hero. David in Hebrew means beloved while "schearl" in Yiddish stands for scissors. In Yiddish the surname denotes the vocation of the individual. So in our case, it can mean a tailor. David plays an important role in the history of the Jews. He was the most beloved King of Israel, the ancestor of the Messiah. We can conclude that "to call him David Schearl is to make him representative in the most complex of ways. It is to call attention on the very act of calling" (Wirth-Nesher ed., 1996: 11). He will define the new identity of the second generation immigrants. He will defeat Goliath, like his predecessor, but, in our case, Goliath represents the immigrants' fear of the new world. The immigrants were not threatened by physical annihilation, but they had to deal with the problem of accommodation, assimilation and acculturation. The casualties of the war were the children of the immigrants who forgot about the Law of the fathers and praised the American drive. They wanted to become part of the big American dream and the only way was to get assimilated into it.

Roth uses the clash between the languages at full. We have the feeling of being at the Tower of Babel where God punished people by mixing their languages because people wanted to forget about Him and make a name for themselves. I agree with Leslie Fiedler who states that, though the word Babel appears only once in the novel, the setting of Roth's novel puts us into the world of newly arrived immigrants from all over the world and who are unable to understand each other. In Leslie Fiedler's opinion this new Babel came as a punishment from God because people tried to build a new Eden, a secular one. That is why America has been called the Golden Land.

David has to find the balance between his inherited culture and the one that wants to assimilate him. His identity is going to be different from that of his parents'. After reading the novel for the first time, Leslie Fiedler wrote a poem which suggests that David's task is to strike a balance between Ying and Yang, bad or good, in other terms:

Call It Sleep
One must kill,
One betray.
Yang's anger,
The yielding of Yin.
Under the random evasion of play,
How does the child begin? (qtd. in Wirth-Nesher ed., 1996: 28).

A communication gap is installed between the characters of the novel. David cannot find the street on which he lives because no one can understand the name of the street. He has to ask gentiles for help but, because he does not speak English well, they are unable to help him "Losted, eh? And where do you live? "On a hunnder 'n' twenny six Boddeh Stritt," he answered tremulously. "Where?" he bent his ear down, puzzled. "What Street?" "On Boddeh Stritt." "Bodder Stritt?"..."You mean Potter Street" (Roth, 1964: 97). Finally, the policemen figure out the name of the street and call his mother to take him home. David's teacher at the cheder cannot understand his pupils when they start speaking English. He does not feel the sacrilege when one of the boys chants "some one had been chanting "fot God Yaw" instead of Chad-Godyaw" (Roth, 1964: 232). In the pronunciation of the lower East Side "fot" would be "fart" and this is why they start laughing. The rabbi does not hear the underlying word play here. On their turn, the boys cannot understand Hebrew and Aramaic, so the teacher obliges them to learn by heart the verses without understanding the lines.

The setting of the novel, New York, is the place of isolation. The presence of the city is overwhelming in the novel. The family ties are loose and the individual is left alone. The inhabitants of the faceless urban community do not care for one another. The blocks of flats appear like giants in the eyes of the frightened child who is even afraid to go downstairs alone because of the badly lit stairs. Mario Materassi contends about the environment:

No slice of New York touched on the novel, no single component of that myriad background maintains throughout the text the connotations with which it was charged when initially introduced. As if placed under the converging beams of various spotlights switched on now singly, now in pairs and now all together, each stoop, each cellar or sidewalk, each jagged profile of tenement or spire or bridge spanning the East River is bathed in a distinctive light that for while sets the tone, and then suddenly is flooded with lights of different color which evoke new associations and produce further layers of meaning (qtd. in Wirth-Nesher ed., 1996: 52).

We have a shifting urbanscape that Roth uses in order to convey his message to us.

David has to adapt to this new environment, he has a great hunger for learning and for exploring his neighborhood. He somehow feels that he is not welcome in his family; his father thinks that he might not be his son and this uncertainty is projected onto their relationship. David is afraid of him and his father punishes him many times without a proper reason. David has to suffer for something that he has not committed. After his arrival, he experiences the drawbacks of not knowing his environment. David's mother is in fact his teacher at the beginning but, as David grows, he, in a way, out-masters his teacher. David will help her mother to learn about America. The teacher will become the pupil. Genya Schearl cannot accommodate herself to the new world, as she does not speak English and is afraid of everything new. David represents everything for her. She has a strange relationship with David and a seductive behaviour toward her son. Their relationship is very intimate.

With the arrival of Aunt Bertha, things get heated in the family. The hidden conflicts come to the surface. She does not want to keep the truth secret, but wants it to be known. She unveils the past of the mentally disordered father and the unhappy love story of the mother. David can hardly wait to find out the truth, though he cannot understand the language in which all these secrets are whispered. Yiddish becomes the language of isolation, not of socializing. The richness of Yiddish cannot help David to accommodate himself to this new world. He is more and more aware of the fact of being alone. Religion cannot help David, either. He goes to the cheder, but this cannot "compensate for the fissure caused by this mass immigration and for the atomization of the metropolitan city" (qtd. in Wirth-Nesher ed., 1996: 68). His father wants him to go in the hope that he might become "at least something of a Jew" (Roth, 1964: 210) and his mother thinks that it would help him to find his way in the world, though he already knows how hard it is to be a Jew "And as for learning what it means to be a Jew, I think he knows how hard that is already" (Roth, 1964: 210). David

himself thinks that he may be able to find in the Hebrew text taught at the cheder the origin of the authentic power. But it is his teacher who prevents him from attaining this knowledge. His imagination is set to work by Chapter 6 of Isaiah.

This chapter is among the most dramatic of the Bible, so it is not surprising that David's imagination is triggered by it. He associates coal with filth because it is black. He thinks that the same coal was used to purify Isaiah, but he cannot believe in the purity of it. In the last chapter of the novel, David will finally experience the purifying coal of God during his electrocution. David desires to become a new Isaiah whose lips can speak the truth. David learns from the cheder that in this new world he cannot rely on the cultural and religious inheritance of the old one. His heritage is the disintegration of tradition. Faith cannot be used as a healing source for the problems of the soul. He cannot perform the ritual burning of the *khometz* (leavened bread or pastry); he is embarrassed by another immigrant. A few lines later, he is chased by some gentile boys and, in order to save himself, he denies his Jewishness. He does not know why he should be proud of being a Jew. His encounters with such anti-Semitic acts are relatively mild, if we compare them to the historical events of Europe. David is somehow freed from his origin. The American idea of individualism appears here. He is free, but, at the same time, he does not belong to any community which has negative impacts on the individual. David cannot learn from the experiences of his ancestors. The past is lost for him.

As the story unfolds step by step, he overcomes his fears and doubts. But he cannot learn from his own experience, either. Only an illumination can help him out of what surrounds him. David is in search of power and, with throwing the ladle into the crack, he tries to gain power over his father. His father, Albert, appears as a violent, aggressive and embittered man. He sends David to get his salary and clothes from his former employer and there David finds out the terrible truth about his father. Everybody thinks that he suffers from some mental illness because he thinks that other people mock at him. As he cannot overcome his aggressiveness, he behaves like a madman. Later, David, in his dream, imagines seeing his father trying to hurt him with the hammer "Above the whine of the whirling hammer, his father's voice thundered" (Roth, 1964: 427). But, at times, he is very weak: he sends David to get his salary from his former employer; he trusts Joe Luter who tries to seduce his wife. Albert shares some common features with the type figure of the schlemiel. First of all, he is of Jewish origin and he is like an outcast. He cannot find his place in this new social order. He changes workplaces before David is able to learn their names. He is not able

to judge people. He praises Leo but does not observe that he only envies his wife and would like to spend a nice hour with her. He believes that David is not his legitimate son but, at the same time, he introduces him to Leo as the one who will say the Kaddish for him after his death “And that over there,” he pointed to David, “is what will pray for me after my death” (Roth 1964: 29). Kaddish is a prayer for one's departed which is recited daily during the first year after a person's passing. The most detailed description of this ritual is given by Leon Wieseltier (1998) in his novel, *Kaddish*. Kaddish is one of the most important rituals of Judaism. It is the task of the child to perform it for the welfare of the parents. Albert wants David to say the Kaddish for him, to lift his soul into the Gan Eden (the Garden of Eden). Though he is not a religious Jew, he finds it important to have someone to say the Kaddish for him.

David feels a certain religious need, but the teacher at the cheder cannot fulfill it. He has an ardent feeling for purification. He even breaks in the cheder to read once again Isaiah's story and he thinks that he might have seen it in the East Side, when he drops a sheet on the live electric wire under the trolley car. This light inflames his imagination and he associates it with the fire mentioned in Isaiah's book. David tries to give his life meaning and figure out his new identity. Rabbi Yidel Pankower defines this new generation of American Jews as not real Jews. He curses them because they have got so well accustomed to the American way of life that the old rituals, lifestyles are forgotten. They are not the obedient sons who want to live according to the covenant with God; they are free from the bonds of this contract. They want to live their lives without the constraints of Judaism:

A curse on them!...The devil take them! What was going to become of Yiddish youth? What would become of this new breed? These Americans? This sidewalk-and-gutter generation? He knew them all and they were all alike—brazen, selfish, unbridled. Where was piety and observance? Where was learning, veneration of parents, deference to the old? In the earth! Deep in the earth! (Roth, 1964: 373-374).

The rabbi stands for the older generation that is opposed to the new. He even says that physical punishment was better than skating. He does not understand that in America the old ways are not useful any longer. He cannot force the children to study the Torah by physical punishment. Life has changed and he has remained behind. He, in a way, is like David's father who thinks that beating can solve the problems. They do not have time for discussion, but accept aggressiveness. David is beaten by Albert many times, without a good reason: “Suddenly he cringed. His eyelids blotted out the light like a shutter. The open hand struck him full against the

cheek and temple, splintering the brain into fragments of light. Spheres, mercuric, splattered, condensed and roared” (Roth, 1964: 83). The rabbi does not want to face an American reality which does not have time to be pious and observant. The second generation children of the immigrants have to find their identity choosing certain features from their Yiddish cultural heritage and others from the American one. They are raised in a Yiddish family but, from the kindergarten to the university, they have to accommodate themselves to the American way of life. They will have to build an identity which will be able to explain the hardships they will have to face during their lives.

The last pages of the novel present the world of the immigrants from all over Europe. We can point out to such characters as the oiler Jim Haig, the prostitutes Mary and Mimi, the Salvation Army singers, Huskey O’Toole, Callahan, the watchman Bill Whitney. These mirror the neighborhood in which David has to build up his own identity. They are close to him, but he succeeds in reaching the third rail:

The hawk of radiance raking him with talons of fire, battering his skull with a beak of fire, braying his body with pinions of intolerable light. And he writhed without motion in the clutch of a fatal glory, and his brain swelled and dilated till it dwarfed the galaxies in a bubble of refulgence—Recoiled, the last screaming nerve clawing for survival (Roth, 1964: 419).

He survives electrocution and explores a state of unconsciousness. Every action of the neighborhood is filtered through his mind. David overcomes his fears with his last action. In his mind, all the major elements of the novel come to the foreground. His vision of the prophet Isaiah comes into his mind, and we can say that, through electrocution, his mouth will be purified just like Isaiah’s was through the coal. He fights his fears. The old world is contrasted to the new one. David wins over his father with this act. When he is taken home, he accepts him as his son “My sawn. Mine. Yes. Awld eight” (Roth, 1964: 437). His mother accepts her guilt by saying that she wanted to protect David from his father and sent him downstairs many times. David is able to transcend reality through dream:

He might as well call it sleep. It was only toward sleep that every wink of the eyelids could strike a spark into the cloudy tinder of the dark, kindle out of shadowy corners of the bedroom such myriad and such vivid jets of images... One might as well call it sleep. He shut his eyes (Roth, 1964:441).

David's rebirth is the beginning of his new life, with a new identity. David's quest for an identity is like the artist's quest for a new world. Roth said about the novel: "What I think American Jewish literature represents is the interface between the immigrant and the host society. What is being described is the feeling of what is happening as the process takes place, a process in which one culture begins to impinge, to enter into, or to permeate the other culture" (Lyons, 1976: 56). What Roth presents is a new world that is different but, at the same time, similar to the inhabited and to the fictionalized one.

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ACCULTURATION AND ENCULTURATION IN BHARATI MUKHERJEE'S *THE MIDDLEMAN AND OTHER STORIES*

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Abstract: If enculturation is first-culture learning and acculturation is second-culture learning, then how does Mukherjee act as a "middleman" between the Third World (India) and the First World (America), the minority and the mainstream? The analysis of "A Wife's Story" will focus on her exploration of this bicultural alternation and the solution she chooses.

Key words: Euro-American tradition, double consciousness, bicultural alternation vs. marginalization, middleman, woman's role, minority vs. mainstream.

Motto: I maintain that I am an American writer of Indian origin, not because I'm ashamed of my past, not because I'm betraying or distorting my past, but because my whole adult life has been lived here, and I write about the people who are immigrants going through the process of making a home here... I write in the tradition of immigrant experience rather than nostalgia and expatriation. That is very important. I am saying that the luxury of being a U.S. citizen for me is that can define myself in terms of things like my politics, my sexual orientation or my education. My affiliation with readers should be on the basis of what they want to read, not in terms of my ethnicity or my race. (Mukherjee qtd. in Basbanes 1998)

Bharati Mukherjee is an award-winning Indian born American writer. She is currently a professor in the department of English at the University of California, Berkeley. She is one of the best-known South Asian American woman writers and wants to be considered an American writer, and not a South Asian American writer. In a televised interview with Bill Moyers she commented: "I feel very American ... I knew the moment I landed as a student in 1961 ... that this is where I belonged. It was an instant kind of love." (Moyers 1990)

Mukherjee's works focus on "the phenomenon of migration, the status of new immigrants, and the feeling of alienation often experienced by expatriates" (Alam 1996: 7) as well as on Indian women and their struggle. Her own struggle with identity first as an exile from India, then an Indian expatriate in Canada, and finally as an immigrant in the United States has

led to her current contentment of being an immigrant in a country of immigrants. (Alam 1996:10)

In a collection entitled *Braided Lives*, Bharati Mukherjee included the short story "Orbiting". This title evokes an image of the interweaving of diverse points of view to create a new perspective that is neither wholly like nor wholly different from the elements that make it up, an image well-suited to Bharati Mukherjee's vision of America (Carchidi 1995).

Peter Nazareth writes that when Mukherjee claims to be a South American writer, she is affiliating herself with the "America that embraces all the peoples of the world both because America is involved with the whole world and because the whole world is in America" (Nazareth 1986: 185). In this perspective, "we -- whoever we may be -- are not outside the multitude of cultures in the United States, but are a part of the fabric that is being woven. An example of constantly changing, vibrant, and dynamic elements that come together" (idem), Nazareth continues, is offered us by Bharati Mukherjee in "A Wife's Story". According to the same critic, "this multicultural fabric of inextricable, many-colored threads of the American plurality which should not be ignored" (idem) is what Mukherjee celebrates.

It is important to read and discuss "A Wife's Story" as an integral part of 20th c American literature. Mukherjee identifies herself very strongly as an American writer writing about 20th c Americans. Although most of her stories are about South-Asian Americans, she sees herself as being primarily influenced by, as well as being part of, the tradition of Euro-American writers. In a brief interview published in the November, 1933 issue of *San Francisco Focus* in which she discusses her novel *The Holder of the World* (1993), she says: "I think of myself as an American writer ... I want to focus on the making of the American mind."

The encounters between cultures take place in India in her earlier works (e.g. *Tiger's Daughter* or *Days and Nights in Calcutta*) or in America in her later works (e.g. *The Middleman and Other Stories*). These encounters are between women and men either of different root cultures or from the same root culture. "Multiculturalism, in a sense, is well intentioned, but it ends up marginalizing the person", she said in Bill Moyers' interview. In this statement Mukherjee seems to be defining "multiculturalism" from the non-multicultural person's point of view of the person who is multicultural by choice or more often because of colonialism in one form or another. She does not discuss the power multiculturalism can demonstrate once it refuses to be marginalized.

Much as Mukherjee seems to insist that she belongs to the Euro-American traditions of American literature and as easily as she is able to fit into that tradition, there are aspects of her work that are derived mainly from

her cultural roots in India. She has spoken of the important influences in her life, of the images and ideas of her childhood in India and the great traditions of Indian mythology and literature. Her awareness of these influences enriches her stories, giving the impression of a larger work even in a short story – stories lie within others stories, move from place to place. This technique of winding stories and embedding stories within stories dominates the Sanskrit epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, and much of Indian literature.

Her ability to let her characters speak to us about themselves or as narrators of others' experiences is a reflection of the oral traditions of Indian literature. In "A Wife's Story" we can hear Panna telling us stories about her life in India and in New York but also stories of the people she introduces to us. Such is the story of her husband and of her Hungarian friend Imre.

Mukherjee is a collector of Indian miniatures. Keeping in mind this biographical detail, we see Mukherjee as a painter of small-scale yet detailed episodes and characters. A conversation with her roommate Charity about Charity's former husband triggers Panna's memories about her traditional Hindu marriage in which "love is a commodity, hoarded, like any other" ("A Wife's Story": 62); her parents, with the help of a marriage broker, picked out a groom. All she had to do was get to know his taste in food. Lack of passion and affinity is visible even in not calling her husband by his first name after so many years of marriage.

If enculturation is first-culture learning and acculturation is second-culture learning, then how does Mukherjee act as a "middleman" between the Third World (India) and the First World (America), the minority and the mainstream? The analysis of "A Wife's Story", a short story from her volume of short stories entitled *The Middleman and the Other Stories* (1988) will focus on her exploration of this bicultural alternation and the solution she chooses. The stories from this collection explore the meeting of East and West through immigrant experiences in the United States and Canada along with further describing the idea of the great melting pot of culture in the United States. The author centers on the immigrant experience of new Americans coming from around the world – Asia, Africa, the West Indies. These immigrants, according to Fakrul Alam's study about *Bharati Mukherjee*, "are seen to be emerging from shadowy or marginal lives and putting out feelers to root themselves in a brave new world." (15) The theme of the "middleman" is thus significant in terms of Mukherjee's concern with the immigrant experience in America, i.e. in terms of her cultural identity.

This bicultural alternation is also noticeable in Mukherjee's first-person narratives. The events are presented to the reader from the

perspective of one character in the story, such as Panna is in “A Wife’s Story.” The first-person narrative is important to Mukherjee’s concern with immigrant Americans struggling to formulate a sense of self and a sense of cultural identity within their new environment. As Fakrul Alam has pointed out, “In most of the stories collected in *The Middleman* and in her third novel, Mukherjee eschews the omniscient/superior perspective she had adopted earlier and attempts to allow her new Americans to tell their own stories.” (17)

In “A Wife’s Story”, Mukherjee develops the idea of mixing the East and West with a story of a young Hindu woman, Panna, who leaves India for a PhD in education in America. Unlike *Jasmine* (where the unity between First and Third Worlds is shown to be in the treatment of women as subordinate in both countries), this story focuses on her as an immigrant woman and her freedom from marital relationships to become an individual. The crafting of the story as a literary work in the tradition of American literature considering the important concepts of racism, multiculturalism and literary influences in American literature that emerge out of her root culture as well as keeping in mind Mukherjee’s own comments on these specific concepts makes “A Wife’s Story” an excellent example of encounters presented in a narrative of encounters between women and men.

Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* and Emerson in his essay “Transcendentalism” defined ‘double consciousness’ as a process of looking at yourself through the eyes of others. To do that, you have to be aware of your self as well as how others perceive that self. Having these two “halves” is problematic because the person is forced to continually see himself through the eyes of others. Panna, at the beginning of the theatre play is aware of her Indianness, a feature that cannot pass invisible: “The theater isn’t so dark that they can’t see me. In my red silk sari I’m conspicuous... we’re sitting in the front row, but at the edge, and we see things we shouldn’t be seeing” (58)

Panna, the Indian woman narrator, goes through a process of acculturation, i.e. a process of adopting the cultural traits and/or social patterns of the American group she comes into contact with. Panna has left India to get a PhD in special education in Manhattan. The narrator’s double consciousness is present throughout the short story. Panna, on the one hand, wants to belong to the New Yorkers and, on the other hand, be distinct from them. She respects Indian traditions and highlights ridiculousness of New York society but she also is appreciative of the openness of American society. She wants to pretend that nothing has changed, although the cultural gap between her and her estranged husband widens more and more. Ambivalent themes such as submissive vs. rebellious woman, traditional

roles and the desire for self-development as a result of education, etc. intertwine and complete each other. Panna comes from a rigid Indian society; as a newcomer to America she struggles with cultural transformation which she manages successfully in the end.

The cultural encounter between women and men results, shockingly enough, in an unexpected role reversal: it is the wife, not the husband, who has come to America and who is familiar with this new home. Panna is the guide and often the protector of her husband who is visiting her. And her story is constantly dramatic. It begins with her in a theater and every episode that follows is a carefully situated, in a stage-like, setting with set actors.

The story also contains some, not very many, echoes of the memory and nostalgia for the past that play a significant role in the writings of many South Asian-Americans. This memory and nostalgia for the landscape of places and people of the writers' childhood is often juxtaposed with the excitement and challenge of their new life and the unfamiliar landscape of the people and places of America. It is interesting to explore how Mukherjee uses these two strands in this story, bringing one or the other – memory or the excitement of novelty – into the foreground to present her characters and to build the circular, winding pattern of her story. Enculturation (past) and acculturation (present) stories interweave in Panna's story by mixing their culturally different threads to get a new, culturally-balanced 'carpet', on which Panna can walk confidently and self-reliantly: "I feel light, almost free. Memories of Indian destitutes mix with the hordes of New York street people, and they float free, like astronauts, inside my head. I've made it. I'm making something of my life..." (61)

The story begins with Panna watching a play which insults Indian men and women. Although in New York, although she wants cultural blending, she is distinct from New Yorkers. At the theater she is immediately located as "Indian" even if she resents it. In New York, the other people in her life share this aspect of cultural mixing, but not the Indianness. However, this is not the case of Imre, her conservative Hungarian friend whose biculturalism crosses his ethnicity, e.g. his inclination for the avant-garde. He always tells Panna what to see, what to read. He buys the *Voice*. He has decided to take Panna to Jean Luc Godard's film *Numéro Deux* (about women's role in a society).

She is conscious of her education. "You're exploiting my space," (59) she tells her male neighbor at the theater while she blames post colonialism for making her their refugee. She knows how "both sides feel"... "postcolonialism has made me their referee" (60). As a Patel, i.e. a postcolonial immigrant, all she regrets and longs for is the hate which she

should have for postcolonialism, which contributed to the wearing down of old colonies. However, in a detached way, she blames the situation, not herself, for the “trouble” of understanding both sides. The double consciousness is, thus, on the one hand, an internal struggle to reconcile a mental split between one’s identity (enculturation vs. acculturation) as being both Indian and American. The goal is, on the other hand, to break free of the double consciousness and reconcile these conflicting halves, once again becoming a single, unified self.

The story ends with Panna waiting for her husband, who is leaving back for India the next morning without her, to make love to her. “The water is running in the bathroom. In the ten days he has been here he has learned American rites: deodorants, fragrances.” (69). Earlier, she has described his longing for her as she would approach him with the perfume of sandalwood soap on her body and flowers in her hair. Now she is prepared to “... make up to him for [her] years away.” (69)

As Panna ends her narrative with “I am free, afloat, watching somebody else,” (69) one hears echoes of Mukherjee’s statement about America being a place where one can become a ‘new person’ and invent a whole new history for oneself. Panna rejoices in her beautiful body and her freedom, while we are haunted by the questions of the price and texture of her freedom. Has she repelled the insults of the first part of the story towards her husband? Toward a deeply buried area within herself? In playing the tourist guide to her husband has she forgotten the insult or accepted the explanation that insults are America’s way of accepting the other, the alien?

“A Wife’s Story”, like many of other stories by Mukherjee, leaves the narrative unresolved and open for discussion: “I long, at times, for clear-cut answers” (59). It also raises important questions about the forging of cultural, national, and sexual alliances in an America that glorifies individual freedom and urges the loss of a racial and ethnic minority that is not Eurocentric. Mukherjee faces difficulty to tell between her own identity, which imposed certain cultural standards and her socially constructed self. She acts as a ‘middleman’, an intermediary between the two cultures; in her role of a facilitator, the most frequent words she uses are “to train” (old) and “to adapt” (new); “I’ve been trained to adapt” (66) clearly indicates her successful blending of enculturation and acculturation.

Zeynab Ali in a newspaper article entitled “Bharati Mukherjee: The American Dreamer” (*The Friday Times*, 2004) speaks about the autobiographical projections of Bharati: “The defiant rebel in ‘The Tree Bride’, the non-conformist daughter from ‘Desirable Daughters’ or the resourceful immigrant in ‘Jasmine’”. To this we can add the self-reliant,

independent, acculturated wife who has the freedom to go out, roam around and decide her future from “A Wife’s Story” – the track of developing her self-reliance is obvious along the story: a) “I’ve made it. I’m making something of my life. I’ve left home, my husband to get a Ph.D. in special education. I have a multiple-entry visa and a small scholarship for two years. After that, we’ll see” (61); b) “I can’t go back” (68); c) “the degree I’ll never use in India” (69).

Until she married Clark Blaise, the Canadian writer, she saw herself as an Indian foreign student who intended to return to India to live. Before that, she was ‘immersed’ in her Indian history and culture. She had no identity before starting her struggle with identity, for cultural assimilation and acceptance as a South Asian. Reconciling her contemporary Western social values with her traditional Indian beliefs required a familiar environment which rejects her taxation of marginalization and ‘otherization’ suggested by the use of hyphenation when discussing her origin. That is why she chooses to describe herself as American rather than as an Asian-American. However, although entitling her essay: “The American Dreamer” her dream is not only American, but bicultural, i.e. Asian American.

She is aware of the Japanese American Dream, maybe that is one of the reasons she resents David Mamet’s play about the American Dream: “It’s the tyranny of the American dream that scares me. First, you don’t exist. Then, you’re invisible. Then you’re funny. Then you’re disgusting.” (59). She knows that “insult ... is a kind of acceptance” (59); however she seems to accept the situation and adapt to it, as long as it provides her with “more ... than [she] ever had in India”. (64) Her ‘acceptance’, however, has ‘dignity’ in it; it makes her feel “strong, reckless” (61), which results in the mild irony she uses whenever she compares the two cultures, e.g. “No instant dignity here... Offer me instant dignity today, and I’ll take it.” (59); “tell him that Indians don’t eat monkey brains” (61); Thus, we cannot speak about a conflict between enculturation and acculturation. America is simply the chance offered to both Panna and her husband to make full use of both cultures: the Third World (India) and the First World (America). This biculturalism refuses marginalization. She belongs to both the minority and the mainstream.

This biculturalism has a different effect on husband and wife. While Panna’s husband superficially compares the benefits offered by the Western World (microwave, Western-executive glasses, Perdue hens, etc.) or does things he has never done in India (goes shopping, waters the pavement, etc.), which do not lead to his transformation, Panna imbues herself with the new American tradition; she wants to be part of it, but only on condition she adds it to her Indian tradition. In the same way, we can say that Panna’s

name (a term used in Buddhist philosophy meaning “wisdom”, i.e. new, acculturation) adds to her family name Bhatt (a last name that is common in many ethnicities in [India](#), meaning “priest”, i.e. rules, tradition, enculturation”). Bharati, just like Panna, her narrative voice, a transient with conflicting loyalties to two different cultures echoes her resolution to the conflict in her famous essay “The American Dreamer”: “But America’s complexion is changing and Americans are beginning to see it for themselves. And what is really wonderful is that this is a two-way transformation ... As a writer, my literary agenda begins my acknowledging that America has transformed me but it does not end until I show that I (along with the hundreds of thousands of immigrants like me) am minute by minute transforming America. That is how this two-way process: it affects both the individual and the national-cultural identity” (Ali 2004). The solution she chooses to this bicultural alternation (enculturation and acculturation) is given in the same article where she speaks about her ‘new immigrant’ literature as a gain, and not a loss: “Others who write stories of migration often talk of arrival at a new place as a loss, the loss of communal memory and the erosion of an original culture. I want to talk of arrival as gain”.

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THE CONCEPT OF THE AMERICAN DREAM IN PHILIP ROTH'S NOVEL *AMERICAN PASTORAL*

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Abstract: *The article examines theoretical aspects of the American Dream and discusses the influence of this ideology on the American identity in Philip Roth's novel American Pastoral. The American Dream is viewed through the prism of the two marginal points of this ideology – success and failure.*

Key words: *American Dream, American identity, failure, rejection, success.*

Introduction

Philip Roth's novel *American Pastoral* (1997) serves as a background for the representation of the ideology known as the American Dream. The main focus of the paper is the causality leading to the occurrence of success and failure in one's life. The two poles of the ideology are discussed in relation to the concept of American identity and historical pillars of America in 1945 – 1970.

Philip Roth (b. 1933) is regarded as a leading Jewish American writer (McQuade, 1993: 1834). The author received prestigious awards, including a Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1997 for the novel *American Pastoral*, the first one of his American Trilogy, followed by *I Married a Communist* (1998) and *The Human Stain* (2000). Melvin J. Friedman observes that Roth's Jewish characters live in the author's world where "ethnic and national identity is integral to that world, but the message belongs to a much wider audience" (Friedman, 2001: 860). Philip Roth discusses many issues that may be ascribed to different social groups and standards.

The spirit of the America of the second half of the twentieth century and different issues corresponding to the concept of the American Dream are central points in Philip Roth's novel *American Pastoral*. The action of the novel takes place at the end of the twentieth century; however, the retrospections include the American realities of 1945 - 1970. Nathan Zuckerman, Roth's *alter ego* and the narrator of the novel, meets Jerry Levov at the forty-fifth high school reunion and finds out about the turbulent existence of Jerry's brother Seymour, nicknamed Swede. The third person narrator recalls the life of the Levov family through the perspective of the protagonist Seymour's consciousness.

Because of numerous direct and indirect references to the notion of

the American Dream, *American Pastoral* presents an in-depth discussion of the ideology, which has been often ascribed to the American system of social and personal values. The ideology of the American Dream involves different issues related to American history, the development of the American society and national and personal identity.

The Concept of the American Dream

The discussion and analysis of the American Dream includes different approaches. The historical approach analyzed by Frederic I. Carpenter associates the beginning of the ideology with an essence of a dream and its localization: “the discovery of the new world [America] gave substance to the old myth, and suggested the realization of it on actual earth” (Carpenter, 1955: 5). As the new continent offered the fulfillment of hopes, the definition of a dream has been attached to various issues. This phenomenon, existing through the periods of the American civilization, in 1931, as Carpenter states, “was described specifically as ‘the American Dream’ - that dream of a better, richer, and happier life for all our citizens of every rank” (Carpenter, 1955: 1). Thus, the United States of America became associated with the vision of fulfilling one’s hopes and ideas and this concept existed in different nations worldwide.

Jim Cullen observes that the realization of the ideology has an impact on the society and, as he suggests, the set of beliefs becomes one of the central sociological ideologies (Cullen, 2003: 5). Nowadays the concept of the American Dream, as Cullen notices, has become “a kind of lingua franca, an idiom that everyone - from corporate executives to hip-hop artists - can presumably understand” (Cullen, 2003: 5). Its various interpretations, including the ironical ones, are reflected in the mass culture of American society and the understanding of American identity.

In contrast to historical approach, political scientist Jennifer L. Hochschild (1995) analyzes the components of this ideology in relation to personal achievement or identity. Hochschild states that “the idea of the American Dream has been attached to everything from religious freedom to a home in the suburbs, and it has inspired emotions ranging from deep satisfaction to disillusioned fury” (Hochschild, 1995: 15). Hochschild’s approach includes not only the basic measurements and principles but also examines the possible reasons of failure and rejection of the ideology.

First of all, as Hochschild defines, “the American Dream is susceptible to having the open-ended definition of success” (Hochschild, 1995: 35). In this connection, the word “success”, expressing one’s fulfilled hopes, becomes the fundamental issue of the ideology. Hochschild proposes the measurement and content of the success based on “normative and

behavioral consequences” (Hochschild, 1995: 16). According to Hochschild, success can be described as *absolute, relative* and *competitive* (Hochschild, 1995: 16-17; italic in the original). Thus, success, its achievement or failure, depends on one’s objectives and the point of view towards the result.

Although, as Hochschild notices, “the ideology of the American Dream includes no provision for failure,” its occurrence is one of the major flaws of the phenomenon (Hochschild, 1995: 30). In particular, following Hochschild, “the problems of success [are], however, pale besides the problems of failure. Because success is so central to Americans’ self-image, [...] Americans are not gracious about failure” (Hochschild, 1995: 29). Considering this fact, the collapse of one’s hopes ends in the amount of questions about the reasons of the fall.

In addition, failure may be a consequence of the changes across the generations. According to Hochschild, the generation gap and the altered economical situation may lead to the distortion of the ideology. As she observes, “different kinds of success need not, but often do, conflict” and the ideology adapted in previous generations ends in rejection provoked by the younger ones (Hochschild, 1995: 205). The distortion of the American Dream influences the tone of the environment in which the rejecter functions so that the failure of others may be a consequence of that impact.

Concluding, the ideology of the American Dream can be traced through centuries and the essence of it, expressed in the word “dream,” is attached to various issues: from freedom in the colonial America to the prosperity and personal achievement nowadays. The gradual fulfillment of hopes leads to success; however, the basic flaw of ideology appears in the fear of unexpected failure, as an outcome of rejection or violation of tenets. Consequently, in order to analyze the American Dream in Philip Roth’s novel *American Pastoral*, the social and political situation, conditioning the fulfillment or failure of it, is considered.

The United States of America in 1945 - 1970

The fulfillment of the American Dream through various periods was conditioned by the beliefs and expectations of the society. The tone of the nation was influenced by the reaction to political, economical, ideological and social events occurring at the particular time. Thus, the years 1945-1970 in the history of the United States of America can be divided into two periods that reflect the contrasting tone of the American society. The period from 1945 to 1960, as George Moss describes, was “an era of sustained economic expansion and raising living standards” (Moss, 1989: 272). However, in years 1960 - 1970, the United States experienced an age of

turbulence marked by the protests and actions of the discontented society.

The United States of America entered the period of the 1945 - 1960 as a postwar country. As Tindall and Shi claim, "Americans emerged from World War Two elated, justifiably proud of their strength and industrial might" (Tindall and Shi, 1989: 815). The self-confidence of the Americans was soon realized in economy; consequently, the stabilization of the United States became visible. The postwar years began full of promises and ended in the fulfillment of hopes; the tone of the nation became optimistic in comparison to the earlier period that was marked by the negative influence of World War Two. Despite the fact that the political relations between the United States and the Soviet Union turned into the Cold War, the Americans shared the optimistic views about their future. As Wright notices, "Americans had been confident that life would be better for their children than it was for them" (Wright, 1996: 540). The optimistic tone of the nation was grounded on the materialistic prosperity that was a consequence of the economical boom.

However, the further years shattered the optimistic beliefs; the situation among the Americans in the United States lost its stability. The rebellion against the values and consumerism of the previous generation became the sign of the 1970s. Various movements that occurred within the society also intensified these moods. The riots, acts of terror and violence were present in the picture of the American society of that period and emphasized the processes of separation.

Furthermore, in the period from 1960 to 1970 the major problems appeared in the foreign policy that had also a strong impact on the society. The most crucial issue was related with the Vietnam War. Although the United States of America had had control in Asia from the end of World War Two, its engagement in the Vietnam War required the biggest efforts in the 1970s. The situation became more dramatic when marches and demonstrations were organized as a sign of the protest against the government's actions and they resulted in the acts of terror (Tindall and Shi, 1989: 962). Thus, the period of the 1970s was an age of turbulence during which the beliefs of Americans were shaken and a noticeable impact on the society was made.

In conclusion, the years 1945 - 1970 presented two different views of the American society. One period (1945 - 1960) was a stabilization age characterized by an economic boom and materialistic prosperity. The other one (1960 - 1970) was marked by the negative attitude towards the political actions that resulted in the overall disillusionment of the people. The tone of the nation during those twenty-five years is disclosed in Philip Roth's representation of the American Dream in *American Pastoral*.

Ideological Concepts of Success and Failure in *American Pastoral*

As the ideology of the American Dream presents two poles, success and failure, the potentiality of the occurrence or achieving one or the other relies on the particular state of the person or nation. In Philip Roth's novel *American Pastoral*, the American Dream is viewed through the prism of the life of the immigrant Jewish family and their descendants. Thus, the analysis of the American Dream in *American Pastoral* includes the discussion of success and failure in relation to the understanding of American identity and historical moments of the above-mentioned period.

Materialistic prosperity has been often viewed as one of the features of embracing the American Dream. As Jennifer L. Hochschild claims, "people most often define success as the attainment of a high income, a prestigious job, economic security" (Hochschild, 1995: 15). From this aspect, the economic prosperity serves as one point of reference to which the progress may be analyzed. In *American Pastoral*, Philip Roth presents four generations of a Jewish immigrant family that struggle to achieve success, the pathway to which is related with a leather glove industry. Finally, their desires are satisfied with an opening of their own factory that serves as a sign of the American Dream.

The saga of the Levovs begins in the 1890s when the senior of the family, Swede's grandfather, immigrates to Newark from the "old country" (Roth, 1998: 11). Although, as it is observed by Hochschild, "millions of immigrants and internal migrants moved to America, and around within it, to fulfill their vision of the American dream," the land seemed to be hostile for the newcomers willing to rise in the world immediately (Hochschild, 1995: 15). The status of the Levov family does not change even with the beginning of the second generation. However, hard work and persistence lead to the satisfaction beyond their wildest dreams. As follows, the established factory in 1942 experiences "the bonanza" when an order for gloves is made by Women's Army Corps (Roth, 1998: 12). As Moss observes, the costs of World War Two "restored American prosperity [...] beginning an era of sustained economic expansion" (Moss, 1989: 272). As a result of an opportune moment of history and own desires, the Newark Maid "established itself [...] as one of the most respected names in ladies' gloves south of Gloversville, New York, the center of the glove trade" (Roth, 1998: 13). The progress of the factory puts the Levovs on the road to fame and creates the foundations for further prosperity.

Consequently, as Alexander proclaims, the abrupt success causes the "transformation of Jewish life from proletarian immigrant poverty to middle-class suburban society" (Alexander, 1999: 3). Thus, the family

budget of the Levovs allows them to move to a bigger house, which signals their attainment of a higher position in the society of immigrants. Gradually, the Levovs achieve the materialistic security that lays foundation for their American Dream.

However, the real success is achieved by the third generation when Lou Levov's son, Seymour (Swede), inherits the position of the company's president. Under his governance, the family business continues the sequence of successful events by the "opening of a factory in Puerto Rico in 1958" and Swede leads it to further prosperity (Roth, 1998: 14). According to Sandra K. Stanley, "the family becomes a source not only of biological reproduction but also of the reproduction of ideology (Stanley, 2005: 6). As Swede's father starts realizing the American Dream, the essentials of his worldview are passed onto the son.

As Hochschild observes, "the dream is not narrowly individualistic - it permits one to pursue success for one's family or group as readily as for oneself (Hochschild, 1995: 252). Swede, as the president of the company that reaches its heights, through the perspective of his great deeds in the economical sphere is viewed as a part of the Levov tradition that should be passed on. The contrasting pictures of the first and the third generation of the Levovs confirm Hochschild's measurement of their own defined success, the embodiment of which becomes expressed mainly by the change of the economical status of the family. Thus, the significantly improved economical situation is a sign to the Levovs that they have managed to realize the American Dream.

The economical boom after World War Two becomes an important breakthrough that had an enormous impact on the society. The favorable historical moment raises "a big belief and we [Seymour's generation] were steered relentlessly in the direction of success: a better existence is going to be ours" (Roth, 1998: 41). The optimistic view of a success available for every member of the society is defined, according to Sandra K. Stanley, "by key American symbolic markers, especially the values of industrial capitalism, the ritual of sports, and the acquisition of a home" (Stanley, 2005: 5). These markers help to trace the fulfillment of the American Dream through the protagonist's achievements. Realizing his potential in sport, the protagonist becomes an icon of a successful sportsman; additionally, his great social and personal accomplishments evoke the collective admiration of him that functions in the society as a balance against the cruelty and consequences of the war.

As Sandra K. Stanley notices, Seymour "believes he has accumulated the visible signs of an American identity: success in business, sports, and home life" (Stanley, 2005: 5). The protagonist's achievement is

complemented by one more element of his dream - a house on the Arcady Hill Road, the owner of which he had wished to be since the time of his adolescence. Swede seems to fulfill all his hopes related to the concept of the American Dream:

A beautiful wife. A beautiful house. [Swede] runs his business like a charm. [...]. He was really living it out, his version of a paradise. This is how successful people live. They're [Swede and his wife Dawn] good citizens. They feel lucky. They feel grateful. (Roth, 1998: 86).

The protagonist's self-realization as a promising businessman, a good husband and a caring father leads him to a sense of living in his own paradise on the earth. He creates a vision of a successful personality who embodies the American Dream.

Consequently, Seymour (Swede) Levov's life is a success story - from an ordinary student to a promising sportsman, a worshipped member of society, a business tycoon, a beloved son, a husband and father - he achieves the highest level of self-realization. The protagonist, regarded as an achiever, is an example of the American identity based on the concept of the American Dream. An outcome of his beliefs and attempts to explore his potentials is embodied in the feeling of happiness and fulfillment of his dreams.

The polarity of the American Dream ideology includes two issues, success and failure and the outcome of the latter may have a harmful effect on those whose life is ascribed to the ideology. Following Hoover's statement that "the fall of the house of the Levovs mirrors the collapse of the American postwar dream" (Hoover, 1997: 2), the causes of the failure in Philip Roth's novel *American Pastoral* are associated with the figure of Meredith (Merry) Levov (Swede's daughter) whose rebellious actions destroy her parents' idyllic life. In *American Pastoral*, the gratified desires and success of the immigrant Jewish family, the representatives of the American Dream, are suddenly shattered by unexpected events. As Wood notices, "Roth's exploration of the events that turn Swede's American Dream into a nightmare illuminates the radical social and ideological shifts that redefined Americans in the second half of the twentieth century" (Wood, 1997: 2). These changes across the society and generations are incorporated in the representation of Meredith (Merry) Levov whose attitudes and actions cause psychological and material damage.

Merry Levov, as Seymour and Dawn's single child, represents the fourth generation of the immigrant Jewish family. Since the life of Merry's parents is described as the successful one, she is endowed with the vision of a better life that has been passed on each generation by the forefathers.

However, Merry becomes an oppositionist to the government, starts to express the radical point of view passionately and, eventually, her verbal attacks become directed against her parents. This issue is grounded by Hochschild who claims that “a classic plot of American family sagas is the children’s rejection of the parents hard-won wealth and social standing in favor of some ‘deeper,’ more meaningful form of accomplishment” (Hochschild, 1995: 16). The rejection of the parents’ values and their way of life provokes their daughter to cross the social boundaries. Moreover, as Merry gets involved in the political issue of the Vietnam War, her position incorporates the protest against the U.S. politics in Asia and materialistic values of her parents. Merry’s anger erupts drastically, the outburst of which encourages her to set a bomb in the post office on the 2nd of March, 1968. Because Merry disappears after this event (the bomb accidentally kills a local doctor), her action clearly involves a number of reasons; however, the consequences of this action dramatically change the life of her family.

According to Hochschild, violence is a clear sign of the rejection of the American Dream (Hochschild, 1995: 205). The ideology that has been cherished by three generations of the immigrant Jewish family ends in Merry’s rebelliousness, because she, as a representative of the fourth generation, opposes the values and vision of her forefathers’ life:

Three generations. All of them growing. The working. The saving. The success. Three generations in raptures over America. Three generations of becoming one with a people. And now with the fourth it had all come to nothing. The total vandalization of their world. (Roth, 1998: 237)

Merry, to whom the Levovs’ desires are ascribed, rebels against the existing societal norms causing the decline of the family’s American Dream. The protagonist’s daughter ruins Swede’s plan of making her the next successful member of the Levov saga. Merry’s drastic actions shatter the system of values of the previous generation: she “transports him [Swede] out of the longed-for American pastoral into everything that is antithesis and its enemy, into a fury, the violence, and the desperation of the counterpastoral - into the indigenous American berserk” (Roth, 1998: 86). Merry’s terror expresses the rejection of the ideology that has been adopted by her parents, and her opposition to the materialistic values of the society and political actions of the government in Vietnam grows into violence directed against the fundamental identity of the country.

Consequently, Merry’s rebelliousness results in the total rejection of the American Dream. The materialistic prosperity and the success of her parents become the target of Merry’s attacks concerning the values of American society during the second half of the twentieth century. Involved

into politics, Merry adapts the objectives of the antiwar movement that encourages her to use violence in order to follow her ideals. Being disillusioned with the ideology adopted by her family, the protagonist's daughter rejects it causing harm to her relatives.

Thus, the rebelliousness of his daughter Merry, influenced by the turbulent age in America, deprives the protagonist of the idyllic vision of life turning his successful personality into a broken one. As Royal claims, "Swede [...] becomes a part of a long line of American literary figures whose failure to grasp the ambiguous nature of existence lead to his downfall" (Royal, 2005: 202). The spheres of life in which Swede succeeded now testify his fall as a businessman, social actor, husband and a strong personality. As the protagonist's brother Jerry states, "[Swede's] life was blown up by this bomb. The real victim of that bombing was him. [...] That bomb detonated his life. His perfect life was over" (Roth, 1998: 68-69). The decade of Seymour's prosperous life during which he achieves the American Dreams ends when Merry throws a bomb killing a human being. However, the strong emotional bond between the father and the daughter does not allow Swede to judge Merry's behavior. As Seymour's emotions and feelings start to conflict, the protagonist chooses to live a double life. The mask of a strong personality, which Swede puts on, hides the inner fight between his sense of responsibility and parental love that he can not abandon.

Thus, Seymour Levov's success in the business, society and family life ends in a failure. Trying to overcome the disarray and to remain as a symbol of duty, Swede starts to live behind the mask. Although the protagonist attempts to begin his life once again, the painful events shatter his American Dream leaving him as a destroyed, broken, and suffering human being for whom the success of life turns into a nightmare.

Conclusions

Philip Roth's novel *American Pastoral* captures the spirit of the United States of America in 1945-1970, and the political, economical, sociological and personal changes of that period become essential in discussing the two poles of the ideology. The glorious success and unexpected failure of the Levov family are conditioned by the historical moment and the personal traits of the family members.

Success as the pole of the American dream is expressed through various issues. In the Levov saga, grasping the favorable economic opportunity that occurred after World War Two, the Levov family manages to improve its financial and social status. In comparison with the first generation of the Jewish immigrants that settled down in America,

Seymour, as the representative of the third one, embodies the American Dream expressed through the materialistic prosperity. Accepting a role of a businessman and becoming an obedient son, beloved husband and father, he is described as a successful personality.

Despite the fact that achieving the American Dream by one's own defined success is related to the control of one's own actions, failure is not a result of the personal volition. In Philip Roth's novel, *Meredith* (Merry) Levov expresses the changes of the values in the American society of the 1970s. Merry's act of terror demonstrates her refusal to accept the ideology that has been adopted by her parents.

In Philip Roth's *American Pastoral*, the fulfillment of the postwar American Dream is conditioned by several factors. The favorable tone of the nation and economical situation provide with the opportunity to fulfill one's desires. However, failure occurs unexpectedly and may result from one's rejection of earlier values. Thus, the causality of success or failure of the American Dream ideology is grounded on historical development, the tone of the nation and individual perspective.

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SECTION FOUR: BRITISH LITERATURE

**SPACE AND TIME
IN FLANN O'BRIEN'S *THE THIRD POLICEMAN***

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Abstract: In the novel “*The Third Policeman*” displaying its Irishness by escaping spatial and temporal conventions, Flann O'Brien humorously presents the dead narrator's nightmarish story within a temporally and spatially multilayered existence. This article presents an analysis of the spatial and temporal dimensions related to both narrative devices and cultural coordinates.

Key words: cultural coordinates, narrative devices, space, time.

Attempting a contextualisation of Flann O'Brien's work, one cannot ignore the particular setting Ireland offered at the beginning of the twentieth century. Ireland's identity problem is reflected in literature as the image of a highly undermined authority, which reminds of William Butler Yeats' masks and impersonality derived from an ever-changing personality related to each work he created, which also reminds of James Joyce's artist, Stephen Dedalus, transgressing national boundaries, of Samuel Beckett's *The Unnamable* and other unnamed characters, such as the protagonist of Seamus Deane's *Reading in the Dark*, a storyteller himself.

Within such a context, giving the impression of being subjected to a continuous process of re-creation or re-invention, Flann O'Brien gets an intermediary position in his evolution from Brian Ó Nualláin (in Irish) or Brian O'Nolan (in English) to Flann O'Brien – the pseudonym he used for two novels written in English: *At Swim-Two-Birds* (1939) and *The Third Policeman* (1940) –, to Myles na Copaleen – the name O'Brien used to sign a comic column in *The Irish Times* – and Myles na gCopaleen – associated with *An Béal Bocht* (*The Poor Mouth*, 1941).

Writing about Flann O'Brien's comic genius, Ciarán Ó Nualláin (1998: 107) attempts to convince the readers that his brother's novels are not satires, but pieces “of natural exuberance – fun for the sake of fun – like the playfulness of a puppy!”. He presents his brother as a humorous writer who used to make fun of deep analysis of his contemporaries' works, especially of James Joyce's, and invites the reader not to spoil O'Brien's work by explaining it:

I have seen articles running to a couple of thousand words of tortuous terminology to explain something, when an author's flash of humour has already lit up the sky

like a flash of lightning! It occurs to me to question the right of the blind to be tutoring those who can see perfectly (Ó Nualláin, 1998: 107).

Despite its somehow declared playfulness, O'Brien's work mocks at its creator's authority just like the characters undermining their creators' authority (Mahony, 1998: 20) in the multilayered *At Swim-Two-Birds*. However, reaching its independence through publication, his work has to endure the readers' scrutiny.

Published at a turning point in the evolution of literature and literary criticism, Flann O'Brien's novel *The Third Policeman* is perceived as an extremely dense work in both meaning and form, a valuable synchronic work, although haunted by successful contemporaries like James Joyce and Samuel Beckett. Indebted to scientific theories such as the atomic theory and relativity, pseudoscientific theories dragging the novel to psychology and literary criticism and to the Irish tradition in literature, Flann O'Brien created a fantastic work whose unnamed protagonist challenges normality.

The novel covers the evolution of the protagonist from birth to the beginning of the second cycle in his life after death. The action is set in twentieth century Ireland and the protagonist, who is the narrator, is a representative of the common Irishman experiencing "predestined failure" (Kiberd, 2002: 511) without understanding it. The character resembles Bonaparte in *The Poor Mouth*, who meets the requirements of an Aristotelian comic character:

The concept of the Irishman as an irredeemable and unchangeable idiot is itself not far removed from Aristotelis classic definition of comedy: 'the comic character is static and goes on revealing itself' (Kiberd, 2002: 511).

The narrator is born somewhere in Ireland and his parents leave him and their business, he is sent to a boarding school and when he returns home, having a wooden leg and a stolen book he wants to write about, he finds John Divney who is ruling the business. The narrator works on his project, while Divney spends the money. Eventually, when the protagonist wants to publish his book, they decide to kill an old man, Mathers, who has a black box with money. Divney and the protagonist kill Mathers and Divney disappears with the box while the narrator is burying the corpse. The two become "very close friends", but three years later Divney decides upon telling the narrator where the black box is. This moment marks the beginning of a quest which, despite the frustrating spatial and temporal ambiguity, reveals a fundamental aspect of the Irish cultural background.

The Third Policeman breaks temporal and spatial patterns. An analysis of the spatial and temporal dimensions would imply a three-plane

approach: space and time related to the evolution of the character from the perspective of Bakhtin's chronotope; time and space as technical devices of the narrative process; time and space as cultural coordinates.

According to Bakhtin's theory concerning "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (Bakhtin, 2003: 215), time is the fourth dimension of space, and the evolution of the character is associated to the passing of time and to the spatial context. To support Bakhtin's theory concerning the inseparability of time and space, the protagonist defines, by using de Selby's writings (a fictitious philosopher and scientist), human existence as "a succession of static experiences, each infinitely brief", implying that time passes in space. Space, despite its being an abstract coordinate, too, is generally associated with objects and what is visible, as Joyce (1993: 253) also said: "what is audible is presented in time, what is visible is presented in space". Yet, objects in space can be apprehended in time, as they were a succession of points, while time can be perceived simultaneously as a line, therefore as spatial representation.

Such a line guides the narrator all along the novel marking the passing of time and the succession of "static experiences" in space. The narrator presents only certain events which he considers important, confusing the reader with the gaps in his existence. The moment the narrator gets aware of the spatial and temporal interdependence, time becomes durative and relative while space challenges the principles of physics. Time crosses conventional borders such as the chronological passing of time or the association between certain moments of the day and spatial representations, reaching subjectivity: time passes very slowly for the narrator, and quickly for Divney. As regards space, unreal representations of larger spaces enclosed in smaller ones bewilder the protagonist.

The reader can identify two parts in the novel: a more dynamic one covering thirty years of the narrator's life where only important events are mentioned and associated to uncertain time references, and a more durative one covering an undetermined period of time, suggesting eternal wonderings along the road beyond life and describing hallucinatory experiences in spaces enclosing other spaces.

In the first part of the novel, the narrator attempts to record the moments when the narrated events happened pretending temporal accuracy. For example, the beginning "I was born a long time ago" suggests the narrator's old age and also his not knowing his exact age either because he has forgotten his birthday or because he has never known it. Indefinite time of birth implies that he has escaped temporal convention, which renders the temporal reference uncertain.

Temporal references generally suggest uncertainty despite the narrator's effort to mention moments of the day or of the year: "Customers used to come to their public house at bed-time; and well after it at Christmas-time and on other unusual days like that." (O'Brien, 2002: 7) Besides the idea of routine and of the uneventful passing of time, the narrator describes as increasingly strange his family's every day or every night life. The "unusual days" were actually more unusual than the other days when there was activity in the public house only at night and his mother was involved in it. His insisting on the idea of family routine creates tension as the reader expects something to break the apparent *harmony*: His father "did not talk much except on Saturdays when he would mention Parnell with the customers and say that Ireland was a queer country"; his mother "spent her life making tea to pass the time and singing snatches of old songs to pass the meantime." (O'Brien, 2002: 7)

The idea of temporal uncertainty and of waste of time continues with other similar temporal references: "a certain year came about the Christmas-time and when the year was gone my mother and my father were gone also." (O'Brien, 2002: 8) until the protagonist turns about sixteen. He even mentions the date of the 7th of March, a very important day for him which he associates with de Selby's book, showing that small temporal divisions are more accurate. His later experiences are related to de Selby's book in an attempt to explain them and also pretending cultural background. Three years later he reaches the end of his education, returns home and re-contextualizes himself telling the reader "how he was situated in the world", that is giving certain spatial and/or eventful coordinates until he is nearing his thirty years of age. Up to this moment the reader can follow a *coherent* evolution of the character(s) in time, physical and moral and spiritual changes being mentioned.

The change in the protagonist's perception of time and space is related to the moment he goes to Mathers' house to take the black box for which he and his "friend" Divney had killed the old man three years before.

a. Starting with his very entry in the house space and time become unreliable, almost hallucinatory: "how long we sat there, I do not know"; "Years or minutes could be swallowed up with equal ease"; "When I reached the floor and jumped noisily down upon it the open window seemed very far away and much too small to have admitted me"; "his words seemed imprisoned in his mouth for a thousand years"(O'Brien, 2002: 22).

b. Entirely opposing maturational time-sequences in the first part, the narrator playfully associates temporal and spatial markers to bewilder the reader. The sun is setting and rising in the same place:

The outside light of morning had faded away almost to nothingness. (...) Coming into the room I had noticed that the window was to the east and that the sun was rising in that quarter and firing the heavy clouds with light. Now it was setting with last glimmers of feeble red in exactly the same place. It had risen a bit, stopped, and then gone back. Night had come (O'Brien, 2002: 36).

Perhaps mocking at adventure-time in Greek romance, the author chose to present the same spatial representation associated to two different moments of the day. The narrator, neither impressed nor affected by the queer event, records it and pragmatically adjusts his activities to the spatial and temporal context: he goes to bed.

It is morning for a great part of the novel, although there are several moments identified: the first skies in the morning; dawn; the sun was maturing; still early morning; the white morning; this today morning. However, unexpected changes break chronology: they visited a country "full of enduring trees where it was always five o'clock in the afternoon" (80). Such changes make the narrator's response be charged with a note of surprise when he "suddenly" begins to talk or when he "suddenly" feels an "unaccountable excitement" before seeing the police station.

The above-mentioned time-markers accompany different actions. What happens in between two moments may not be of interest or simply static. When the narrator travels from Mathers' house to the police station, time seems not to pass. His movement along the road is monotonous and may paradoxically suggest rest – "a succession of static experiences each infinitely brief" (O'Brien, 2002: 50-52) – , a metaphor for the hallucinatory journey that life is.

c. The inseparability of time and space is also echoed when MacCruiskeen measures in years the effort he made to create the wooden chest: "I spent two years manufacturing it when I was a lad" (O'Brien, 2002: 70). Although the chest is presented in space, its creation supposes duration. The creation of the chest may be seen as a succession of acts which take place in time (*nacheinander*) to produce spatial succession (*nebeneinander*) (Joyce, 1961). In graphic representation 'nacheinander' is identical with 'nebeneinander'.

The two policemen take the narrator to a hidden place, an underground room actually, which they call eternity. The major advantage of such a visit is that as long as they are in the room, they do no change. MacCruiskeen does not have to shave himself because he spends part of his time in eternity.

Other strange temporal and spatial representations strike the storyteller: the police station looks like a bad advertisement and the building is bi-dimensional. Yet, the narrator can enter the rooms in the police station.

The third policeman, Fox, has his office in a wall of Mathers' house. Although the entrance door is too small for both the policeman's and the protagonist's size, they can squeeze in. In the end of the novel the reader is informed that time has passed faster for Divney than for the narrator: the several days the latter spent at the police station equal about eighteen years in Divney's existence. Furthermore, it is only two pages before the end of the novel that the reader finds out that the narrator has been dead all along the novel and that he died in Mathers' house, which may explain why both time and space changed and why those several days after his death were actually years for Divney.

The storyteller attempts to present the events chronologically and with several exceptions the main storyline unfolds in an almost traditional way. Internal analepses become necessary to fill in the gaps that render the story fragmentary in both form and content. When the narrator mentions that he and Divney have become inseparable "friends", he uses an internal analepsis and goes back in time several years to explain what happened. In a similar way MacCruiskeen has to tell the narrator that they could find Gilhaney's bicycle and some parts of it buried in different places because he had stolen the bicycle and buried them there. When MacCruiskeen tells the narrator the story of the wooden chests he goes before the first narrative with an external analepsis.

The rhythm changes from a more dynamic one, used to present the first thirty years of the narrator's life and resulting in an eventful period, to an almost static, durative one for most of the novel. Fragments of meaningless conversations, descriptions and the narrator's personal opinions intermingle with de Selby's philosophy in life after death which seems to be cyclic and self-annihilating.

As Denis Donoghue (2002: ix) states, Flann O'Brien succeeded in creating a novel that "presents a vision of the world in terms of a single intellectual pattern". Although *The Third Policeman* can be considered a strange novel, it also rebuilds twentieth century Irishness through allusions to the author's contemporaries or well-known Irish predecessors. On the very first page the author satirizes the Irish family: the father is a heavy drinker talking politics and about Parnell on weekends and denigrating his own country; the mother does the housework, drinks tea and sings. The Irish family he outlines is a surrogate of Stephen Dedalus' family in *A Portrait* as much as it is the prototype of the Irish family in general.

Other Irish writers are echoed in the novel, which helps O'Brien recreate both Irish space and culture: Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* is suggested several times: de Selby with his books on roads and journeys, hallucinations, names etc. is the ridiculed *philosophus gloriosus*, according

to Donoghue (2002: ix), a philosopher reminding of the scholars in the Academy of Lagado. The reader can identify descriptions of places similar to Lilliput and Brobdingnag:

We were now going through a country full of fine enduring trees where it was always five o'clock in the afternoon. It was a soft corner of the worlds, free from inquisitions and disputations and very soothing and sleepening on the mind. There was no animal there that was higher than a man's thumb and no noise superior to that which the Sergeant was making with his nose, an unusual brand of music like wind in the chimney (O'Brien, 2002: 80-81).

In *The Third Policeman* the bicycle acquires an essential position as a character and as a cultural element at the same time. The atomic theory presented by Sergeant Pluck demonstrates how a man's personality can be transferred to his bicycle, which eventually gives the Sergeant the right to treat bicycles as if they were human beings. Ciarán Ó Nualláin extends the importance of the bicycle in the family to a general presence in Ireland:

The bicycle was very popular in the country in the twenties. There can scarcely have been a farmer who did not have one, even if he had a pony and trap as well. The traffic on the road to Mass would include scores of bicycles, with straight-backed farmers dressed up in their blue suits. Many of these bicycles were of Irish manufacture – Pierce or Lucanta; they seemed like tanks compared to bicycles of other makes because of their weight and the thickness of their frames (Ó Nualláin, 1998: 38-39).

Ireland's space is also echoed through an association of Beckett's work with the bicycles populating O'Brien's novel. Gilhaney who tries to find his bicycle, stolen by the Sergeant, is a discreet allusion to Molloy and his bicycle, while the protagonist himself seems to be a version of Molloy, with his wooden leg, going on a quest and meeting the policemen.

Samuel Beckett's absurd theatre can be a model for the absurd conversations between the policemen and the narrator while the latter's complementarity with Joe, his soul, resembles the one between characters like Vladimir and Estragon. For example, although both the protagonist and Joe know that the former has no watch, he insists on having lost it:

... would I ever know the value of the money I could never spend, know how handsome could have been my volume on de Selby? Would I ever see John Divney again?
Where was he now? Where was my watch?
You have no watch.
That was true (O'Brien, 2002: 112).

To complete the gallery of characters in Irish literature, the author created John Divney, the narrator's *friend*, who took over the farm and the public house, killed the narrator and lived happily with the latter's money, and who represents the Irish traitor.

Flann O'Brien claims originality as a result of having created an already dead character that is telling the story without knowing that he is dead. However, his novel's originality also lies in the comic perspective upon the tragic life in Ireland. Poverty, lack of identity, fight for survival, common and artistic quests are the vehicles that make the novel unfold in the open fields of a paralysed country which he reconstructs parodying well-known Irish novels. In a tragic and comic way, Flann O'Brien, just like the protagonist, did not leave to see his work published.

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A BATTLE FOR TERRITORY OR ERASURE OF ALL BOUNDARIES

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Abstract: My paper tries to analyse how Winterson manages to play with different types of discourse and narratological voices and to what effect. I will start by showing how many types of discourse the novel deploys and how they interfere with each other and then I am going to demonstrate whether they are grotesque narratives starting from Bakhtin's definition of the term.

Key words: apocryphal history, discourse, fantasy, the grotesque, historiographic metafiction, storytelling

Winterson's novel *The Passion* (1987) is a perfect example of the power of heterogeneity, multiplicity and narrative. The way Winterson plays with many narratological voices, the manner in which their stories interact, contradict and reflect one another exercise a deep fascination for critics and readers alike. This paper tries to analyse how the writer manages to juggle with different types of discourse and narratological voices and to what effect. Thus I will start by showing how many types of discourse the novel deploys and how they interfere with each other and then I am going to demonstrate whether they are grotesque narratives starting from Mikhail Bakhtin's definition of the term.

The Passion is the story of Henri, a young Frenchman from peasant stock sent to fight in the Napoleonic wars who eventually becomes a cook in the campaign kitchen. It is also the story of Villanelle, an androgynous, cross-dressing Venetian woman, born with webbed feet who attracts the lust of both sexes and who originally was a card dealer in a casino. The novel has four chapters: *The Emperor*, *The Queen of Spades*, *The Zero Winter*, *The Rock*. Told in the first-person, *The Emperor* is Henri's narrative, while *The Queen of Spades* belongs to Villanelle. The pair meets in Russia in *The Zero Winter*, and the last two chapters are narrated alternately by both narrators whose narratives switch and intertwine.

The novel rewrites the story of the rise and fall of Napoleon Bonaparte – a very precise and utterly meaningful historical period – from the point of view of two representatives of historically silenced groups: a soldier who ends up in a madhouse and a bisexual woman who also becomes a prostitute. Thus, *The Passion* juxtaposes two opposed types of discourse: historical one and the memoir. The historical mode is

traditionally considered reliable, objective whereas the memoir is the exact opposite, highly subjective and personal. As the record of past reality, history is conventionally seen as completely alien to fiction. But Hutcheon (1988: 93) underlines the fact that both history and literature are types of discourse, language constructs, greatly conventionalised in their narrative forms and both open to revision and recontextualisation. Thus, the novel erases any artificially constructed boundaries between historical fact and fiction and reject the commonly held belief that only history can claim to tell the 'truth' (Hutcheon, 1988: 93-95).

As I have already said, the first part of the novel *The Emperor*, and parts of *The Zero Winter* and *The Rock* represent Henri's narrative, a subjective perspective on a very important historical moment. His story begins in approximately 1769 and ends at some time after 1821. Traditionally, this period centres on Napoleon as a great patriarchal figure whose military success and deeds crossed the border of the French Empire. Hence, in this case history proves to be a highly patriarchal discourse in which masculinity, power and oppression are key words. Jeanette Winterson offers a different version of the same events, by choosing the perspective of a disappointed young man, who initially shares the general enthusiasm, but who does not play an important role in the war and who is eventually destroyed by it. Not only do we have a highly personal and marginal perspective on this historical moment, but we also have a distanced perspective since Henry rewrites his story from a retrospective point of view. His memoirs are narrated from a distance by an imprisoned Henri in the madhouse of San Servelo, meaning that they may not correspond entirely to the events he focused on as a direct witness. Distance implies not only a considerable degree of unreliability, but also irony.

The ironic distance that the adult narrator-author maintains concerning his past adventures as a young character, as he rewrites them, is one of the keys to success in his reduction to mere discourse of the monolithic categories of religion, masculinity and nationalism. (Aróstegui, 2000: 9).

By rewriting history, Henry also rewrites and recreates Bonaparte: "I invented Bonaparte as much as he invented himself". Bonaparte is no longer the historical character but a fictional one.

To the memoir, we also have to add the fantastic mode, since the second part of the novel, *The Queen of Spades* and also parts of the last two chapters are narrated by Villanelle, who uses a charming mixture between the memoir, fantasy and the fairy tale mode to offer her own alternative to the presented historical events. She is a woman, a bisexual one who is also in turn a gambler and a prostitute. Villanelle is also endowed with fantastic features; she has webbed feet, a physical trait which is meant to represent her alterity and also her masculine side, since only boatmen had this distinctive feature. As I have already mentioned, historical discourse, which conventionally has a privileged truth claim is usually associated with patriarchy, heterosexuality, and power. In order to subvert history, Villanelle uses an alternative view a:

feminine fantastic that has its origins at the margins of patriarchy and heterosexuality (Butler in Aróstogui, 1990).

Historical mode is also traditionally described as a mimetic mode. Barthes (Finney, 2003) compared the objective self-effacement of the historian as the creator of his own discourse with the detached God-like narrator of the realist novels. Thus we may even go further and parallel the historic discourse with the realist novel by saying that they both try to achieve objectivity by replacing a very subjective *I* with the seemingly impartial *he* or *she* and also by trying to imitate or mirror reality. Fantasy a literature of “unreality” opposes history which is considered to represent “reality”. The fantastic discourse which here is used as a response to the historical one is not a secondary mode, as it has been traditionally considered, but an impulse as important as the mimetic impulse, a variant as valid as the latter one (Hume in Aróstogui, 2000: 12). Rosemary Jackson also states that:

fantasy characteristically attempts to compensate for a lack resulting from cultural constraints; it is a literature of desire, which seeks that which is experienced as absence and loss.(...) The fantastic traces the unsaid and the unseen of culture: that which has been silenced, made invisible, covered over and made “absent” (2003: 4).

Thus, the fantastic mode, and particularly, postmodern fantasy not only traces the silenced and the unseen, but it also re-centres the ex-centric, the off-centre, the outsider (at least at the level of discourse).

So far, I have presented the three distinct types of discourse, Winterson uses in her novel (historical, fantastic and the memoir). The question that immediately arises is whether Winterson combines these three opposed types of discourse to deconstruct and erode the authority of the first, namely the historical one, or on the contrary, their blending makes a more ample picture of human condition? Kim Middleton Meyer in her study of Winterson's novels stresses that:

neither superseding nor rejecting history outright, *The Passion* uses fictional narrative to expand and infuse objective historical fact with the specificity of human responses (2003: 213).

Jan Rosemergy quoted in Meyer calls the novel a "cat's cradle of history and fiction... impossible to unknot" and she goes even further by stressing that:

[t]ogether, the stories...because they intertwine history and fable, are ultimately more trustworthy in their representation of the human condition than either is alone (2003: 213).

Head (2002: 91) takes over the cat's cradle metaphor in the *Cambridge Introduction to Modern Fiction* and states that in Winterson's narrative:

[h]istory should be a hammock for swinging and a game for playing, the way that cat's play. Claw it, chew it rearrange it and at bedtime it's still a ball of string full of knots.

According to Meyer, Rosemergy and Head, the combination of these disparate types of discourses – history, fantasy and the memoir is meant first of all to intensify the effect of each other and then to change the reader's hold on reality "by an appeal to a higher kind of psychological truth" (Head in Tew, 2007: 181). Nevertheless, words like "trustworthy representation", "psychological truth" and "objective historical fact" seem highly problematic, if one takes into consideration the appropriation between words such as "objective", "truth" and "history". They seem to suggest a happy cohabitation between the historical and fictional discourse, a harmonious infusion of history with fantastic elements, in which history still retains its power. But can we still be talking about empowered historical discourse or "objective historical fact"?

When talking about the novel's ability to incorporate two genres simultaneously, Meyer (2003: 213) describes Winterson's project as pertaining to the category of the grotesque, as it was defined by Mikhail

Bakhtin (1984). He fully described the term in *Rabelais and His World*, correlating it with the carnival festivities, which

celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; marking the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions (Bakhtin, 1984: 16).

A carnival spirit pervades the intricate plot of the book; especially in *The Queen of Spades* chapter where Venice and its hidden life is given full attention. But the carnivalesque crosses the boundaries of the mere plot and seeps into the narrative structure of the novel. The carnivalised narrative, through its polyphony of discourses (historical, the memoir and the fantastic) is subversive of the monological authority of the first. The fantasy mode becomes a temporary liberation from the constraints of what is considered historical truth, and the memoir becomes the liberation from all forms of objectivity, traditionally pertaining to the historical discourse.

The grotesque which has its seeds in the carnival festivities did not have a negative meaning, contrary to commonly held belief which equals it with monstrosity and deformity, gross naturalism, a negative connotation recently acquired, but had a positive, assertive character. It meant regeneration and renewal.

One of the fundamental tendencies of the grotesque ... is to show two bodies in one; the one giving birth and dying, the other one conceived, generated and born...From one body a new body always emerges in some form or another (Bakhtin, 1984: 26).

The grotesque image mirrors a phenomenon in transformation, the renewal of one body and the degradation of the other one. According to L. E. Pinsky quoted in Bakhtin (1984: 32), the grotesque combines elements which exclude each other, thus the grotesque in art is related to the paradox in logic. It is an ambivalent phenomenon, for in this image we find the two poles of transformation, the old and the new, the beginning and the end of the metamorphosis (1984: 24). But it is always a positive degradation since it allows the creation of a new form. Following Meyer's reading of *The Passion*, as a grotesque narrative, we will have to accept that the historical mode is first 'degraded' and then renewed by the infusion of a fantastic and a highly subjective discourse and the outcome is 'a quasi-mythicality' (Tew, 2007: 127). But can we say that history is renewed, that it emerges afresh and unblemished from the confrontation with the fantastic mode and the memoir?

Historical novels have always had a certain degree of controversy and they have also been subjected to many changes and transformations

according to the period in which they were written. We can even venture to say that instead of being faithful to the historical period depicted, they, in fact mirror the epoch in which they were created. McHale gives the example of Walter Scott's novels which

capture little of any medieval Weltanschauung, but are permeated with nineteenth-century romantic ideology (1996: 88).

In order to understand how postmodernist historical novels work, we should consider McHale's distinction between "traditional" historical fiction and apocryphal history (1996: 87-89). "Classic" or "traditional" historical fiction tries not to contradict the so-called "official" historical record, although the term "official" can be quite tricky. Instead, he/she is free to tackle with the "dark areas" of history, meaning those aspects which go unreported in the official history.

For example, history does not record that Queen Caroline ever interviewed a Scottish girl named Jeanie Deans sometime in the year 1736, through the intercession of the Duke of Argyle – but neither does it positively *rule out* such an encounter, so this episode of Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* (1818) satisfies the "dark areas" constraint. The "dark areas" are normally the times and places where real-world and purely fictional characters interact in "classic" historical fiction (McHale, 1996: 87).

But as I have shown earlier, even traditional historical fictions like Scott's novels or Balzac's, though they respect the loose conventions of the "dark area", can be said to unconsciously tackle with historical "truth" by the mere fact that they fictionalise it. If this is the case with classic historical fiction, we should not be surprised if the postmodernist historical novel exceeds the boundaries of the "dark areas" and permeates the official record. In fact, postmodernist historical novels merge the historical material with the fantastic as a means to point out the contradictory nature of postmodernism (Aróstegui, 2000: 7), thus reflecting this troubled period and its ontological crisis.

McHale (1996: 90-96) distinguishes three types of postmodernist historical novels: apocryphal history which either supplements the historical record foregrounding what has been lost or neglected or it overtly violates official history; creative anachronism which mixes the past with the present and finally, historical fantasy which flaunts the realistic norms of historical fiction by blending history with the fantastic.

The Passion is a clear example of an apocryphal history which supplements the historical record, meaning the Napoleonic wars with the

marginal perspective or the ex-centric points of view of Henry and Villanelle. While it may seem to operate in the “dark area” of history, apparently in the same way as traditional historical novels, *The Passion* breaks apart the great puzzle of history into “histories” and “perspectives”: Henry’s personal history and Villanelle’s and also the stories of the characters they encounter. As opposed to *Midnight’s Children*, where the death of Mahatma Gandhi appears on the wrong date or where the historical Sanjay Gandhi replicates or clones himself many times over (McHale, 1996: 89), *The Passion* does not displace history altogether, since it still operates into the dark areas of history. But this apocryphal history, by allowing Henry and Villanelle to tell their own stories shifts the established perspective and parodies the official version. Napoleon’s obsession with chicken is a case in point. *The Passion* juxtaposes the official version of history with another ex-centric vision of the same historical period, creating an ontological tension in which the official record is eclipsed and parodied. Moreover, the novel is also a historical fantasy, in which the fantastic discourse seeps into the official record of the past upsetting for good the boundaries of a so-called reality. History becomes fantasy and fantasy “true” history.

However, Winterson’s novel is also profoundly self-reflexive in the manner of Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*. This aspect of Winterson’s novel subscribes it to the category of historiographic metafiction which contains novels like Garcia Marquez’s *One Hundred Years of Solitude* or Günter Grass’ *The Tin Drum* or, as I have already said, Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*. This type of fiction ‘manifests certain introversion, a self-conscious turning toward the form of the act of writing itself’ (Hutcheon, 1988: 130). Both characters rewrite or retell the story of the Napoleonic wars from a highly subjective and marginal point of view. Moreover, Winterson’s metafictional turn to the reader or better said to an invisible listener is quite obvious in Villanelle’s repeated statement: “I’m telling you stories. Trust me”; which functions as a refrain or leitmotif. It also implies

not only that writing history is a fictional act, ranging events conceptually through language to form a world-model, but that history itself is invested like fiction, with interrelating plots which appear to interact independently of human design (Waugh in Hutcheon, 1988: 128).

The recurrent phrase goes even further to suggest a self-consciousness pertaining to oral storytelling tradition in which the storyteller weaves his/her story in front of a listener or audience, in the same time revealing the hidden strings of his/her narrative. Walter Benjamin (1973: 96) in his essay *The Storyteller* draws a very important distinction

between the historian and chronicler. He defines the chronicler as the history teller and the historian as the writer of history. Furthermore, while both historian and chronicler are concerned with recording facts, the former is preoccupied with finding explanations for the data he deals with. The latter, on the other hand, replaces explanation with interpretation, filtering every event through his/her own consciousness, and the result is a very subjective reflection of a certain historical period. According to the same author, the chronicler is preserved in the storyteller, but in a secularised, changed form. The chronicler and the storyteller are marginal and respectively, outside history. The former is endowed with double consciousness historical and mythic, while the latter stays within the limits of a mythic one. Henry, as he is more involved into the actual historical events and he also records them in his war journal and later on he rewrites them from a retrospective point of view, is closer to the chronicler. First his narration was focused on Napoleon, the patriarchal figure he admired, giving his own interpretation of what happened. The manner in which he starts his story is very suggestive of the way he reshapes history and filters it through his consciousness:

It was Napoleon who had such a passion for chicken that he kept his chefs working around the clock (Winterson, 1987: 3).

However, his story moves away from the figure of Napoleon as he grows more disillusioned with war and history. He rejects not only history but also reality and retreats to the realm of his mind as he tries to make sense of his hectic past in the madhouse of San Servelo. His discourse, as an interplay between his war journal and his memoirs is the perfect expression of his double consciousness (mythic and historical), moving from the historical record to a fictional account of his life which almost verges on the fantastic. He erases the conventional boundaries between fiction and history and prepares the ground for the second, much more subversive discourse of the novel: Villanelle's story (Aróstegui, 2000: 11).

Villanelle is the storyteller, endowed with mythic consciousness, who believes in "the truth-revealing power of storytelling" (Onega in Aróstegui, 2000: 11). She never writes down her story but tells it to an invisible listener. She detaches herself from history by adopting a mythic consciousness, a female fantastic, verging on the fairy tale. The burden of history and objectivity being removed, she no longer feels she has to restrict to facts. So, she can resort to a mythic time, which allows her to start her story with:

There is a city surrounded by water with watery alleys... (Winterson, 1987: 49).

The tone of 'there is a city' brings forth the atemporal realm of fairy tales. In this way, despite being more or less historically fixed, the facts of that moment are forever entangled with myth-like atmosphere. The beginning of Villanelle's story resembles very much the consecrated formula "once upon a time" which Mieke Bal (1997: 27) considers to be a sign that "the narrator is out to tell a fictive story". Typical of "mythic" narrations, the formula entitles the user to resort to a combination of real and imaginary events. Mythic narratives are "under no obligation to keep the two orders of events distinct from one another" (White in Onega and Garcia Landa, 1996: 276) as opposed to historical discourse. Therefore, Villanelle's status as a storyteller allows her to freely combine supernatural events with real ones, and we, her readers have no problem in believing that she has webbed feet or that she has literally lost her heart. As a storyteller, she is true to the spirit of oral societies, hence she has the tendency to generate "mythic" rather than "historical" accounts of the world. In her earlier work, Winterson characterises fantasy in contrast with harsh realism (Burns, 1996: 291). In *Boating for Beginners*, she defends mythical accounts:

Myths hook and bind the mind because at the same time they set the mind free: they explain the universe while allowing the universe to go on being unexplained; and we seem to need this even now, in our twentieth-century grandeur (Winterson in Burns, 1996: 291).

For Winterson, the fantastic and the mythic set the mind free without confining it within the constraints of the historical fact.

Going back to my initial question, can we say that we are dealing with grotesque narratives, in which the two types of discourses (the fictional and the historical) complete each other, without disempowering or even more, deconstructing the historical discourse? The answer is no. Maybe if we consider a Postmodernist approach to the grotesque the answer would be different. The Postmodern grotesque following from the romantic, realist tradition (ranging from gross naturalism to an alienated perception of the world taken over by modernism) lost all the positive generative connotation, it became an empty sign, a ludic experiment since after deconstruction or "degradation" there follows nothing, the historical discourse is stripped of any pretence of objectivity.

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**SCOTLAND IN THE LOOKING GLASS:
ALEXANDER MCCALL SMITH'S LITTLE (SELF)IRONIES**

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***Abstract:** The paper examines the ways in which symbols and icons of tradition and archaic culture are questioned by means and knowledge emerging from a post-industrial, postmodern age / society / Zeitgeist and operating simultaneously in order to foreground modes of representing the metamorphoses of national history, beliefs and imagination.*

***Key words:** Edinburgh, globalisation, identity, Scottishness, self-irony.*

1. Argument

The present paper aims at pointing out the need for re-reading and re-interpreting Caledonian texts by deconstructing several cultural stereotypes in contemporary novels and by employing a set of codes different from those presumably originally envisaged when they were conceived, as well as by reconsidering the commonly predetermined paths of approaching the body of the Scottish traditional values, thus displaying instances of the openness of a texts, of its “maze-like structure”, its ineluctable appeal for the “Model Reader”, at least as Eco portrayed them (Eco, 1979: 19). It also attempts to work with the Lacanian theory of the looking glass, of the gaze, of the logic of fascination, of the “very illusion of perfect self-mirroring that characterizes the Cartesian philosophical tradition of the subject of self-reflection” (Zizek, 1992: 114).

The Scottish revival in fiction can be regarded as an example of the proliferation of previously marginalized voices within postmodernity, variously linked to multinational, global capitalism and to the fragmentation of the liberal humanist notion of unified subjectivity into multiple / split identities, so obviously contained in the Caledonian anitsyzygy, that union of opposites, characteristic of the Scottish myths and traditions. It is best pictured in titles authored by Alasdair Gray, James Kelman, Archie Hind, Janice Galloway, Emma Tennant, William McIlvanney, Iain Banks or Andrew Greig, who praise authenticity and specificity and convey them using various styles, an exquisite choice of words – the demotic voices rendered by a peculiar syntax and vocabulary – and working national

imagination, while celebrating pluralism and difference, turning it into an essential part in this competing carnivalesque system of conflicting possibilities, challenging the authors' awareness of their peculiar role in the making of literary history nowadays.

Yet, in recent decades, we may notice that a certain tendency toward "planetary integration" as Žižek names it, sensed at the level of "sovereign nation state" and of a national culture, determining a slow but unavoidable shift in the importance / influence / weight of ethnic particularities in building up a nation's image; the ethnic particularities are preserved but "are submerged in the medium of universal integration, they are posited as particular aspects of the universal many-sidedness" (Žižek, 1992: 162).

2. De-definition of Scotland

One might state then that today Scottish writing has become a distinctive, mature literary force, exposing this persistence of traditional visions, but dialogically juxtaposing them to the new strategic tendencies meant to foreground the authentic, the particular, the local as part of a larger, globalised, universal framework. Asserting their Scottishness through settings and characters is the rock on which writers' appeal and relevance are founded, as well as the permanent force of cohesion impinging the advance of Scottish literature, originally assessed as powerless, neglected, marginalized. Yet, the mainstream literary fracture has recently been paralleled by what Alan Ryan inspiringly calls "adjectival culture", emerging from "the congeries of beliefs, values, and attachments that give societies their character, and allow their members to make sense of their lives and aspirations" (Ryan, 1998: 63), a culture devoted to the conservatism of the popular stage, which paradoxically aimed at satisfying the 'consumers' / readers' appetite for cultural difference and variety.

Scotland, like many other nations, experiences the threat of globalisation in terms of a possible dilution of the much acclaimed Scottish pride, of the vanishing borders between formerly clean-cut entities such as nations, countries, regions, communities due to geopolitical forces, of the discrediting belief in immutable values, such as grand narratives, histories, traditions, languages, cults. Consequently, one can sense an increasing tendency of the Scottish novel to investigate questions of ontology most often expressed as "an uncertainty about the relationship between the real and the unreal, between simulacra and simulation, and about authenticity and fakery, as well as nostalgia for lost and displaced selves and organic communities." (Bentley, 2005: 10).

Scottish fiction, like Scottish culture in general, has reached a stage of a certain 'overdefinition' which might easily lead to the death of "the

protean, polyphonic tradition” and of the cultural autonomy and identity established at home and in Europe / world, because of the spread of those ‘pernicious discourses’ about Tartanry, Kailyardism, Clydesideism which prominently marked Scottish artistic productions, mostly novels, in the process of cultural ‘exoticisation’, as Carla Sassi (2005: 168-169) coins it, within the arena of international reading public, respectively, art lovers. She favours Robert Crawford’s suggestion of de-defining Scottishness, that is, of de-Scotticising Scottish literature revealing the fact that “Scottishness comes after an unpredictable consequence of the literary text, and certainly is not its active aim, even less its primary source of inspiration”, as gets visible in Alexander McCall Smith’s (2006) books of Scotland.

3. The gaze of the *other*

It has become essential to find that narrative which can overcome the problem of both turning knowing into telling and of “fashioning human experience into a form assimilable to structures of meaning that are generally human rather than culture-specific” (White, 1987: 1) as the best solution to comprehend the specific issues of another culture; it is a vital issue within the larger process of self/assessment especially when using a metaphorical ‘looking glass’ to help us to “realize / know who we are”; the latter will operate like an “instrument of sickness, of ignorance, of alienation, but also of disillusion and awareness of paradoxes”, of which the strongest is “I feel, I know, I decide to be both the subject and the object of the mirror’s representation” (Verlet, 2007: 314).

Transmitting transcultural messages about one nation’s reality, striving to decode these messages into units of meaning and slides of experiences are at stake in case of the ironical juxtaposition of two different nations / cultures / communities employed by both Brian McCabe (2001) and Alexander McCall Smith (2006) when contrasting Scottish and French pieces of life / mind, in which the latter function as the gaze of the other, creating the illusion of seeing ourselves seeing (Zizek, 1992: 114-115).

In order for Scottishness and Scotticisms to transcend the space of Scottish imagination when imagining Scotland and to generate a specific vision of the world, McCabe’s novella, *A New Alliance*, conveys these elements with reference to otherness, an Other whose traits, attitudes, actions he opposes. The first part of the text, “1. A Better Place” depicts the Scottish nature as opposed to the French culture on a sample of exchange-students of Dryburgh high school, “the ambassadors not only for the school but for Scotland” (McCabe, 2001: 177), shipped there to renew the “Auld Alliance “ between Scotland and France. The members of the team have never travelled abroad, have never left their home places but for the

neighboring village to see their relatives. Yet, when in France, the cultural shock is diminished by the teenagers' interpretation of what they see:

The housing blocks were a dirty white colour, four storeys high, surrounded by dusty reddish ground with the odd patch of dried, worn grass. To Dougie, they seemed a far cry from the houses in Dryburgh, which had front and back gardens. There were more like the tenements in Craigmillar, except that they had wee balconies and shutters on the windows (McCabe, 2001: 181).

The Caledonian centeredness pops out when meeting their host families and having the first taste of the French cuisine:

There was French accordion music playing on French radio somewhere inside the house and Dougie could smell French polish and French food smells he didn't recognise. (...) The cake was like no cake he had ever eaten. The nearest thing to it in Scotland was called a vanilla slice – a sort of slider made of two slabs of flaky pastry with a dollop of custard between them and icing on top. The cake he was cramming into his mouth was maybe made along the same lines, maybe it was the French version, but it tasted totally different. The layers of pastry were crisp and thin and tasted of honey and nuts. The custard in the middle wasn't just custard but had a soft, creamy feel and tasted of something – maybe it was real vanilla (McCabe, 2001: 183, 185),

because it was "pâtisserie française" which was to finish this "repas magnifique" together with a piece of Camembert, completely different from the cheese they eat in Scotland, which is "hard" and "orange" as it's the Irish Cheddar. The quality of the food is equalled by the quantity they serve you:

They put some salad on the table first. Ah thought that was all Ah was getting for ma tea, so Ah ate two plates o it. Then they gave me this fish... it wasnae in batter and Ah'm telling ye, Dougie, it still had the heid on it (...) Ah couldnae eat it. It kept looking at me from the plate. Then came the chips and the meat.. Ah dunno what kinda meat it was, Ah've never ate meat like it before. It was pink in the middle. Then this cheese – (...) Ah threw up after the meal. Mibbe it was the wine they gave me for which I was too young. (McCabe, 2001: 191).

Most often they agree to Antoine's conclusion that "En France – many things different. The food, the cafes, the girls ... the beer" (197), the centuries of arts and culture as exhibited in the Louvre or the Tour Eiffel: "it's three hundred metres tall that is three-full length rugby pitches end-on-end (...) an impressive structure, a great feat of engineering" (203), good for climbing. The contrastive accumulation of information about the two target regions turns into a process of representation and imagining which finally

becomes a tool of power and satisfaction in its alternative recognition and denial of cultural and historical differences.

In his book, *Love over Scotland. A 44 Scotland Street Novel*, Alexander McCall Smith's 'ambassadors' to France are also teenagers, the Edinburgh Teenage Orchestra, as writers seem to favour working "so much from memory" (Kelman, 2002: 417), and using that age-band to express viewpoints of both boys and girls; McCall Smith goes to an extreme choice, his Scottish voice being the six-year old saxophone player, Bertie, an *enfant prodige*, able to comprehend grown-up matters and serious cultural issues, such as the way in which Proust saw

colours and shades that others just did not see...He saw everything, then everything behind everything. Behind the simplest thing, even inanimate objects, there was a wealth of associations that only somebody like Proust could see (McCall Smith, 2006: 243).

His knowledge about France will guide his options in Paris and turn his stay there into a fruitful maturing event, as being close to the same Eiffel Tower he experiences, in a state of frank delight, that

thrill which comes when one sees, in the flesh, some great icon; as when one walks into the relevant room of the Uffizi and sees there, before one, Boticelli's *Birth of Venus*; or in New York when, from the window of a cab that is indeed painted yellow, driven by a man who is indeed profoundly rude, one sees the approaching skyline of Manhattan; or when, arriving to Venice, one discovers that streets are subtly different (McCall Smith, 2006: 270);

these moments of ecstasy caused by the beauty of the scenery make him lay himself open to "cultural epiphany, to that curious condition, Stendhal Syndrome" (McCall Smith, 2006: 270). Bertie is absorbed by the amazing difference from his hometown, by what he can see at every step, like

the Old Citroen Traction parked by a small *boulangerie*; the white-gloved policeman standing on a traffic island; the buckets of flowers outside the florist's; the crowded tables of a pavement cafe, the Metro track (McCall Smith, 2006: 271),

during his sightseeing tour before their concert at the UNESCO Festival of Youth Arts, where they are scheduled to perform together with The Children's Symphony Orchestra of Kiev and the Korea Youth Folk Dance Company. They have a repertoire of predominantly Scottish music for this international event, namely: "Hamish McCunn's 'Land of the Mountain and the Flood', George Russel's rarely performed 'Bathgate Airs for Oboe and

Strings' and Paton's haunting 'By the Water of Leith's Fair Banks'"(McCall Smith, 2006: 276), which is highly appreciated as *Le Monde* refers to their good work in contrastive terms, that is, while the youth of France apparently do little more than

burning cars at weekends, Scottish youth seemed to be more engaged in cultural pursuits. This was the complete opposite of what one might expect, were one to believe the impression conveyed in film and literature (McCall Smith, 2006: 277).

'Forgotten' at the hotel in Paris, Bertie decides to spend his time visiting Moulin Rouge, the Louvre, the Latin Quarter, and to meet people, so he starts by earning some money playing his saxophone in the students' area – "He could play 'As Time Goes By' from *Casablanca* ... and some Satie" (McCall Smith, 2006: 287) –, his talent impresses the passers-by and 'the petite ange' is rewarded generously with both coins and notes, so that he concludes "It was good to be in Paris" (McCall Smith, 2006: 289). His next experience takes him into the company of a group of two French women and a man, Marie-Louise, Sylvie, and Jean Philippe (Jarpipe), all of them students at the Sorbonne; he joins them for lunch as Bertie-Pierre, they have elevate conversations about Camus, Derrida, and Freud, to which Bertie candidly adds the name of the out-fashioned Melanie Klein, the child psychologist, his mother used to read, "'Perhaps in places like Scotland', and his Scottish pride had been pricked by the suggestion that people in Scotland were less at the fore front of intellectual fashion than people in Paris", so he completes his mistake with the observation that "In Scotland, she's considered a comic writer", stirring the laughter of his companions who acknowledge that Bertie knows of Melanie Klein at school and that "Perhaps this is the new Scottish Enlightenment" (McCall Smith, 2006: 293).

The Scottish traditionalism and straightforwardness epitomized by the cognitive level of a dungaree-wearing child versus the French sophistication expressed by the best connoisseurs of theoretical trends get foregrounded during the lecture of Jean Francois, translated to Bertie by his friends, delivered at a high level of comprehension, for a specialized audience, about the rules of science being "not rules at all", about the "hegemony of scientific knowledge" being the creation of "an imposed consensus... whose social basis is artificial and illusory... even the rules of physics are a socially determined imposition. There is no scientific truth"(McCall Smith, 2006: 294-295), to which statement Bertie's reaction was to ask "the well-known deconstructionist" whether "Bernoulli's principle", that is, "the pressure goes down when the speed of the flow of a

fluid increases. That's what pushes the wing up. The air flows more quickly over the top than the bottom" (McCall Smith, 2006: 231), "is rubbish when Francois is in a plane, up in the air" (McCall Smith, 2006: 295), a question that succeeded to deconstruct Jean-Francois Francois himself.

The two narratives look outwards, beyond Scotland, they are spilling with self-irony, they are thought-provoking by raising and tackling the image Scots make up when contrasted to other cultural representatives, the dimensions of life in Scotland, of the status of a Scots, of a member of a communities, commonly represented as being geographically isolated, nurturing a sense of the gulf between self and world, of the distance which different lifescapes place between people/s.

4. Self / Reflection on Urban Scotland

One of the long-standing traditions in Scottish fiction is to project personal experiences against urban background, as a confirmation of the solidity of Caledonian values, originally praised and acknowledged in the country side or in an insular isolation, and their resistance in front of the many threatening fractures generated by the advance of the nation. Alasdair Gray's Glasgow as it is rendered in *Lanark: a Life in Four Books* (1981) combines elements of science fiction and fantasy, to create a panoramic vision of modern industrialized life that has led to the collapse of the city into "poverty, anarchy, disaster" (Gray, 1981: 545), and turned into 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).

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" (Gray, 1981: 49); it finishes by being destroyed and engulfed by the decaying forces that "exploited outsiders" (Gray, 1981: 49), so that it can hardly be recognized by Gray's Lanarkian hero Duncan Thaw, inheritor of Glaswegian Scottish culture after that process of erasure it was exposed to 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).

The decaying city also embodies the spirit and the history of Scotland taken over by the effects of contemporary technologisation and progress, as well as the general spirit of frustration, regret, discontent:

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 a: 136).

The rivalling city, Edinburgh thriving upon the fame of being Britain’s northern metropolis, with a strong cultural self-assertion in Europe, with streets and buildings conspicuously speaking for its past (Daiches, 1993: 86-87), so often envied by Glaswegians, becomes a different locus and has a different status within the dynamics of the nation-state evolution, the revaluation of national culture and, further fetched, of the process of globalisation.

Alexander McCall Smith’s Edinburgh is exactly as it is, with its districts, streets and inhabitants, epitomized by the focus on Scotland Street (#44!), in the New Town area of the city which

provided rich theatre... especially along the more gracious Georgian streets where tall windows at ground floor level allowed a fine view of drawing rooms and students (McCall Smith, 2006: 10),

lingering over a drink in The Morning After Coffee Bar, so much different from

the mass produced coffee bars that had mushroomed on every street almost everywhere, a development which presaged the flattening effect of globalisation:

the spreading, under a cheerful banner, of a sameness that threatened to weaken and destroy all sense of place (McCall Smith, 2006: 23);

for Leonie Marshall, “a barely qualified, but still an architect” (McCall Smith, 2006: 81), notices the relationship between social status and residences, “Big house – big people. More modest houses – more modest people” (McCall Smith, 2006: 82), and also the exclusive, particular spots of the city,

Edinburgh has its groovy side... [with houses whose] doors were all painted different colours and there was this strange old shop that sold the most amazing old clothes [Stockbridge] ... St Stephen’s Street, probably... They sell vintage clothing...Old military uniforms. Flapper dresses. Sweaters just like yours... porridge-coloured (McCall Smith, 2006: 83).

This Edinburgh is twisted between an unuttered desire to preserve the traditional image conveyed by a long history of putting forward the elements of local personality, and the irresistible drive to turn into a cosmopolitan city, a city of Europe and of the world, a voice (even if so different in its accent) to be listened to and acknowledged: the result is quite confusing, if not alarming: “Edinburgh has been degraded to a bleak ‘touristland’ – with visitors storming the Royal Mile all year round and revelling in what has become a ‘permanent’ Festival” (Sassi, 2005: 170), generating a gradual Disneyfication of its culture and a ruthless commodification of national icons. McCall Smith ironically refers to Edinburgh’s new physiognomy that has become common to the city and its dwellers:

Edinburgh has changed. They used to be a good number of people who disapproved of things. Now they are hardly any, if you ask me... Everybody is afraid to disapprove... Tolerance means that people can get away with anything they choose (McCall Smith, 2006: 297).

The former heart of the Scottish Enlightenment, concealed behind the “geometrical linearity of its architecture” helplessly witnesses “the degeneration and vilification of the Scottish nation and its myths”, the cannibalisation of “the symbols of Scotland’s past nationhood” (Sassi, 2005: 170-171), the standardising effects of globalisation,

International business, once allowed to stalk uncontrolled, killed the local, the small, the quirky. International business had ruined cheese, will ruin wine, and then will move on to ruin everything. Big Lou’s little coffee bar was now the front line (McCall Smith, 2006: 308);

the personality of the city has changed: “The problem with Edinburgh is attitude... All those airs and graces...” (313) and, like, Glasgow, has to face the modifying effects of contemporary technologisation and progress.

5. Quest(ion)ing (for) Caledonian Identity

“Place, associated with memory and identity, and landscape in its ahistorical and purely geological dimension have always been core pieces of Scottish identity, and along with music, they are perhaps the most enduring icons of this country” (Sassi, 2005: 178). Whenever attempting to recreate key historical sites and cultural hallmarks, the vital issue that recurs in Scottish writings is that of identity, “as much externally imposed as inborn or self-built” (Henstra, 2005: 98), sometimes purposely reduced to stereotypical components, ready to be “sold” to foreigners, and most often acknowledged as the pillar of national imagery.

James Kelman’s character in *You Have to Be Careful in the Land of the Free* (2004) charts the Caledonian prominence in an idealized recollection, incorporating the traditional mental representation of being a Scots, as stated by one of Alasdair Gray’s characters, “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” (Gray, 1985 b: 137), under the circumstances of the exile when assessing one’s Scottish identity, especially a Glaswegian one, is an attempt to put an end to his constant marginalisation in terms of religion, race, class, nationality, so visible in the case of a Celtic male, fair-haired and blue-eyed, whose “physicality and language are passport and visa” (Kelman, 2004: 20), whose features turns him into a lonely person,

a non-assimilating alien, Jeremiah Brown, nothing to worry about, Class III Redneck Card carrier, Aryan, Caucasian, atheist, born loser, keeps nose clean, big debts, nay brains, big heid (Kelman, 2004:106).

His failure points to a stage in the life of the protagonist: Jeremiah lives the aftermath of glocalization, one might assume, that fashions people’s lives “beyond the conventional forms of (geo)political organization” (Sassi, 2005: 115), generating a plurality of space in which the vernacular is reshaped breaking the traditional limitations.

Alexander McCall Smith’s *Scotts and Scotland* become culturally metamorphic, transforming the static old image, saturated of the patterns and stereotypes into a representation of a national and individual identity a “a continuum, a flexible and open status” employing the ironical perspective which is not “merely a matter of seeing a ‘true’ meaning beneath a ‘false’

one, but of seeing a double exposure ... on one plate” (Muecke, 1982: 45) in a highly subtle way. Early Scottish history might be promising, challenging for Antonia Collie’s novel in progress, more precisely the “Very early ... Sixth century actually” as

You can’t go wrong if you write about a time that we don’t really know about.; Early Scottish history is not in the dark: We have records of various abbeys, and we can deduce a great deal from archaeological evidence (...) the sixth century was a time when missionaries from the Celtic Church made their perilous journey into the glens and straths of Scotland, brave Irishmen who lived in windswept settlements on the edge of Scottish islands...shone the light of their teaching into the darkness. It was a moment of civilisation (McCall Smith, 2006: 20, 89).

but more recent times, “When people start to write about the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – or even the twenty-first, for that matter – they can get into awful trouble if they get it wrong” (McCall Smith, 2006: 21) are ambiguous and uncertain, “The trouble with this country is there’s not enough direct speaking. All that blethering. No direct speaking” (McCall Smith, 2006: 334). People like Domenica’s ancestors slowly disappear, that is the MacDonald folk, admirers of the works of Ossian, that is, of James Macpherson because

he had seen the subjugation of his world. The burnings. The interdiction of the kilt, language, everything. All he wanted to do was to show that there was Gaelic culture that was capable of great art. And all those dry pedants in London could do was to say: where are the manuscripts? (McCall Smith, 2006: 341),

favouring people like Ramsay Dunbarton, “a retired lawyer and resident of the Braids” (McCall Smith, 2006: 297), to speak for the country thinking of himself that “he has a typically Edinburgh physiognomy” (McCall Smith, 2006: 297), as he

was a kind man, and a good one too. He loved his wife. He loved his country – he was a Scottish patriot at heart, but proud of being British, too. He said that we should not be ashamed of these things, however much fashionable people decry love of one’s country and one’s people”(McCall Smith, 2006: 300).

In spite of the highly traditionalised cultural patterns desired to outlive generations after generations, the effects of the new world order are felt here as all over the globe, that is, people change and they change the places where they live, both Edinburgh and Scotland have changed, even if apparently, “the same things are being discussed in the newspapers and on the radio, by the same people” (McCall Smith, 2006: 349), “there is a

thoughtless tendency in Scotland to denigrate those who have conservative views” yet

as a nation we get beyond such a limited vision of the world. It is possible to love one’s fellow man in a number of ways, and socialism does not have the monopoly on justice and concern” and there are still a considerable number of people who are interested in the country’s “welfare and good of their fellow men (McCall Smith, 2006: 301).

Scotland used to be good at “small kindness, for all its faults. People were, on the whole, kind” (McCall Smith, 2006: 310), but nowadays the power of envy was to be felt everywhere:

Scotland was riddled with it, and it showed itself in numerous ways which everyone knew about but did not want to discuss. That was the problem: new ideas were not welcome – only the old orthodoxies: that, and the current of anti-intellectualism that made intelligent men want to appear to be one of the lads. These men could talk and think about so much else, but were afraid to do so, because Scotsmen did not do that. They talked instead of football, trapped in that sterile macho culture which has so limited the horizons of men (McCall Smith, 2006: 233).

In its attempt to keep up with the transformations of the world, Scotland gained cosmopolitanism but also underwent a loss of original traits, as sadly reflected on by one of the characters of the book, Antonia Collie, the writer:

Our country is such an extraordinary mixture. There is such beauty, and there is such feeling; but there is also that demeaning brutality of conduct and attitude that has blighted everything [coming] from oppression and economic exploitation over the centuries... And that continued... as it did in every society. There were blighted lives. There were people who had very little, who had been brutalized by poverty and who still were. But it was not just the material lack – it was an emptiness of the spirit. If things were to change, then the culture itself must look in the mirror and see what rearrangement was required in its own psyche. It had to become more feminine. It had to look at the national disgrace of alcoholic over-indulgence. It had to stop the self-congratulation and the smugness. It had to realize that we had almost entirely squandered our moral capital, built up by generations of people who had striven to lead good lives; capital so quickly lost to selfishness and discourtesy... We had failed badly in education and this could only be cured by restoring the respect due to teachers and cajoling parents into doing their part to discipline and educate their ill-mannered children (McCall Smith, 2006: 234).

Or is it the Scottish character itself, as described by Alasdair Gray, the famous Scot?

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 a: 65-66).

6. Conclusion

“The Scottish nation exists insofar as many Scots believe that it exists” (Calder, 1994: 52). The already oversaturated and overcirculated definition/promotion of the Scottish image and the Scottish imagination, consisting of the afore mentioned kaleidoscopic combination of authentic subjects and genuine, inherited treasures symbolised by icons like Highland, thistle, heather, tartans, Whisky Fudge, Soor Plums, kilt, pipe, pubs, against domestic sceneries such as Edinburgh and its rock, its castle, its festivals, its hills or the Scottish lochs with their mysteries and legends or the magnificent Glasgow, apparently best embodying the Scottish spirit and history, are indeed essential pieces in the construction of reality and identity here but, within the context of recent transformations in the world, these elements have turned into clichés, stereotypes and are somehow desirable to be submitted to deconstruction, possibly “extracting from the texts meanings other than those intended by the authors, possibly entirely opposite ones” (Thompson, 2004: 129), as identified in many Scottish writings today. It is also possible that Scotland has become rather indefinable for many writers today, quite precautious in answering the eternal question “What is Scotland?”, when authorizing Scottishness has got but as an element included in a greater picture of cultural hybridities, a result of “the increasing loosening of the relationship between the national space and identity which has characterized the second half of the 20th century, in many European countries – Scotland, in this respect, is no exception” (Sassi, 2005: 174).

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ECHOES OF TERRORISM IN CONTEMPORARY BRITISH FICTION

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Abstract: My paper deals with the treatment of terrorism in the works of Martin Amis, Ian MacEwan and Salman Rushdie, focusing on the varieties in their approach to the phenomenon, ranging from a mere reverberation in the background to the main theme, and viewing them in the light of allegations of the writers.

Key words: 9/11, Islam, terrorism, war.

Writers have always been known to be among the first ones to react to events and phenomena of public and historic importance. Countless treatises, articles, essays, letters and works of poetry and fiction have been written to support their views against different social and political threats and injustices. Quite a few have been written in an attempt to justify them too. Today as ever, or more than ever, as literature is increasingly involved in political, social and economic issues, writers engage in endless and often heated discussions, literary or not, not merely to express their views, but to try to make a difference and, in the traditional Romantic role of poets-prophets, awaken mankind. They seek to awaken it to stand up for the well being of humanity by acting against whatever they see as a (potential) threat to any form of individual, communal, or global freedom. “Their closing of ranks,” to borrow a phrase from Rushdie (1995: 19), is neither absolute nor “effected with the most meticulous attention to detail”. Nevertheless, the majority always seems to be on the same side, against oppression.

Some of the most recurrent themes in twenty-first century Anglo-American writing deal with terrorism, its causes, effects and a myriad possible future consequences, expressing, among other emotions, the writers’ fear, indignation, anger, shame, grief and sympathy. Martin Amis, Ian McEwan and Salman Rushdie are considered by many to be among those who represent a new anti-Islamist intelligentsia and, as such, are frequently the targets of praises and, more often than not, attacks. Matters of religion and politics are, as they all know, and as Rushdie’s personal experience undoubtedly proves, dangerous ground to tread on. Yet, all three of them bravely do so. As writers and social commentators, the three authors have, each in his own right, criticized terrorism and Islamism, the

most extreme form of Islam, “a mover and shaper of world events” (Amis, 2006 a: 2). They, in turn, have been criticized as being Islamophobic since any criticism of Islam is often regarded as Islamophobia. However, what they criticize is not the whole of Islam, but its most radical and dangerous aspect, the abuse of Islam which, in Rushdie’s words, has been hijacked by political fanatics and is in need of reformation. (BBC 2001) It is not the religion they disapprove of but the horrors done in the name of it.

In his novel *Saturday*, McEwan (2005) depicts a world ruled by arbitrary events and their unpredictable and sometimes uncontrollable nature both on the individual and on the global scale. Lulled into a fully satisfactory life, marked by a successful marriage and distinguished career and, therefore, emotional and financial security, Henry Perowne comes face to face with the reality of violence prompted even by the slightest of stimuli. He is forced to deal with aggression and threat to his family while at the same time demonstrations against the war in Iraq and the image of a burning plane reverberate in the background. The most autobiographical of all McEwan’s characters, Perowne voices the author’s ambivalence to war. Despite being against “invading a country to bring democracy”, he cannot deny seeing the potential benefits of removing Saddam (Fray, 2005). While acknowledging that war is a catastrophe, he contemplates the possibility of using it as a means of doing away with an even bigger one, with the tortures, corruption and constraints of a repressive regime. His views are contradicted by those of his daughter, who sees nothing positive in a *war* for democracy, but can think only of the innocent victims of such measures and America’s doubtful magnanimity. Perowne’s attitude to war certainly can be interpreted as anti-Islamist, as the totalitarian regime he is against is an Islamic one, but in essence it is an anti-fundamentalist, anti-extremist and anti-repressive attitude which has little to do with Islam as a religion but rather with radical Islam as a “mental construct” with terrifying consequences. In the novel, the attitude is to a particular regime, but it is actually a more universal one, referring to all and any such regimes. McEwan has been accused of a lack of sympathy for the problems in Iraq because he uses up entire pages to describe, for instance, a game of squash to the last trivial detail while anti-war demonstrations are kept in the background. This, however, is precisely what war is to most people who witness it from the safety of their homes and a lack of similar experiences, a mere echo in the background, if they even know about it.

What adds to McEwan’s unfavourable image of an Islamophobe is a fear felt in the novel not only by Perowne but by everyone, as the author suggests. It is the post-9/11 fear engendered by a sense of insecurity, a feeling that all commercial aircraft seem predatory or sinister. Everyone

knows for a fact that any one of them might be a missile designed to destroy lives and wipe out the seemingly stable ground beneath their feet. “Massive attacks”, “disasters”, “chemical and biological warfare” have, through repetition, become meaningless phrases; that is how unstable the world has become. Haunted by the spectre of a burning plane throughout the day, Perowne contemplates his feeling of insecurity, a reflection of what the whole West must be feeling, and ponders on the psychology behind terrorism, a psychology that lies in the domain of, to use Amis’s stronger phrasing, pathology. Perowne used to see terrorist attacks as a temporary crisis or disorder, but his optimism is slowly failing him. The world has entered a new age, the age of horrorism.

In his story *The Last Days of Muhammad Atta*, typical of its author only in terms of strong irony and naturalistic approach, Martin Amis (2006 b) is not even nearly as composed as his fellow writer McEwan (which is the reason behind more frequent attacks on him). Blended with indignation and fear, anger and contempt underlie most of his comments. The story is a countdown to 9/11, focusing on Atta’s final days and hours filled with sickness, boredom, contemptible and hateful thoughts about the world, life, women and himself. This “all-inclusive detestation” or “pan-anathema” (Amis, 2006 b: 9) is what he has been feeling since the age of twelve or thirteen. His face is a face that never laughs because he finds nothing funny about the world which is nothing but mockery. Having overtaken control over *the* plane, knowing he has got the biggest weapon in his hands, he laughs for the first time since childhood. He laughs because he finds that killing, not in the name of religion but death, is divine delight. To think of all the forthcoming wars, of death to which his suicide is an enjoyable contribution, makes him realize that the brutality of his final act will also give meaning to his frigid and futile existence.

The ironic portrait of Atta as a man filled with nothing but hatred and detestation reflects the maniacal ideology he kills and dies for. It is a sexist, racist, homophobic and xenophobic ideology unable to accept any other vision of the world but its own. Its extreme conservatism, pathological misogyny and fear of being westernised or, as Rushdie formulates it, “westoxicated”, find an alarmingly dangerous vent. Terrorism is the enemy of freedom and love and a negation of respect for life. Its progenitor, paranoid Islamism, is a death cult dominated by a triumvirate of “self-righteousness, self-pity, and self-hatred” (Amis, 2006 a: 4). Suicide-mass murder, considered by Islamists as an act of martyrdom performed against the infidels, whose epitome and leader is America, the Great Satan, a land of “arrogant animals (...) unworthy of life”, promoting “pride and promiscuity in the service of human degradation”, (Amis, 2006 a: 4) seems to Amis far

worse than terrorism. It is “maximum malevolence” (Amis, 2006 a: 7). This is what Muhammad Atta stands for.

Less radical in his approach than Amis, Salman Rushdie, nevertheless, shares many, if not all of his views on the narrow-mindedness and paranoia of fundamentalism. They both feel that Islam is in need of reformation, although Rushdie (2001) seems more willing to wait for it to happen, and it could happen if Islam accepted the “secularist-humanist principles on which the modern is based”. Rushdie’s position, though, differs from that of Amis and McEwan. His background and life in the East, and especially his close encounter with extremism, may have provided him with a deeper understanding of both Islam and Islamism.

His famous (or notorious) criticism of Islam, or rather its most conservative and threatening forms, most notably in *The Satanic Verses* and *Shame*, revive in *Shalimar, the Clown*, (2005), a tale of love, betrayal, the loss of paradise, and terrorism. The story of Shalimar, a clown-turned-terrorist, incorporates all the points of the author’s earlier criticism. Once more the focus is on the polarities of Islamic morality, honour, shame, pride and the fatal consequences of blighted manhood. Preparing himself for revenge against his unfaithful wife and the world which has corrupted her, Shalimar joins the phantom world of the holy warriors. Among them, he learns of the existence of an abstract world of the truth, visible only to those whose hearts are purified, and parallel to the false, illusory world of time and space, to what Amis’s Atta sees as “unreal mockery”. In that world, everything is subjected to the brutal principles of the truth, and the enlightened, or brainwashed, depending on the point of view, are ready to do anything to attain God’s cruel goals. Shalimar, like Atta, is not an ordinary terrorist, as he does not kill for religion. His is personal terrorism triggered by wounded pride and a lost sense of security, although its consequences are global as well as local. His humiliation is parallel to the humiliation of the Islamic culture by the West, particularly America. America’s insulting mockery of Islam and its degrading effect on Islam’s dignity is symbolically represented by the temporary and devastating relationship between a powerful American ambassador who, it is worth mentioning, is a Jew, and Shalimar’s naïve and powerless wife. Revenge in the form of terrorism, Shalimar believes, is what will help him regain self-respect. More universally, it will serve as a kind of compensation for the humiliation of Islam.

While pointing out to the core of the never-ending and perhaps ever-increasing problem between the West and radical Islam, Rushdie paints an occasionally sympathetic portrait of an essentially good man. Even as a properly trained mujaheddin, he is incapable of killing in cold blood, but

almost goes mad and cries over the act. The understanding Rushdie feels for this character, a feeling that extends to all the characters in this novel, could hardly coexist with Islamophobia. Phobia might just be too strong a word. In an interview Rushdie said that his aim was to portray the mind of a typical terrorist. Such a portrait might have been Islamophobic but, engaging in terrorist activities for purely personal reasons and being unable to erase himself and his aims, Shalimar is not a prototype. He is an exception.

The attitudes and claims of these three celebrities among writers, whose tempers differ but whose opinions of terrorism and the war against it are akin, have frequently been interpreted, reinterpreted and misinterpreted, despite their numerous explanations and clarifications. In an attempt to spell it out for us, they have drawn parallels between Islam and other religions to show that extreme measures are not alien to, say, Christianity, and have compared the terrorism of today to that of the socialist Soviets. The message that it is extremism of any kind that they strongly dislike does not come across to everyone. Extremism, the three of them agree, should find no place in the modern world, and an open society does not tolerate it as multiculturalism and democracy oppose it. To answer Rushdie's ironic question "What price tolerance if the intolerant are not tolerated also?" - the intolerant cannot be tolerated because they contradict the very essence of tolerance. Tolerance, like everything else in this world, is not absolute. Any thought system, says McEwan, especially one with highly specific, extravagant and supernatural claims about the world should expect to be challenged. To go even further, every and any phenomenon, event, person, system, belief, or any thing could be questioned and there is no reason why it should not be. As Rushdie has stated on countless occasions, this is precisely what a writer should do.

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THE 'DECONSTRUCTION' OF COLOURS IN CONRAD'S *NOSTROMO*

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Abstract: *The paper focuses on the significance of colours in Joseph Conrad's fiction and his disposition to undo or 'deconstruct' their traditional referents. Of all his novels, I have chosen **Nostramo**, because apart from the black and white dichotomy, which marks his fictional descriptions, in this particular novel, Conrad tests and undoes a greater variety of conventional associations of other colours as well, such as green, brown, silver, golden, red etc.*

Key words: *associations, colours, deconstruction, gold, silver.*

Conrad's fiction displays outstanding fondness for ambiguous symbolic references. Its marked tendency is to stir mythological, linguistic, etymological and anthropological boundaries in order to put into question strongly held beliefs and conventions and above all civilization itself. The contrasts Conrad attempts to create in order to probe the heart of their matter rely extensively on the visual, for as he himself proposes in the Preface to the *Nigger* (1920), his chief artistic intention is "to make you see" (Kimbrough, 1979: 147).

His fiction, although mostly renowned for the black and white dichotomy, does not restrict itself to it only, but encompasses other colourful contrasts instead, to the point that the images he creates duly attain to the quality of great paintings. The paper focuses on the significance of other colours in Conrad's *Nostramo* (1997) and his disposition to undo or "deconstruct" their traditional referents. The several cultural associations they come to be identified with are tested and eventually undone by the Conradian context in a variety of ways in order to prove their inconstancy in view of the individual perception. The use of colours is, in my view, part and parcel of that adjectival insistence, which is so typical of Conrad's fiction.

In order to illustrate his analogy between Conrad's art and painting and in particular Conrad's concern with images, Adam Gillon quotes Conrad in an 1899 letter to Cunninghame Graham, in which referring to *Heart of Darkness* he confesses: "I don't start with an abstract notion. I start with *definite images* and as their rendering is true some little effect is produced" (1994: 113; emphasis in original).

Silver occupies the most interesting place in the novel in a way that it becomes the key symbol to it, revealing most characters' preoccupations, faults and aspirations. Each of them, with few exceptions finds themselves tied to it in one way or another. Much critical speculation has been exhausted as to Conrad's choice of the silver as the material wealth of Sulaco especially when we are reported that the territory of the mine is rich in ores among the counted the first is gold and then silver and more particularly when the story is framed by the legend of the perished gold in the blighted Azuera. But the story Conrad is about to tell is the story of a silver mine and a silver treasure. The choice of silver is subtly conceived, because it allows Conrad to investigate far more complex human issues permitted by the elusiveness of meanings often associated with silver and which the choice of gold denies or simplifies especially in the view of its being superior over the other ores. In this respect, Dorothy Van Ghent concludes:

Unlike gold - which corresponds alchemically to the sun's fire, the light of day and reason - silver is a nocturnal metal, correspondent to the moon, to emotion and imagination. The "treasure," whose emblem is silver, is misprised if it is thought to be any abstract ideal or truth (as Charles Gould thought it to be), or any theory of history that one might try to find in the story. The book shows on a vast scale the recurrence of the human ordeal and the resurgence of desire. It ends in moonlight, the brilliance of the moon lying like a bar of silver on the horizon, and with a cry of faith into the night" (Bloom, 1987: 37).

Anyway, Conrad does not dismiss gold from the novel, but uses it instead to provide an interesting interdependent relation with silver well informedly put into linguistic terms. I would like to take a different view of this relation and consider its attributive uses in the text, which define silver and gold as colours. This view is not entirely detached from their view as symbols. On the contrary, it defines much of the symbolic potential they embody.

In its adjectival functions silver comes to be associated with age as in the case of Teresa's "twisted mass of ebony hair *streaked with silver*" (Conrad, 1997: 71), Sir John's "silvery mist of white hair" (Conrad, 1997: 77), or Don Jose's "silvery, short hair" (Conrad, 1997: 162) and with attribution, especially as part of the outfit of the locals, in particular when they occupy a reticent background posture. Aaron Fogel suggests that "...silver in the novel has to be understood both in its relation to the book's dialogue forms and in its historical connotations... *Nostramo* carries on, but in a more subtle and unforgettable way, this project of a chiming or parallelism between an economic currency - in Sulaco silver - and an

illusory, pseudo-liberating dialogical currency - in Sulaco no longer voice but silence... According to convention, of course, "silence is golden." In the structure of *Nostromo*, "silence is silver". That is, both are secondary or dependent currencies, relatively unstable in comparison to the main currencies, language and gold" (Bloom, 1987: 119).

In this respect, Nostromo's taciturn, shadowy appearance in the first part of the novel is greatly marked by silver, "a phantom-like horseman mounted on a *silver-grey mare*" (Conrad, 1997: 125). His attachment to the silver assumes the form of a high consideration of it as an "incorruptible metal" (Conrad, 1997: 288). Every single part of his outfit has a touch of silver:

When the carriage moved on he took off his hat again, a grey sombrero with a *silver* cord and tassels. The bright colours of a Mexican serape twisted on the cantle, the enormous *silver* buttons on the embroidered leather jacket, the row of tiny *silver* buttons down the seam of the trousers, the snowy linen, a silk sash with embroidered ends, the *silver* plates on headstall and saddle, proclaimed the unapproachable style of the famous Capataz de Cargadores - a Mediterranean sailor - got up with more finished splendour than any well-to-do young ranchero of the Campo had ever displayed on a high holiday. (Conrad, 1997: 149; emphasis added)

Two attributive uses of silver define Nostromo in an auditory context that defines his change in outlook in the novel. At the beginning of the novel, when he is so much praised for his indispensability to the English and foreigners in Sulaco and prior to his adventure on the lighter he appears very authoritative, symbolically indicated by the possession of the silver whistle:

Then he took out the *silver whistle* he is in the habit of using on the wharf (this man seems to disdain the use of any metal less precious than silver) and blew into it twice, evidently a preconcerted signal for his Cargadores. (Conrad, 1997: 229; emphasis added)

The auditory power of the whistle is external, in this case directed to the cargadores to have them obeyed. Later this auditory power is internalized when Nostromo takes possession of the silver treasure:

It seemed to him that she ought to hear the clanking of his fetters--his *silver fetters*, from afar. (Conrad, 1997: 482; emphasis added)

The silver fetters, abstract in existence, become a symbol of Nostromo's captivity with the silver. He comes to hate the touch of the

silver ingots and when he inspects his hands after touching any of them he is “surprised they had left no stain on his skin.” (Conrad, 1997: 464) Physically speaking, the silver contact does not seem to affect senses, though in one way Nostromo wishes it did. But if it did it would not comply with his ambiguous confession to Decoud that “...silver is an incorruptible metal that can be trusted to keep its value for ever ...” (Conrad, 1997: 288). The irony of silver incorruptibility does not stain Nostromo’s body but mind:

There is no getting away from a treasure that once fastens upon your mind (Conrad, 1997: 415).

Nostromo juxtaposes gold and silver in two instances in the novel, the first occurs at the end of part one in his glorious scene with the Morenita and the second by the end of part three in his conversation with Giselle. To the Morenita’s request for “a gold-mounted rosary of beads for the neck of her Madonna” (Conrad, 1997: 152), Nostromo misapprehendingly gives a silver response by offering her a knife to cut off all the silver buttons of his jacket. His response is no promise but display, which affirms the deconstructed proverbial “Silence is golden.” In the second instance he reverses the order of things and offers to the golden-haired Giselle “a treasure of silver to buy a gold crown for [her] brow” (Conrad, 1997: 477).

The most intriguing juxtaposition of silver and gold is to be found in Charles Gould. The ambiguous choice of his surname, Gould, undoes the gold that is in it as if to indicate his transition from the world of words into that of silence once the silver of the mine “fastens” upon his mind. Fogel argues:

Gould - hence his name - seems to personify the proverb, or cliché, that silence is golden, but the whole effect is vaguely ridiculous, and in reality, he is in possession of silence and silver, a more ambiguous, less absolute, more comically mechanical power (Bloom, 1987: 121).

It is this mechanical power and his fetish for silver that turn the heart of the fairy-like Emilia into “a wall of silver-bricks” (Conrad, 1997: 227).

Against the “worn-out antiquity of Sulaco” (Conrad, 1997: 126), which sets in contrast the ageing yellow of its houses with “the rows of sombre green cypresses” (Conrad, 1997: 126) Conrad places the daring modernity embodied in the very shape of the San Tomé mine. Paradoxically the colour that becomes emblematic of the mine is green. The San Tomé miners wear “white hats with green cord and braid” (Conrad, 1997: 126), the crowd flies “green flags” (Conrad, 1997: 427), the escorting carts are

recognized by “little green and white flags stuck upon ...” (Conrad, 1997: 140) them etc.

It appears that Conrad conceives of green as being two or to put it otherwise the word *green* is the signifier of two signifieds recognised in the same physical and linguistic context. There is first the natural green, which is to be found in the grass, trees, bushes, vegetation, ravines, gorges and groves of Sulaco and there is next the unnatural green, which stands as a symbol of the mine:

He was in charge of the whole population in the territory of the mine, which extended from the head of the *gorge* to where the cart track from the foot of the mountain enters the plain, crossing a stream over a little wooden bridge *painted green--green, the colour of hope, being also the colour of the mine* (Conrad, 1997: 128).

The two oppositional phrases in “green, the colour of hope, being also the colour of the mine” bear an equational relation, which identifies “hope” and “mine” as synonymous to each-other, thus embodying Charles Gould’s view of the success of the mine as hopebringing.

In the midst of the San Tomé ravine shines up the “thread of a slender waterfall” (Conrad, 1997: 133). The waterfall is initially referred to as “a hanging garden above the rocks of the gorge” (Conrad, 1997: 134) and by the end of the novel Mrs Gould has a view of the San Tomé mountain “hanging over the Campo, over the whole land...” (Conrad, 1997: 462). The hanging images, despite their similarity of posture, convey different metaphorical meanings. The hanging of the waterfall coupled with the green ravine adds beauty to the rocks of the gorge, whereas the hanging of the San Tomé mountain over the immense greenness of the Campo, vividly emphasized by the author, is menacing to it. In Emilia’s view, it is “more soulless than any tyrant, more pitiless and autocratic than the worst Government; ready to crush innumerable lives in the expansion of its greatness” (Conrad, 1997: 462). It follows that the unnatural green of the mine does not keep to its value of hope, because despite the inconceivability of fact green proves to be cruel to itself, that is, to the expansive natural greenness of the Campo. In spite of everything, Emilia’s painting of the waterfall significantly framed black anticipates the destructive effects of its “replica”, the San Tomé mine on the Sulaco life.

In another instance we read:

It would not do for you to pass through Sulaco and not see the lights of the San Tome mine, a whole mountain ablaze like a lighted palace above the dark Campo (Conrad, 1997: 434).

The example illustrates that Conrad employs the same technique of multiple perspectives even with reference to settings. The informing eye in this instance belongs to Captain Mitchell, the man who pretends “to be in the thick of things” (Conrad, 1997: 139) and grants every single event in the daily life of Sulaco the status of history. The two different views we get of the Campo suggest, to put in Christopher Robin’s words that “the tension between visibility and invisibility informs the whole novel and is perceptible right from the *incipit* which is built on a contrast between two modes of vision” (Paccaud-Huguet, 2006: 257).

Apart from underlining the remote geographical position, which makes Sulaco “an out-of-the-way place” (Conrad, 1997: 78), to put it in Sir John’s words, Conrad is also careful about providing descriptions dominated by the green colour that highlight its natural and intact state in order to demonstrate that modern accessibility to Sulaco is hard to please. The Sulaco vegetation is so massive that the author resorts to maritime discourse in several instances, for example, the Sulaco Valley “*unrolled* itself, with green young crops, plains, woodland, and gleams of water ...” (Conrad, 1997: 119; emphasis added), the Campo contains “the *dark islands* of clustered trees on a clear *sea of grass*” (Conrad, 1997: 363; emphasis added), or the grass is so tall that the author speaks of “running *waves* of grass” (Conrad, 1997: 212; emphasis added).

Another local detail is to be found in the descriptions related to the Indian inhabitants, who are the miners of the San Tomé at the same time. Elements accounting for their lifestyle contain a bit of green. So, we read that “a thread of vegetation winding between the blazing rock faces resembled a slender green cord, in which three lumpy knots of banana patches, palm-leaf roots, and shady trees marked the Village One, Village Two, Village Three, housing the miners of the Gould Concession” (Conrad, 1997: 129), or that the locals have made booths of “green boughs... for the sale of cana, of dulces, of fruit, of cigars” (Conrad, 1997: 147). To accentuate the local quality, Conrad resorts to another colour, brown, the colour of their complexion, as for example in Don Pepe’s “nut-brown, lean face” (Conrad, 1997: 127), “the chocolate-coloured faces of servants” (Conrad, 1997: 127) etc. Outwardly, the change that has taken place in Nostromo, now known with his real name Captain Fidanza is informed by “the vulgarity of a brown tweed suit” (Conrad, 1997: 467).

The very emblem of the town, the Harbour Gate is an image of impenetrable greenness:

... the grass-grown gate in the old town wall that was like a wall of matted jungle (Conrad, 1997: 149).

... a mass of masonry with bunches of grass growing at the top, and a grey, heavily scrolled, armorial shield of stone above the apex of the arch with the arms of Spain nearly smoothed out as if in readiness for some new device typical of the impending progress (Conrad, 1997: 188).

Later, in Mitchell's narration of the changes in Sulaco to the privileged visitor, we read:

Lot of building going on, as you observe. Before the Separation it was a plain of burnt grass smothered in clouds of dust, with an ox-cart track to our Jetty. Nothing more. This is *the Harbour Gate. Picturesque, is it not?* Formerly the town stopped short there. (Conrad, 1997: 426; emphasis added)

The "modern" state of the gate is summed up ambiguously by the adjective "picturesque" in Mitchell's dull account. In the course of Mitchell's report we learn only that "the town stopped short" at the gate, but we get no further clue as to the changes that might have taken place in it. The adjective "picturesque" probably refers to the former appearance of the gate, but the adjective is coupled with the question tag "is it not", which in fact undoes our expectations.

The setting of the Great Isabel provides an interesting case, especially when we find two descriptions of it in the novel. The first one is to be found in the opening pages of the novel and the second, which is a progressive description, follows the attempts made by Nostromo and Decoud to transport the silver on the island. A comparison of the two descriptions demonstrates that they do not exactly correspond. This adds to Christopher Robin's view that, "*Nostramo* as text is characterized by a process of indirection, a warped structure, an ironic method which keep obscuring the initial presentation, opacifying the represented world, bringing to the fore the very representative process which thereby loses its transparency" (Paccaud-Huguet, 2006: 256).

The first description follows,

The Great Isabel has *a spring of fresh water* issuing from the overgrown side of a ravine. Resembling an *emerald green wedge of land* a mile long, and laid flat upon the sea, it bears *two forest trees standing close together*, with a wide spread of shade at the foot of their smooth trunks. A ravine extending the whole length of the island is full of bushes; and presenting a deep tangled cleft on the high side spreads itself out on the other into a shallow depression abutting on a small strip of sandy shore. (Conrad, 1997: 54-55; emphasis added)

The description reports that there is “a spring of fresh water”, and then the reader most probably perceives the existence of a ravine whose one side is much greener than the other. The reader is further informed of the presence of “two forest trees standing close together”. There is once again mention of the ravine, but the repeated choice of the indefinite article instead of the definite puzzles the reader’s expectations. Only the description that follows makes it clear that the reference is made to the same ravine.

The other description is not a paragraph description like the first one but unfolds itself gradually in the course of the two characters’ attempt to save the silver cargo from the lighter. The progress of the second description is a backward presentation or de-presentation of the first one:

He knew now where he was, and he hoped to run the sinking lighter ashore in the shallow cove where the high, cliff-like end of the Great Isabel is divided in two equal parts by a deep and overgrown ravine (Conrad, 1997: 284).

Where the ravine opens between the cliffs, and a slender, shallow rivulet meanders out of the bushes to lose itself in the sea, the lighter was run ashore; and the two men, with a taciturn, undaunted energy, began to discharge her precious freight, carrying each ox-hide box up the bed of the rivulet beyond the bushes to a hollow place which the caving in of the soil had made below the roots of a large tree. Its big smooth trunk leaned like a falling column far over the trickle of water running amongst the loose stones (Conrad, 1997: 285).

The first thing we learn is that the Great Isabel is “divided in two equal parts by a deep and overgrown ravine”. The “spring of fresh water” of the first description is replaced by “a slender, shallow rivulet” and as Nostromo and Decoud begin to discharge the silver we see how they progress “beyond the bushes to a hollow place which the caving in of the soil had made below the roots of a large tree”. There is mention of only one tree instead of the two trees “standing close together” in the first description. Whether there is another tree we are not told either here or elsewhere further. There are only defining phrases that identify the tree or associate it with the characters’ actions. It becomes “the tree under which Martin Decoud spent his last days” (Conrad, 1997: 488), or in another instance it is identified as “the leaning tree” (Conrad, 1997: 441) because of its resemblance to a “falling column” (Conrad, 1997: 285).

This de-presentation contributes, as Nathalie Martinière suggests, “to the reader’s realization that what the narrator wants to “make [him] see” (Conrad, 1920: x) is certainly not a realistic setting but a pattern of artificially organized images which are laden with metaphorical meaning, an architectural construction which should be deciphered because it works as a

linguistic sign (a metaphor) rather than as a visual one.” (Paccaud-Huguet, 2006: 246-47).

The two descriptions have, therefore, different fictional purposes in the novel. The first aims not only at locating and identifying the Great Isabel geographically but also at providing details that highlight its superior green beauty over the other “Isabels”. Unlike the first description, the second one deconstructs this sense of green beauty in order to locate the characters’ actions and to accentuate its inaccessibility by exterior agents. The Great Isabel is no longer “an emerald green wedge of land” but “a deep and overgrown ravine” full of bushes.

The second description deconstructs the first one in two other ways, both related each to Nostromo and Decoud. The beauty of the Great Isabel is of no use to Decoud’s sceptical mind, because it makes him experience the feeling of utter loneliness. The need to be among other living things and the belief that scepticism and intelligence upon which he had held himself tight for so long are no valuable assets in the context of a view of “the universe as a succession of incomprehensible images” (Conrad, 1997: 444). The green silence of the island and the dark tranquillity of the gulf help him only divert thoughts of suicide.

Nostromo’s return to Sulaco after his adventure on the lighter parallels in many ways a primordial birth. The lack of human audience and the ruined scenery along with the mass of untouched grass around him are suggestive of the idea:

Nostromo woke up from a fourteen hours' sleep, and arose full length from his lair in the long grass. He stood knee deep amongst the whispering undulations of the green blades with the lost air of a man just born into the world (Conrad, 1997: 377).

Conversely, Nostromo’s return to the Great Isabel results to be as lethal as Decoud’s stay on it. The images we get of Nostromo in the midst of the greenness are no longer images of rebirth, but images of anticipatory death. He no longer appears “full length from his lair in the long grass” (Conrad, 1997: 377) but evokes a reptilian image creeping in and out of the ravine “with the smell of earth, of damp foliage in his nostrils” (Conrad, 1997: 479).

Uncovering the silver’s grave made up of “a mass of earth, grass and smashed bushes” (Conrad, 1997: 441) brings about Decoud’s physical lethal embrace of the silver and Nostromo’s spiritual captivity with it and his final physical annihilation by it.

The evidence that Conrad could draw accounts for his awareness of using colours properly and of endowing language with properties that would make it a visual tool in his hands for the creation of the exact contrasts and images. In *Nostromo*, apart from the black and white contrast, which is pervasive of his fiction and key images such as the silver, we find instances of fantastic mixtures of colours.

A fringed Indian hammock from Aroa, gay with *coloured featherwork*, had been swung judiciously in a corner that caught *the early sun*; for *the mornings are cool in Sulaco*. The cluster of *flor de noche buena* blazed in great masses before the open glass doors of the reception rooms. A big *green* parrot, *brilliant like an emerald in a cage that flashed like gold*, screamed out ferociously, "Viva Costaguana!" then called twice mellifluously, "Leonarda! Leonarda!" in imitation of Mrs. Gould's voice, and suddenly took refuge in immobility and silence. Mrs. Gould reached the end of the gallery and put her head through the door of her husband's room (Conrad, 1997: 105; emphasis added).

In the passage above there are several contrastive juxtapositions of colours endowed with metaphorical meaning. The "fringed Indian hammock", a native piece of work, attains to comfort due to its "coloured featherwork" and its favourable position inviting "the early sun". The choice of the adjective "cool" is ambiguous in that its being placed after the word "sun" provides a double contrast. The first contrast is obviously literal and suggests a contrast of temperature, but the second one is subtler and permeates the whole passage. In painting, colours can be roughly classified as warm and cool, the warm colours being red, orange and yellow and the cool ones blue, green and violet (Thompson, 1995: 209). These divisions bear psychological and optical meanings as well. The early sun is of course warm, therefore yellow, whereas the cool mornings of Sulaco could probably be blue, like the blue of the morning sky. The verb form "caught" suggests a meeting of the two, which chemically produces green, the colour of the main landmarks in Sulaco.

Following the same context, the *flor de noche Buena* are set in contrast with the green parrot, the first "blazed", whereas the second is "brilliant like an emerald in a cage that flashed like gold". The juxtaposition of red and green could suggest that both are Christmas colours, but another ensuing juxtaposition deconstructs this religious overtone - the green parrot imprisoned "in a cage that flashed like gold". The combination of gold and green is believed to represent the fading away of youth (Lewis, 1959: 50-51). The "emerald" parrot encaged in gold and his shrieking mimicry "Viva Costaguana!" suggest a projection in miniature of the Gould household affairs, which will soon find their own course in the promotion of material

interests, which will result destructive for the life of the young couple. The parrot's taking refuge "in immobility and silence" is a mirroring posture of the couple's later physical, emotional and verbal motionlessness.

The colour red is pervasive in the novel, but its quality is not coherent in terms of vision. The emphasis laid throughout upon Antonia's red lips, very much an erotic element, is not so much suggestive of her beauty than it is of a more important thematic contrast in the novel. Her lips are not simply red lips, but "full red lips" (Conrad, 1997: 168). The accentuated redness of her lips acquires a metaphorical meaning, especially when opposed to her lover's "rosy lips" (Conrad, 1997: 235). The immaturity of his redness is indicative of the sceptical detachment he maintains towards reality. His present engagement in the political life of Sulaco does not have the red stamp of patriotism like Antonia's and his political moves are carried out in the name of love. The sense of loneliness he perceives on the Great Isabel suggests that he has pushed his scepticism to such an extreme that he has become devoid of emotive attachments to other human beings. Even the lover's illusion does not help him survive the deserted scenery he inhabits on the island. By contrast, Antonia, true daughter of a patriot remains faithful to her ideals and carries on her struggle to see the rest of Costaguana together.

Red is so typical of Charles Gould as well:

Born in the country, as his father before him, spare and tall, with a flaming moustache, a neat chin, clear blue eyes, auburn hair, and a thin, fresh, red face, Charles Gould looked like a new arrival from over the sea (Conrad, 1997: 87).

Much of him is suggestive of the royal, his name, his behaviour is royal. Significantly, Conrad draws a parallel between the equestrian statue of the historical Charles IV of Spain and the king of the novel, Charles Gould when he places both on the same road - the *Camino Real*. That Gould is identified as a king is obvious when after paying some authorial attention to Charles IV, Conrad departs from him following "The other Carlos ..." meaning Gould. In a more literal meaning he is a king, he is the king of Sulaco, as people call him – *el Rey de Sulaco*.

Christopher Cairney (2004: 114) reads the colours characterizing Gould in the context of these regal overtones:

In the light of the fictional and constructed Charles IV and the hailing of his statue as a "saint", we might suggest that the "saint" recalls "St Petersburg" and connections with "the Bronze Horseman." The colours linked to Gould may also point in this direction. Peter the Great made the first Imperial Russian flag red,

blue, and white, basing his choice on the colours of the Duchy of Moscow, gules and argent in Moscow's coat-of-arms, with yet another imperious Russian horseman, a cavalier in white armour rearing on a white horse against a red background.

The juxtaposition of red and blue in Charles Gould's descriptions acquires another metaphorical meaning in relation to his character. Though red is classified as a warm colour and blue as a cool colour they unite together in this context and add to the same meaning. The quality of Charles's "flaming moustache" (Conrad, 1997: 87) is overemphasized in the novel and of his blue eyes we are in an instance given a report of his "enveloping her [Emilia] in the steely blue glance of his attentive eyes" (Conrad, 1997: 216). It is the adjectival choice of "flaming" and "steely" which undoes the quality of these colours. Both adjectives suggest extremity of quality, which is not at all positive and in the fictional context becomes responsible for the passionate form of fetishism his involvement with silver will assume, which in its turn will estrange him from his wife, as in the case of the "steely glance."

We find the same colour juxtaposition of red and blue in the descriptions related to Antonia Avellanos, but her lips retain to "full red" and her eyes possess a "clear gleam" (Conrad, 1997: 170). The choice of adjectives in this case is far more positive and indicative of the wholeness of the quality of passion Antonia invests her cause with.

The Garibaldian red, which informs Giorgio Viola's patriotism and revolutionary ideals, finds aesthetic preservation and representation in the novel:

He grounded his old gun, and, turning his head, glanced at the coloured lithograph of Garibaldi in a black frame on the white wall; a thread of strong sunshine cut it perpendicularly. His eyes, accustomed to the luminous twilight, made out the high colouring of the face, the red of the shirt, the outlines of the square shoulders, the black patch of the Bersagliere hat with cock's feathers curling over the crown. An immortal hero! This was your liberty; it gave you not only life, but immortality as well! (Conrad, 1997: 66)

The lithograph, which commemorates Garibaldi, whom Giorgio views as the epitome of the people's ideals and whom he worships as a saint, like Emilia's water-colour sketch immortalizes its model. In this way aesthetic expression gains authority in the novel because it comes to convey Emilia's final view "that for life to be large and full it must contain the care of the past and of the future in every passing moment of the present" (Conrad, 1997: 462). The framing black of both these pictorial

manifestations is the Conradian taint that spoils the sense of idealism, especially in the view of a flawed original. Emilia's silence in front of Nostromo's secret and her eventual lie represents an aesthetic attempt at the creation of the myth of Nostromo despite the deterioration of his heroic stature.

The fairy-like Emilia Gould is very much corresponding to the "Madonna in blue robes and a gilt crown on her head" (Conrad, 1997: 236) under the niche of her house in terms of her fictional posture. If Gould is supplied with material sensitivity, Emilia, his wife unlike him is supplied with immaterial sensitivity. Therefore, if the imperturbable Charles belongs to the world of action, Emilia belongs to that of contemplation, characterized by physical immobility and symbolically suggested by the over and over underlined "blue robes." The comparison is deconstructed by the presence of a child "sitting on her [Madonna's] arm" (Conrad, 1997: 104). The implication is clear. The couple's relationship is marked by linguistic barrenness, which is eventually followed by the biologic one, namely, the absence of a child.

In the end, all this Conradian process of doing and undoing makes allowances for the reader to, as Martinière summarizes, "deconstruct his own perception of reality, in an increasingly intellectual game that both questions tradition and modernity and relies ultimately only on the metaphorical dimension of language." (Paccaud-Huguet, 2006: 248) Nevertheless, in the midst of this dialectical process there arises a new deconstructive light, which undoes the process itself and affirms the need to believe in some standards. Despite the political instability in Sulaco, symbolically represented by the progressive parade of the various colourful flags flying up in the air of the town, the Occidental flag has finally retained that droplet of green ever-present. The wreath of green laurel in the middle of the flag is a confirmation of the need to believe in the hope of victory, like the ending of the novel itself, which translates Nostromo's "conquests of treasure and love" (Conrad, 1997: 498) into a need to believe in the legend of his heroism rather than in the knowledge of his corruptibility.

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**SELF, WORLD AND METAPHOR
IN JANE GRIFFITHS'S *ICARUS ON EARTH***

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Abstract: I discuss the use of metaphor and meta-metaphor in Jane Griffiths's *Icarus on Earth*, the way in which this reveals the chiasmatic relationship between self and the world, the visible and the invisible, and Griffiths' presentation of human beings, as both at home in, and alienated from, the natural world.

Key words: Jane Griffiths, metaphor, nature, self, world.

In this paper I would like to look at Jane Griffiths's use of metaphor in her second collection of poetry, *Icarus on Earth* (2005) and to consider how the use of metaphor and meta-metaphor expresses the relationship between self and the world, particularly the so-called natural world. The collection opens with an epigraph from Wallace Stevens's *Notes toward a Supreme Fiction*:

From this the poem springs: that we live in a place / That is not our own and, much more, not ourselves / And hard it is in spite of blazoned days (Griffiths, 2005: 5).

This epigraph strikes the keynote for the volume in the sense that Griffiths's poetry gives the impression of being simultaneously at home and not at home in nature. One of the most exciting aspects of her work is precisely that she is *at home* in nature simply in the sense that she confidently re-instates the natural world as a suitable subject for contemporary poetry. It would be only a slight exaggeration to say that twentieth-century British poetry experienced a reaction against, and an alienation from nature poetry as such, urban and suburban themes seeming to the Movement poets and their successors to have more relevance to contemporary life than outdated rural ones, and nature itself being all too often equated with the rural and the outmoded. Georgians and even most Imagists were consigned to the dustbin of poetic history. In the 1990s, there was still a prevalent, if not prevailing, atmosphere of hostility to nature poetry, an atmosphere in which Wendy Cope made witty, but ultimately cheap sneers at provincial country poets who liked to record animals, especially the dead ones "because they kept still" (Cope, 1992: 25), or Liz

Lochhead, in *Bagpipe Muzak* (1991), preferred, or affected to prefer, the muck of industrial Glasgow to a rejuvenated city hosting a garden festival.

The work of Ted Hughes and Seamus Heaney had, of course, constituted a strong counter-reaction to this 'neglect of nature', but one sometimes feels that it was almost as if they were 'allowed' to write about nature at the cutting edge of British poetry so long as they deliberately emphasised its brutal aspects of violence and decay. Similarly, Tony Harrison was 'allowed' to use rhyme, metre and classical allusions so long as he dealt with the grittiness of the Northern working classes and included a few expletives. Perhaps we still inhabit a culture in which the poet has to bend over backwards to disprove preconceptions about poetry being effeminate and flowery. Yet the irony of the situation is that young poets describing nature in harsh 'masculine' images may now lay themselves open to the charge of make a pastiche of Hughes. An example of this is Wayne Burrows' critique of Anna Wigley's *Durer's Hare*, in which he dismisses her description of trees "striding out to meet the northern waters / with no protection, their thighs like iron" as being "cod-Hughesian" 'Hughesian' (Burrows, 1995: 101).

Griffiths's poetry has moved outside this paradigm of rejection and reaction. It moves with equal ease through rural, suburban and urban landscapes and in all of them the mineral, vegetable and animal worlds subtly dominate through description and metaphor, and the world of books, tradition and intellect seems part of this world, rather than something falsely opposed to it. Another way of saying the same thing would be to say that she seems at ease in the contemporary world, taking nature and myth as part of it. In this sense, her work is *at home* in nature and I think this augurs well for the tradition of British poetry.

But the fascination of her poetry also comes from the sense in which it is *not* entirely at home there. Perhaps no nature poetry is. It is the tension between the sense of nature as nurturing mother and nature as indifferent destroyer, or simply as absolute alterity, which, operating in different ways, has made poems as diverse as *Lycidas*, *The Prelude*, *In Memoriam*, the nature poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Hughes' *Birthday Letters* into great works of the poetic imagination. I have found the same tension in *Icarus on Earth*, and it is all the more striking in that, compared to the works I have just mentioned, it is not so explicitly focused (except perhaps in the choice of the epigraph) on the great questions of mortality, religious faith or the place of humanity in cosmos.

The tension manifests itself in a more subtle way, as an enactment of the chiasmatic, back and forth relationship between mind and the external world, and more specifically as a tension between the way in which nature

can be made to function as metaphor or symbol, and its resistance (or indeed the poet's own resistance) to the metaphorical process. Making the natural object into a metaphor could be seen either as domesticating it, or as distancing us from it, and Griffiths's poetry invites us to ponder the implications of this, without delivering any simple answers. Bernard O'Donoghue has remarked (in a comment quoted on the back cover of *Icarus on Earth* (2005) whose origin I cannot trace) that "The extraordinary exuberance of Jane Griffith's poems is a product of their strange balancing between the image and the idea", and Griffiths herself seems to be keenly aware of this balancing act: she is master not only of metaphor, but of the meta-metaphorical.

This is evident from the opening poem of the collection onwards. In this poem, *By the book*, simple images of external nature interplay with natural images occurring in the text that the author translates in the library and with natural images used as metaphors for emotional life. As in most of the poems in this volume, character and action are understated, and we are left to infer what really goes on.

This can create negative reactions in some readers: Wayne Burrows, reviewing *Icarus on Earth*, in his article *Look at These* for *Poetry Review* 95-3, complains: "Even after several attempts to unravel them, the poems seem to slide off the mind, leaving little, if anything behind" (Burrows, 1995: 102). For those who appreciate the poems, however, the very slipperiness, the lightness of touch is part of the attraction. All that happens in *By the book* is that a woman goes into a library, which is not named, but which from certain hints, we can deduce to be no other than the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and that a man waits outside, hoping that she will come out, but finally leaves without speaking to her.

The poem begins, "When he went to tell her, she went to the library" (Griffith, 2005: 9), but we are not explicitly told what the man in the story told or wanted to tell. However, *if* we infer a connection with other poems in the volume written using the first and second person instead of *he* and *she*, and apparently telling the story of their long-distance relationship one living in Britain and the other in North America, we may deduce that the man in *By the book* is informing the woman of his decision to leave England and wants to talk through the implications for their relationship. We may also infer a certain identification between the waiting male character and the Icarus of the volume's title sequence, whom a character described merely as 'Girl' addresses with the words: "Now you write with the weight of the Atlantic behind you / That even the stars look different" (Griffiths, 2005: 21) and "Tonight you say you'll be flying, and to Phoenix" (Griffiths, 2005:

23). This is how the relationship between the male and female protagonists is introduced in *By the book*:

He watched the paint blister on the door to Admissions.
She found the three things she wanted under Fable
with tight calf spines. With the palm of her hand
she smoothed out the rucked pages as wind
flattens a pond. She took up her pen.

He placed his head between his hands against the flat
of the wall. It was like talking to a stone, he said.

She sat by the window and translated: *Child*
did you not see the pike in the reeds? – that was why
we flew. Did you not see the hawk? Her mind
vaulted like sunlight off a pigeon's back.

[...]

Darkly, a pigeon cut an inverse parabola in the air.

[...]

[she] smiled, thinking of him vaguely
as an undercurrent in the soft skein of water across
her wrists, and how the sentence would go on the next day (Griffiths, 2005: 9).

Here the relation between the outside world and the mind is just as intriguing as the relationship between the two characters. Natural objects such as birds, stone, fish and water are either real, imagined, or metaphors for the visible or for the invisible world. Griffiths, reviewing Jennifer Moxley's *Imagination Verses* (2003), writes that Moxley's central concern "is the attempt to make sense of the relation between the self and its surroundings, a concern explored repeatedly through a number of different voices" (Griffiths, 1993: 2). The same could be said of Griffiths's own work; however, whilst Griffiths makes a faint implicit criticism of Moxley for collapsing the natural world into subjectivity, describing her poems as "strikingly depopulated" (Griffiths, 1993: 2). Griffiths's own poems tend to display the reverse process: the self veils itself behind the natural objects which the protagonist perceives. But it is a veiling which is also a revealing, a Heideggerian *aletheia*. In this way, reasons for falling in love are presented in terms of the presence of the objective world in the poem *Crystal Palaces*:

Because there are three stones in a whorled glass
shell in the bathroom. Because the light is grey.

Because there is a pelt of may and snow petals

across the panes. Because the wind has a shard-
like edge to it. Because the reception is poor.
[...]
Because we have both seen these things,
at different times [...] (Griffiths 2005: 32).

Likewise, a meeting with her lover in New York is described in terms of the surrounding objects:

This is how it is on meeting –
an interlude, shafts of the streets deep below
the deep blue-gold of windows springing
the sky, at impossible heights the visible
air, and miles below, the surface

negotiations of the sidewalk, the margins
the burning slush. [...]

my cherry leather bracelet in your hand weaving
against the stopped sentence of the traffic.
Blood like lapis veining your wrist.
The slow salt tidemarks rising from your boots.
Static, a single hair twisting from your sleeve (Griffiths 2005: 37-38).

Again and again we are given the sense of a mysterious something which inheres in the natural object, as in the opening of the poem *Oxygen*:

It's in the off-white squares of the plan
for the new house, the two whole bedrooms,
half-moon doors, and five children
poring over it. In grass to bare feet,
the steep of garden falling
to a stream, curl of petticoats
on take-off and laced shadows
of blackcurrant leaves (Griffiths, 2005: 48).

What, we may wonder is *it*? Oxygen, as a metaphor for life? Or simply the exuberance of certain aspects of a certain time and place and air?

But Griffiths does not merely evoke objects which have gained personal significance by being present at particular times; she is also keenly aware of the uncanny ease with which the natural world becomes a symbol for something other than itself. In *Translation* she plays with the image of a cliff-face as an extended metaphor for the translator's craft:

We might have said, it is like
flight, like hedging your doubts –

the cliff-face exposure, the harsh white

gutturals of screed and sea and bird
and the scrabble for a foothold –
the long too-much of the world

before the plunge, a reef of wind
muscling under the wing and all sense
suspended for the span you inhabit
like the pure white interval over
the page before the broad sweep of ink
flows upwards and outwards as a rope (Griffiths, 2005: 58).

This follows a previous section in which translation is described in sentences beginning with “It is” or “It’s”, some of which have an ambiguous status between metaphors for translation and a description of the surroundings in which the work of translation takes place:

It is a house with a bay,
Windows the grained green
Of total immersion.

The sea beyond the glass.
It is the three steps down
To the workroom, is lifting

aside the crewel curtain heavy
with the twenty-six animal
letters of the alphabet, squared

It’s the cursors rapid pulse
in a half-dark room (Griffiths, 2005: 57).

These words cut two ways into the visible and the invisible: *total immersion* could be in the sea, or in a language, the letters of the alphabet are *squared* on the square keys of the keyboard, and mathematically to the power of two through their bi-lingual use.

Griffiths also dwells on the question of metaphor itself, of that which in the same poem is described as “unassimilable / as similitude” (Griffiths, 2005: 58), a phrase which recalls Ricoeur’s comment that “it is impossible to talk about metaphor unmetaphorically” (Ricoeur, 2003: 18). In her most meta-metaphorical poem, *Kitty’s Son*, Kitty, one of the many cats which inhabit these poems (I counted eleven poems out of thirty-six in which a cat is mentioned!), is a ghost cat suffocated in an eighteenth-century experiment, which proves, if nothing else, “That science / can’t breathe the

air of metaphor” but who “slips/like metaphor, or a slim burglar” out of the window to rest among the flowerpots, “ready for rehousing”, (Griffiths, 2005: 46) and in a final mind-stretching twist, ruffles her fur “blue as metaphor” (Griffiths, 2005: 47).

In *Elegy (for Giles)*, the movement of another cat through grass is a metaphor for the process of the artist sketching, or for the process of metaphoric transformation itself:

the book with its corner turned down at
the page where in pen and ink
your cat fits in an edgy arm-chair

and around him are the fish-bone
the wish-bone, the open cage –
things that stuck, these surroundings,
like the passenger’s door-handle
that sheepskin rug, and the way
you’d stride slantwise from the car
to house, or pencil the scrollwork
of a cast-iron chair circuitous as
the cat’s tack record round the edge
of a field, so faint it’s only the weaving
of the ears in grass that shows where
it passes into something else again. (Griffiths, 2005: 61).

However, the other aspect of this meta-metaphoric awareness in Griffiths is that her poetry includes epiphanies of nature as the absolutely other, as that which, beyond similitude, and *like similitude*, refuses to be assimilated. In *Postcard from Penwith*, the speaker addresses her absent lover:

Since you’ve gone there have been no rumours
Beached whales are just rocks, rocks are not
castles, a deadhead spider’s only a tease
in a teacup, and thunderstorms last night were

no more than themselves (Griffiths, 2005: 15).

The New World to which the lover has escaped is also associated with an escape from a heraldic or symbolic nature into a nature of pure alterity, eluding metaphor, though just as all inexpressibility *topoi* express something, metaphors are hinted at, even as they are suppressed. The poem continues:

We’ll both head West.

Come Canada, you say, I should let distances
take over – frame after frame of nothing in particular
but mountain ranges in the heat haze tidal
as islands are (Griffiths, 2005: 15).

Likewise, in the poem *Translation*, Griffiths says of the Canadian landscape:

There are no likenesses here, there are only the mountains
behind the mountains, the lakes
the snowcap and the combed black peaks –
this summit is not a pyramid
that ridge is not a fortification

though it looks like one.
Though this range with its improbable
enjambements springs to mind your line
breaks and their soaring double-jointed descent
down a sheer surface
it is not a poem.

The lake has a boat-station and a name
a creek flows out of it to the north:
these are things to hold on to.

[...]

You could imagine anything:
voices of the dead from Spirit Island,
the high articulated laughter of a loon.
Two moose swimming in the lake left
to right and bobbing slightly –
not standing for anything, just getting across
the wake of the returning launch under
the clattering rise and fall, the uninterpretable toothcomb
notes of a jay (Griffiths, 2005: 59-60).

But if *Translation* ends with an apparent rejection of the metaphors and interpretations which the poet has used so freely in the earlier sections of that very poem, *Postcard from Penwith* moves in the opposite direction, concluding with a sublime lapse into the realms of metaphysical fantasy as a lover's trans-Atlantic message is tapped on those rocks that are "no more than themselves" (Griffiths, 2005: 15).

I'll be looking for a way
across, tapping Jasper's solid rock.
You'll be interpreting tremors in the dust,
rubble sounding a crevasse in Santa Fe (Griffiths, 2005: 15).

The underlying unity of the collection, which a critic such as Burrows misses, comes from the way in which the charting of the relationship between separated lovers is counter-pointed by the relationship among the natural world, self and metaphor. Perhaps a long-distance relationship with intermittent and passionate meetings could itself be a metaphor for the relationship between the human mind and nature in these poems.

This is not quite the case with the concluding poem in the collection, *Russian Dolls* (Griffiths, 2005: 64) which dwells more whole-heartedly on things in themselves. *Russian Dolls* is a poem which is simultaneously about a couple (at least a 'they') settling into a house, discovering a new centre of life, and implicitly about the Russian-doll like accumulation of layers of meaning, one inside another. And here, the cat, elsewhere a symbol of the stealthy movement of metaphor or metempsychosis, is caught in a temporary pose of arrested movement:

Russian Dolls

So they arrived, and found the shape of things
was a pear tree, a run of red brick
garden walls like the anatomy of a lost
civilisation, and a black and white cat
balled against pink peonies.

So they bought paint and papers and made
the house an interior. They took things in.
Suns spotted the ripening pears.
The evenings stretched like an elegy.
And they looked down on the skeletal north-
north-westerly semaphore of aials, grew
self-contained. In autumn, as the fruit fell,
they could feel it: a new core shouldering
into place like a gold pear hardening
under the motley pear's skin.

It is a poem heavy with things, with the fecundity of the natural world, yet also containing a tension between fecundity and dissolution strongly reminiscent of Keats's ode *To Autumn*. A dissolution hinted at through the use of metaphor and simile: the anatomy of the lost civilization, the elegy, the skeleton. Again nothing is said about the two people who arrive: taking the poem in isolation, we may only assume that they are two, but we cannot be sure. Only a sense of symmetry might lead us to conclude that these are indeed the man and woman of *By the book* (shall we, dare we, say Griffiths's lover and herself) transforming a long-distance relationship

into the new adventure of living together. Subjectivity is entirely mediated by natural objects. Yet perhaps for that very reason, there is something about this poem which makes us – or at least makes me – suspend more sophisticated strategies of interpretation to ask the naïve question, ‘Will they live happily ever after?’

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THE WRITING FROM MEMORY

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***Abstract:** The paper looks at how the past history is revisited through the failing memory of the narrators in Salman Rushdie's **Midnight's Children** and in Günter Grass's **The Tin Drum**. Both novels are a meditation on the act of storytelling, with the narrators constantly rethinking the reliability of their position and the reader revising his or her understanding of what was revealed earlier.*

***Key words:** irrecoverable, irreversible, memory, nostalgia, recollection, remembrance.*

1. Past-oriented narrative

The act of remembering lived experiences manifests almost involuntarily. Past events make a persistent impression on our memory, which can be seen as a reservoir that stores past experiences and collects the total amount of what we all remember. In truth, our memory is our ability of recalling facts previously learned or experienced, but it also gives us a sense of duration of the actual act of remembrance. Accordingly, our memory stores our past skills and knowledge and offers ways of access into the past.

Past orientated, memory exclusively belongs to a time period already finished: in actual fact, memory lies in the past. Only after an experience is over can it fit into the frames of memory. By contrast, present events and experiences that are in progress do not satisfy this basic condition, given the insufficient time distance of the unfolding experience. The act of remembrance will only occur after the passage of time. Only after things are finished will they belong to history, and, in this way, they will be remembered. In fact, this is the moment when experiences are transferred to the past. However, the transfer does not annihilate the present, as there is a permanent connection between the two temporal moments. The subject who remembers lives in the present and relates to the past through a critical attitude. This is to say that subjects take their stand in the present to refer to the lived past. In other words, the present is not only the place for the onset of recollection, but it is also a time of critical reflection upon what has already taken place.

The journey back in time with the subject plunging into the syllable *re-*, the one of *remembering* and *remembrance*, is in fact a repetition of a past experience, but on a different level of quality. Despite the feeling that

we might be going through the process for an unlimited number of times, the subject will soon discover that the same event can't be experienced with the same intensity as it was once lived. This is true especially in the case of the written form which records past experiences in a more careful fashion. The main difference between the accidental recollection and the remembrance in the written form lies in how the past reminiscence is valued. In the case of accidental recollections, the past reminiscence will be unstable and inconsistent, given the lack of reflection on the part of the subject who remembers. As opposed to the accidental nature of the remembrance, in the written form the act of remembering is doubled by a long process of reflection during which the subject selects, reassembles the pieces of memory and eventually stores what is to remember. Ricoeur sees this process as a "synthetic activity" (Ricoeur, 1988: 13) that makes a brief summary of the most valuable things that have happened.

Remembering and writing can be encapsulated in the form of *recollecting narratives*, as in *Midnight's Children* by Salman Rushdie and *The Tin Drum* by Günter Grass that reevaluate past reminiscences, making them "the ultimate presupposition of the reinscription of lived time" (Ricoeur, 1988: 184). Thus the lived time is inscribed or fixed deeply and lastingly in writing, but will never correspond identically with the experience proper. Seen from this angle, the purpose of these two books is not to entirely recuperate the lived past or to give an accurate account of what the characters have been experiencing. By contrast, the actual aim of the two novels is to piece together disjointed memories like in an unusual puzzle game whose pieces fit into different places every time the game is played again.

In *Midnight's Children*, Saleem the main character remembers the history of his family and gives his story a personal touch by filtering the events through his own eyes. Oskar the protagonist of *The Tin Drum* will also tell the story of his family and will aim at reconstructing the past as it is seen at present. Given the characters' genuine understanding of the lived past, the novels offer a recipe of survival, which is conditioned by the preservation of past memories. The characters exist as long as they maintain their family history alive. Both distant and recent past, along with personal and public histories, survive in the accounts given by Saleem and Oskar which are by far too unreliable and incomplete. Yet the reader is given two choices: either the partial, often times biased, understanding of history or the understanding of the past and present as explained in the official records, which the storytellers are constantly undermining and finally suggest that official history should never be taken for granted.

2. Rethinking the past

The desire to go through the lived experiences again may be caused by our constant disposition to fill a gap and to stimulate an increased participation in our past history. In metaphorical terms, the past can be seen as a concave shape whose inner volume needs to be filled by our memories. The act of remembrance is therefore the only solution to run the time backwards and, in this fashion, the past will be potentially reversible.

In his book *The Irreversible and Nostalgia*, Vladimir Jankélévitch (1998) sees the source of nostalgia in our deep and anxious desire to return home. But yet people are always unhappy to see that they return to a *place*, but not to a moment in *time*. Unlike space, time 'cannot be returned to' and, in this way, nostalgia becomes our reaction to a dissatisfaction, which results from the fact that time is irreversible. Nostalgia, in fact, may depend on the *irrecoverable* nature of the past and its subsequent emotional impact. In truth, the inaccessibility of the past accounts for the permanent presence of nostalgia in our life. In our attempt to recover the past we rarely find the past as it was actually experienced, but this is all about experiencing the past as imagined and idealized through memory.

In her comments on nostalgia, Linda Hutcheon (1998) sees the origin of nostalgia in the fact that the ideal which is *not* being lived now is projected into the past. At the same time, while reliving the past in our imagination we bring the imagined past near and thus: "the simple, pure, ordered, easy, beautiful, or harmonious past is constructed (and then experienced emotionally) in conjunction with the present - which, in turn, is constructed as complicated, contaminated, anarchic, difficult, ugly, and confrontational" (Hutcheon, 1998). In other words, the aesthetics of nostalgia might be a matter of making the past very unlike the present and, as a result, nostalgia will be "less a matter of simple memory than of complex projection" (Hutcheon, 1998).

Nostalgia, seen as an unbearable feeling of dissatisfaction with the present, develops our ability to engage in active remembrance and to make the past simultaneous with the present in a new way. According to Jankélévitch, it is in this way that time may become revocable. Generally, time is seen as both *irreversible* and *irrevocable* in Jankélévitch's understanding. The distinction he makes is based on the argument that, on the one hand, the irreversible nature of time follows a continuous evolution, and, on the other hand, the irrevocable may be an involuntary, unanticipated decision to go back in time to a particular moment of greatest importance. In short, time is essentially irreversible, but indirectly and metaphorically it can become revocable. As opposed to the continual progression of time's irreversibility, the recurrent return to the lived past does not simply repeat or

duplicate the lived experiences. If the irreversible passage of time cannot be stopped, its irrevocable nature lies in our deliberate decision to revisit our past: “time is always irreversible, but it is only irrevocable once in a while” (Jankélévitch, 1998: 205).

In *Midnight's Children* and *The Tin Drum*, the act of remembrance oscillates between the irreversible and the irrevocable nature of time. The characters follow the irreversible course of their life history and almost reach the final moment of their physical disintegration. Now their bodies are breaking up into disjointed parts: Saleem is literally dismembering, cracking with snapping sounds, and eventually turning into some sort of a dysfunctional object. After having been released from the mental asylum, Oskar is caught and arrested by the Interpol in the Maison Blanche Metro. It is as if the permanent power of the irreversible had been always chasing the two characters. The overpowering fear of Shiva instils intense terror during his permanent chases after Saleem in his attempt to get revenge for having been swapped with him at birth, and, for that reason, Shiva has been forced into leading a life that has never completely belonged to him. Metaphorically speaking, Shiva and his incessant pursuit could be read as an act of accelerating Saleem's final dissolution, which is bound to happen:

I'm tearing myself apart, can't even agree with myself, talking arguing like a wild fellow, cracking up, memory going, yes, memory plunging into chasms and being swallowed by the dark, only fragments remain, none of it makes sense any more! (Rushdie, 1982: 422).

In *The Tin Drum*, an innocent play-song for children, “The Black Witch” (“where's the Witch, black as pitch?”), will become a disturbing lifelong obsession, which Oskar will never be able to get rid of. As a child, the hero used to be shy and withdrawn and never allowed to take part in the games played by the other children. Then he was not given permission to play this song along with the other children and often sent away to spend time playing his drum by himself. Unable to forget this traumatising song, which is the symbol of his social exclusion, Oskar will always hear the tune of this song that is constantly accompanying him in time of trouble. Indeed, the terrorising presence of this children's song is moving forward the irreversible present.

According to Jankélévitch, the irreversibility of time, like a frightening apparition, is always haunting the lives of nostalgic people, who are robbed of any feeling of progression and thus left with the imaginary hope of revisiting the past, which in this way might acquire a slight sense of future progression. However, the meaning of nostalgia is not something to be seen in an object, but it is more what we feel when the past and the

present come together, and often carries considerable emotional weight. In this sense, the nostalgic Oskar responds over-emotionally to his past history and, therefore, he will try to erase the painful memories from his memory. His emotional response to his early exclusion from social life is his intentional failure to remember:

Where's the Witch black as pitch? ... She had always been there, even in the woodruff fizz powder, bubbling so green and innocent; she was in clothes cupboard, in every clothes cupboard I ever sat in (Grass, 1993: 546).

However hard he may have tried, Oskar cannot put aside the undesirable past or send it to the darkest corner of his mind. According to Jankélévitch, the irrevocable time can be seen as our permanent desire to turn the gratifying past into the present and as an attempt at annihilating displeasing facts from our past. In view of this definition, we can say that Oskar is defeated by the irrevocable nature of time, which is represented by the image of the Black Witch:

Don't ask who she is! Words fail me. First she was behind me, later she kissed my hump, but now, now and forever, she is in front of me, coming closer (Grass, 1993: 546).

Both Saleem and Oskar are deeply affected by the amount of disquieting past experiences and feel the frustration of being unable to forget. In general, remembrance and oblivion are complementary in the sense that the former brings back gratifying memories while the latter should remove the unwanted and painful experiences the act of forgetting clears the present loaded with memory (Jankélévitch, 1998: 196). The fact of the matter is that memories come to Oskar and reawaken emotional wounds in a continual distressing process which ends up when Oskar is trapped by the Black Witch in the Metro Station where his life stories end. Nevertheless, his failure is human and not aesthetical as he has succeeded in writing from memory the story of his life. As in the case of Saleem, Oskar is able to stop the irreversible by writing. The memories of the hero are encapsulated in a number of thirty chapters, which is also the age of the character. His life history is given the particular form of the narrative, but there is also a symbolic connotation to the biblical story:

Today they want to pin me down, to nail me to the Cross. They say: you are thirty. So you must gather disciples. [...] Yet so many possibilities are open to a man of thirty (Grass, 1993: 543).

Despite his Lilliputian height, just released from the mental hospital, guilty of a crime he did not commit, Oskar takes over the duty of a reborn Christ.

Found in a critical situation, at the beginning of a new age, Oskar needs some time to reconsider his past and to look back critically upon what he has been going through by now. He takes an escalator ride whose incessant and regular movements produce “the kind of thoughts that an escalator should suggest” (Grass, 1993: 541). Alongside the escalator, there is a regular stairway that allows both directions: upwards and downwards all at once while the escalator is one-direction stairway that can only take you to one place. The clatter of the moving stairway becomes so inspiring that the thoughts and memories of the hero are projected against the Metro Station. Oskar’s rhetorical question whether the escalator can be “symbolic enough to clank down the curtain suitably upon these recollections” (Grass, 1993: 540) shows his concern whether this is the right place and time to finish his story or he may need to stir some other memories. He is undecided about what to do in the future as well: “Marry? Stay single? Emigrate? Model? Buy a stone quarry? Gather disciples? Found a sect?” (Grass, 1993: 545) and also anxious because he needs to make a decision the moment he reaches the top of the escalator:

an escalator ride is a good time to reconsider, to reconsider everything: Where are you from? Where are you going? Who are you? What is your name? What are you after? (Grass, 1993: 542).

The Black Witch stops children from singing: “if children sing, they sing no longer”. She is always the danger present “somewhere behind” them, “facing” them or “ahead” of them and when meeting her, children become silent. Metaphorically, the Black Witch denies the characters’ return to the past and their access to memory. If they are not allowed to remember, they won’t be able to tell their life story and, in so doing, time will be impossible to reverse. She is the “emphatic refusal of the sense of irreversible time” (Connor, 1989: 145). However, to a certain extent, the journey on the escalator makes time reversible. The repositioning of the steps to their initial place makes the impression of repetition and of continuing reappearance; this is a place of breaking-down any time barrier and the existence of which would imply the simultaneous reality of all possibilities:

one is rejuvenated on an escalator, on an escalator one grows older and older. I had the choice of leaving that escalator as a three-year-old or as a man of sixty, of

meeting Interpol, not to mention the Black Witch, as an infant or as an old man (Grass, 1993: 541).

Both characters are granted special powers; for instance, Oskar had the power to decide that he would not grow taller than the height of a three-year old child while Saleem is able to read people's minds and record their histories. He is virtually "a swallower of lives" (Rushdie, 1982: 9) who will unsuccessfully try to stop his physical disintegration by remembering and telling stories. His stories are contradictory, with a disquieting multitude of versions. This is also true in the case of official historic events which are given wrong dates (for instance, the date of Gandhi's death is not the real one). Writing the alternative history is either supplementing the historical record, claiming to restore what has been lost and suppressed, or displace the official history altogether (McHale, 1987). The characters write the story of an imagined past, whose inherent potentiality is explored extensively. The history of India and the one of West Prussia (mixed with the history of Poland) are rewritten in the imagination and memory of these characters as "being-in-between, amphibious- neither true nor false, suspended between belief and disbelief" (McHale, 1987: 33). The act of remembrance is seen as anarchic, constantly failing, and intentionally ambiguous.

This may in part be because the stories are responses of active, emotionally and intellectually engaged subjects. Writing from memory is the very act of taking responsibility for such responses by creating the critical distance necessary for reflecting on the present as well as on the past. In the following excerpt Rushdie explains that his character's omissions or his inauthentic accounts actually show that Saleem hopes to bring to the present the idealized past, always absent in its unrefined state. By interfering with the official history, the hero means the emotional response to deprivation and loss:

He is no dispassionate, disinterested chronicler. He wants so to shape his material that the reader will be forced to concede his central role. He is cutting up history to suit himself... The small errors in the text can be read as clues, as indicators that Saleem is capable of distortions both great and small. He is an interested party in the events he narrates.

He is also *remembering* of course, and one of the simplest truths about any set of memories is that many of them will be false.... His history is not history, but it plays with the historical shapes (Rushdie, 1991: 24-25).

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SECTION FIVE: LANGUAGE STUDIES

SOME REMARKS ON SLUICING IN ROMANIAN

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***Abstract:** Sluicing represents an elliptical construction where there is an interrogative clause with only the wh-element pronounced (John bought something, but I don't know what ~~John bought~~).*

The paper is organized in two sections. First we briefly overview the recent contributions to the analysis of sluicing in English. Then we focus on the verbal constituents in sluicing constructions and on the permissible combinations of indefinite antecedents and wh-phrases functioning as remnants in Romanian sluicing, which have not been inventoried yet.

***Key words:** antecedent, ellipsis, sluicing, wh-remnant.*

1. Sluicing – an elliptical phenomenon

Sluicing has been intensively discussed in recent literature, but the most comprehensive contribution is by far that of Merchant (2001). The sluicing construction in English has been analysed as the result of two derivational operations, namely wh-movement and ellipsis leaving one wh-remnant. The terminology used in the analysis of this construction is the following:

- 1) [John bought something], but I don't know [_{CP} what [_{IP} ~~John bought~~ t]].
- | | |
|-------------------|------------|
| antecedent | wh-remnant |
| antecedent clause | sluice |

The first coordinate clause is referred to as the antecedent clause or the antecedent IP, and it contains the indefinite pronoun *something*, the non-focused element, the antecedent or correlate. The second coordinate clause includes an embedded indirect question within which there is a wh-remnant. The struck-through *John bought* is the elided IP. The wh-remnant and the elided IP together form the sluice. Sluicing occurs in embedded clauses as in (2a, b), as well as in main clauses as in (2b):

- 2) a. She said something, but I wonder what (~~she said~~ t).
Someone called, but I can't tell you who (~~it called~~ t).
b. John loves somebody. B: Who (~~does John love~~ t)?
John said something – guess what (~~John said~~ t)!

The sluice has an overt antecedent as shown in (2), but it can also occur without an implicit correlate, a construction known as sprouting and illustrated below:

- 3) A car is parked on the lawn – find out whose (~~car is parked on the lawn~~).
She was reading but I don't know what (~~she was reading t~~).

Merchant analyses sluicing as the result of syntactic wh-movement out of the IP. In this process the wh-phrase reaches the Spec position of the embedded CP followed by deletion of the IP at the phonological level, thus leaving the wh-phrase as the only remnant.

For a construction to be elliptical there should exist the possibility of recovering the information which is supposed to have been elided. He turns his attention to a semantic identity approach, which, in essence, requires the antecedent IP and the elided IP to entail each other.

According to Merchant (2001: 3), sluicing is a wide-spread elliptical phenomenon in many languages, assumingly more recurrent than VP-ellipsis. However, Chung (2005) argues that the class of legal sluices in English, and some other Germanic languages, is actually much smaller. Moreover, Chung partly disagrees with Merchant's semantic identity as the only condition for deletion. In her opinion semantics alone does not suffice to guarantee the recoverability of the deleted elements in the ellipsis construction. Her proposal is that the conditions governing deletion in sluicing should not be exclusively semantic, but should include at least one lexico-syntactic requirement.

As far as the analysis of sluicing constructions in Romanian is concerned, an important contribution is that of Hoyt and Teodorescu (2004), who provide a comparative study of multiple sluicing in Romanian, English and Japanese. Unlike them, we focus on the structure of single sluicing constructions with an overt antecedent in embedded clauses in Romanian.

2. The verbal constituents in sluicing constructions in Romanian

In this section we will look at the semantic classes of verbs that take a sluiced complement, and at the constraints governing the sluiced verb with regard to its tense, mood and voice.

2.1. The predicates that take a sluice

According to Merchant (2001: 41), the predicates that take indirect questions as their complements also allow sluiced wh-phrases. A rough semantic classification of verbs which select indirect questions includes the following main groups: verbs of mental activity (*to know, to find out, to*

remember), verbs of providing or acquiring information (*to say, to tell, to ask, to inquire, to wonder*), verbs of perception (*see, hear, notice*), etc. However, these verbs have different selectional properties, some of them allow both an interrogative complement clause and a DP object, while others can only take interrogative complements, as the contrast between (4a) and (4b) shows:

- 4) a. Jack knows [_{DP} the postman] / [_{CP} when the postman came].
 b. I wonder *_{[DP} the correct answer] / [_{CP} what the correct answer is].

However, both types of verbs, often used in the negative form, freely allow deletion of the interrogative complement:

- 5) a. Ben knows something. I don't know what. / I don't remember what.
 b. Ben wanted to ask something. I wonder what. / He doesn't remember what.

In Romanian the verbs that take indirect complements belong to the same semantic groups, further refined here into subgroups: verbs of saying (a *spune* 'to say', a *anunța* 'to announce', a *povesti* 'to tell'), verbs expressing uncertainty (a *estima* 'to estimate', a *bănuî* 'to guess', a *ghici* 'to guess'), verbs of mental activity (a *se întreba* 'to wonder', a-și *aminti* 'to recall', a *ști* 'to know', a *afla* 'to find out', a *se mira* 'to wonder', a *înțelege* 'to understand', a *se gândi* 'to think', a-și *imagina* 'to imagine', a-și *închipui* 'to fancy', a *verifica* 'to verify', a *clarifica* 'to clarify', a *evalua* 'to evaluate', a *uita* 'to forget'), verbs of providing or acquiring information (a *cerceta* 'to investigate', a *întreba* 'to ask', a *relata* 'to tell', a *consemna* 'to put down', a *scrie* 'to write', a *dezvălui* 'to disclose'), verbs of perception (a *vedea* 'to see', a *auzi* 'to hear'), emotion verbs (a *interesa pe cineva* 'to interest somebody', a *surprinde* 'to surprise', a *preocupa* 'to worry', a-*i păsa de ceva* 'to care about something'), idiomatic constructions (a *lua în considerare* 'to take into account', a-*i ieși din minte* 'to go out of somebody's mind', a-*i scăpa* 'to slip somebody's mind', a-*i trece prin minte* 'to cross one's mind', etc.):

- 6) Ea a spus ceva, dar nu-mi amintesc ce ~~a spus ea~~.
She said something, but I don't remember what ~~has said she~~.

It should be noted that in Romanian the moved wh-phrase triggers verb-subject inversion.

Indirect questions can also occur as clausal predicatives in conjunction with [+abstract] nouns in subject position (*întrebarea* 'the

question’, *curiozitatea* ‘the curiosity’, *problema* ‘the problem’, etc.), but in such cases sluicing is available only in main clauses:

- 7) Se mai poate face ceva pentru ei. Întrebarea este ce se mai poate face pentru ei.
Something can still be done for them. The question is what can still be done for them.
Ei au acordat un premiu. Curiozitatea noastră este cui au acordat ei premiul.
They have awarded a prize. Our curiosity is to whom they have awarded a prize.
El va numi pe cineva pe post, dar întrebarea rămâne pe cine va numi el pe post.
He will appoint somebody for the job, but the question remains who(m) he will appoint for the job.

The indirect question can be elided when it occurs as an attribute for the same [+abstract] nouns:

- 8) Ei mai așteptau pe cineva. Mi-am pus întrebarea [pe cine mai așteptau ei].
They were still waiting for somebody. I asked myself the question for whom they were still waiting.

Adjectival predicatives expressing the speaker’s attitude (*a fi curios* ‘to be curious’, *a fi (ne)sigur* ‘to be (un)sure’, *a fi nelămurit* ‘not to be sure’, etc.) also allow the complement indirect question functioning as prepositional object to be elided:

- 9) Cineva te-a căutat. Eram curioasă cine te-a căutat.
Somebody was looking for you. I was curious who was looking for you.

The typical distribution of the indirect questions is the postverbal position, however, indirect questions can also occur, though less frequently, as predicatives or attributes.

2.2. The sluiced verb

The Romanian data shows that in most cases the verb in the antecedent clause and the elided verb coincide in tense and mood; for instance, both verbs in the following example are in the present tense, indicative mood:

- 10) Ei angajează anumiți lucrători, dar nu au anunțat ce fel de lucrători angajează ei.
They are hiring certain workers, but they have not announced what kind of workers they are hiring.

However, mood switches are allowed with antecedent verbs in the present conditional and the corresponding sluiced verb in the subjunctive mood:

- 11) Aș cumpăra niște bomboane pentru copii, dar nu știu ce fel de bomboane să cumpăr.
I would buy some sweets for the children, but I don't know what kind of sweets I ~~should buy~~.
 conditional
 subjunctive

Merchant (2005) argues that voice mismatches are not grammatical in constructions based on sluicing in English because of the identity constraint on the antecedent clause and the elided material:

- 12) *Joe was murdered, but we don't know who ~~murdered Joe~~.
 *Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by whom ~~Joe was murdered~~.

The same observation holds true for Romanian, a language in which voice mismatches are also not attested. Thus, an active verb in the antecedent clause does not license the deletion of a passive verb in the indirect question:

- 13) *Cineva l-a arestat pe Alex, dar nu știm de către cine a fost arestat Alex.
Somebody arrested Alex, but we don't know by whom Alex was arrested.

Thus, in Romanian, just as in English, the target for deletion is a clausal node that necessarily includes voice. Verbs in sluiced constructions obey the same restrictions concerning tense and voice, but mood mismatches are allowed in Romanian.

Special attention deserve constructions in which the sluiced verb is prepositional in Romanian. With prepositional intransitives (*a depinde de cineva* 'to depend on somebody', *a se baza pe cineva* 'to rely on somebody', *a beneficia de ceva* 'to benefit from something', *a participa la ceva* 'to participate in something', etc.), only a Prepositional Object can be a survivor of ellipsis because Romanian is a non-stranding preposition language:

- 14) a. Ion depindea de cineva, dar nu-mi amintesc de₁ cine₂ (~~depindea Ion t₁ t₂~~).
John depended on somebody but I don't remember on whom John ~~depended~~
 b.*Ion depindea de cineva, dar nu-mi amintesc cine₂ (~~depindea Ion de₁~~).

John depended on somebody but I don't remember whom ~~John depended on~~

Intransitive verbs with two different obliques (*a vorbi cu cineva despre ceva* 'to speak with somebody about something', *a se certa cu cineva pentru ceva* 'to quarrel with somebody about something', etc.), yield multiple sluicing, i.e. constructions with two or more remnants, which are acceptable in Romanian but marginal or even ungrammatical in English (cf. Hoyt, Teodorescu, 2004):

- 15) *Ion vorbea cu cineva despre ceva, dar nu-mi amintesc cu cine ~~vorbea Ion despre ce~~.*
John talked with somebody about something, but I don't remember with whom
~~John talked~~ about what.

Regarding the position of the preposition that governs a PP in Romanian, it is obvious that the wh-movement that takes place allows the preposition to be pied-piped, while the preposition stranding construction produces ungrammatical sluicing constructions. Thus, with prepositional verbs in Romanian, the preposition is always pied-piped.

2.3. The agreement relation between the antecedent and the wh-remnant

In this section we work out an inventory of permissible combinations of indefinite antecedents and wh-phrases functioning as remnants in Romanian sluicing. Cross-linguistically it has been shown that the main property of the antecedent in sluicing constructions is that it should be indefinite. The indicators of indefiniteness are the indefinite pronouns, determiners or adverbs. The wh-remnant in correlation with an indefinite antecedent, may be realized by an interrogative pronoun or an interrogative adverb.

It is also generally accepted that the sluiced wh-element must bear the case of its non-elided counterpart in the antecedent clause:

- 16) a. Somebody parked the car, but we don't know who / *whose / *(to) whom.
b. I asked somebody to bring a dictionary, but I don't remember who(m) / *who / *whose / *to whom.
c. I addressed this question to somebody, but I don't remember to whom / *who(m) / whose.
d. Somebody's car is parked on the lawn, but we don't know whose / *who(m) / *to whom.

Similar facts are found in all case-marking languages, including Romanian, which overtly marks case on indefinite and wh-pronouns and therefore has a wider set of pronominal forms. The paradigm of two possible antecedent forms in correlation with the corresponding wh-remnants in the sluice is the following:

	antecedent	antecedent	wh-remnant
	existential	alternative	interrogative
inanimate	<i>ceva</i> ‘something’	<i>altceva</i> ‘something else’	<i>ce</i> ‘what’
human	<i>cineva</i> ‘somebody’	<i>altcineva</i> ‘someone else’	<i>cine</i> ‘who’
partitive	<i>careva</i> ‘somebody’	-	<i>care</i> ‘which’
quantity	<i>câtva</i> ‘somehow’	-	<i>cât</i> ‘how much’
place	<i>unde</i> ‘somewhere’	<i>altunde</i> ‘somewhere else’	<i>unde</i> ‘where’
time	<i>cândva</i> ‘some time’	<i>altcândva</i> ‘some other time’	<i>când</i> ‘when’
manner	<i>cumva</i> ‘somehow’	<i>altcumva</i> ‘in a different way’	<i>cum</i> ‘how’

The antecedents may be expressed by existential or alternative indefinite forms. The existential pronouns take the suffix *-va* while the alternative forms are analysed as compounds preceded by the determiner *alt* ‘else’. The latter are less frequently used in sluiced constructions.

As far as the frequency of occurrence is concerned, the interrogative forms can be listed on a scale in which the interrogative pronoun / adjective *ce* ‘what’ is the most frequently used one, followed by *cine* ‘who’, *care* ‘which’. The invariable pronoun / adjective *ce* ‘what’ is five times more frequent than *care* ‘which’ (cf. GLR 2005: 210).

The unspecified, inanimate existential pronoun *ceva* ‘something’ antecedes the interrogative pronoun *ce* ‘what’ with which it coincides in case, for instance both the antecedent and the wh-remnant are in the Accusative case in (17a) or both are in the prepositional genitive case in (17b):

- 17) a) Ei le-au promis ~~ce~~ ~~le-au promis~~ ~~ei~~ ~~sindicaliștilor~~.
They promised something to the union leaders, but I wonder what ~~they promised to the union leaders~~.
- b) Demonștrânții protestau împotriva a ~~ce~~ ~~protestau~~ ~~demonștrânții~~.
The demonstrators protested against something, but nobody knows against what ~~they protested~~.

The [+human] existential pronoun *cineva* ‘somebody’ has special forms inflected for case and it correlates with a wh-remnant realised by the interrogative pronoun *cine* ‘who’, as shown in the paradigm below:

	antecedent	wh-remnant
Nominative / Accusative	<i>cineva</i> ‘somebody’	<i>cine</i> ‘who’
Genitive	<i>a, al, ai, ale</i> <i>cuiva</i> ‘of somebody’	<i>a, al, ai, ale</i> <i>cui</i> ‘whose’
Dative	<i>cuiva</i> ‘to somebody’	<i>cui</i> ‘to whom’

The definite determiner *a, al, ai, ale* is a marker of the genitive case in Romanian. In the accusative case, *cine* ‘who’ frequently combines with the preposition *cu* ‘with’ governed by the main verb or with other idiosyncratic prepositions requested by a constituent in the main clause: *de către cine* ‘by whom’, *de la cine* ‘from whom’, *la cine* ‘to whom’, *în funcție de cine* ‘depending on whom’, *pentru cine* ‘for whom’, etc. The following examples illustrate the case-agreement relation between the antecedent and the wh-remnant:

- 18) Cineva a adus acest plic, dar nu știu cine ~~a adus acest plic~~.

(Nominative)

Somebody has brought this envelope, but I don't know who ~~has brought this envelope~~.

Cartea cuiva s-a pierdut și el cercetează a ~~cui~~ ~~carte~~ ~~s-a pierdut~~.

(Genitive)

Somebody's book got lost and he inquires whose ~~book got lost~~.

I-am pus această întrebare cuiva, dar nu îmi amintesc cui ~~i-am pus întrebarea~~.

(Dative)

I have asked this question to somebody but I don't remember to whom ~~I asked the question~~.

Vrea să pedepsească pe cineva, dar mă întreb pe cine ~~vrea să pedepsească~~.

(Accusative)

He wants to punish somebody, but I wonder whom ~~he wants to punish~~.

A language specific trait is that [+human] Direct Objects in Romanian are always preceded by the preposition *pe*, as a marker of accusative case, and this case-assigner is preserved in the remnant phrase in sluicing constructions.

The partitive pronoun *careva* ‘somebody’ antecedes the interrogative pronoun or pronominal adjective *care* ‘which’ in the sluice. The [+human]

interrogative pronoun in the dative and genitive singular distinguishes between [+ male] *căruia* or [+female] *căreia*.

	antecedent	pronominal remnant	adjectival wh-remnant
Nom.- Acc.	<i>careva</i> 'somebody'	<i>care</i> 'which'	<i>care</i> 'which'
Gen.-Dat. masc.	<i>cărorva</i>	<i>căruia</i>	<i>căruia</i>
Gen.- Dat. fem.	<i>cărorva</i>	<i>căreia</i>	<i>cărei</i>

The suffix *-a* marks the lexical opposition between the pronominal and the adjectival forms. From the inflected forms of the pronominal or adjectival *care* 'which', the dominant one is the nominative *care*.

The wh-remnants in partitive constructions select prepositions like: *de* 'of', *din* 'of', *dintre* 'from' that head a partitive complement. The partitive prepositions require the complement nominal to be in the plural or to indicate plurality: *care elev dintre cei de față* 'which pupil from those present', *căruia dintre copii* 'to which of the children', etc.

- 19) Te interesează câteva dintre aceste cărți, dar nu știu precis care din toate acestea te interesează.

Some of these books interest you, but I am not sure which of all these books interest you.

Quantifiers may also occur as correlates of wh-remnants in sluicing constructions. Quantitatives combine with plural nouns to express indefinite number of entities (*câțiva copii* 'several children'), or with mass nouns to indicate indefinite quantity of substance (*câtva zahăr* 'some amount of sugar'), which have the semantic feature [+quantity]. The inflectional paradigm of quantitatives is given below:

		antecedent	wh-remnant
[- countable]	singular masculine	<i>câtva</i> 'some amount'	<i>cât</i> 'how much'
	singular feminine	<i>câtăva</i> 'some amount'	<i>câtă</i> 'how much'
[+ countable]	plural masculine	<i>câțiva</i> 'some entities'	<i>câți</i> 'how many'
	plural feminine	<i>câteva</i> 'some entities'	<i>câte</i> 'how many'

The quantity existential pronoun *câtva* 'some of it' antecedes the wh-phrase realized by the interrogative pronoun *cât* 'how much'. As far as the inflected forms of *cât* are concerned, the dominant ones are the nominative and accusative, especially the prepositional accusative:

- 20) Echipa se bazează pe câțiva sportivi, dar eu nu-mi amintesc pe câți sportivi se bazează echipa.
The team relies on several sportsmen, but I don't remember on how many sportsmen the team relies.

In the accusative case *cât* associates with many prepositions: *din câte* ‘from how many’, *după câte* ‘after how many’, *cu câți* ‘with how many’, etc.:

- 21) Ei au plecat după câteva ore, dar nu știu după câte ore au plecat ei.
*They left after several hours, but I don't know after how many hours they left.
 Mașinile au fost cumpărate cu mulți bani, dar nu se știe cu cât / câți bani.
*The cars were bought with a lot of money, but I don't know with how much / how many.**

The quantitative pronominal *câți*, *câte* ‘how many’ has a special form only in the oblique plural *câtora* ‘to how many’. Its antecedent may be realized by an indefinite quantifier *câtorva* as in (22a) or a prepositional indefinite quantifier *a câtorva* as in (22b):

- 22) a) Elevii câtorva profesori au lipsit de la concurs, dar nu știu ai câtorva au lipsit de la concurs.
The pupils of several teachers missed the contest, but I don't know the pupils of how many missed the contest.
 b) Copiii a câtorva dintre profesori au lipsit de la concurs, dar nu știu ai câtorva.
The children of several of the teachers missed the contest, but I don't know of how many.

The indefinite adverbs of place *unde* ‘somewhere’, of time *când* ‘some time’ or of manner *cum* ‘somehow’ antecede the wh-remnants realized by the wh-adverbs *cum* ‘how’, *unde* ‘where’, *când* ‘when’. Both the antecedent and the wh-remnant have adverbial distribution. The indefinite adverb *cum* ‘how’ is the most frequent among the interrogative adverbs, followed by the adverbial phrase *de ce* ‘why’ (corresponding to an adverbial modifier of cause or purpose) and the adverbs *unde* ‘where’ and *când* ‘when’:

- 23) Ei se vor întâlni cândva, dar nu știu când se vor întâlni ei.
They will meet some time, but I don't know when they will meet.

The empirical data from Romanian confirms Merchant’s observations regarding the agreement relation between the antecedent and

the wh-remnant. Case-agreement is overt whenever there is distinct morphological case on indefinite and wh-pronominal forms. Due to the rich inflectional system, Romanian marks agreement not only in case, but also, where specific pronominal forms are available, in number and gender.

3. Conclusion

We have shown that Romanian sluicing constructions share a number of properties with English constructions based on sluicing. The verbs that take indirect questions and allow sluicing belong to the same semantic groups. The verbs in the antecedent clause and the elided verb are both constrained by the identity in tense and voice. Since Romanian is a language that does not allow preposition stranding, the preposition can only be pied-piped in sluices with prepositional verbs.

As expected case agreement is realised between the remnant and its correlate in the antecedent clause. The empirical data collected and displayed in this paper have shown that there is a wider set of pronominal and adjectival wh-remnants in Romanian than in English, due to the fact that in Romanian the pronoun, the determiner, the adjective and the quantifier have special forms inflected for case and number, and with some exceptions, also for gender.

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TA PROSPECTS ON COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNICATION IN “PROSPECTS”

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***Abstract:** This paper performs an in-depth study on teaching English and on communication in general. Essential concepts of transactional analysis (TA) are briefly introduced to the reader and identified in the “Prospects” series of alternative textbooks, in general use for teaching English to high-school students. These concepts, particularly transactions (basic units of communication) are worked upon in a highly applicative study, in order to help learners and teachers become better communicators.*

***Key words:** communication, language skill developing exercises, textbooks, transactions.*

1. Introduction. Dictionary considerations.

To communicate:

1. to make known to; 2. to have mutual access; 3. to exchange information by letter; 4. to partake of holy Communion; 5. to succeed in conveying one’s meaning to others (1: 119).

1. to make (opinions, feelings, information, etc.) known or understood by others. e.g. by speech, writing or bodily movement (to); 2. to share or exchange opinions, feelings, information; 3. to pass on (to) – a disease, etc.; 4. to join, be connected with; 5. in the Catholic church – to receive communion (2: 252).

Communication:

1. act or process of communicating; 2. something communicated, message, letter (2: 252).

1. act or means of communicating; 2. information given; 3. a letter, message; 4. (plural) routes and means of transport; 5. means of giving information, as the press, radio, television (1: 119) and announcement, bulletin, communiqué, connection, contact, conversation, converse, correspondence, disclosure, dispatch, dissemination, information, intelligence, intercourse, intimation, message, news, promulgation, report, statement, transmission, word (1: 692).

Communicative skills:

The ability to present your ideas clearly in speech and writing. Good communicative skills are considered to be a valuable personal characteristic and are often requested in job advertisements (2: 252).

2. One theory of communication - Transactional Analysis (TA). Brief presentation.

Developed by Eric Berne as a *theory of personality*, based on the study of 3 specific *ego-states* (Parent / Adult / Child – P-A-C) in a structural model, with 5 sub-divisions in the functional model variant (P=CP+NP, A, C+FC+AC), TA developed into a *theory of communication*. Its basic concepts are: *transactions, strokes, time structuring*. (Berne in Stewart, Joines, 1999: 326-336).

2.1. Transactions. We communicate from the 3/5 ego-states (P-A-C). The *basic unit of communication* is the *transaction*. It consists of a stimulus S + a response, R. TA proper focuses on analysis of single transactions, but communication is usually made of *chains of transactions*. Transactions are:

1. *simple / direct*, represented by *one pair of vectors* (arrows showing direction of communication): *a. complementary / parallel*: vectors are parallel, the ego-state addressed is the one which responds – $A \rightarrow A$, $A \leftarrow A$ (see Appendix), *b. crossed*: the vectors are not parallel, the ego-state addressed is not the one which responds. Berne's *two important rules of communication* say that communication can continue indefinitely if transactions remain complementary, but break in communication occurs when a transaction is crossed.
2. *Ulterior transactions* imply *two pairs of vectors* and *two messages*, conveyed simultaneously, one at *overt*, social, usually verbal level, one at *covert*, psychological level, usually signalled by non-verbal clues only. *Mismatch* between the two (*incongruity*) is a source of problems in communication. Ulterior transactions are of *angular* (3 states) or *duplex* (4 states) type.
3. *Redefining transactions* relate to the *frame of reference*, a structure integrating the 3 ego-states, and to the *life-script*, a life plan made in childhood and replayed unconsciously in adulthood to “protect” the frame of reference. The life-script contains *discounts* (definitions that ignore elements of here-and-now reality relevant to solving problems) and *redefining* (distorting perceptions of reality to fit the script). Redefining transactions are *tangential* (address the issue from different perspectives, or different issues) and *blocking* (avoid problems by disagreeing with the definition of an issue). For efficient communication, we use parallel transactions and avoid crossed and redefining ones.

2.2. Strokes are *units of recognition*, associated by Berne with *hunger for recognition*. They are *verbal / non-verbal, positive / negative, conditional* (referring to what you do) / *unconditional* (related to what you are), *counterfeited* (starting + and ending -), *plastic* (insincere) and *self-strokes*.

2.3. Related to *structure hunger*, Berne introduces the *concept of time structuring*. People have *6 modes of spending time and communicating*: 1. *withdrawal* (absence of communication), 2. *rituals* (familiar, predictable

social intercourse), 3. *pastimes* (less pre-programmed conversations about familiar things), 4. *activities* (actions directed to a goal), 5. *psychological games* and 6. *intimacy* (expression of authentic feelings and wants, without censoring, appropriate to the situation). Predictability, levels of stroking and psychological risk are associated with all six. As therapy, TA is a method, based on a *contract of change*, aimed at the ultimate goal of TA change, *autonomy* (achieved by spontaneity, awareness and intimacy).

3. Communication in the *Prospects* textbook series

3.1. General considerations.

The philosophy of TA starts from the presumptions that *People are OK* and *Everybody can think*. We start from the datum that *Prospects* is a *complete series of textbooks* for teaching English to high-school students that considers communication from a modern perspective, endeavouring to prove that to communicate really means “*to succeed in conveying one’s meaning to others* (1: 119), to teach learners (and teachers!) that to communicate means mainly to exchange information, opinions and feelings, and to train them to actually *practice* constant *sharing*. We analysed 4 levels (pre-intermediate, intermediate, upper-intermediate, advanced), with all the components (student’s book -SB, workbook -WB, teacher’s book -TB + cassettes) and we consider that these teaching materials *share* good practice of communication in the tradition of TA.

The activity suggested (in the presentation of the TB) for a first contact with SB1 asks learners to find in the book *people, places, topics* (modern language-learning books are more *topic-based* than text-based) – an easy activity that requires good *reference skills*. After that first contact, learners are free to start a *group activity* oriented to a *common goal*. As in TA therapy, one can start with a *contract* (an actual contract is mentioned in SB 1 – it refers to establishing ground-lines, e.g. recycling photo-copiables) *of change* – the change is in this case an implied, gradual and continuous *process of improving language skills*, also an *improvement of communicative skills*, seen as *the ability to present your ideas clearly in speech and in writing* (1: 119) – and head for *linguistic autonomy* (awareness, spontaneity, intimacy, in TA acception). Users of the books are guided to achieve expression of authentic feelings and wants to one another, appropriate to the situation, or, going back to the dictionary definition of the root-element of the whole *communication* word-family, *to commune*, *to exchange thought or feelings* (2: 252), *to converse together spiritually or confidentially* (in our case, in a foreign language, namely English).

3.2. Application. Case study.

Although it was hard, time-consuming work, we devised a synthetic diagram of all the 4 SBs, which is used as reference material in this presentation and as an invaluable long- and short-term planning in teaching.

Textbooks consist of 25 (I, I I) or 20 (III, IV) study units. The *topics* are not relevant for our survey (one can communicate on almost any topic!) – though some of them are by definition highly related to communication, e.g. Families, Parties, Studying languages, *Relationships*, Pastimes (not necessarily in TA sense). Some can be followed throughout the whole series (being explicitly mentioned in the title or not).

As far as vocabulary is concerned, we mention the Fridge-Dustbin-Suitcase activities, implying learners in actively and consciously choosing, according to individual needs, the vocabulary they need *now*, maybe *in future*, or probably almost *never*, but ... which they ought to have at least in their passive vocabulary. The *photo-copiable worksheets* that accompany each unit in the SBs provide further practice of vocabulary and also activate functional content and encourage cultural awareness, so they are meant at *better communication and sharing*. Keys to exercises and communication activities, detailed marking schemes with full answers are also welcome for both learners and teachers, on linguistic, communication and psychological levels - they are efficient confidence-builders and stress-breakers.

The preoccupation for *developing good communication skills* is obvious (all 4 books contain a section entitled *Key and Communication Tasks*) in the *function* column of the contents chart. Simple *communication functions* (talking – about likes / dislikes, about what people do / have done, obligation / prohibition, about things you can't do by law; describing – yourself, places, events in the past, how things are done; telling stories and jokes; saying what is wrong, etc.) are covered mainly in Books I, II, and occasionally re-covered in Books III, IV. More sophisticated ones appear in Books III, IV (expressing degrees of certainty / uncertainty, describing a frightening experience, talking about hypothetical situations, giving your opinion , speculating about meaning). Book IV even introduces *separate functions* for each of the 4 main skills:

Unit 20 – General Revision: R: explaining individual lines of a text, W: speculating about the description of a place, S: talking about a hypothetical situation, L: deciding if statements are true or false.

Book I has a traditional structure, with 5 sets of 4 study units followed by a Revision unit. Book II introduces challenging novelties. The structure of the teaching units (in clusters of 4) combines and recombines, after a Starter - different R, L, S, W activities with *social skill building*

exercises. They are meant at making students aware that it is not enough to speak passable English, they must also have in view style, etc. Such exercises improve the learners' awareness of *register in communication* (the right thing to say in a particular context), and develop more general social-cultural competence (see Discussion and Debate activities). They contain basic suggestions, like remembering to say *please, sorry*, and also the TA ritual-related suggestion that absence of such words in communication is felt as a serious cultural error by the native speaker of English.

These activities are often related to the idea of non-verbal transactions or additional, secret, psychological-level messages, that accompany direct communicative exchanges, "social-level transactions" in TA terminology:

Examples of social skills: SS 1, Unit 4: *Being polite*, SS 2, Unit 9: *Making and accepting compliments*. SS 3, Unit 14: *Taking turns*, SS 4, Unit 19: *Negotiating*, SS 5, Unit 25: *Expressing lack of understanding and apologizing*.

Examples of oral SS exercise: Negotiating, p 76:

a) When you are making arrangements, it is a good idea to use expressions like: *Why don't we go and see a film? / Let's stay at home and watch a video. / How about trying to get tickets for a concert?* b) Listen to three people trying to decide what to do at the weekend. Which one is using better negotiating skills? c) In group. Make arrangements about meeting at the weekend. Decide what to do, using negotiating language *d) – possibilities of TA enrichment: d.1) Identify the type of TA transactions these expressions belong to. d.2) Identify all the transactions in the excerpt, explain why one is better, in terms of Berne's rules of communication. d.3) Pay attention to a healthy proportion of parallel, crossed and ulterior transactions. Avoid, if possible, redefining transactions.

Examples of written SS exercises: Phil ends each paragraph in his letter with a question. This is good writing style in an informal letter. Also, when you speak, it is good to give the other person the chance to say something. You can ask a question / use one of the expressions: *What about you? / What do you think? / What's your opinion? / Have you got any thoughts about it? / What's your view on this?*

Social skills sections are scarce in BOOK III (*Unit 3*, p 20, *Unit 12*, p 71, *Unit 14*, p 83.) and BOOK IV (*Unit 5 –Talking to strangers*, and *Unit 20, Interrupting and turn-taking*) – on the presumption that learners have already acquired these basic skills – but more sophisticated.

All these could be referred to in terms of TA as *time structuring*. Saying *please, thank you, sorry*, implies using expected rejoinders, a certain kind of *ritual*, often complicated with non-verbals, which these books do not forget. Exercises for intonation highlight this idea, sometimes a change of intonation means changing the meaning of the whole transaction (We can practice on *I'm getting married. / No! Really?*) and *Echoing* exercises for expressing surprise, checking, etc). The WB, p 27, introduces the "smiley" symbols / *emoticons*, graphic expressions of emotions in human

communication. In this respect, we mention the gain for a more “humanized” and “personalized” approach to communication learner-teacher obtained by introducing different other learner-friendly *icons*, – explained in the TB – like the ones for Pair and Group work or Role play. They show preoccupation for good communication practice, eliciting, rapidly and efficiently, the required form of activity.

Matching exercises remind of *rituals (familiar predictable social intercourse)*:

E.g.: p 2: Match sentences on the left with the responses on the right:

I like phoning friends. / So do I. or Do you? I don't.

I don't like talking or listening for very long. / Neither do I. or Don't you?

The high degree of predictability offers an advantage, a higher degree of *linguistic confidence*. It is difficult to be wrong in language performance if you possess minimum language competence in ritual-type exercises. There are no “withdrawal” exercises in language books, as lack of communication is not productive and is not encouraged. But one often uses long *chains of transactions*, controlled in different ways, that remind of TA *pastimes* or chats: E.g.: “Here ‘s an interview with...Use the *prompts* (pre-programmed elements of the scenario for ritually eliciting pre-programmed responses) to write the answers to the interviewer’s questions. Remember to use past tenses: “*Q: Why did you leave school? R: not / like job / happy*”.

Such exercises guide learners to less controlled (though grammar-based) transaction practice exercises (simple pair-work, A-B transactions: *A: What did you do last Sunday? / B: _____*, or *A: What were you doing when...? / B: _____*) that will lead to longer chains of transactions with less and less pre-programmed content, and a more and more evident *goal*, that is TA *activities*:

SB I, Unit 4, p 16, ex 7: Social skills – *Being Polite*:

a) *Excuse me, please, thank you, sorry*, are important polite expressions. Complete the conversation using all the polite expressions in the list. Then listen and check...

b) *Now read the following conversation. Make it more polite. Change the words and add polite expressions...*

c) *Now act out* the new conversation with a partner.

d) *Now devise a polite conversation for one of the following situations: d.1. – A visitor to your town asks for the translation of a typical sign in a shop window. d.2. Someone asks a local person where the nearest bank is. d.3. A tourist wants some information about train times. She is talking to a railway worker.*

Pastimes - rather futile talks - may be satisfactory as TA examples of structuring time, but not so much as language learning activities. Solving classroom tasks can become a form of stroking in learning (added to the ones presented by de Lassus (2000) in his *Pocket Strokoscope*). Finding the correct solution to a given learning task can be a self-stroke, to be stored in personal stroke banks to be reused later, helping to build and maintain confidence: “*Look at the adjective list... and decide if each adjective is positive, negative, neutral, and put them in the correct box below (nice, awful, etc.)*”. The task is simple; accomplishing it will build confidence for solving more complicated tasks, and obtaining strokes from others as well – positive strokes, if possible – for what we have done.

Tasks including agreeing / disagreeing are also associated with the idea of stroke as a unit of recognition:

Listen to three people discussing.... Do you agree with them? (p 73).

Giving and receiving, asking for and refusing strokes, is a real art, which can be, to some extent, learnt in parallel with language use (SB II – Social Skills 2 – *Making and accepting compliments / Congratulations*, p 41, *Progress check B*: “*Look at the 10 statements. Write your personal and honest opinion after each. Use the expressions in the box: strongly agree / agree / don't know / disagree / strongly disagree*”). Such instructions are associated with the concept of *stroking* in general. A response containing *agree* is a positive stroke and one containing *disagree* is a negative one, whether they are accompanied by non-verbals or not. *Unconditional strokes* referring to what you *are* are less desirable – as little can be done in this respect – especially since there is a risk they degenerate into *crossed transactions* that interrupt communication (see: *Social skills – Interrupting and turn taking*), (think of P→C P←C crossed transactions, an exchange of normative injuries, a typical form of transaction generating disputes, conflicts in communication: “*Stupid! You are stupid!*”)

Most communicative tasks in exercises are meant at obtaining *conditional strokes* (referring to what you *do*). Teachers and students, engaged in pair and group activities, are to be trained to offer more authentic strokes – even if they are not positive in case of work unsatisfactorily done. Remember that *any* stroke is better than indifference, lack of recognition (strokes).

Remember also that the 6th *mode of time structuring* in TA – with the lowest degree of predictability / the highest load of stroking- is *intimacy* (*expression of authentic feelings, appropriate to the situation*). Most activities and tasks (*Write your personal and honest opinion on...*) have an

overt (sometimes covert as well) aim: to encourage *good communication aimed at intimacy*, guaranteed mainly by the use of *parallel transactions*.

The teacher must be *attentive* both to “horizontal” parallel transactions, as well as to “diagonal” $P \rightarrow C / C \rightarrow P$ and $C \rightarrow P / P \rightarrow C$ parallel transactions, as learners might consider them a *non-OK transaction* (the imagination test with NLP implications ex 4, p 4: *Use your imagination. In your mind can you see, hear, feel...? + list of things*) and cross it with an inappropriate Response (*Why on earth should I do this?! –* by the way, there is an exercise of that type in the book!).

Titles of some units (Unit 12 in SB I *Read the instructions*), or exercises like exercise 3 in it “*So, what do I have to do? Well, first of all, choose your personal security code number...*” are generally “safe”, as they are neutral and contain factual information, like comprehension exercises, where answers are naturally factual too. But a title like *You shouldn't do that* (Unit 14, SB I) could sound irritating. Transactional stimuli like those in exercise L/R, p 54: “*Policeman: You shouldn't ride on the pavement or You shouldn't ride a bicycle if the brakes don't work*” might not get the expected transactional response (of a normal functional-model $NP \rightarrow AC$ transaction): “*Sorry*” and the exercise is ruined, the transaction can easily become crossed and communication is damaged.

Some students might feel embarrassed at too openly sharing their personal, real, honest and intimate opinion to questions like (p 64) *How free do you feel?*, questions in *Problem pages* or *Talking points* or even in apparently innocent exercises, the solving of which could give an impression of revealing too much of one's personal self: WB II, p 73: *What could a family do at the theatre if they arrived an hour early for the performance? Use ideas from the text.* It sounds neutral, but by role-playing it, it would become highly personalized. Sensitive, introvert, shy students might feel they reveal too much of their way of reacting in a given situation – a dangerous game. (In TA psychological games have 3 levels of intensity, only the first one containing elements that could be shared with others).

Textbooks / teachers generally practice and encourage simple, direct transactions, especially complementary ones – but occasionally, crossed ones as well, as they are rather frequent in everyday communication and one should recognize them in order to be able to deal with them efficiently.

As a *practical communication exercise*, we could try to *detect / identify* in different Social Skills / Transactions sections, even in simple comprehension questions with factual answers or language use / grammar / pronunciation exercises, *transactions at risk of being crossed* and *practice ways of preventing crossing, of un-crossing transactions and of bringing them back to the communication-safe transactions road.*

Advanced level books (SB IV) also make use of ulterior transactions (see 1, 2, 3, 4 functions, Unit 20, p 102), referring both to overt and covert messages. It is good communication practice to be able to understand not only the social message but also the hidden psychological message in a text or in simple “innocent” grammar exercises. Examples like:

SB II, p 63, R exercise 2c: Make questions like the example, and answer them, about your town – Model: “Everyone lives in a house with a garden” / “does everyone live in a house with a garden?” or exercise R and L 4 a: “ It would be wonderful if everyone had a car” / “Yes, and it would be wonderful if no one travelled by public transport.” could imply secret messages as well, making example 1 an *angular* transaction and 2 a *duplex* transaction (with messages: *I can't afford having a car / I wish I weren't obliged to use public transport* or *I wish I had a car too*). The teacher should always be *en garde*.

Rephrasing exercises can be used successfully to reformulate different types of transactions, not only from the point of view of language use / grammar, but so as to improve communication, transforming non-OK transactions into OK ones (Berne and TA theory say that there are no “good” and “bad” transactions, but de Lassus speaks about 4(5) OK-transactions and 3 non-OK ones). Re-phrasing in a broader sense could lead to TA redefining transactions, performed for the purpose of avoiding an issue felt as stressing (see diagram of *Redefining transactions – tangent and blocking*).

4. Conclusion.

To conclude with, there are certain elements of TA present in the books under discussion, which we particularly appreciate for their impact on our school and university students as potential *good communicators*. We would like to sum up briefly, highlighting the fact that all the resources provided by the books with regard to communication (supplemented with the authors’ personal TA experience and techniques) would bring further contributions to the developing of *better and better communication skills* in our learners.

First of all, we appreciate that every effort has been made to *activate language in genuine communicative situations*, in transactions that are felt by learners as natural, workable, reliable (and therefore trusted). SB IV introduces interesting *Interactive English* activities, almost exclusively based on pair / group work:

SB IV, p 11: Work in pairs or groups. Think of suitable questions to ask someone from another country about the following items... + If you are talking to somebody from another country, whose culture is different from yours, it is better to ask about cultural differences – and risk appearing ignorant – rather than make a statement that turns out not to be true. For example, if you wanted to talk about how English people drink tea, it would be better to ask: “Do English people put milk or sugar in their tea?” rather than saying “English people put milk and sugar in their tea, don’t they?”

In TA terms, a transaction similar to the latter could be related to the issue of “making the world fit to our script”, to *discounting* (an unaware ignoring of information relevant to the solution of a problem) or to *grandiosity* (an exaggeration of some feature of reality), situations that are a source of possible conflict or discontinuity in communication.

Forum activities in the books (based mainly on two teams asking and answering questions) are special, as far as *communication skills* are concerned, because they attempt to create an international environment in a monolingual class, encouraging students to play parts of foreigners who need information. (High-school students who develop very good communication skills of this type do very well in pre-university *Speaking Contests* and in the communication competition of international *Virtual Firms Fairs*. So do undergraduates and post-graduates at the University of the West in Timișoara, whenever communication in English is required). We resume the previous example (SB IV, p 11):

The two Forum teams have a Discussion: Is there a problem of culture clash in your country? Have there been incidents caused by this? Discuss specific incidents and then indicate what you think these incidents prove. Does anyone think that something needs to be done to address the problem?

As not all teachers are perfect communicators themselves, the TB gives very useful hints about how to handle *class-discussions* in general, so as to avoid the common situation when the same confident, language-proficient and talkative students are always prepared to start and carry on a plenary discussion, which they monopolize. The “*Ten things I need to know in a plenary speaking activity*” (p 10) are worth thorough attention, as well as the *TIPS* (*Teacher Ignorance, Pupil Sophistication*) section, suggesting a very simple idea that will help class communication a lot – let students speak about things they surely know better than speaking about themselves. Sharing factual information is easier, more comfortable psychologically,

than sharing opinions, feelings but it *is* sharing, and anyway, a good exercise for those superior forms to be practiced later.

Sharing is *genuine communication and communion*.

To commune: to converse together spiritually or confidentially (1: 119);

to exchange thoughts and feelings (2: 252).

Communion: accord, affinity, agreement, closeness, concord, converse, empathy, Eucharist, fellow-feeling, fellowship, harmony, Holy Communion, housel, intercourse, Lord's Supper, mass participation, rapport, Sacrament, sympathy, togetherness, unity (1: 682).

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APPENDIX – TRANSACTIONS EXAMPLES IN PROSPECTS SBs

Transaction = a transactional stimulus + a transactional response, **the basic unit of social discourse**

EDUCATIONAL. Examples SB IV, Talking Points 4, Sound-bites + TB IV, p 68
I. SIMPLE TRANSACTIONS – one pair of vectors, clear, not ambiguous
1. COMPLEMENTARY / PARALLEL TRANSACTION: the transactional vectors are parallel, the ego-state addressed is the one which responds
Fig 7.1, p 59, TA Today – parallel / horizontal
- A→A, A←A – exchange of information 1. A: Are the exams compulsory? / B: Yes, they are. 2. A: What's the format of the exam? / B: Pair-work. Question and answers. - C→C, C←C - exchange of spontaneous wishes, preferences A: I don't like exams. I'd rather skip this one. / B: Me too. There's a lot of luck in them. - P→P, P←P – exchange of judgments 1. A: I'm useless at exams. / B: Some people aren't any good at exams. 2. A: I think exams give you a chance to show what you can do. / B: You've got to see them as a challenge.
Fig 7.2, p 60 – parallel - diagonal P →C, C→P Structural model A: Get into groups of 4-6 to prepare a radio programme called "How to Get Top Marks in Exams". B: OK.
Fig 7.3, p 61 variant C(FC) →P(NP) Functional model A: I'm exhausted. I'd love you to give me some tips on how to do well in exams. / B: Yes, sure.

<p>$C \rightarrow P(NP), NP \rightarrow C$ A: I don't know what's D and D. / B: Let me tell you. One person is the presenter... $C \rightarrow P(CP), CP \rightarrow C$ A: I'm useless at exams! / B: Blockhead!</p>
<p>2. CROSSED TRANSACTION: vectors are not parallel, or the ego state is not the one which responds</p>
<p>Fig.7.4, p 63 - $A \rightarrow A, P \rightarrow C$ - structural model A: Are exams necessary? / B: Exams! Don't ask me! You never do coursework regularly! ↓ Fig.7.5, p 64 - $P \rightarrow C, A \rightarrow A$ - structural model B: ...You are right. I think it is much better, although it's hard work. Please tell me how to fix that...! - $C \rightarrow P, A \rightarrow A$ A: Do you think I'll manage to pass? / B: What do you think? Fig.7.6, p 65 - parallel vectors do not always mean parallel transactions - functional model - $C(FC) \rightarrow P(NP), P(CP) \rightarrow C(AC)$ A: I'm exhausted. I'd love you to give me some tips on how to do well in exams. B: You bet I would! I have nothing else to do! - $P \rightarrow C, P \rightarrow C$ - exchange of normative injuries, destined to the other person's Child, typical for disputes 1. A: You don't give the students a proper all round education! / B: And you give them just pieces of paper! 2. A: All you seem to care about is that you should get as many A grades as possible! B: What about you? The final grade is all that counts for you!</p>
<p>II. ULTERIOR TRANSACTIONS: two pairs of vectors, two messages conveyed at the same time, an overt / social-level message, and a covert / psychological message; more ambiguous</p>
<p>1. DUPLEX TRANSACTION: an ulterior transaction involving 4 ego - states, (two pairs of vectors)</p>
<p>Fig.7.7, p 66 Social $A \rightarrow A, A \leftarrow A$, psychological. $P \rightarrow C, C \leftarrow P$ Social: A: Where's your walkman? / B: In my back sack. Psychological: A: I know you took your walkman into the exam with all sorts of info on it. / B: No one noticed it. So, why worry? Social $A \rightarrow A, A \leftarrow A$, psychological $C \rightarrow C, C \leftarrow C$ Social: A: Would you like me to show you the test answers? / B: I'd love you to. Psychological: A: Let's cheat together! B: Wow! I'd like it too! Social $A \rightarrow A, A \leftarrow A$, psychological $P \rightarrow C, P \rightarrow C$ Social: A: I'll put your papers away now. / B: No, thanks. I'll take them with me. Psychological: A: I don't want you to cheat. / B: That's none of your business.</p>
<p>2. ANGULAR TRANSACTION: an ulterior transaction involving 3 ego-states</p>
<p>Fig.7.8, p 67 Social $A \rightarrow A$, psychological $A \rightarrow C$, social answer from $C \rightarrow A$ A: It is very difficult to get high marks in this exam (I guess it is more than you can hope). / B: I'll take it.</p>
<p>III. REDEFINING TRANSACTIONS: distort an individual's perception of reality so that it fits his / her script</p>
<p>1. TANGENTIAL TRANSACTION: the stimulus S and the response R address a) the same issue from a different perspective or b) different issues</p>
<p>a. A: Are exams necessary? / B: Well, when I become a teacher, I'll probably think they are (perspective of the future) b. A: Are exams necessary? / B: There's too much pressure now because of the league tables...</p>
<p>2. BLOCKING TRANSACTION: the purpose of raising an issue is avoided by disagreeing about its definition A: Are exams necessary? / B: Dou you have in view testing or continuous assessment?</p>

GLOBAL ENGLISH INTO LOCAL DUTCH

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Abstract: The paper reviews the conditions and reasons of borrowing, the time and waves of borrowing, the domains of English language influence on the Dutch language in a sketchy mode and looks upon the expansion of English in the Netherlands and Belgium as a case of conjectural history or spontaneous order.

Key-words : global English, local Dutch, conjectural history, reasons of borrowing, conditions of borrowing, types of borrowing, software borrowing, hardware borrowing, levels of necessity, waves of borrowing

Introduction

The paper reviews the conditions and reasons of borrowing, the time and waves of borrowing, the domains of English language influence on the Dutch language in a sketchy mode and looks upon the expansion of English in the Netherlands and Belgium as a case of conjectural history or spontaneous order.

We believe that the spread of English through learning and intensive borrowing in the case of the cultural space of the Lowlands is a spontaneous order phenomenon falling under the heading of globalisation (Ciutacu 2006b:172). It leans on the assumption that there are phenomena, processes and “establishments which are indeed the result of human action, but not the execution of any human design” (Ferguson apud Keller,1994:57)

We claim that English is being chosen by more and more Dutch and Flemish people for heterotelic reasons, i.e. for reasons lying outside intrinsic motivation and namely for successful professional and business goals based on the ability of communication.

Global English

Global English is the outcome of Great Britain’s policy as a former colonial power and of the USA as a mega-power at the present moment (Crystal, 2003:60). Global Community of Communication is facilitated by English as the main vector. Nowadays most formal and informal across the border communication occurs in English. Whoever gets information has all the chances of being more successful and powerful in one’s career than others. It is thus a de facto lingua franca because more and more people undertake to learn it and use it as English is a prerequisite for professional success and consequently, for social betterment. English has also become intrinsically international. The unbridled spread of English is a

spin-off effect of globalisation. It is learned and used for heterotelic reasons and only secondarily for autotelic reasons, i.e. for the sake or fun of it.

Its genesis can be comprehended and its evolution can be reconstructed as “conjectural history” (a philosophical kind of investigation going back to the Scottish School of Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Dugald Stewart, David Hume) also known as the invisible hand phenomenon of classical liberalism (Adam Smith, concept allegorically shaped by Bernard de Mandeville) or spontaneous order (a classical liberalism paradigm resumed by Friedrich August von Hayek and applied to social theory) (Ciutacu, 2006 b:172-173).

English in the Netherlands and Belgium lies within the area of the third circle called the expanding circle (Crystal, 2003:61). This is the most dynamic circle that yields an ever growing number of users of English for heterotelic reasons.

Local Dutch

Local Dutch is a West Germanic language close to English which welcomes and assimilates borrowings. The kindred character enables the Dutchmen and Flemish people to acquire English easily. English has replaced German as a favourite first foreign language. French used to be widely spoken in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period by nobility in the Lowlands. The tradition of learning English is longer than in other countries and the number of speakers exceeds by far a critical mass for English to be called a mere second language. The proficiency level is high and you can hear out a typical Dutch English accent. Code-switching is also normal and frequent given the interaction of the Dutch with a great number of foreigners residing or visiting the Netherlands.

The history of contacts between the speakers of English and the speakers of Dutch goes back a long time to the 800 AD. The hardware and software borrowings (Ciutacu, 2006a:80) come in waves and target different areas: economy, sea-faring, leisure, politics, religion, science, technology, society (see also Ciutacu, 2008).

There are many local Dutch parameters favouring globalisation: cultural, economic, religious, political and social. Thus the Dutch society is pillarised, open and pluralist, with a thoroughbred capitalist protestant ethics and consociational democracy (Lijphardt, 1999). The Dutch economy has a liberal free market competition with a waning welfare state character and high efficiency and is internationally oriented and based on high tech, European and global trade, transports and intensive agriculture; the degree of urbanisation reaches 90%; The Netherlands have a tolerant, multicultural policy and a looser feeling of rigid nationalism; they have extremely

pragmatic, dynamic and forward-looking professionals making-up a critical mass of English users reading books and using media in English intensively. The Netherlands make up the largest selling book market in English in the third circle. On account of the political and economic situation the Netherlands are deemed to be the best friend of the USA in Europe, according to USA.

Types of borrowings as outcome of contact and activity

The English loanwords into Dutch occur as a consequence of language contact, code-switching, bilingualism and economic, cultural and educational activity. We distinguish speakers in actual contact as they travel, settle down in other areas or get engaged in workplace bilingualism and code switching (taking place since the Middle Ages) and speakers in virtual contact, that is, we find speakers making use of English media and books (see also Ciutacu 2008).

The software borrowings are calques and the hardware borrowings evince different degrees of assimilation: adaptations, naturalisations and *tale quale* borrowings.

Software borrowings (i.e. loan-translations) are: *voetbal, tekstverwerker*

Hardware borrowings evince three aspects:

Adaptations: *tram, flat*

Naturalisations: *multinationaal, digitaal, infrastructuur*

Loanwords as such: *business, word-processor*

Reasons for borrowing English lexemes

The Dutch speakers make use of the English loanwords in a natural way, interspersing their discourse with these lexemes. We believe that a Maslowian pyramid might spell out the motivation of the use of these borrowings. They rank in a pyramid of needs with 4 levels, where level 1 represents utter necessity and level 4 stands for sheer whim. Thus we slot the loanwords as follows according to the levels of necessity:

Level 1 LEXICAL GAP: No extant Dutch word; a lexical gap has to be filled as in: (*computer*) *chip*

Level 2 FUNCTIONAL CLARITY: Some Dutch terms exist, but there is need for a functionally felicitous term as in: *containment politiek* (see the combination!)

Level 3 PRESTIGE: Terms exist in Dutch, but one feels they are not prestigious enough as in: *story*

Level 4 SNOBBERY: Terms exist and they are suitable; however, some speakers feel the need to stand out from the crowd out of sheer whim or snobbery as in: *trendy*

The waves of borrowing

Wave 1

The first wave unfolded between 700 and 800 AD; here we can claim that thanks to the missionary activity of the monks Willibrord and Boniface essential loan-words like *bischof* and the loan-translation: *ootmoed* seep into the Dutch vocabulary. The history of the contacts between the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants in the British Isles and the Dutch speaking territory began in the 8th century when the monks Willibrord and Boniface brought the word of God to the Lowlands. At that time the difference between Old English and Old Dutch (as conventional constructs) was relatively small, which made for the mutual comprehension of the speakers. Thus we can rather safely assume that the christianisation process of the inhabitants of the Lowlands took place in Old English. According to van der Sijs (1996:300-302) Dutch takes classical languages words over probably through Old English. As I said before, from this period stem the words *delgen* from Latin *delere* en *ootmoed* translating Latin *humilitas* and *bischof* from the Greek *episkopos* (the overseer) and Latin *episcopus* (a probable reinforced loanword).

Wave 2

The second wave came into the picture around the year 1000 AD and was put down to the English settlers on the Flemish coast. Merchants and seamen from either shore of the North Sea initiated contacts there and as a result of these two languages coming in contact a number of about 20 English words flowed into the Dutch vocabulary. Words like *brijn* (brine), *kreek* en *wulk* belong to these early borrowings (van der Sijs 1996: 314).

The obverse situation also took place sometime later. A difference in economic potential has an indirect bearing upon the direction of borrowing and that is why the economically stronger Lowlands had also a part to play in the cultural corridors from the 15th century, where words, cultural and material products flowed into England (van der Sijs, 1996: 302).

Flemish craftsmen took up residence in England. Let us not forget for example how William Caxton set up his printing press at Westminster in 1476 helped along by a band of Dutch speaking apprentices and printers coming from present-day Belgium, a cultural feat that has gone down in the English history as one of utmost importance (Ciutacu, 2001: 58).

Wave 3

This leads us well into the third wave that encompassed the period from the end of 15th century to the 16th century. This was typified by the

contacts between seafaring people from either side of the sea working together and exchanging terms. From this period we notch up loanwords like: *dreg* and *okshoofd* (a calque is implied here, too, see *hogshead*).

Wave 4

The fourth wave contains the words and phrases borrowed by Dutch from English during the 17th and 18th century. The favourite domains were naturally seafaring, trade, religion, society and politics. It is thanks to the English seamen that Dutch took over words like: *baksteeg*, *bakzeil halen*, *brik*, *coaster*, *giek*, *kapseizen*, *klipper*, *koder*, *logboek*, *logger*, *peddel*, *pier*, *reling*, *schoener*, *slanghaaien*, *skiff*, *trawler*, *zeewaardig* (a calque or a software borrowing, Ciutacu, 2006a:80), *blubber* (whale domain) and probably also *hoezee*.

The English Civil War and the departure of the Puritans to America prompted loanwords such as *kwakers/quakers*, *methodisten* and even *puriteinen*. *Quaker*, as van der Sijs (1996: 315) states, was originally an insult which goes back to an anecdote in which Fox, the sect leader, claimed in front of the judge that this one would “quake at the word of the Lord”. The Americans have prompted the *freedom of the press* concept enshrined in the American constitution and the utopian English and Irish writers, respectively, like Morus, Milton and Swift have contributed their share with *utopia*, *pandemonium* en *liliputter* (van der Sijs 1996:315).

The English society and way of life at that moment enriched the Dutch vocabulary with fashionable words such as: *flip* (drink), *nonsens*, *rosbief*, *societeit*, *kerrie*, *port*, *koffiehuis* and *hornpipe* (further distorted to *horlep pijp* and even *hoorlep iep*, which both seem folk etymologies).

Wave 5

The fifth wave spans the period between 1800 and 1880. Now a tidal wave of technical terms, of political, science, sports and leisure terms flood the Dutch vocabulary. loan-words betokening technological advance as: *stoomboot* (a partial software borrowing on the pattern of *steamboat*, see Ciutacu 2006a), *tram*, *ferryboat*, *stop*, *oppikken*, *zuidwester*, *blok* (*baanvak*), *buffer*, *cokes*, *locomotief*, *lorrie*, *rails*, *tender*, *tram*, *trein*, *trolley*, *tunnel*, *hendel*, *frame*, *framewheel*, *toeclip*, *kar*, *levensstandaard*, *half-time* enrich the Dutch lexicon (van der Sijs 1996:315).

British politics, philosophy and literature leave their imprint on Dutch, too: *budget*, *club*, *coalitie*, *debat*, *demonstratie*, *imperialisme*, *jury*, *lobbyen*, *meeting*, *motie*, *oppositie*, *platform*, *public spirit*, *maiden speech*, *boycotten*, *cooperatie*, *levensstandaard*, *anglicaan*, *spiritisme*, *agnostisch*, *behaviourisme*, *ballad*, *bombast*, *essayist*, *romantisch*, *folklore*. The

currency unit *cent* (of the *gulden*) may be put down to the American influence.

The kind of English borrowings into Dutch gradually shifts towards a private and intimate domain. This qualitative shift marches in stride with a greater influence from the English language (van der Sijs 1996: 316). Words as *beauty*, *bluf*, *blunder*, *comfort*, *dandy*, *down*, *humbug*, *in high spirits*, *plenty*, *puzzel*, *shocking*, *sneer*, *snob*, *snobisme*, *spirit*, *spleen*, *tipsy-turvy*, *would-be* come to lend refinement to the Dutch vocabulary.

English sports and fashion made their way into Dutch in the same period acting as catalysts for further borrowings: *bicycle*, *cricket*, *cup*, *finish*, *football*, *forwards*, *game*, *goal*, *goal-keeper*, *half-time*, *hockey*, *innings*, *jockey*, *judge*, *keeper*, *lawn tennis*, *match*, *pace*, *padlock*, *races*, *racing man*, *sprinter*, *sport*, *steeple-chase*, *trouser-clip*, *tube*, *umpire*.

The British and American banks and business inspired more essential loanwords: *copyright*, *fancy-fair*, *fortune-hunters*, *hard-money*, *insiders*, *outsiders*, *junk-shop*, *money-maker*, *moonshiners*, *protectionisme*, *free-trade*, *rummage-sale*, *sandwich-man*, *select*, *self-government*, *strike*, *trade-mark*, *trade-union*, *trust*, *wall street*, *department store*, *leading club*.

Other lexemes taken over by Dutch concern social aspects: *meeting*, *lunchen*, *detective*, *revolver*, *skating-rink*, *speech*, *toast*, *blunder*, *cold-cream*, *doorstop*, *fashion*, *festival*, *flirtation*, *garden party*, *gentleman*, *old-timer*, *lady*, *ranch*, *pluck*, *smart*, *sucker*, *teetotaller*, *telegram*, *toboggan*, *toddy*, *trappers*, *up-to-date*, *of no account*, *merry-go-round*. (van der Sijs 1996:316)

Wave 6

The sixth wave lasted from 1880 to 1950. We can say that the same domains were affected as before. The bulks of these loanwords are huge as they concern the terminological need of novelty and accuracy. New technical, social and science terms overrun the Dutch special field territories: *bulldozer*, *bus*, *caravan*, *dubble-decker*, *tractor*, *bumper*, *dashboard*, *globetrotter*, *hostess*, *toerisme*, *trip*, *glibber*, *cockpit*, *crashen*, *framing*, *gasoline*, *gravel*, *intercom*, *kluts (clutch)*, *label*, *macadam*, *nipple*, *plastic*, *radiator*, *recorder*, *rubber*, *weespijp (wastepipe)*, *camera*, *snapshot*, *zelfstarter*. Academic words follow suit: *abstract*, *braindrain*, *brainstorming*, *campus*, *feedback*, *feasibility study* (paralleled by *haalbaarheidsonderzoek*), *flow-chart*, *follow-up*, *fractal*, *hand-out*, *kloon*, *multiple choice*, *opinie poll* (paralleled by *opiniepeiling*), *overlappen*, *pace-maker*, *privacy*, *quark*, *quasar*, *reader*, *seminar*, *research* (paralleled by *onderzoek*), *setting*, *shock therapy*, *stencil*, *summary*, *test*, *timing*,

workshop. Stationer's terms are also present: *balpen, fotokopie, paperclip, plannen, thinner, typiste, typen*.

Economic terms evince a mighty influence from the English lexemes: *all-in, all-risk, bill board, bookmaker, break-even-point, budget, cash flow, cheque, clearing, credentials, discount, efficiency, export, overhead, no-claim, no profit, lump sum, manager, marketing, boom, output, input, trust, safe, sales manager, merger, merchandising*.

Dutch sports vocabulary teems with English loanwords such as: *bobslee, boksen, body building, surfen, tennis, pool, voetbal* (the Dutchified version of *football*). Media, publishing houses and literature bring in their share of English influence through: *bestseller, non-fiction, plot, pocketeditie, shortlist, special, standaardwerk, cover, folder, interview, lead, reporter, scoop* (in fact the original Dutch word *schop*), *clip, close-up, flash-back, show-biz* (van der Sijs 1996: 320).

Food and drinks have not been neglected either and the examples prove us right: *cake, cornflakes, sandwich, pop-corn, biefstuk, punch, sherry, tonic, bar, pub, shop*. Fashion and body care domains have been affected, too: *denim, oversized, extralarge, afershave, face-lift, spray, make-up, flossen*. Dog breeds: *collie, bull-dog, beagle, bokser*, and horse breeds: *pony en shetlander* also show up as loanwords in the Dutch lexicon.

The political terms are present everywhere and bear witness to a powerful orientation towards Anglo-Saxon models (around 1950): *claim, gentleman's agreement, sit-down staking, stunt, super power, test-case, balance of power, checks and balances*.

Wave 7 (the Global Wave)

The seventh wave lasting since 1950 up to the present moment typifies the most massive import of English loan-words ever as illustrated by: *globaal, recessie, no-iron, off-shore, transfer, car-poolen, walkman, compact disc, stagflatie, print-out updaten, downloaden show, musical, party, fitness, cafetaria, motel, publiciteit, recessie, containment politiek, infrastructuur, briefing, candid camera, digitaal, mondiaal, multinationalaal, no-iron, off-shore, joy-ride, pop-art, transfer, topper, car-poolen, punk, walkman, compact disc, stagflatie, training, business/executive class, workaholic, updaten, word processor/tekstverwerker, print-out* (paralleled by *uitdraai*) (van der Sijs 1996:320-325).

This is the wave of globalisation, where the Netherlands and Belgium fit into the third circle from the point of view of the English expansion according to Crystal (2003:61-66), which is the most dynamic and subject to globalised socio-linguistic change.

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AMBIGUITY

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***Abstract:** This paper discusses some ambiguous forms, homonyms and blends in English. The analysed examples show that ambiguity can result from lexical, grammatical and intonational differences. They prove that the linguistic meaning is context dependent. A sharp cleavage between forms is considered here, such as the ambiguity of 'rough-rough' and 'light-light', for instance. Only some blurred forms, such as 'many', 'few' and 'almost', are incorporated in the analysis.*

***Key words:** ambiguous forms, homonyms and blends, semantics and pragmatics.*

1. Introduction

It is well-known that English has many polysemic and homonymic words. This characteristic of the English language makes dealing with it interesting and complex. If a word has a set of different meanings (sememes) that are truly related, it is said to be polysemic. A polysemic word has a single entry in a dictionary. Polysemic words (polysemes) are *flight* or the verb *break*, for instance. The context reveals which meaning is being communicated, and this is how words become disambiguated.

It is possible to differentiate homographs and homophones. Words which are spelled in the same way but are differently pronounced and have different meanings are called homographs. Examples of such kind are *lead* (metal), pronounced as /led/ and *lead* (dog's lead), pronounced as /li:d/. Homophones are words which share the same pronunciation, but are differently spelled and bear different meanings. *Site* and *sight* and *rite* and *right* are, therefore, homophones. Homographs are very often called homonyms. They are words with the same shape such as the noun *bear* and the verb *bear*, for instance, but have no obvious commonality in meaning. Polysemes and homonyms are of special interest in cross-dialect and sociolinguistic studies. *Biscuit* is a cross-dialect polyseme, whereas *horse*, *snow* and *tea*, when used in drug culture to refer to drugs, are cross-argot homonyms.

2. Discussion

This discussion reveals how the issue of ambiguity has been tackled in the literature. It contains examples which demonstrate that ambiguity can result from lexical, grammatical and intonational differences, and that

collocation, context and conventions have a decisive influence on the linguistic meaning.

2.1. Lexical differences causing ambiguity

When discussing the structure of *bachelor*, Katz and Fodor (1963) point out that a dictionary would distinguish between four meanings of the word: 1) a man who has never married, 2) a young knight serving under the banner of another, 3) someone with a first degree, 4) a young male unmated fur seal during the mating season. To represent these meanings, Katz and Fodor employ componential approach. Figure 1. shows the semantics of *bachelor*. 'Markers' are given in round brackets, e.g. (+human) (+animal) and (+male), and 'distinguishers', being specific characteristics, are placed in square brackets, e. g. [first degree] in the case of the academic.

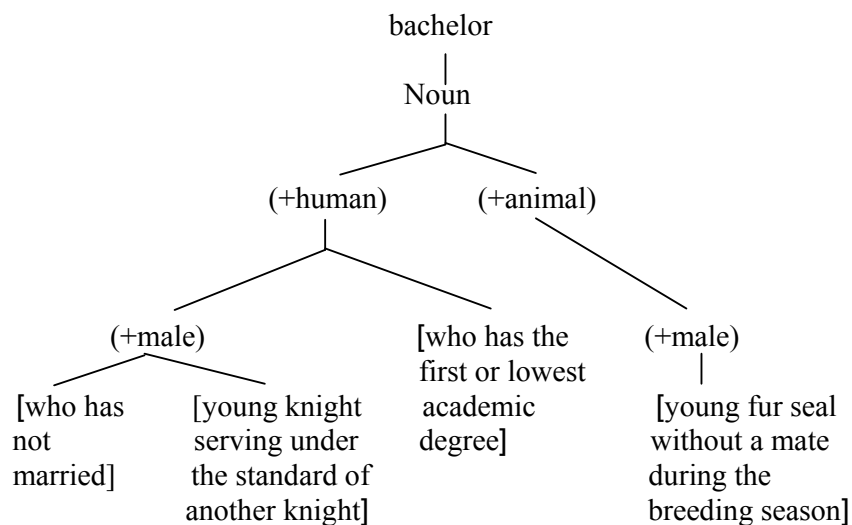


Figure 1. Semantic feature diagram for *bachelor*
(from Katz, Fodor, 1963: 186)

Katz and Fodor consider 'markers' to be those features that allow us to disambiguate a sentence. *The old bachelor finally died* illustrates, for instance, that bachelor cannot refer to the fur seal in this sentence, since such bachelors are by definition young. (Young) is, therefore, here a marker for the fur seal, and it should appear as such in Figure 1. In theory, however, there is no limit to the number of markers that can be established, and this

causes a great problem. Katz (1966: 154-155) tries to solve it by dropping the distinction between marker and distinguisher, but the difficulty remains.

Katz and Fodor (1963: 174-179) also offer a set of examples to show that continuations disambiguate ambiguities. *I'm looking for a pencil* can be disambiguated by the continuations a) 'and when I find it...', b) 'and when I find one...'. Another example of ambiguity, given by the authors of 'The structure of a semantic theory', is *The bill is large*, but it is ambiguous until it is disambiguated by... *but need not be paid*.

Many words in English are said to be blends. One of them, often mentioned in the literature, is *bank*. According to dictionaries, this word can mean a) 'financial institution', b) 'the bank of a river' or c) 'row of objects' (a bank of seats at a baseball game). *Cry* in *I heard the girl crying* can have the following meanings: 'weep' and 'shout'. *Rough* in *It's too rough* can be viewed as two homonyms. The first meaning of this word is a) 'It's too hard', and the second b) 'It's not smooth enough'. *Light* in *The picture is too light* has also two readings: a) 'The picture is too light to need all that postage' and b) 'The picture is too light with that developing process'. *Peter bought glasses yesterday* is ambiguous, because *glasses* may refer to spectacles or to drinking glasses. In order to understand the right meaning of the word *glasses* here, we need the context in which language is used. (For further discussion see Malinowski, 1923 / 1949 and Firth, 1950 / 1957).

If we now compare the sentences *He kicked the ball* and *He kicked the bucket*, it is obvious that the first sentence is not ambiguous while the second one is. The way in which words collocate here helps us understand the meaning of both examples. *Kick* means 'to hit with the foot', because it collocates with *ball*. The second sentence is ambiguous since *kick* may have either the same meaning as in the first example with *bucket*, meaning 'a container of liquids', or is viewed as an idiom, meaning 'to die'. Hlebec (2005: 23) shows that if the surrounding words have more than one meaning, which can be combined with more than one meaning of the other polysemic word, ambiguity issues. E.g. *Mary is a cow* is, therefore, ambiguous between 'Mary is (the name of) an animate' and 'Mary is a woman with bad characteristics'.

2.2. Grammatical differences which cause ambiguity

Apart from lexical differences, causing ambiguity in the previous examples, there are also grammatical items, which can convey two meanings. The sentence *The cars cost a lot* reveals that *cost* is a blend, a merger of the past tense and the present tense. A similar example, which has a blend, is found in *They put their glasses on their noses*. *Put* is here a merger of the past tense and the present tense too. A good example of a

syntactic blend is *cooking* in *She found it easy cooking with gas*. The following meanings are possible here: a) 'She found cooking with gas easy', where *cooking* is a noun, and b) 'She, cooking with gas, found whatever she was doing to be easy', where *cooking* is a present participle. The following pair of sentences *I don't like his going so fast* and *I don't like him going so fast* also shows how classes can be straddled. The first sentence contains the possessive pronoun *his*, which signals that one person is involved in the process of going fast – 'I don't like your going so fast', while the second sentence has the objective pronoun *him*, which tells us that more than one person is involved in the process – 'I don't like you and him going so fast'. Kempson (1977: 81) considers *He ran the race for Hampshire*, and explains that there are two meanings of *run* which are of a semi-grammatical kind – intransitive and transitive. The first meaning is a) 'He was a competitor' and the second b) 'He organised the race'. Sentences like *I'll see you in hell first* show how constructions overlap, because conceptual ranges overlap. The ranges here are a) a prediction: 'You will be in hell', and b) a threat: 'I'll help you get there'. Even more interesting examples for interpretation are questions *See them yet?* and *Seen them yet?* *See them yet?* can mean a) 'Do you see them yet?' or b) 'Did you see them yet?' (formally identical but semantically incongruous), while *Seen them yet?* means 'Have you seen them yet?' (formally different but semantically compatible with b)) – see Dimković-Telebaković (2007: 79).

Chomsky (1965: 21), on the other hand, finds two possible grammatical structures when analysing *Flying planes can be dangerous*. 'The act of flying planes' is one interpretation, and 'Planes that are flying' is another. A similar example, which demonstrates ambiguity in syntax, is *Visiting relatives can be a nuisance*. Chomsky believes that we can arrive at the semantics from the deep structures by rules of semantic interpretation. It is in this sense that Chomsky's model is 'interpretive'. He also discusses active vs. passive sentences, and claims that there are pairs of sentences with similar surface structures, but quite different deep structures. One well-known pair is *John is eager to please* and *John is easy to please*. The deep structures should show that *John* is the 'deep' subject of *please* in the first and the object of *please* in the second sentence, which can be represented as *John is eager (John please ___)* and *(___ please John) is easy* (the blanks indicating unstated subjects and objects) .

Other scholars argued that deep structures must be so deep that they are essentially semantic and not syntactic. Lakoff (1971: 238) analyses *Many men read few books* and *Few books are read by many men* in this way, and claims that their semantic structures are 'The men who read few books are many' and 'The books that many men read are few', that is, 'Lots

of men read very little' and 'There are only a few books that are read by a lot of people'. Jackendoff (1969: 222-228) also offers examples of this kind: *Many arrows didn't hit the target* and *The target was not hit by many arrows*. The interpretation of the first sentence is 'Many arrows actually missed the target' and of the second sentence 'Not many, only a few arrows hit the target'. These examples reveal the scope of 'many', 'few' and the negative, which cannot easily be handled in logical terms.

Katz and Postal (1964: 72) use logical structures to interpret the paired active and passive sentences: *Everybody in this room speaks two languages* and *Two languages are spoken by everybody in this room*. The logical structures are: $\forall x \exists y (S(x, y))$ and $\exists y \forall x (S(x, y))$ where x refers to 'people in this room', y to 'two languages' and S 'to speak'. The translation of these structures into natural sentences looks like this: the active sentence has the meaning of 'the pair of languages may be different for the different people in this room' and the second sentence bears the meaning of 'the pair of languages is the same for all people in this room'. We also find ambiguity in *John and Bill or Fred*. It can be handled with round brackets: $(a \text{ and } b) \vee c$ vs. $a \text{ \& } (b \vee c)$. The round brackets in the first example show that only a and b are linked by and but a and b (together) and c are linked by \vee . *Everyone loves someone* is ambiguous too, because it may mean either that there is a particular person that everyone loves or that each person loves someone. We can symbolise then $\exists y \forall x (L(x, y))$ and $\forall x \exists y (L(x, y))$ which say 'There is a y such that, for all x s, x loves y ' and 'For all x s, there is a y such that x loves y '. It is possible to conclude that the real advantage of these logical formulae is that they can precisely indicate ambiguities that may be troublesome, and that the use of a logical 'language' is justifiable because it may avoid some ambiguities (Palmer, 1981: 43).

Analysis in relational terms seems to offer a far more satisfactory solution to the problem of sentence meaning than componential method. In essence such analysis will have much in common with predicate calculus. The formula for *John killed Mary* would be $[Cause](x, ([Become](y, ([\sim Alive](y)))))$ i. e. 'John caused Mary become Mary not alive' (Figure 2).

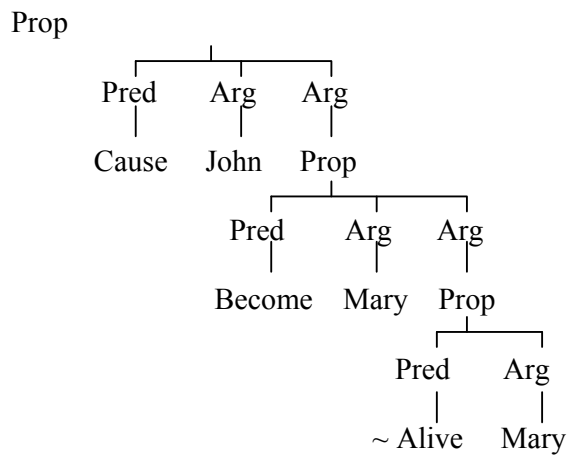


Figure 2.

The generative semanticists argued that a representation of this kind is the deep structure of *kill*. Morgan (1969) points out the triple ambiguity of *I almost killed him*, where *almost* may qualify *cause*, *become* or *not alive*. The first sense applies if I shot at him, but missed (I almost caused the subsequent events, but did not). The second applies if I hit him and he recovered after narrowly avoiding death (he almost became dead). The third applies if I shot him and he was in a state of near death (he became almost dead). On the basis of this it is argued that *kill* must be interpreted in terms of three sentences in deep structure and thus make possible to place *almost* in each of these three sentences and show whether it qualifies *cause*, *become* or *not alive*.

Fillmore (1968, 1971), being the representative of case grammar, is also concerned with ambiguity. He explains, for instance, the supposed ambiguity of *Peter broke the window* by treating Peter as either agent or experiencer. However, when discussing this suggestion, Palmer (1981: 148) claims that case grammar seems to fail here, for we can say *Peter and Bill both broke the window*, *Peter accidentally and Bill on purpose*, and this is in opposition to what we are told by case grammarians that the two different cases cannot be conjoined.

The distinction made by Donnellan (1966 [1971: 102ff.]) between the referential and the attributive uses of referential expressions helps us understand that *Smith's murderer is insane* is ambiguous. It can mean either that a certain person, e.g. Brown, who is known to have murdered Smith, is insane, or that the person who murdered Smith, and it may not be known who he is, is insane. In other words, the expression *Smith's murderer* is

being used in the first case to identify someone in the real world (the referential use), and in the second case (the attributive use) we are more concerned with the description itself, where the intension of the expression and its extension is related to possible worlds.

The ambiguity of the sentence *Mary believes that the President is handsome* can be handled in terms of 'about the thing' and 'about what is said' (i.e. of a *de re* and a *de dicto* interpretation cf. Allwood et al. 1977: 114-115). The sentence may thus be taken to mean either that Mary believes that Mr Smith is handsome or that she believes that Mr Brown is handsome. In the one case, the man is actually President, and in the other case the man is believed to be President. The extension of *the President* here is either Mr Smith in the real world or Mr Brown in the world of Mary's beliefs.

Certain sentences, on the other hand, can share a similar ambiguity. Such sentences are as follows: *John wants to marry a girl with green eyes* (Lyons, 1977: 190-191) and *John must talk to someone* (Allwood et al. 1977: 116). On the specific readings, there is a particular girl with green eyes that John wants to marry and a particular person that he must talk to. On the non-specific readings, John has no specific girl in mind, but merely requires that his future wife has green eyes, while it does not matter who it is that he talks to, as long as he talks to someone.

All the above discussed examples demonstrate attempts made by linguists to explain sentence meaning in various ways. Utterance meaning also deserves to be analysed.

2.3. Intonational features and ambiguity

Let us see now what we can say of a sentence such as *John's coming?* with a rising intonation. Is this declarative though a question, or could we say that the intonation is a formal mark of the interrogative? Palmer (1981: 151) is right in saying that it is a matter of debate. It is true that we are used to interpreting a rise with a question, the fall-rise with the implication 'but ... ' and falls with statements, though a more casual statement can occur with a rise (see Crystal, 1969: 225). 'Wh-questions' normally occur with a fall and this proves that some conventions go against the general trend. If John's coming is uttered with many intonation tunes, it would be impossible to assign a grammatical function to all of them, which tells us that intonation can cause ambiguities or misunderstandings. Examples of such kind can be found in different interpretations of the same intonational features in British English and American English, for instance. Moreover, Ackerman (1983) explains that it is the intonation that helps native speakers accurately interpret figurative vs. literal meanings of phrases in English, whereas adult language learners have difficulty in recognising

nonliteral meanings. It is, therefore, of importance to teach and learn intonational features in a variety of their uses. To understand what metaphors are and how they can be uttered by using various intonational tunes and sentence accents, try to say the following set of sentences: Oh, I see, I see, He's really down, That lifts my spirits, She blew up, Simmer down! Keep cool, Chop it up into understandable thoughts, Students are starved for challenges of any kind, Beef up your paragraphs, Clean work – it's organized, We have a long way to go on this topic.

3. Concluding remarks

Section 2.3. of this paper is an attempt to confine the reader's attention to those prosodic characteristics of the English language that can cause ambiguity. No matter whether metaphoric or nonmetaphoric language is used, the linguistic meaning is determined by the use of accurate intonation and sentence stress, as well as correct grammatical and lexical combinations. Grammatical and lexical differences, causing ambiguity, are discussed in sections 2.2. and 2.3. The analysis reveals that the semantics of words and sentences in English depends upon collocation, context and conventions. In other words, our semantics is based in our knowledge of the language and the world, and our experiences with each other within our environment. In order to become aware of ambiguous forms and patterns in English, it is advisable to teach them. Only those who can explain ambiguous forms and can use polysemes, homonyms and homophones appropriately are considered to have a good command of the language.

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AMERICAN DIALECTS

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Abstract: American dialects must be observed as an aspect of cultural history. We need to study the historical forms of the English language as they appear in earlier documents, and the social, economic and geographical changes experienced by the English speakers should be kept in mind.

Key words: dialect, pronunciation, symbols, varieties.

1. Introduction

“Among the various activities of men everywhere there is at least one common feature ... which appears to be indispensable – language” (Reed, 1967: 1). It is acquired over the years by contact with other people and not without considerable effort. Language is a surely arbitrary system of vocal symbols by means of which human beings interact (Reed, 1967: 1).

Languages normally consist of dialects, or special varieties of usage within the range of a given linguistic system, according to the social or geographical disposition of its speakers. Linguists speak of English, German and Dutch as Germanic dialects, since they derive from a common parent and are closely related. British and American English are collections of dialects within the English language (Reed, 1967: 2).

One can speak of *British* dialects (Scottish, Irish, etc.) and *American* dialects respectively, in line with certain geographical considerations. Reed claims that dialects may be geographical in the sense of being spoken by people living in certain areas.

But dialects may also be classified according to criteria other than geographical ones. They may be social or economic. Bernard Shaw illustrates the class dialects in his play *Pygmalion*, where he has a professor of phonetics make a lady out of a poor flower girl simply by teaching her to speak in accordance with the conventions of upper-class society.

Quite similar to Reed, Babb, (1981: 14) views the dialect as variation of usage within the continuum of a given language system and it is created according to the social or geographical circumstances of its speakers.

Classification of dialects can be drawn along many lines: geographical, social, class and literary, which can become the written

representation of any of these. The regional dialect comprises the speech patterns of a particular region of a country. It may have originated when the language settlers of one region mingled with that of new immigrants to the area, thus necessitating language change. In the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (Cassidy, 1985: X / IV) we find that although the term *dialect* is applied to speech that is heard as odd or *non-standard*, most scholars use it to refer to any defined variety of speech, social or regional. From this point of view every speaker has a dialect, one that reflects social and regional characteristics.

No known language, unless it be artificially preserved for liturgical or other non-popular uses, has ever been known to resist the tendency to split up into dialects (Reed, 1967: 25).

2. American English: General Remarks / History

American English is historically a displaced language, i.e. regional and social variations existing in British English were uprooted and mixed in various ways with one another and with other languages in a new context producing American English. Many of the variations found in the United States may also be found in Great Britain.

American English began in the 17th century. The early colonists came mainly from South Eastern England. The first loan words incorporated into the colonists' speech came from the language of the native Americans they found there. The language of the settlers was also influenced by other colonizing countries. France lent them words such as *bureau*, *voyage*, *Holland boss*. A new independent nation (American Revolution) with its own system of government felt it should have its own system of language (Cassidy, 1985: X / VI).

In the 18th century regularization and formalization according to standards of correctness dictated by logic, Latin structure and educated usage began to shape popular attitudes towards language. Late in the century came attempts in the United States to Americanize the language, especially through the efforts of Noah Webster with his speller and dictionary. By the 1850s, the level of literacy rose and caused the spread of the *new* English developing in America and eventually a general uniformity in the forms began to appear. By the late 18th century regional distinctions as well as an American accent were noticeable (Cassidy, 1985: X / VIII).

As members of different speech communities interact, the borrowing and meshing of linguistic forms will further cause language to differentiate resulting in dialectal variations. The average Philadelphian or Bostonian of 1790 had not the slightest difficulty in making himself understood by a

visiting English man. But the average Ohio boatman of 1810 or plainsman of 1815 was already speaking a dialect that the English man would have shrunk from as barbarous and unintelligible (Babb, 1981: 9).

American folklore includes observations about Southern drawl, a Yankee whine, a Midwestern twang, and other labels for perceived regional differences in speech. For these differences various fanciful explanations are offered:

- Southerners talk slowly because of the heat
- Philadelphia people sometime drop their r's, because the humid climate produces much widespread sinus problems that the articulation of that sound is hindered (Cassidy, 1985: X / III).

Popular attitudes toward social and regional versions of American English tend to be stereotyped. A certain kind of Boston speech is perceived as *classy* whereas the speech of other regions provokes laughter or disapproval. There surely is some truth and some fiction in such regional stereotyping. For example, contrary to the common belief, southern speech is not necessarily slower than elsewhere. The use of a rising pitch by some southern speakers where others would use level or falling pitches (making a southern statement sounds like a question to outsiders) draws attention. Likewise, the lengthening of vowels at given places in sentence contributes to an impression of slowness (Cassidy, 1985: X / III).

3. Regions / Varieties within American English

In the Dictionary of American Regional English (1985: XXXII), we encounter many regions, some of which have to be mentioned here:

Appalachians	Inland North	Pacific
Atlantic	Lower Mississippi Valley	Plains States
Central	Midland	South Atlantic
Delmarva	North Atlantic	Southwest
Great Lakes	New England	New York
Gulf States	North	West

In older speech areas, dialect areas are usually easy to be identified, particularly with the help of linguistic geography. The eastern part of the United States, if studied in this way, reveals a number of *isogloss bundles* marking distinctly the various dialect boundaries. As one looks westward however, and encounters fairly recently commingled areas of settlement, the identification of specific dialect areas becomes impossible, so that the preponderance of certain forms of language becomes a matter of statistical dispersion (Reed, 1967: 6).

There are eighteen speech areas which can be grouped into three main groups: Northern, Midlands, Southern. Many Americans are unaware that they and their friends speak a variety of English which can be called a dialect. Many even deny it and say something like: No, we don't speak a dialect around here. They speak more harshly and strangely out East and down South but we just don't have anything like that in our speech. Most Southerners know that people from other parts of the country are either pleased or annoyed by their Southern pronunciation and expressions. Many Easterners are aware of the reactions of people from West of Appalachians to typical Eastern speech patterns. On the other hand, many Midwesterners, for some reason, seem oblivious to the fact that the Americans from other areas find something strange about the vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar characteristic of Midwest (Shuy, 1967: 1).

Keer and Adermann (1963: 123) state that there are seven dialects within the regions of the United States: Eastern New England, New York City, Middle Atlantic, Western Pennsylvania, Southern Mountain, Southern and General America.

3.1. Eastern New England

Eastern New England (Connecticut, Green Mountain) is characterized by several important features:

- the retention of a rounded vowel: hot, top; in the rest we have broad a
- the pronunciation of /t/ is lost before consonants and in word-final position: park the car → /pahk the cah/

Eastern New England is not a wholly uniform speech area. Settlement history is reflected for instance, in the survival of *tempest* storm and *cade* pet lamb from Narragansett, Bay to Cape Code in the colonies established in Rhode Island and the Plymouth area. The speech of upstate New York is derived from that of New England. Features peculiar to Eastern New England such as the loss of postvocalic /r/ in *beard*, *hard*, *board* or the low front vowel /a/ in *half*, *pass*, *aunt* survive only sporadically. The main reason for this is the fact that the majority of the settlers came from rural western New England at the time when the increasing population of eastern New England was absorbed into the developing industries and engaged in seafaring. Eastern New England has the terms *belly bumps* / *belly bumper* sliding face down on a sled, *sour-milk-cheese* cottage cheese and *whicker* winny (Kerr, Adermann, 1963: 104-111; Allen, Linn, 1986: 101).

3.2. New York City

New York City is mainly characterized by:

- the loss of /r/
- /o/ before voiceless stops is unrounded: caught → [c^t]

Around New York City *skimerton* / *skimilton* is a word describing the mock serenade held in connection with a wedding. Another feature found particularly in New York City (where it is sometimes classed as Brooklyn ESE) is the suggestion of something like an *oi* sound in words like *bird*, *heard* and *curl*. Regarding the variation of *ah-aw* before /r/ the words *forest*, *orange*, *horrible*, *correspond* and *moral* have an *ah* sound in the speech of New York City (Kerr, Adermann, 1963: 104-111; Allen, Linn, 1986: 101).

3.3. Middle Atlantic

As concerning the Middle Atlantic (East of Pennsylvania, South of New Jersey, Maryland) several features are quite obvious:

- insertion of /r/ in certain words: wash → warsh
- preserves /r/ in all positions (rhotic accent)
- unrounded instead of rounded vowel: forest

There are a few iso-glosses, albeit they are very striking; hence we find *you all* you (plural) (*corn*) *shucks* husks, and *light bread* wheat bread.

3.4. Western Pennsylvania

- /r/ is always pronounced
- /æ/ → ask, path

We will find the term *you-uns* for *you* (Kerr, Adermann, 1963: 104-111).

3.5. Southern Mountain

Southern Mountain (West Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee) is characterized by the fact that it is more likely like Midland.

In South Carolina, we will have the expression *cooter* turtle, *corn house* corn crib, and *crocker sack* burlap sack, also *make doctor* dragonfly.

In Virginia we deal with many unique things; here we find the terms *line horse* / *wheel horse* near horse, *cow house* cow barn, and *cuppin* cow pen (Kerr, Adermann, 1963: 104-111).

3.6. Southern

The Southern dialect has constituted one of the most controversial parts of American English dialectology. We can also speak about a black influence. Henry C. Knight reports: Children learn from the slaves some old phrases. The most off-mentioned phonological feature in Southern dialect is non-prevocalic /r/. The Upper South has nearly eliminated the linking /r/ → your ant

- loss of /r/ finally and before consonants → car, heard
- no rounded vowel in top: hat [æ]

The Southern drawl represents a continuation of the historical English process of breaking and umlaut. It means the lengthening or diphthongization or even triphthongization of stressed vowels → yes [jeis] class [klæis].

In the Southern area, the word *till* is used instead of *to* in the expression quarter *to* eleven. During World War II, Northern servicemen developed stereotypes of Southern speech on the order of: ‘If you ask a Southern girl for a kiss by the time she says no it’s too late’ (Kerr, Adermann, 1963: 104-111, Reed, 1967: 104-111).

3.7. General American

General American is characterized by the occurrence of

- flat /a/ in words like fast, past
- unrounded vowel in hot, top retention of strong *hi* in all positions (Kerr, Adermann, 1963: 104-111, Reed, 1967: 104-111).

The term *dialect* of General America mostly refers to the speech of the Western half of the country (excluding Texas and Oklahoma) and most of the territory East of the Mississippi - North of the Ohio river. Distinct differences, geographical and social exist. Not surprisingly the earlier settled East Coast and South have more distinct regional and social differences than do the more recently settled Midwest, South West and Pacific Coast (Cassidy, 1985: X / IV).

Our standard alphabet cannot record the many sounds in American English pronunciation. The dialectologists use a highly detailed phonetic alphabet to record the most minute audible features of speech. Some new symbols are necessary (Shuy, 1967: 7).

4. Phonology

Regarding the vowels, they are pronounced differently in the various parts of the country (Shuy, 1967: 12-13).

Wo	Northe	Midland	South
Mary	ɛ	ɛ	e
cow	æu	æu.	æu or au
tomato	o	ə	o or a
fog	a	ə	ə
stomach	ə	I	ə

long	ə	ə	a
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Consonants sometimes give clues to the dialect a person speaks:

W	Northe	Midl	Southe
humour	hiumər	yumər	hiumər or
wash	was or wəs	wərs	wərsor
with	wi and	wiθ	wiθ
these	iz	iz	iz
which	hwi	wi	wi
miss	mis	mis	miz

An important problem which needs to be discussed is the group of the three main processes of change or inherent variation. These processes are: consonantal simplifications, vocalic processes of chain shifting and assimilations of foreign phonemes to a native pattern.

Labov (1989: 72) described the variation of several phonological elements in the city. The data from Labov's study clearly exhibit the greater tendency toward simplification of consonant articulation. In case of final and preconsonantal /r/ the vocalization or dropping of /r/ involves both an articulatory reduction that weakens or eliminates a tongue movement and the loss of a segment that is hard to distinguish from the preceding vowel: *car, beard, card, bear*. Labov's study of the Lower East Side also shows that working class and lower middle class speakers in New York City tend to tense and raise low front vowels. The raising is part of a general vowel shift currently in progress in a number of American English dialects. This raising is most prevalent and extreme in working class and lower middle class speech, the New York City data suggest that non-prestige vowel systems may be more open to natural vowel shifting than prestige systems. The author found that the vowel shifts obey general principles and the vernacular speech of the working class uniformly carries the shifts further than the prestige dialect does. When words are borrowed into one language from another, the phonologically simplest way for this borrowing to occur is for the words to be assimilated the native sound pattern. In English many words and phrases borrowed from French are pronounced variably, with the more learned pronunciation being closer to the French original than is the vernacular one: *genre, challet, ballet* (Allen, Linn 1986: 350 - 355).

We can also speak about PRONUNCIATION VARIATIONS summarized in terms of their regional and social distributions (Cassidy, 1985: VIII): The first one to be mentioned would be *the presence or absence of postvocalic r*. This is the most noticed feature of variation in

American English. Most speakers of American English have a *retroflex r* (articulated with the tip of the tongue turned back) following vowels in the same syllable: *car, floor, farm, work, course*. Most radio and television professionals also have this feature. In the South and East Coast *postvocalic M* is not articulated as /r/ but rather as a vowel-like /ə/.

The second feature is the *weakened variants of diphthongs*. The wide diphthongs /ai/ - *bite*, /au/ - *bount*, /əi/ *boy* tend to weaken the second element, to become lengthened monophthongs. Thus we have: /ai/: - the full diphthongal up glide,

- the weakened upglide
- an inglide
- flattened variant

/l/ and /r/ encourage weakening more than other voiced consonant. The weakening of the diphthongs depends on the region. In final position *try, by, high* they occur in the South, South Midland and South West which have both a weakened and a flattened variant. Before /r/ and /V they occur in the Plain States, Rocky Mountain area and Midwest which have the weakened variants [əl] and [əl].

Another feature is represented by the *diphthongized variants of monophthongs*. Here very important are:

- the addition of the inglide: *pit* [piət], *bell* [bɜəl] which occur in the South, Midland and West New England.
- up gliding variants of /ɜ/, *M* in *ash* /æiɜ/, *mush* /mɜəf/ in the South and South Midland, has diphthongized variants: [əu], [əu] - *dog* [dəug], [dəug] in the South Midland and East Philadelphia.

Another important feature is the *alternation among vowels*.

- *milk* which occur in the Great Lakes
- *pillow*
- *feel* which are lowered vowels and occur in the South
- *school*

and parts of West.

A number of pronunciation patterns may be strong regionally

- Final unstressed vowels [i], [a]. The endings of *Cincinnati, Missouri, prairie* are locally pronounced [ə] and spelled a: *Cincinnati, Missoura, praira*.

Words ending in <ow>very frequently reduce /o/ to /ə/ and often add r:

medda / medder - *meadow*

shadder - *shadow*

shaller - *shallow*

- Sound substitution: *k* for *t*: *turkle* → *turtle* *ecksetra* → *etcetra*
- Alternation: Vowels before retroflex r in monosyllabic words

fear, beard, near → /i/ occurs more strongly in Southeast and Texas *barn, farm, car* → /a/ occurs throughout the country /s/ occurs in Delmarva and Utah /a/ after /w/ *wash, water, watch* in East Coast and South we have [ə], in Pennsylvania and New Jersey [ə] and in East Coast, South and West [a] /æ/ and /a/ *aunt, rather, dance, path* → /æ/ predominates /a/ occurs in New England and Atlantic Coast

Ever'body says words differen't, said Ivy. Arkansas folks says'em different, and Oklahoma folks says'em different. And we seen a lady from Massachusetts, an' she side's differentiate of all. Could hardly make out what she was sayn (Steinbeck, 1996: 79).

5. Vocabulary

Some words can be found in certain parts of the Northern, Midland and Southern dialect areas:

Item		Midland	Southern
container	pail	bucket	bucket
baby moves	creeps	crawls	crawls
animal	skunk	skunk polecat woodspussy	polecat
confection	doughnut fried cake	doughnut	doughnut
cheese (cottage cheese common everywhere)	Dutch cheese	smear-cheese	clabber cheese curds

Sometimes we find a relatively small dialect area surrounded by another, larger one; the former is called a dialect *island*. A good example roughly includes parts of Northwestern Illinois and Northeastern Wisconsin.

As far as vocabulary is concerned, there are major differences between regions and dialects of American English. For example the English spoken in the Pacific States - California, Oregon and Washington has been investigated by David W. Reed and by Carroll E. Reed (1967). In this vast

area, extending some eleven hundred miles from Mexico to Canada, the dissemination of regional Eastern words differs from state to state, although San Francisco Bay, the Willamette Valley of Oregon and the Puget Sound area of Washington were separate *growing points*. Words used in large sections of the Atlantic Slope and / or the North Central States appear with greater frequency than synonyms restricted to subareas of the East. Among the words that clearly establish the Northern provenience of large elements among the English speaking settlers in the Pacific States are the following:

co boss a call to cows
angleworm earthworm
darning needledragon fly

The Westward trek from Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley - the North Midland speech area - is shown with equal clarity by the currency of regional Midland words in the Pacific States, among them *blinds* roller shade, *green beans* string beans, *sook!* a call to cows. Texas on the other hand, has its vocabulary predominantly Midland and Southern, with purely Southern terms in minority. Western Texas has a lower incidence of Southern words than Eastern Texas. In Texas as a whole, the South Midland and Southern terms *sook* (call to cows), *French harp* (harmonica), *Christmas gift* (Merry Christmas), *light bread* (wheat bread), *pulley bone* (whish bone) are strongly represented (Allen, Linn, 1986: 111).

The commercial term *cottage cheese* is now quite common, *smearcase* is associated with German settlements, and the South Midland and Southern *clabber cheese* ranges in frequency from 7 per cent in Southern Texas to 40 per cent in Northern Texas.

A South Midland and Southern word, *branch* creek, is common but restricted to areas in which the item itself is found. The Western word *corral* seems to be on the increase at the expense of *lot* and *barnyard*; and South Midland - Southern *green beans* competes vigorously with Southern *snap beans*.

As for Rocky Mountains area, Utah and Colorado usually have the Northern terms *teeter-totter* / *teeter*, *Johnny cake*, *Dutch cheese*, *angleworm*, and *sick to the stomach*, while New Mexico has *seesaw*, *batter bread* / *spoon bread* / *crackling bread*, *earthworm*. Utah, New Mexico and Colorado have all the Northern term *angleworm*. Utah and Colorado share the Midland and Southern non-standard form *clump* climbed, Colorado and New Mexico share Midland and South Midland *belly-buster*, face down on a sled, Northern and Midland *fish worm*, Midland *smearcase*, and occasionally South Midland and Southern *clabber cheese*. Whatever the future holds for American dialects, observations made for the speech of this area are extremely tentative and time-bound (Reed, 1967: 57).

Many of the names of everyday objects which we take for granted as native English are in reality borrowings from other tongues. It is not surprising to see French influence stemming from the Norman Conquest, Scandinavian influences during the 10th century, and Latin borrowings during the 16th, 17th and 18th century during the rebirth of interest in classical times. There are also more recent influences from foreign languages. The American Indian languages have influenced American English with words like: *hickory*, *moccasin*, *raccoon*, *skunk*, *moose*, *toboggan* and many others which entered American English because of the colonists' need to describe things that were not familiar to them. For example, the borrowings from Objibwa are more commonly found in areas where Objibwa lived. To this day *chipmunk*, a borrowing from Algonquians dominated in contrast to *ground squirrel*, which is used by Midlanders. Likewise *skunk* of Algonquian origin predominates in Northern speech, while *polecat* is more often used in some other parts of the country. Nor is it surprising to find the term borrowed from Pegnots *quahog* (a hard clam), in coastal New England but not in coastal South.

The languages of other colonizing nations also contributed to the English of the New World. Thus there are many Dutch words like *cherry*, *pit*, *boss*, *snoop*, *stoop*, *cookie*, *sugar*, *bush* and *waffle*. Cherry pit and peach pit still dominate in Northern dialect areas, while cherry *seed* and peach *seed* are used by many Midland and Southern speakers. Likewise the word *stoop* (for front steps in cities, or porch in rural areas) is found more commonly in Northern dialect areas to which the New York Dutch (or those who had lived among them) migrated. The Dutch word for wilderness, *borsch* led to *sugar bush* (meaning maple grove), another term which spread West from the Hudson Valley is considered dialectal.

6. Conclusion

American dialects must be observed as an aspect of cultural history. We need to study the historical forms of the English language as they appear in earlier documents, and the social, economic and geographical changes experienced by the English speakers should be kept in mind.

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MODES OF ADDRESS IN PRINT ADS TARGETED AT WOMEN

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***Abstract:** Advertising, like any act of communication, involves the existence of certain participants. This paper investigates the various participant relationships created by advertisements, with emphasis on the ways in which advertisers adopt narrative voices and employ language and pictures in print ads in order to address women.*

***Key words:** direct address, female characters, modes of address, personal interaction, print advertisements.*

There is no doubt that advertising has become one of the richest and most powerful forms of communication in the 21st century. My paper starts from the idea that the study of advertising as an act of communication must involve not only the analysis of the advertisements as they appear on the page, but also the analysis of the participants taking part in this act. On the one side there are the “chasers” - those “behind” the ad, those who advertise a product and whose ultimate goal is to sell that product, while on the other side there are the “chasable” - those “in front of” the ad, those who are addressed by the former. My paper will investigate what participant relationships are created by advertisements, how the interaction between the two sides is mediated by the advertisement and how the “chasers” address the “chasable” in order to turn them into purchasers. The main emphasis will be on linguistic communication, i.e. on the ways in which advertisers adopt various narrative voices and employ various communicative strategies in print ads in order to address women and to catch their attention. As pictures have gained increasing importance in the advertising discourse, the visual forms of address should not be overlooked; however, they shall be dealt with to a lesser extent, simply because they are difficult to reproduce in the paper.

All the examples discussed in the paper have been taken from glossy magazines targeted at middle-class women aged 18 to 35, such as *Cosmopolitan* (both the UK and the Romanian editions), *Elle*, *Unica*, *Bazaar* and *Beau Monde* (the Romanian editions). Such magazines contain a very large number of advertisements, mostly for cosmetics and health care products – whose key ingredients are said to guarantee every woman’s success and happiness

One major problem which often seems to pass unnoticed when analysing advertisements resides in the very features of this act of public communication. Both generic participants are actually missing in one way or another: the advertisers (the so-called “chasers” - a term by which we refer generically to the manufacturing company paying for the advertisements as well as to the actual producers of advertisements) are not present for their addressees and vice versa, the addressees are always absent from the former’s context and they never interact directly. However, there is a very important mediator between the two: the advertisement itself. In addition, they both share the knowledge of the communicative resources that allow its articulation and understanding (i.e. how meaning is textually and visually encoded), as well as of the way social interactions are accomplished (Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996: 121).

Since the advertisers are absent from the place where the actual communication act is completed, i.e. from the advertisement, they can only become present through a substitute, by adopting a disembodied narrative voice. Matters are complicated even further, as this narrative voice often embodies a character in the advertisement (e.g. Uncle Bens, Mister Muscolo, a model, a celebrity), thus creating the illusion that this visual presence itself is addressing the audience. The real sender is thus only represented and therefore the interaction between the sender and the addressee is represented as well, rather than enacted, and this has an important consequence: the addressees are only imaginarily put into an interactive communicative situation (Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996: 121). The British linguist Guy Cook (1992: 177-179) argues that there are four participant worlds in which advertisements exist: the real worlds of the sender and of the addressee, on the one hand, the fictional world of the characters in advertisements and their voices, and the fantasy world of the addressee on the other. As people are willing and ready “to switch at any moment from dealing with the real world to participating in make-believe ones” (Goffman, 1979: 23, in Dyer, 1999: 135) the aim of the sender is to push the advertised product, via the world of fiction and fantasy, into the real world of the receiver.

One of the most obvious ways in which advertisers accomplish this aim is through their mode of address. Judith Williamson (1978, in Sturken, Cartwright, 2001: 203) calls this process, through which advertisers address potential consumers in order to make them imagine themselves within the ad’s world, “appellation”. As pointed out by many scholars (cf. Williamson, 1978; Halliday, Hassan, 1990; Cook, 1992; Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996; Sturken, Cartwright, 2001; Brierley, 2002), advertising copywriters tend to use the pronoun “you” a lot. The reason is that, although

mass communication involves one medium talking to many people at once, advertisers need to talk to people individually. Since the pronoun “you” is both singular and plural in English, its use actually invites addressees to recognize themselves as individual members of a group (e.g. “women *like you*”). While they can address anybody, advertisements, through their narrative voices, claim to address individuals with unique desires and needs, promising that the advertised product will eventually fulfil these desires and needs. In this way, advertisers make the appeal of the product simultaneously all-inclusive and uniquely personal: e.g. “Have *you* ever needed incredible protection in a sticky situation? [...]” (Sure antiperspirant deodorant, *Cosmopolitan*, October 2006), “[...] So *you* get sunshine when skies are grey, and sun protection when they’re not. [...]” (Olay moisturiser, *Cosmopolitan*, July 2006), “Now *you* can refine your silhouette without taking drastic measures. [...]” (Roc body modelling cream, *Cosmopolitan*, June 2004).

The reference to the addressee has a pragmatic function: the exophoric potential of “you”, as opposed to the frequent absence or ambiguous use of “I”, contributes to pretending a direct, intimate contact between the sender (hidden behind a narrative voice) and the addressee and to involving the latter actively in the advertising discourse. The same effect is achieved through the possessive pronoun “your”, which abounds in the advertising discourse: e.g. “[...] Fill *your* wrinkle furrows daily.” (L’Oréal anti-wrinkle moisturizer, *Cosmopolitan*, July 2006), “Sculpt *your* lashes with sensational volume. A femme fatale look to die for.” (Lancôme mascara, *Cosmopolitan*, October 2006).

This illusion of a personal, close addresser-addressee relationship made possible by the use of the pronouns “you” and “your” is much harder to achieve in languages with a *tu / vous* distinction. Romanian, for example, distinguishes between the 2nd person singular pronoun “tu” and the plural “voi” on the one hand, and the polite pronoun “dumneavoastră” (both singular and plural) on the other hand. Therefore, Romanian copywriters must make a choice from among the three pronouns. None of the advertisements in our corpus uses the plural “voi”, since it will only address women in general. However, there is one example where the corresponding possessive pronoun is used: “Problema *voastră* este sub ochii *voștri*? Soluția este tot acolo! [...] Odihnită, luminoasă, pielea *voastră* este mai intensă.” (Hylexin, anti dark circles moisturiser, *Elle*, April 2007). As expected, most copywriters prefer the other two more personalized modes of address, between which they must also make a choice: either the intimate, unique “tu” and its corresponding possessive forms, or the more polite and respectful “dumneavoastră”. For example: “Încearcă și *tu*: vei simți

diferența!” (Garnier moisturiser, *Unica*, February 2008), “[...] Cel mai bun tratament pentru fața ta în lupta cu timpul.” (Skinco2de moisturiser, *Viva*, March 2008), “Oferă părului tău o strălucire uimitoare.” (Nivea shampoo, *Cosmopolitan*, March 2008), “[...] Cu noile cosmetice Faberlic pielea primește și mai mult oxigen, iar *dumneavoastră* veți arăta mereu de parcă v-ați petrecut tot timpul în mijlocul naturii.” (Faberlic cosmetics, *Unica*, February, 2008), “Culori naturale create pentru *dumneavoastră*.” (L’Oréal hair dye, *Elle*, April 2007), “Faceți din părul *dumneavoastră* o forță a naturii.” (Phytocyane hair treatment, *Elle*, October 2007). Unlike English verbs, Romanian verbs are highly inflective, having different forms for each person and number. That is why the subject expressed by personal pronouns are often dropped: “Vrei să vezi perfecțiunea? [...] Noua formulă adaptivă se combină perfect cu tenul, astfel că o poți aplica fără să încarci porii, pentru un rezultat perfect natural.” (Maybelline foundation, *Unica*, February 2008). “Vrei” and “poți” are the second person singular forms of the verbs “a vrea” and “a putea”.

Besides the extensive use of the pronouns mentioned above, the imperative mood is also greatly exploited by copywriters in order to address the audience: e.g. “Get amazing multi-dimensional shine and *show off* your hidden highlights with the first daily haircare brand specially created for brunettes. *Illuminate* your full range of brunette – Hazelnut to Chestnut, Chocolate to Espresso, without changing the colour that makes you a stunning brunette. *Reveal* your most gorgeous shine.” (John Frieda, brilliant brunette hair care products, *Cosmopolitan*, June 2004), “Go wild on your colour. *Go easy* on your hair.” (Herbal Essences hair dye, *Cosmopolitan*, July 2006), “Sub tenul ce îl observi, este tenul pe care îl dorești. *Descoperă-l*. Acesta este tenul pe care îl dorești. *Simte-l*. *Observă-l*. E al tău.” (Estée Lauder moisturiser, *Cosmopolitan*, March 2008), “Vrei să vezi perfecțiunea? *Îndrăznește*, *apropie-te!* [...]” (Maybelline foundation, *Unica*, February 2008), “Sănătatea e vitală, *începeți* cu pielea *dumneavoastră!*” (Vichy moisturiser, *Cosmopolitan*, March 2008). Without any doubt, the use of the imperative is one of the most salient linguistic features of the advertising discourse. First of all, it focuses directly on the addressee, thus personalizing the advertising message: although it is not expressed, the implied subject of the imperative sentences is always “you” (again, unlike English, Romanian has different imperative forms depending on the person and the number and thus the unexpressed subject is either “tu” or “dumneavoastră”). Moreover, the imperative, the most direct directive speech act used among family members and friends, emphasizes closeness and intimacy. In the advertising discourse, its increased directness does not signify lack of politeness and does not cause offence, as the appeals made in

advertisements are always meant to be beneficial to the addressee. Last but not least, by situating both addresser and addressee into the moment of the utterance, the imperative reduces the distance between the two and increases the immediacy of their relationship. It calls the addressee to action suggesting that “the matter discussed is of great urgency” (Pârlog, 1995: 147).

The effect achieved by these exploitations is often further reinforced by other means of personalizing the addresser-addressee relationship. For instance, besides making the message more economical, ellipsis has two important discourse functions: on the one hand, it creates a conversational tone and on the other hand, it suggests a great deal of shared knowledge on the part of the interlocutor. Here are a few examples: “Ready to take serious actions against wrinkles? [...]” (L’Oréal anti-wrinkle moisturizer, *Cosmopolitan*, July 2006), “Want long lasting moisture every day? You got it.” (Soft Sheen Carson, Dark and Lovely hair moisturizer, *Cosmopolitan*, October 2006), “Working hard? Playing harder? [...]” (Bassett’s Soft and Chewy vitamins, *Cosmopolitan*, October 2006), “Yes to summer. No to skin aging!” (L’Oréal protection milk, *Cosmopolitan*, June 2004), “I’m hot. Without the chilli peppers.” (Schwarzkopf Live hair dye, *Cosmopolitan*, June 2004), “Angajament pentru slăbire, angajament pentru eficacitate. Dovedit.” (Vichy Lipometric cream, *Elle*, April 2007).

In addition, scholars note that the advertising discourse also adopts features of personal interaction through the use of informal language, jokes and language play, which enhance this atmosphere of proximity and intimacy (cf. Cook, 1992; Gieszinger, 2001; Brierley, 2002). Sometimes copywriters even use interjections as an attention getting device, as in the following example, where “psst” suggests secretiveness: “*Psst!* Let’s talk. You know under arms aren’t the only place odours occur. [...]” (FDS Feminine Deodorant Spray, *Cosmopolitan*, July 2001). As it imitates face-to-face interaction, Cook (1992: 29-35, 172) argues that the discourse of advertising is parasitic upon the discourse type “conversation”.

This direct mode of address connecting the fictional world of the advertisement and the real world of the addressee is often reinforced by a “visual you”, through the gaze of a character, which in turn, may be doubled by a gesture in the direction of the addressee. Almost all the advertisements in our corpus use pictures of women in order to create a stronger addresser-addressee bond. In most cases, these characters address the viewer directly by establishing eye-contact. What is more, their facial expression has a directive function. Nearly all the women in the studied advertisements smile at the viewers, asking them “to enter into a relation of social affinity with them” (Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996: 123). As a visual form of direct address,

the gaze of such a represented participant acknowledges the reader explicitly, thus inviting the latter to enter into his / her imaginary world (cf. Cook, 1992; Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996). This visual presence of another person creates the illusion that the character is the addresser, the “I” who is addressing the “you”. Although this illusory embodied “I” is mostly only visually present in the advertisement, it may also be linguistically present, giving the impression that the character itself is sharing its sometimes most intimate thoughts and life experiences with the addressees, reassuring them that the advertised product is the perfect choice: “Nourished hair means better colour. This red’s so ravishing it gets *my* vote.” (Garnier hair dye, *Cosmopolitan*, October 2006), “Pay more? *I* don’t think so. *I*’m smart. [...]” (Collection 2000 Face and Body Illuminator, *Cosmopolitan*, October 2006), “For double clear skin, *I* discovered double action in one.” (Neutrogena 2-in-1 Wash and Mask, *Cosmopolitan*, June 2004), “*Ce îmi doresc de la fondul meu de ten? 24 de ore de perfecțiune!*” (Deborah foundation, *Cosmopolitan*, March 2008), “*Eu am scăpat de grija vergeturilor.*” (Eucerin anti-stretch mark creme, *Cosmopolitan* 2008), “*Corpul meu arde de nerăbdare!*” (Sephora cosmetics, *Elle*, October 2007).

Moreover, these female characters are often portrayed in close-up or in medium close shot. Drawing on Hall’s (1966) theory of proxemics, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 130-135) argue that by using this particular kind of framing, advertisers place viewers in a very close relationship with the characters, who thus become our imaginary friends. Whatever problem women may have, the friendly face in the ad and the personal, conversational tone of the ad expressing interest in their most intimate concerns, reassure them that it can be all sorted out – of course, with the help of some product!

Not only are women addressed as close friends (both textually and visually), but they also have a lot to learn from the female characters in the ads. More than simple friends, these represented participants talk to them from the page from a superior position, assuming the role of an older, wiser sister who has all the answers, as, for example, in the following advertisements: “Wrinkles. They don’t start where you think they do. They start underneath your skin. That’s why Anti-Aging Daily Moisturizer goes beyond mere surface treatment.” (Revlon moisturizer, in Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996: 147), “did you know that ordinary conditioners can wash away the protection you get from your anti-dandruff shampoo? that’s why we’ve developed new head and shoulders conditioner. [...]” (*Cosmopolitan*, October 2006), “*Credeți că doar ridurile vă îmbătrânesc? [...] De fapt, pielea lăsată în anumite zone și ovalul mai puțin conturat vă îmbătrânesc cel*

puțin la fel de mult ca și ridurile.” (L’Oréal moisturiser, *Bazaar*, winter 2007 / 2008). Authority and power can be visually encoded as well, by depicting characters from a low angle (Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996: 147).

Another important feature of this direct mode of address in the advertisements where there are also human represented participants resides in the double exophora of the pronoun “you”, as it involves reference both to the character itself and to the receiver (Cook, 1992: 157). Consequently, not only does the former engage the addressees, in an imaginary dialogue, but also becomes in turn an addressee. The magical result is that if two persons - in this case, one represented participant and one real interactive participant - are both referred to by the pronoun “you” at the same time, they must both be one and the same person. Without any doubt, no one believes that such a miraculous transformation could ever be possible in the real world. Nevertheless, in the imaginary world of advertisements everything is possible, one can easily identify with the ad character or become whoever one likes – one is allowed the pleasure of such a fantasy. This accounts for the day-dream character of advertising (cf. Berger, 1972; Jouve, 2005). By inviting women to enter its imaginary paradise through identification with the female characters - who, needless to say, are always happy and glamorous - advertising functions as some kind of magic, reversed mirror in which they see an improved version of themselves, how they could be as well as how they are not. But, as advertisements always reassure their readers, every woman can eventually become a glamorous person through consumption. As a result, women are able to fulfill a major social need: they will become as appealing to other people as the characters in the advertisements.

All these linguistic and visual exploitations make the advertising message more personal, more immediate and more emotive. Despite being page-bound, print advertisements, through their very direct mode of address, manage to initiate a dialogue with the addressee. Through an array of strategies, ads really “speak” to women, inviting them to imagine themselves within the ad’s fictional world, with the promise of things “you” will have, of the state of being “you” will reach and of a lifestyle “you” will have access to. It is a world of desire set in an imagined future. However, although advertisers are the ones who “set the agenda” and “do the talking” (in the guise of someone else), it is women who ultimately choose whether to respond by entering into the advertisement’s conventions or to assume a more detached position.

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INFLUENCE OF VERB PARTICLES ON ASPECT AND AKTIONSPORT

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***Abstract:** The aim of this research is to state the basic meanings of verb particles and to analyse their influence on aspect and aktionsart in English. The paper analyses how the meaning of the verb particle affects the meaning of the entire phrasal or prepositional verb.*

***Key words:** accomplishments, achievements, activities, aktionsart, aspect, phrasal verbs, sates, verb particles.*

1. Introduction

This paper analyses the influence of verb particles on aspect and aktionsart in English.

The aim of the research is to point out the basic meanings of verb particles and to determine how their meaning influences the meaning of the entire phrasal or prepositional verb with regard to aspect and aktionsart.

The corpus consists of 50 sentences with phrasal or prepositional verbs which were taken from the novel *A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters* written by Julian Barnes (2005). (Numbers in brackets represent the numbers of pages in the novel where the sentences can be found.)

Terminology concerning aspect and aktionsart can be rather confusing. Thus, a clear differentiation is important for any aspectual study.

1.1. Aspect vs. Aktionsart

Aspect is a grammatical category that reflects the way in which the meaning of a verb is viewed with respect to time (Quirk, Greenbaum, 1990: 51). In other words, aspect is concerned with internal temporal structure of the situation; it indicates how the speaker sees the verb action. Comrie (1976: 3) defines aspect as different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation, stating that aspect is subjective; i.e. it depends on the speaker's choice.

There are two pairs of aspectual oppositions: progressive and non-progressive (perfective and imperfective) and perfect and non-perfect.

Perfectivity indicates the view of the situation as a single whole, without distinction of various separate phases that make up that situation. The imperfective aspect pays essential attention to the internal structure of

the situation. The perfective form also indicates completion of the situation, while the imperfective indicates a situation in progress (Comrie, 1976: 19).

Aspect can also be perfect and non-perfect. The perfect aspect relates some state or action to a preceding situation (Comrie, 1976: 52).

The English perfect implies a result, persistent situation, experience, or that something happened in recent past (Novakov, 2005: 38).

Unlike aspect, which is a grammatical category, aktionsart is a lexical i.e. semantic category, which refers to the way the action is realized.

Vendler's (1967: 97-121) classification of verbs into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments will be used in this paper. This classification is based on the meaning of verbs and their syntactic characteristics. Vendler uses linguistic tests to determine whether the verb situation denotes a process or development or not, as well as whether the situation consists of segments which are of equal quality or perhaps there is a segment which denotes an endpoint or completion.

In addition, the corpus will be analyzed with respect to L. Brinton's (1988: 157-168) and P. Novakov's (2005: 38-41) approach to Vendler's tests. They consider that Vendler's verb types can be defined according to distinctive features which are incorporated in the meanings of verbs. These features are: [+/- stativity], [+/- duration], [+/- goal].

1.1.1. Activities

Activities denote process and development, therefore can last in time. They have homogenous segments, which means that any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole. The situation does not have a terminal point or goal. Their distinctive features are: [- stativity, + duration, - goal].

Activities are verbs such as: *run, swim, walk...* For example:

1. He ran for 5 minutes.

Vendler's tests which are used for activities are:

2. How long / how long did one V?
3. How long did he run?
4. For X time.
5. He ran for 5 minutes.

These tests indicate that the situation lasts in time without reaching a goal:

6. If one stops Ving, one did V.
7. If he stops running, he did run.

The last test proves that all the segments of the activity are of equal quality, therefore the activity can be interrupted at any point without changing the nature of that situation.

1.1.2. States

States go on in time, they do not have segments and development and they do not denote a process. States do not have a goal. They simply denote that a characteristic or a situation exists. Their distinctive features are: [+ stativity, + duration, - goal].

States are verbs such as: *know, believe, love*, etc. For example:

8. She loves him.

Questions and answers for states are as follows:

9. How long / how long did one V?
10. How long did she love him?

Test (9) indicates duration.

11. For X time.
12. She loved him for 5 years.

The next test can be applied to states because they do not have segments, thus the situation can be interrupted at any time and any segment before the interruption can indicate the quality of the whole situation.

13. If one stops Ving, one did V.
14. If she stops loving him, she did love him.

1.1.3. Achievements

Achievements are punctual, i.e. the whole situation happens in one moment. Their distinctive features are: [- stativity, - duration, + goal].

Achievements are verbs and phrases such as: *find, lose, reach the summit, win a race*, etc. For example:

15. He reached the top.

Tests which are used to indicate achievements are:

16. How long did it take to V?
17. How long did it take to reach the top?
18. In X time.
19. He reached the top in 5 hours.

The adverb *in X time* indicates the time before reaching the top since the subject obviously reached the top in one moment.

20. As soon as one Vs, one has Ved.
21. As soon as he reaches the top, he has reached the top.
22. At what time did one V?
23. At what time did he reach the top?
24. He reached the top at 5 o'clock.

1.1.4. Accomplishments

Accomplishments go on in time and have a goal. They are not homogenous in nature, because there is a terminal point. Their distinctive features are: [- stativity, + duration, + goal].

Accomplishments are verbs and phrases such as: *paint a picture, run a mile, draw a circle*, etc. For example:

25. He ran a mile.

Tests for accomplishments are:

26. How long did it take to V?
27. How long did it take to run a mile?
28. It took him an hour to run a mile.

The question (26) indicates that there is a goal.

29. In X time.
30. He ran a mile in an hour.

The adverbial in (29) indicates that there is a terminal point.

31. If one stops Ving, one did not V.
32. If he stops running a mile, he did not run a mile.

Accomplishments must have a terminal point in order to indicate the quality of the whole situation.

1.2. Verb Particles

A verb particle is an adverb or a preposition that can combine with a lexical verb to create phrasal verbs or prepositional verbs. Phrasal verbs represent a combination of a verb and an adverbial particle, while prepositional verbs represent a combination of a verb and a preposition.

According to Palmer (1988: 224), in all phrasal verbs which have a literal meaning the verb implies motion and the particle indicates the direction of that motion. The other semantic feature of a phrasal verb is the final resultant position.

Both adverbial and prepositional particles indicate locality, position or movement in a certain direction or they imply completion or goal. Thus, as Mišeta-Bradarić (1989: 70-77) points out, most phrasal and prepositional verbs have either an ingressive aspect (*set out, put up, take up, bring up*) or a perfective aspect (*eat up, use up*).

Because of terminological confusion, it is often difficult to state whether verb particles are markers of aspect or aktionsart. L. Brinton (1985: 158) argues that in Modern English, verb particles function as markers of telic aktionsart, not of perfective aspect.

Particles associated with perfective, i.e. aspectual meaning, are *up, down, out, off, through, away, over*. Brinton (1985: 159) provides examples to prove that these particles have lost their original directional meaning, which has been modified into an aspectual one. They imply completion:

- 33. The lights are fading out.
- 34. We have gone over the issues involved.

On the other hand, phrasal verbs occur freely with ingressive verbs such as *begin* or *start*, continuative verbs: e.g. *continue* or *go on*, and terminative verbs, like *finish* or *stop*, indicating imperfective aspect. For example:

- 35. The shoes are starting to wear out.
- 36. She continued tearing up the letter.
- 37. I have stopped writing up the report.

The occurrence of phrasal verbs with the imperfective (35), perfective (36) and perfect (37) aspects suggests that verbal particles do not mark the perfective aspect.

She argues that particles express a telic notion, because they add the concept of goal or an endpoint to durative situations which otherwise do not

have a terminal point. Thus, they change the aktionsart from atelic to telic (Brinton, 1985: 160).

Brinton (1985: 165) also writes about the durative / continuative and iterative notion of particles *on*, *along*, and *away* and states that these particles are markers of aspect, not aktionsart.

2. The Analysis

The research has shown that verbs which are a part of phrasal and prepositional verbs are mainly activities with distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, - goal]. In certain contexts, particles indicate completion and introduce the feature [+goal], altering the aktionsart from atelic to telic; as a result, activities become accomplishments. In some contexts, verbs retain their basic directional meaning. In addition, some particles can indicate duration, repetition or intensity of an action.

2.1. UP

The research has shown that the particle *up* can indicate movement in a certain direction. For example:

1. He stood up. (52)
2. He walked up the aisle to the lectern. (51)

In (1) the verb *stood up* is an achievement with distinctive features [- stativity, - duration, + goal]. Vendler's tests can prove this notion.

3. How long did it take to stand up?
4. He stood up in 5 seconds.

The particle *up* changed the features [-goal] into [+goal] and [+duration] into [-duration], which resulted in the change of aktionsart from activity (e.g. *He is standing.* / *He stands still.*) to achievement.

In (2) the particle *up* introduces the feature [+goal] to a situation which otherwise has the feature [-goal]. Thus, it changes the aktionsart from atelic to telic, and the activity *walk* to the accomplishment *walked up*, which has the distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, + goal].

The particle *up* can mark terminative aktionsart, like in the following examples:

5. So they opened up the other as well. (17)
6. But Sham caught them just in time and locked them up in a packing-cage. (26)
7. Franklin had used up two thirds of his time. (66)

Phrasal verbs *opened up* (5) and *locked up* (6) are achievements, with the distinctive features [- stativity, - duration, + goal]. The perfect verb *had used up* in (7) is an accomplishment with the distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, + goal]. The particle did not bring about a change in the distinctive features; it simply intensified the end of the action.

The particle *up* can denote intensity of the action, as in:

8. They sweated up in their stalls. (15)

The verb *sweated up* is an activity with distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, - goal].

The particle *up* can occur with states. States have the distinctive features [+ stativity, + duration, - goal]:

9. We all looked up to the unicorn. (19)

Here the particle does not have a directional meaning, but a figurative or a more abstract one.

2.2. DOWN

The examples from the corpus have shown that the particle *down* can have a directional meaning, i.e. indicates movement in a certain direction:

10. The first leg of the trip, as they streamed down the Adriatic, went much as usual. (43)

The phrasal verb *streamed down* is an activity with distinctive features [-stativity, + duration, - goal].

11. What we think of the Minoan strata reach down to about seventeen feet. (50)
12. A few people got up and quickly sat down again. (68)
13. He locked the door and lay down on his bunk. (68)

All the underlined phrasal verbs are achievements with distinctive features [- stativity, - duration, + goal]. The particle *down* did not bring about a change in aktionsart, since the verbs without the particle are achievements as well.

On the other hand, in the next two examples, the particle *down* introduces the feature [+goal] which changes the verbs from activities (*sluice, walk*) to accomplishments with the distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, + goal]:

14. Water sluiced down from a bilious sky to purge the wicked world. (10)
15. She walked down the central aisle to the gunmen. (49)

My corpus reveals examples of phrasal verbs in the perfect aspect:

16. In the version that has come down to you... (30)

The verb in question is an achievement with the distinctive features [-stativity, - duration, + goal]. The verb *come* without the particle *down* is also an achievement. In this context, the phrasal verb *come down* does not have a directional meaning, but a more abstract one.

2.3. OUT

The particle *out* often marks terminative aktionsart. For example:

17. When the seven of us climbed out of that ram's horn, we were euphoric. (34)
18. Noah sent out a raven and a dove to see if the waters had retreated from the face of the earth. (30)

The phrasal verb *climbed out* (17) is an accomplishment with the distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, + goal]. The particle *out* changed the aktionsart from atelic to telic, since the verb *climb* is an activity with the distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, - goal].

The phrasal verb *sent out* (18) is an achievement with the distinctive features [- stativity, - duration, + goal]. The base verb *send* is also an achievement. Thus, it is evident that the particle has not changed any of its distinctive features.

The particle *out* can also mark iterative aktionsart, like in the example (19):

19. They kicked out at the gopher-wood partitions when there was no obvious danger. (15)

The phrasal verb *kick out* is an achievement, the particle *out* introducing the notion of repetition.

2.4. OFF

The particle *off* indicates movement in a certain direction, more precisely physical detachment. For example:

20. They chopped its head off. (17)
21. Perhaps they all came off together. (53)
22. We got off. (33)

The phrasal verbs in (20-22) are achievements with the distinctive features [-stativity, -duration, +goal].

2.5. AWAY

The particle *away* may have a directional meaning like in the following sentences:

23. He looked away to a map of the Mediterranean. (57)
24. The plane went away. (56)

The phrasal verb in (23) is an achievement, while in (24) the verb is an accomplishment. The particle does not bring about a change in aktionsart.

2.6. ON

The particle *on* implies duration and incompleteness. According to Brinton (1985: 165), it is one of few particles which marks aspect, not aktionsart. For example:

25. At times we suspected a kind of system behind the killing that went on. (17)
26. He went on (talking). (48-49)

2.7. Other Particles

Here are some more examples of particles with a primary directional meaning:

27. Your wife? The man looked at the list of passengers in front of him. (54)
28. When they pulled him over the rail, he was in a terrible state. (24)
29. Turn the stone around. (52)
30. That brought them back to full attention. (66)
31. An Italian sitting in the line of fire received a bullet in the head and fell across his wife's lap. (68)
32. "The animals came in two by two," Franklin commented. (40)

The phrasal verbs in (27-32) are achievements with the distinctive features [-stativity, -duration, +goal].

33. She turned, walked back to her seat and began to cry. (49)
34. Franklin went across to the lectern. (50)

The phrasal verbs in (33 and 34) are accomplishments with the distinctive features [-stativity, +duration, +goal].

In (35) accomplishment also has an abstract directional meaning:

35. Franklin played his annual game of guessing where his audience came from. (39)

2.8. Progressive form

My research has shown that the progressive form changes the characteristics of phrasal verbs because the situation is no longer limited, thus the feature [+goal] is altered into [-goal] and [-duration] is changed into [+duration]. Let us take the example:

36. The cows are sitting down in the field. (14)

The phrasal verb *sit down* is an achievement with the distinctive features [-stativity, -duration, +goal]. The verb *sit* is an activity; it is evident that the particle *down* has brought about a change in aktionsart, introducing the feature [+goal].

However, the present progressive introduces the features [+duration] and [-goal], which results in the change of aspect, from perfective to imperfective, as well as a change of aktionsart, from achievement to activity. The example (36) supports Brinton's claim that particles do not mark the perfective aspect (Brinton, 1985: 158). The same can be argued for the following two examples:

37. During calmer times, we were just sitting out the days and waiting for God's pleasure. (22)
38. His initial burst of emotion was seeping away. (55)

3. Conclusion

My research has shown that in English particles retain their basic directional meaning when used in a literal meaning. They may indicate movement in a certain direction, both literally and figuratively, and introduce completion, i.e. a terminal point or a goal.

The results of my research have pointed out that the basic directional meaning can become abstract (*look up - admire*). But, abstract meaning can still indicate a situation directed towards a certain limit, level or degree.

The analysed examples have revealed that particles are not markers of the perfective aspect. According to Comrie (1976: 3), the perfective aspect presents a situation as a single unanalysable whole, with the beginning, middle and end rolled into one. Furthermore, the situation cannot

be divided into various individual phrases that make up that situation. Phrasal and prepositional verbs are not situations represented as a whole, since particles introduce the notion of goal, i.e. the final segment after which the situation naturally ends, indicating a terminative aktionsart or telic aktionsart (*opened up, used up, climbed out, sailed out*).

Furthermore, phrasal verbs can be used with verbs indicating the beginning, middle or end of a situation (ingressive, continuative, terminative aktionsart) which again refer to a segment within a situation.

Phrasal verbs combine freely with imperfective and perfect aspects, which proves that verb particles do not mark perfective aspect.

On the other hand, particles denoting duration (*on, away, along*) are markers of aspect, not aktionsart.

My research has pointed out that apart from their primary directional meaning verb particles can imply duration (*on, away*), repetition (*on, away, out*), locality or position (*from, at*), movement (*towards, up, down, out, away, in*), development (*towards, down, up*), intensity of a situation (*up*), end or result (*up*), terminative or telic aktionsart (*out, up, down, off, over, through*).

Due to their terminative meaning and inclusion of an endpoint or goal, phrasal and prepositional verbs are mostly accomplishments or achievements. When indicating duration, repetition or development, phrasal verbs are activities. They can be states in some specific cases, usually when denoting the point of origin or when they have an abstract meaning, but such examples are very rare.

My research has shown that verb particles mark aktionsart, i.e. they are semantic, not grammatical markers of aspect.

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ASPECT AND BOUNDEDNESS

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***Abstract:** Verbal aspect is related to the semantic notions of telicity and boundedness: imperfective aspect (morphologically or syntactically indicated) typically involves unbounded, and perfective aspect bounded situations. Thus aspect implies boundedness and this implication contributes to the interpretation of a given situation as being viewed in its totality or not.*

***Key words:** aspect, boundedness, perfectivity, telicity.*

1. Introduction

This paper discusses specific features in the semantic structure of verbs and their relation to the category of aspect, illustrating them with relevant examples.

To start from the most general theoretical assumptions in the relevant linguistic sources, one may point out that there seems to be a significant correlation between verbal aspect and certain semantic features of lexical verbs. Thus, for example, Comrie states that some inherent semantic properties of verbs interact with aspectual oppositions, prohibiting some combinations or restricting their meaning (Comrie, 1976: 41). Actually, this interdependence could be viewed as a more general concept of dependence between lexicon and grammar, if we assume that the mental process concerning the formation of linguistic structures starts from the semantic concepts which are then transferred to the lexicon and grammar (cf. Smith, 1986; Brinton, 1988; Novakov, 2005). In that process of interaction, some grammatical choices seem to be determined objectively, that is by the features of verb lexemes themselves, and some subjectively, that is by the speaker / writer. For example, it means that morphosyntax in the former case depends on the verb's subcategorisation (e.g. its transitivity), but in the latter that the speaker / writer can select one of the possible options left to him.

As far as relations between English verbal aspect and semantic features of verbs are concerned, the relevant semantic features may include stativity and duration, as well as telicity or boundedness. So, as it has been mentioned at the beginning, these features may exclude some aspectual choices and this would be an objective determination (thus, stativity excludes English progressive, with some exceptions) or the feature itself

could be modified (for example, momentary verbs used in the English progressive aspect imply repetition of the moment denoted by these verbs). A subjective choice of the speaker would involve the presentation of a durative dynamic situation as an ongoing process or as a total entity.

This interaction raises several questions, the most general ones probably being the fuzzy demarcation line between the lexical and the grammatical domain on the one hand, and the very conceptual (or cognitive) nature of the category of aspect on the other. This paper would concentrate on one of these significant issues, the notion of boundedness in English and its relevance for the aspectual interpretation of clauses. Actually, the paper would investigate the relation between telicity and boundedness on the one hand and their relation to verbal aspect on the other. To do that, the paper would start from the definitions of aspect and boundedness.

2. Definitions of verbal aspect

Numerous definitions of verbal aspect have often created a confusion in this field of study, to such a degree that the existence of that category was denied in some languages (like in some older grammars of English) and that aspect in some other languages (the Slavic ones) was quite frequently taken as the typical case, with the definition of perfectivity as denoting completion. However, this definition seems to be language-specific, whereas the more general definition should try to include various, not only genetically closely related languages. Thus some more comprehensive researches (Dahl, 1987), based on a rather large sample of languages from different genetic groups (families) with the goal to formulate a prototypical definition of aspect, resulted in a different picture: the study of more than 60 languages (with Bulgarian, Czech, Polish and Russian from the Slavic branch) showed that the typical perfectivity denotes a total entity, has a well defined result or end and is most often located in the past; moreover, perfective event is quite frequently punctual (or its duration can be disregarded) and represents a single transition from one situation to another situation (Dahl, 1987: 78).

This prototypical definition was preceded by some other, similar general definitions that determined perfectivity as the totality of the situation (Comrie, 1976) or indivisibility of the situation into segments (Ridjanović, 1976), while imperfectivity was determined as implying structure or divisibility of the situation. These notions of totality and indivisibility seem to be closely related to the notion of boundedness or telicity. However, it seems that telicity should not be understood as completely synonymous with boundedness, which opens the issue of their precise definition and delimitation.

3. Telicity and boundedness

The terms like telic, bounded, terminative, conclusive have often been used to specify the semantic structure of verbs and verb phrases; the notion they denote, which appears to go back to Aristotle (Declerck, 1979: 761) presents a valuable tool, particularly when one has to explain subtleties of verb uses. Moreover, this notion also provides the basis for lexical classifications of verbs and verb phrases (cf. Vendler, 1967, classification into activities, states, accomplishments, achievements), which offers an additional proof that this notion is a significant component in the analysis of verbs. However, one should first discuss the very terms telicity and boundedness and determine their semantic content, that is their possible synonymy.

Most often, telic situations are viewed as those having and heading towards a specified goal or terminal point, after which the situation naturally ends. In other words, the situation denoted by a telic verb or verb phrase has a well defined final point and this endpoint is an integral part of that situation (cf. Smith, 1986). Namely, such a situation is dynamic, that is implies the constant input of energy from the initial point with the purpose to reach a certain final point. So, at first sight, telicity seems to imply boundedness of a situation: a telic situation, after the initial point and possible duration, is “bound” by the final point. This is the case with Vendler’s accomplishments and achievements; activities and states are not bounded in that sense, because the activities do not imply the terminal point and, at least theoretically, could be continued indefinitely, provided that there is a constant input of energy. As for states, their non-dynamic nature excludes a goal: namely, the states are created by an initial dynamic situation and ended by the final dynamic situation, but these two situations do not belong to the state itself. The state exists between these two points, without any input of energy. Therefore, the discussion about telicity / boundedness should focus on the dynamic telic situations.

These assumptions about telicity could be further illustrated by several specific contexts which imply the final terminal point or absence of such a point (Vendler, 1967; Brinton, 1988; etc). Some of them are:

A) adverbial modification with *for / in X time*

As for these two prepositional phrases, they indicate just the time-span of a situation (*for X time*) or the time-span and completion (*in X time*). Therefore, unlike the atelic / unbounded situations like the one in (1a), the telic / bounded situations like the one in (1b) are grammatical with the second phrase, but not with the first phrase. For example:

(1) a) Linda was walking / walked for half an hour / *in half an hour.

b) Brian climbed the hill in half an hour / *for half an hour.

B) the question “how long did it take to V” or the construction “it took somebody X time to V”

Since this question and construction also imply the attainment of the final point, they occur with the telic / bounded situations only like the one in (2a):

(2) a) How long did it take to prepare lunch? / It took us one hour to prepare lunch.

b) *How long did it take to read? / *It took us one hour to read.

The example (2b) illustrates an atelic / unbounded situation, so it is unacceptable.

C) the construction “if one stops Ving, one did V”

This test is based on the fact that the atelic / unbounded situations are homogeneous, that is consist of qualitatively equal segments, because such situations do not imply any specific final point nor include cumulation or growth. In other words, the atelic / unbounded situation (3a) could be stopped at any point and still get the essential quality of the entire situation, because all subintervals of that situation are equal. The telic / bounded situation (3b) cannot be stopped with the same effect. For example:

(3) a) If one stops writing, one did write.

b) *If one stops writing a letter, one did write a letter.

However, as Declerck pointed out (1979: 765), there are also some unbounded situations that seem to imply a goal. For example:

(4) a) Brian walked towards the village for hours.

b) Meg was looking for the lost key all morning.

In these cases, the goal of the verbal situation is specified (the spatial location in 4a, or the object to be found in 4b), but the context does not indicate that the goal was actually reached at the given temporal segment.

To complete the discussion about the notion of telicity, one may add further qualifications from a recently published Serbian syntax (Piper et al., 2005: 803-812). Namely, the authors of this syntax state that the notion of telicity is rather complex and implies several components; for example, these components include the resulting situation to be attained, animate, conscious agent who wants the attainment of that resulting state, temporal

sequence (unidirectional string of segments leading to a goal) and localization (in the abstract sense of a cognitive concept that the attainment of a goal means reaching the final spatial point in a process). Moreover, the authors specify that the telic quality in Serbian – in addition to the verbs and verb phrases - can be indicated with prepositional phrases, noun phrases in particular cases, adverbials and other lexicalised or grammaticalised means.

However, having in mind these characteristics of telicity and boundedness, there are also some specific cases in English. Namely, as Declerck (1979: 765) points out, some English bounded situations do not seem to imply the tendency towards a goal:

- (5) a) The hail destroyed the crops in several minutes.
- b) Lightning struck two trees in one night.

He writes that these situations are bounded, but not telic, because telicity requires a conscious agent, which is not the case when the subject is the hail or lightning, so there is no wish or intention to attain a goal (Declerck, 1979: 766). Actually, the fact that there are atelic bounded situations presents another reason to separate the notions of telicity and boundedness, that is assume that they are not completely synonymous.

Following that assumption, one may discuss another issue – the situations possibly ambiguous when it comes to boundedness (Declerck, 1979: 767-768). Namely, Declerck argues that there are three kinds of situations: a) bounded, b) unbounded and c) “zero” bounded. For example, the following two situations are supposedly “zero” bounded:

- (6) a) Helen filled the bottle with water.
- b) The spider crawled through the tube.

These and similar examples are not supposed to be inherently bounded or unbounded, because they occur in the following tests for telicity / boundedness:

- (7) a) How long did it take Helen to fill the bottle with water?
- b) Helen filled the bottle with water for two minutes.
- c) How long did it take the spider to crawl through the tube?
- d) The spider crawled through the tube for several minutes.

According to Declerck, such examples are ambiguous because they occur both in the structures implying the final point (7a and 7c) and not implying it (7b and 7d). However, it seems that the ambiguities of these

situations result from the fact that in English telicity / boundedness is typically not morphologically marked, so it depends on the context which provides the guidelines for the right interpretation. Thus, we may also assume that these situations are telic: the goal in (6a) - the full bottle - is possibly involved, but not necessarily reached or included in the situation. The same holds for (6b), if we leave aside the issue of conscious agent (which is the topic requiring additional consideration). So, the ambiguity could be explained by saying that these situations are implicitly telic, but they do not indicate whether the implied goal was reached or not.

At this point, we may conclude that the notions of boundedness and telicity seem to be rather complex, that they are both, generally speaking, related to the existence of the goal which marks the end of a given situation. Actually, one may say that a bounded situation proceeds along the time axis from the initial temporal point t_i to the final temporal point t_f (Declerck, 1979: 766) and that the final point is reached in that progress. Moreover, the temporal distance between these two points may vary; for example, in cases of momentary situations (Vendler's achievements) these two points (the initial and the final one) coincide, they are almost simultaneous (even though Declerck assumes that boundedness / telicity does not apply to momentary situations, cf. 1979: 773). However, having in mind that a situation can be telic without actually reaching its goal (examples 4a and 4b), it seems that a distinction should be made between telicity and boundedness: thus a telic situation would be the one implying a goal which may or not be reached (the final point t_f is present, but the entire context does not specify whether it was reached or not), whereas the bounded situation would be the one which indicates that the final point was actually reached. Making such a distinction, we imply that there is a semantic feature of telicity and another feature of boundedness – and that is where aspect may enter the picture.

4. Aspect, boundedness and telicity

As it has already been mentioned, aspect deals with the speaker's subjective choice to present a situation in its totality (perfective aspect) or not (imperfective aspect). This choice involves an interaction with some semantic features of verbs or verb phrases, which contributes to the interpretation of the entire clause. If we take into account the feature of telicity and combine it with perfective and imperfective aspect, we get the following possible results:

a) telic situation + perfective aspect: the situation itself involves the terminal point and perfective aspect indicates that the situation is viewed in its totality, so that the terminal point is reached and included in the situation;

b) telic situation + imperfective aspect: even though the situation involves a terminal point, imperfective aspect views the situation as a structure, excluding the terminal point or at least not specifying whether that point is reached;

c) atelic situation + perfective aspect: the situation does not involve the final point, so the perfective aspect cannot indicate that it was reached;

d) atelic situation + imperfective aspect: the situation does not involve the final point and aspectual perspective does not indicate it either.

Therefore, it seems that the framework which takes into account telicity on the one hand and aspect on the other can quite successfully explain the resulting interpretation of situations. To complete this framework, one may assume that aspect actually indicates boundedness: thus perfective aspect “binds” the situation which involves a terminal point, while imperfective aspect does not. Therefore, telicity and boundedness seem to represent related, but not the same notions. As it has already been mentioned, telicity indicates the existence of a terminal point, while boundedness specifies that this terminal point was actually reached.

After a brief survey of some English examples, we may check how this framework works in a Slavic language – Serbian. A Slavic language is relevant here because of its specific aspectual system, often thought to represent the core of aspectual oppositions. The first and most important difference from English is that the semantic feature of telicity in Serbian seems to be indicated at the lexical level. Namely, almost all verbs with perfectivizing prefixes (except biaspectual verbs and secondary imperfectives, which have a prefix and an infix) involve telicity. It appears that such a prefix sets a goal to be reached, for example:

(8) a) pretrčati (to run across a certain distance) – the goal is implied in the distance to be crossed;

b) dograditi (to build an additional part) – the goal is that an additional part be completed;

c) odlediti (to unfreeze) – the goal is to reach a situation when the entity would not be frozen.

Therefore, it seems that semantically telic verbs in Serbian are at the same time perfective, which means that they are also bounded, so that the goal is not only present, but reached as well. Atelic verbs are imperfective, that is unbounded: they do not imply a goal and thus there is no implication that the goal was reached.

To corroborate this point, one may discuss examples from Serbian which correspond to the English sentences (6a, b), which were indicated as ambiguous when it comes to boundedness. For example:

- (9) a) Ona je punila bocu vodom.
("She was filling bottle with water")
- b) Ona je napunila bocu vodom.
 ("She filled bottle with water")
- (10) a) Pauk je mileo kroz cev.
 ("Spider was crawling through tube")
- b) Pauk je promileo kroz cev.
 ("Spider crawled through tube")

The Serbian equivalents of the English sentences actually represent pairs of sentences, proving that there are two possible readings of the English original: the unbounded imperfective (9a, 10a) and bounded perfective (9b, 10b). These two possible equivalents point to a difference in the expression of boundedness / telicity in English and Serbian: the English examples are ambiguous, but the Serbian ones are not, because the Slavic-type aspect typically indicates boundedness at the morphological level. This fact may be an argument for the assumption that the English examples are ambiguous when it comes to the binary division into + / - bounded (that is, they are "zero" bounded); actually, in most cases in English, the telic quality (presence / absence of a goal) is determined at the phrase / clause level and the role of aspect is to specify whether the existing goal was actually reached, that is whether the situation is bounded or not.

5. Conclusion

This paper first presented general assumptions from the relevant literature about the notions of boundedness / telicity and verbal aspect on the one hand, and their possible interdependence on the other. Discussing some of the presented assumptions, the paper tried to develop or modify them and to construct a theoretical framework which could account for the interaction between some semantic features of verbs and aspect.

The discussion is concluded with the proposal to support the theoretical assumptions leading to a distinction between telicity and boundedness: the former thus denoting the presence of a goal to be possibly reached, the latter "binding" that goal, that is indicating whether the goal was actually reached and included in the situation. Finally, the notion of boundedness is directly related to the category of aspect in such a way that

perfective aspect implies bounded, and the imperfective one unbounded situations.

Finally, another general and intriguing topic may be just mentioned - the cognitive side of the entire framework - and the following question could be asked: does aspect belong to one of the general cognitive notions related to the verbs? If one, following the ideas developed in the relevant literature (cf. Smith, 1986), assumes that there are general cognitive concepts like stative / dynamic, durative / momentary, telic / atelic, then is there perhaps the cognitive basis for the aspectual distinctions in the languages of the world? The answer, perhaps, could be sought in the possibility given to the speaker / writer to underline or confirm some of the features from the semantic structure of verbs and verb phrases, in this case telicity: to specify whether the implied goal was really reached or not.

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FACE METAPHORS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

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***Abstract:** Cognitive linguists, neuropsychologists, and philosophers claim that cognitive processes (thought included) are grounded in embodied aspects of human experience. Thus, embodied metaphorical patterns underlie concrete and abstract concepts, and the subsequent production of linguistic expressions of those concepts is bound to function according to the same patterns. Linguistic expressions containing the word face are just one example.*

***Key words:** cognitive science, conceptual metaphor, embodiment, face metaphors, idioms.*

1. Introduction

This paper stresses the importance of the body from a linguistic point of view. While we are all aware of the overall importance of our bodies in everyday life, we still like to think that there are certain domains in our existence that are somehow separated from our bodies, being somewhat higher and less earthly. Still, cognitive science has shown that even “higher level” cognitive abilities, such as reasoning and conceptualisation are grounded in embodied experience. Our thought and language are themselves influenced and determined by our bodies. We think and speak in bodily terms. These relatively new findings are especially meaningful when contrasted to the traditional philosophical dichotomy mind-body.

The tight relation between body and mind is presented in cognitive science through the notion of *embodiment*, which refers to “understanding the role of an agent’s own *body* in its everyday, situated *cognition*” (Gibbs, 2006: 1, my emphasis). Cognitive psychologist Raymond Gibbs (2006: 9, 276) formulated the “*embodiment premise*” as follows:

People’s subjective, felt experiences of their bodies in action provide part of the fundamental grounding for language and thought. Cognition is what occurs when the body engages the physical, cultural world and must be studied in terms of the dynamical interactions between people and the environment. Human language and thought emerge from recurring patterns of embodied activity that constrain ongoing intelligent behaviour. We must not assume cognition to be purely internal, symbolic, computational, and disembodied, but seek out the gross and detailed ways that language and thought are inextricably shaped by embodied action.

The *embodiment hypothesis* as formulated in recent cognitive science maintains that “*as meaning, concepts and patterns of reasoning are all grounded in patterns of bodily perception and experience, human knowledge is fundamentally embodied*” (Rohrer, 1998: 6). The key to formulating the embodiment hypothesis was the discovery in linguistics and philosophy that metaphor is conceptual in nature. This was first extensively explored by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), but there has been a lot of research since the first findings.

Conceptual metaphors involve understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. “Specifically, we tend to structure the less concrete and inherently vaguer concepts in terms of more concrete concepts, which are more clearly delineated in our experience.” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 112) More technically, the metaphor can be understood as a mapping from a source domain to a target domain. Entities in the target domain correspond *systematically* to entities in the source domain. Such correspondences permit us to reason about the target domain using the knowledge we use to reason about the source domain. Thus, *the metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason*. Conceptual metaphors are also called “conventional” metaphors, as they are one of our conventional ways of conceptualising, and “embodied” metaphors, since something of the “embodied” nature of the original bodily experience still operates whenever an abstract concept is used. The original experience persists in a schematic form called an “image schema” which is metaphorically elaborated to help people understand more abstract domains of experience.

2. The Cognitive View of Idioms

Conceptual metaphors emerge through analysis of linguistic expressions. Thus, a huge system of everyday conceptual metaphors has been established, which structures our everyday conceptual system, including most abstract concepts (such as categories, quantity and linear scales, time, state, change, action, purpose, means, etc).

Before we proceed to the analysis of linguistic expressions containing the word *face* in the light of those just mentioned, we need to take a short look at the *cognitive view of idioms*. Traditionally, idioms are linguistic expressions whose overall meaning cannot be predicted from the meanings of their constituent parts. Cognitive linguists agree with the traditional view that there is no complete predictability of the meaning of idioms, but suggest that there is a great deal of *systematic conceptual motivation* for the meaning of most idioms (Kövecses and Szabó, 1996: 326). In other words,

idioms (or, at least, the majority of them) are *conceptual, and not linguistic*, in nature (Kövecses and Szabó, 1996: 330).

The systematic conceptual motivation for the meaning of most idioms is given by metaphor, metonymy and conventional knowledge. In the case of metaphor, *the general meaning of an idiom* is given by the target domain of the conventional metaphor, *the more precise / specific meaning of idioms* is given by the “ontological” mappings / correspondences between different elements of the two domains, and *the connotative meaning of an idiom* is given by the mappings of inferences across domains. Metonymy involves a “stand for” conceptual relationship between two entities within a single domain, and conventional knowledge, as a cognitive mechanism comprises the shared information that people in a given culture have concerning a conceptual domain.

3. Face Metaphors

These things considered, we shall move on to analysing specific linguistic expressions. If *embodied experience in general*, by being more concrete, closer, and more familiar to us, underlies both concepts and the subsequent production of linguistic expressions based on those concepts, what about *body parts themselves*? We certainly expect them to be particularly productive in this respect, namely to create metaphorical mappings with other domains and enter linguistic expressions to better express more abstract concepts. Linguistic expressions containing the word *face* are just one example.

At least in European cultures, the face is the most representative part of a person. When we meet a new person, look at photos, talk to people, etc., we look at, are interested in, even carefully study their *faces*, because faces are considered to say a lot about a person. They give information about the gender of a person, their ethnic group, their age (as reflected in the Romanian saying *din spate păpușă, din față mătușă* “from behind a doll, from the front an auntie”), their present mood, and even their character. So, faces are of tremendous importance to people, who are strongly impressed or influenced in their judgements by them. They are surrounded by faces and, not surprisingly, the word *face* appears quite a lot in their language, too.

I looked at similar and different ways in which English and Romanian use the word *face* to conceptualise other entities. Interesting results have emerged. My research was based on various dictionaries, as seen in the References section. By analysing linguistic expressions (collocations and fixed expressions / idioms) in which the word *face* is used in the two languages, fourteen meanings of the word *face* have been found in English

and seventeen meanings of the word *față* in Romanian. For each meaning one or several conceptual mechanisms (metaphor or metonymy) on which the meaning is based have been established. These are rendered in capitals, such as A PERSON IS A FACE. It also needs to be noted that one linguistic expression can function on the basis of several conceptual mechanisms, rendering several meanings of the word *face*.

Some of the meanings of the word *face* are denotative and thus more obvious (such as “the front part of the human head”, or “facial expression”), while others are figurative and sometimes specific to one of the languages (such as “respect” for English, and “in front of / ahead” or “colour” in Romanian). The meanings analysed were: “front”, “outside / surface / outward appearance”, “facial expression”, “person / identity”, “presence”, “respect / reputability / prestige”, “courage”, “pride / shame”, “opposition / contrast”, “resistance”, “insolence / impudence / defiance”, “aspect / characteristic”, “attention / attendance” (both for English and Romanian), and “relation” and “colour” (for Romanian only). In what follows, I shall present the meaning of “front” as a sample of how the parallel analysis was done, as well as the meaning of “respect” which is rather specific to the English language.

3.1. Face as “front”

By its structural position in the human body, the face is closely associated with the meaning of “front”. This general meaning has three variants: “the front part of the human head”, “the front part of the human body / of a thing”, and “in front of sth / ahead of sth”.

3.1.1. Face as “the front part of the human head”

Phrases / collocations in which <i>face</i> is used /associated with this meaning + METAPHOR / METONYMY	Phrases / collocations in which <i>față</i> is used /associated with this meaning + METAPHOR / METONYMY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>arse about face</i> “placed the opposite way to how it should be” - <i>face to face</i> “close to and looking at sb” (e.g. <i>come face to face with sb</i> “suddenly meet sb by chance”; <i>come face to face with sth</i> “see or experience a problem for the first time”) - <i>turn one’s face away from sb</i> “not want to know anything about sb” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>față în față</i> “face to face” - <i>a da față cu cineva</i> “meet sb”, lit. “give face with / to sb” - <i>a da / trage la față / moacă</i> “hit on the face”, lit. “give to the face” - <i>față de cineva</i> “for, regarding sb” (e.g. <i>a-și arăta iubirea față de cineva</i> “show one’s love for sb”, lit. “show one’s love face to sb”) - <i>a ieși / scăpa cu fața / obrazul curat</i> “get out of a difficult situation without damage to your reputation” lit. “get out with a clean face / cheek”

	<p>- <i>a-și întoarce fața de la cineva</i> “turn one’s face away from sb”</p> <p>- <i>a sparge fața / moaca</i> “seriously hit the face”, lit. “break the face”</p>
<p>WHAT CAN BE SEEN IS A FACE</p> <p>- <i>face time</i> “time that you spend at your job because you want other people, esp your manager, <u>to see you there</u>, whether or not you are actually doing good work”</p>	<p>WHAT CAN BE SEEN IS A FACE</p> <p>- <i>pe față / fățiș</i> “directly, sincerely, in a conspicuous way”, lit. “on the face” e.g. <i>a juca cu cărțile pe față</i> “show one’s thoughts and intentions openly”</p>
<p>THE FACE IS A CONTAINER</p> <p>- <i>be in one’s face</i> - see below</p> <p>- <i>be staring sb in the face</i> - see below</p> <p>- <i>get in sb’s face</i> “really annoy sb”</p> <p>- <i>in the / sb’s face</i> e.g. <i>The ball hit him in the face. His eyes were sunken in his gaunt face.</i></p> <p>- <i>laugh in sb’s face</i> “express scorn for a person in their presence, esp. by laughter / disobedience”</p> <p>- <i>(not) look sb / sth in the face / eye</i> “(not) look boldly and steadily at (danger, an opponent, enemy, etc.)”</p> <p>- <i>slam / shut the door in sb’s face</i> “refuse to see or talk to sb”</p> <p>- <i>a slap in the face / teeth / kisser</i> “an action that insults or upsets sb”</p> <p>- <i>throw / fling / cast sth in sb’s face / teeth</i> “mention sth / sb has done that is wrong”</p> <p>- <i>throw sth back in sb’s face</i> “refuse to accept sb’s advice in an angry way”</p> <p>- <i>wouldn’t know sth if it hit you in the face</i> “sb would not recognize sth even if it was obvious”</p>	<p>THE FACE IS A CONTAINER</p> <p>- <i>a arunca cuiva in față / nas</i> “reproach sb; throw / fling / cast sth in sb’s face /teeth”, lit. “throw sth in sb’s face / nose”</p> <p>- <i>in față</i> “directly, bluntly; to sb’s face”, lit. “in the face”- see below for English</p> <p>- <i>a lovi in față</i> “hit in the face”</p> <p>- <i>a râde cuiva in față</i> “laugh in sb’s face”</p> <p>- <i>a privi in față / ochi</i> “look sb in the face / eye”</p> <p>- <i>a trânti cuiva ușa in față / nas</i> “slam / shut the door in sb’s face / teeth”</p> <p>- <i>verde in față / ochi</i> “to sb’s face, directly, bluntly, unceremoniously” lit. “green in the face / eye”</p>
<p>THE FACE IS A SURFACE</p> <p>- <i>as plain as the nose on sb’s face</i> “very easy to see / understand”</p> <p>- <i>have egg / jam on one’s face</i> “be shown to be foolish or silly”</p> <p>- <i>on sb’s face (the expression / look on sb’s face, put some powder on one’s face, etc.)</i></p> <p>- <i>put on the face of the earth</i></p> <p>- <i>put on a brave, bold, etc face / front</i> “try to appear to remain brave, happy, etc. when faced by danger / misfortune”</p>	<p>THE FACE IS A SURFACE</p> <p>- <i>o palmă peste față</i> “a slap in the face”</p> <p>- <i>pe față</i> (e.g. <i>expresia de pe față</i> “the expression on sb’s face”, <i>a pune o cremă pe față</i> “put some cream on the face”, <i>a se spăla pe față</i> “wash one’s face”)</p> <p>- <i>pe fața pământului</i></p>

<p>THE FACE STANDS FOR PARTS OF THE FRONT OF THE HEAD (EARS, EYES, MOUTH)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>be in one's face</i> “be shocking and annoying in a way that is difficult to ignore”; “criticise sb all the time” - referring to the eyes - <i>be staring sb in the face</i> “be directly in front of sb, be obvious / clear; or be clearly suitable, but not noticed or made used of” - referring to the eyes or sight - <i>get in sb's face</i> “really annoy sb” -referring to the eyes - <i>shut one's face / mouth / gob / trap</i> “be silent” - referring to the mouth - <i>stuff your face</i> “eat a lot” - referring to the mouth as the organ of speech - <i>to sb's face</i> “(say sth) openly and directly so that sb can hear” (vs <i>behind sb's back</i>) - referring to the ears - <i>throw / fling / cast sth in sb's face / teeth</i> (see above) – referring to the ears - <i>wouldn't know sth if it hit you in the face</i> “sb would not recognize sth even if it was obvious” - referring to the eyes 	<p>THE FACE STANDS FOR PARTS OF THE FRONT OF THE HEAD (EARS, EYES)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>a arunca ceva în față</i> “throw / fling / cast sth in sb's face” – referring to the ear - <i>a privi în față / ochi</i> “look sb <u>in</u> the face / eye” - referring to the eyes - <i>a spune cuiva ceva în față</i> “say sth to sb's face” – referring to the ear
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Table 1 - The front part of the human head

Besides the metaphors and metonymies presented in Table 1, conventional knowledge is also involved in the explanation and motivation of these linguistic expressions. It is generally known that humans interact socially with the front part of their body (see, for example, Engl. *come face to face with sb*, Rom. *a da față cu cineva*), looking at each other's face and addressing the face, i.e. the eyes and the ears (e.g. Engl. *say sth to sb's face*, Rom. *a spune cuiva ceva în față*). People are also aware of the fact that the face is the most representative part of a person (e.g. Engl. *Slam / shut the door in sb's face*, Rom. *a trânti cuiva ușa în față*) and that the front of something is usually the most conspicuous part (e.g. Engl. *face time*, Rom. *pe față / fățiș*). Another embodied experience people have is that objects are usually displayed in order to be seen when laid on a horizontal surface (see Engl. *as plain as the nose on sb's face*, *the expression on the face*, Rom. *expresia de pe față*).

Especialy meaningful are linguistic expressions like: Rom. *a-și arăta iubirea față de cineva*, which also expresses “relation” precisely by using the conventional knowledge that humans interact socially with their faces oriented towards others; Rom. *pe față / fățiș*, based on the

conventional metaphors WHAT CAN BE SEEN IS A FACE and THE FACE IS A SURFACE, functioning as follows: the face is the front of the head, the front is the part that can usually be seen, and also objects to be seen are laid *on* things, not inside things, where they are concealed, consequently actions done so as to be seen are related to the face. In these two expressions, Romanian uses the word *face* in ways in which English does not. Nevertheless, English also uses the word *face* meaning “the front of the head” insightfully, like in *face time*, where the seeable aspect of the face is made use of (see Table 1), or *be / get in one’s face*, in which *face* refers to one’s eyes, by using the conventional knowledge that something too close to one’s eyes is both obvious and shocking. This English expression also makes reference to the conventional knowledge that an obstacle appearing in front of a moving object hinders advance, thus bothering the person.

In the metaphors THE FACE IS A CONTAINER and THE FACE IS A SURFACE, the two elements (face, on the one hand, and container and surface, on the other) are almost equally familiar, both belonging to our everyday embodied experience. The two metaphors can both function for the same word and even for the same meaning of the word, since *containers* can be viewed as “content-defining surfaces”, as pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 100). Somewhat surprising is the metaphor THE FACE IS A CONTAINER, as we would rather see *the head* as a container (of the eyes, mouth, brain, etc). We admit, though, that the eyes, nose, mouth and even the ears are somehow “contained” by the face, making up, in fact, the face, together with the cheeks. While the nose is conceived of as being “on” the face, at least in English, we must admit that it has internal parts as well, like the eyes and the mouth which are more “in” the face. Thus, THE FACE IS A SURFACE metaphor points out the display function of the face, while THE FACE IS A CONTAINER metaphor highlights the fact that the face is made-up of different parts, each having multiple levels of depth.

3.1.2. The face as “the front part of the human body / of a thing”

Phrases / collocations in which <i>face</i> is used / associated with this meaning + METAPHOR / METONYMY	Phrases / collocations in which <i>față</i> is used / associated with this meaning + METAPHOR / METONYMY
<p>THE FACE STANDS FOR THE FRONT OF THE BODY / A THING - <i>face up / down</i> “(of a person) with one’s face and stomach facing upwards / downwards”; “(of an object) with the front part or surface facing upwards / downwards”</p>	<p>THE FACE STANDS FOR THE FRONT OF THE BODY / A THING - <i>cu fața în sus / jos</i> “face up / down (on one’s back / on one’s belly)” - <i>cu fața la pământ</i> “face down / on one’s belly”, lit. “with the face to the ground” - <i>a da dos la față</i> “go out stealthily; back up in</p>

<p>- <i>fall flat on one's face</i> "fall and land with one's face down; fall down in a violent or sudden way" - <i>the face of the clock</i></p>	<p>front of difficulties", lit. "give back to the face" - <i>fața dealului / muntelui etc.</i> "the side of the hill / mountain facing the sun or the South, the front side" - <i>fața unei file (de hârtie)</i> "the front side of a page", lit. "the face of a page"</p>
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Table 2 - **The front part of the human body / a thing**

The two languages use the word *face* in fewer expressions with this meaning. While *face up / down* and *cu fața în sus / jos* correspond perfectly (as well as their synonyms *on one's back / on one's belly* and *pe spate / pe burtă*), other expressions are specific to one or the other of the two languages. Besides the meaning "fall and land with one's face down (in a violent or sudden way)", *fall flat on one's face* has also developed a more figurative meaning, namely "suffer a humiliating and undignified setback, especially after attempting sth that is too ambitious", when it functions based on the metaphor ACTION CONCERNING ONE'S FACE STANDS FOR (LACK OF) RESPECT, PRESTIGE (see Table 4). *The face of the clock* does not have a Romanian correspondent using the equivalent of the word *face*, although the image of a dial of a clock resembling a human face is quite usual in the Romanian culture. Romanian has an equivalent for *cu fața în jos / pe burtă*, namely *cu fața la pământ*. *Fața dealului / muntelui* has an English correspondent in *the face of the hill / mountain*, but the Romanian collocation also comprises the meaning of "front side", besides the common meaning of "the side of a hill / mountain". Romanian also refers to the front side of a page *fața unei file (de hârtie)*, lit. "the face of a page", which is uncommon in English.

3.1.3. The face as "the front of something / ahead of something"

This meaning surprisingly appears only in Romanian, although the idea of "front" is strongly rendered in English through the word *face* with the other two shades of meaning. Romanian makes use of the word *față* in order to render the position or the direction of movement of a person or object, employing the word in adverbial phrases (*în / din față*) or prepositional phrases (*în / din fața*). While *în față / fața* can only show position, *din față / fața* can express both position and direction of movement, e.g. *grădina din față* "the garden in front"; *a bate vântul din față* "(of the wind) blow from the front".

Phrases / collocations in which <i>face</i> is used / associated with this meaning	Phrases / collocations in which <i>față</i> is used / associated with this meaning + METAPHOR / METONYMY attached
—	<p>THE FACE IS AHEAD THE FACE IS A CONTAINER - a băga <i>în față</i> pe cineva “cover the real guilty person by blaming sb else”, lit. “introduce <i>in</i> the face” - a(-i) cânta (cuiva) cucul <i>în / din față</i> “thrive”, lit. “the cuckoo sings to someone <i>in / from</i> the face (in front of them / from ahead” - <i>din față / față</i> “in front (of)”, lit. “from (the) face” - <i>din față</i> “from ahead”, lit. “from the face” - a ieși <i>în față</i> “accept a challenge to fight; admit a fault”, lit. “get out in the face (front)” - <i>în față</i> cuiva / a ceva “in front of”, lit. “in the face of” - <i>în față</i> “straight ahead”, lit. “in face” - a privi / vedea / zări pe cineva <i>din față</i> “see the full picture of sb”, lit. “look at / see sb from the face (from the front)” - a scoate <i>în față</i> “make known”, lit. “get out in the face”</p>

Table 3 - In front of sth (ahead of sth)

3.2. The face as “respect / reputability / prestige”

Although the meaning is also present in Romanian, it is poorly represented, while in English the word *face* is more closely associated with the idea of respect. The two English expressions *lose face* and *save face* are especially representative here (see Table 4 below). This meaning also seems to be closely connected to the idea of pride / shame and to the conventional knowledge that people show embarrassment on their faces.

Phrases / collocations in which <i>face</i> is used / associated with this meaning + METAPHOR / METONYMY	Phrases / collocations in which <i>față</i> is used / associated with this meaning
<p>ACTION CONCERNING ONE’S FACE STANDS FOR (LACK OF) RESPECT - <i>face saver</i> “an action that prevents you from losing other people’s respect” - <i>fall flat on one’s face</i> “suffer a humiliating and undignified setback” - <i>have egg / jam on one’s face</i> “be shown to be foolish or silly” - <i>lose face</i> “lose the respect or good opinion of</p>	<p>- a ieși / scăpa cu fața curată / obrazul curat “get out of a difficult situation without damage to your reputation”, lit. “come out / end up with a clean face / cheek”</p>

<p>others”</p> <p>- <i>put a bold, brave, good, etc face on</i> “outwardly show sth positive, esp. as a means of preserving one's dignity or of concealing sth detrimental”</p> <p>- <i>save face</i> “avoid losing one’s honour or reputation”</p>	
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Table 4 - **Respect / reputability / prestige**

4. Conclusion

The results of my research (which was only partly presented here) show that there are meanings (and their corresponding conventional metaphors and metonymies) specific to Romanian or to English, but most of the meanings are shared. The face is well-represented in linguistic expressions both in English and in Romanian, where it is used to expressed more abstract ideas which can be better grasped in this way.

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SECTION SIX: ELT

ON TEACHING AND LEARNING ENGLISH COLLOCATIONS

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***Abstract:** Although some specialists consider that the appropriate use of English collocations is merely a matter of learning lexical chunks, many studies have proved that things are not as easy as they might seem. In learning collocations, vocabulary comprehension and production play an important role. Moreover, some teaching techniques are better suited for comprehension than for production, and vice versa.*

***Key words:** lexical notebooks, lexical phrases, noticing, recycling, revisiting.*

1.1. Placed at the borderline between lexis and grammar, English *collocations* represent a controversial linguistic reality whose mysterious ways haven't been fully explored yet.

In spite of the idea put forward by the linguists working in the tradition of lexical collocations (Halliday, 1966; Sinclair, 1966; Sinclair et al., 1970; Sinclair and Jones, 1974 and Hasan, 1987, qtd. in Carter, 1997: 51) that patterns of collocation can form the basis for a lexical analysis of language alternative to and independent of grammatical analysis, there are quite a number of instances (e.g. *grammatical collocations* and larger stretches of text) which demonstrate that the lexical level can never be totally independent of the grammatical level. As Greenbaum (1970: 11) puts it, "a purely item-oriented approach to collocations is not a good solution as it obscures syntactic and semantic restrictions on collocations", aspects which are essential in dealing with collocations.

The view that lexis should not be separated from grammar is also made explicit in certain language teaching studies which suggest that teaching a language, in our case English, can by no means be limited to teaching its grammar rules. Non-native speakers of English can hardly, if ever, convey their ideas in this language unless they have at least basic vocabulary knowledge. From this perspective, *vocabulary* becomes an essential component of foreign language acquisition, which should be constantly taught and practiced during the English language classes. To put it more simply, efficient foreign language acquisition may be achieved if teachers try and "incorporate lexical insights into their day-to-day teaching" (Lewis, 2002: 7).

1.2. The *word* is considered to be the basic unit of vocabulary analysis, hence many teachers might be tempted to believe that ‘incorporating lexical insights’ in their language classes would strictly mean teaching new isolated words. This is definitely not the case. Recent studies in the field of language teaching have proved that, although apparently more difficult, it is more useful for the learners of English to store, from the very beginning, larger lexical units in their mental lexicon. One reason for this would be that most words have no meaning in isolation, but have meaning when they occur in a certain word combination. Thus, the lexical pattern in which a word occurs is essential to the meaning of that word and cannot be separated from it. Moreover, as suggested by Hunston and Francis (2000: 271), “learning such strings rather than individual words enables the learner to compose lengthy utterances with the minimum effort”. Two main arguments to be brought forward are that 1) “most language is composed of prefabricated strings” (ibidem) and 2) storing lexical patterns is accepted to have a long-term result for the learners, i.e. it ensures their fluency and accuracy in the foreign language.

The innovative character and the complexity of such an approach to vocabulary teaching results from the fact that teachers have to guide their learners to notice and appropriately analyze the “relations between lexical items a) above sentence level, b) across conversational turn boundaries and c) within the broad framework of discourse organization (McCarthy, 1984 a: 14-15, qtd. in Carter, 1998: 220-221)”.

1.3. As far as the *teaching* of English *collocations* is concerned, mention should be made that such fixed lexical patterns are likely to create problems to non-native speakers due to their cultural and domain specificity. The fact that non-native speakers of English are always “caught” with misused *collocations* fully justifies the specialists’ view that teachers should gradually and constantly integrate collocations in their English language classes.

However, recent language teaching studies suggest that teachers should not be the only responsible persons for the students’ lexical knowledge. Vocabulary has to be taught and learned in parallel, which means that teachers’ activity in the classroom must be doubled by the learners’ individual study. In our case, the learners’ ability to master and appropriately use English collocations greatly depends on their correctly identifying, further practising and constantly ‘recycling’ collocations outside the classroom. Mention should be made that such activities are possible only with advanced learners because, as proficiency develops, learners additionally come into contact with and memorize more collocational

patterns, which are learned as fully lexicalized fixed expressions to be used when appropriate.

1.4. *Teaching* English collocations is not an easy task, and it is greatly conditioned both by the teacher's lexical knowledge and by his / her ability to make lexical information accessible and interesting to learners.

1.4.1. Various teaching *strategies* have been suggested by specialists in favour of the lexical approach to language teaching. We consider that some of these possible strategies are worth mentioning here, since they may be as easily as successfully put into practice at all levels.

Morgan Lewis (2000: 19) suggests that *collocations* may be more easily remembered and more safely translated if teachers guide their learners to *preserve something of the context* and to *keep recorded lexical chunks that are as large as possible*. For example, a sentence such as: *I have been searching high and low for a man like you*, when uttered in a certain context, is more likely to be remembered by learners, than the isolated phrase *to search high and low*.

Moreover, mistakes related to word collocability should not just simply be corrected by teachers. In this respect, giving further examples of collocations could be a much more useful tool for both correcting the mistakes and improving the learner's *collocational competence*. For example, the wrong association between the verb *give* and the noun *an exam* in the collocation **to give an exam* (as a linguistic calque, due to its interference with Romanian) should not be merely corrected by providing the lexical pattern *to take an exam*, but it should be immediately effaced by further examples such as: *to re-take an exam, to pass an exam, to scrape through an exam to fail an exam, to go in for an exam*. In other words, teachers *should not correct, but collect collocations*.

There are quite a number of instances when non-native speakers of English use longer explanatory structures: e.g. *good possibilities for improving one's job*. This is because they are not aware of the existence of an appropriate collocation with the same semantic content: e.g. *excellent promotion prospects*. In such situations the teachers' task is to *make learners be more precise*.

Considering that certain words have little meaning unless used in collocations, teachers should avoid explaining the difference between two synonymous words e.g. *make* vs. *do* or *wound* vs. *injury*. They should provide contextualized examples for each of them. The same contextualization is useful in the case of words which have unclear meaning unless used in collocations: e.g. *I can't see the point in telling him the news; The point is that he is too stubborn; This is definitely a very good point to*

make; He always makes a point of accepting his mistakes. Therefore, the strategy to be used by teachers in such instances is *to avoid explaining words, and to explore their meanings by contextualizing them*, instead.

The view is not fully shared by Woolard (2000: 31) who considers that teachers should avoid explaining the meaning of a word by providing synonyms, by paraphrasing or by contextualizing it. The solution suggested by him is that teachers *should highlight the chunk of language, i.e. the collocational pattern, in which the respective word occurs and activate this chunk by further practice* (our emphasis). For example, instead of trying to explain the noun *views* by providing a *synonym*, (i.e. *opinions*), by *paraphrasing* it as *what somebody thinks of something* or by *contextualizing it*, (*I think it's wrong to kill animals. What are your views?*) (Woolard's examples), teachers should highlight collocational patterns in which the respective word occurs.

The teachers' *choice of key words* in their approach to collocations is also a very important strategy. Woolard considers that teachers should select vocabulary items bearing in mind the fact that "words have different degrees of lexicalization, and that different types of vocabulary may need different co-textual reference, thus different teaching techniques" (Woolard, 2000: 33). For instance, a highly lexicalized word such as *penicillin* has few common collocations, whereas a less lexicalized word such as *drug* has a greater collocational field.

Some specialists (Woolard, 2000; Hill, 2000) consider that an approach to collocations may be more efficient if teachers *raise learners' awareness* with respect to this type of fixed lexical pattern. Woolard suggests that learners may become aware of collocations if teachers intentionally use *mis-collocations*. Such an approach will help learners understand that "learning vocabulary is not just learning new words, it is often learning familiar words in new combinations" (Woolard, 2000: 30). Moreover, Hill (2000) thinks that *students may become aware of collocation* if they are guided to notice collocations, on the one hand, and to find further examples of collocational patterns, on the other.

An aspect not to be ignored in teaching collocations is that teachers should *make the most of what learners know* i.e. instead of focusing on brand new words, they should make the relatively new words accessible, or lay stress on practising of common words that learners are already familiar with: e.g. de-lexicalized verbs such as *get, put, make, do, take*. Morgan Lewis (2000: 25) suggests that adjectives such as *awkward, complicated, critical, desperate, farcical* and verbs such as *to accept, to analyze, to assess, to be in command, to make the best of*, when used with the noun *situation*, may be made accessible by means of follow-up questions: *Can*

you remember the latest most awkward situation you had to face? Do you usually analyze complicated situations or do you simply accept them?

The words which learners are familiar with are called ‘*available words*’ by Richards (1974: 76-77 qtd in Carter, 1998: 235). Such lexical items “are known in the sense that they come to mind rapidly when the situation calls for them”. The *familiarity* of a word is “a factor of the frequency of experiencing words, their meaningfulness and their concreteness” (ibidem). It is necessary to distinguish between *concrete nouns*, which may be easily recalled, and *abstract nouns* or grammatical / function words which are less accessible to non-native speakers, due to their context-related meanings. By extending what learners already know, teachers improve their collocational competence, thus making learners communicatively competent in the foreign language they study.

Hill (2000) considers that learners’ correct use of English collocations very much depends on the teachers’ choice of appropriate texts to analyze and appropriate collocations to approach, as well as on the learners’ gradual guidance in order to identify and store collocations from input outside the classroom. By choosing which collocations to teach, teachers make their learners aware of the various degrees of collocational strength characterizing fixed lexical patterns. One possible distinction is that between *unique collocations* (e.g. *to foot the bill*), *strong collocations* (e.g. *to be reduced or moved to tears*), *weak collocations* (e.g. *white wine*) and *medium-strength collocations*, (e.g. *to hold a conversation*) (Hill’s examples).

The teacher’s guidance towards a careful *exploration of the words’ co-text* and of their relations with different nouns, adjective or verbs is also very useful, as it helps learners notice and record the right co-text of those words: e.g. *to receive criticism for / over + V- ing*. Such an approach is illustrative for the well known distinction between *lexical* and *grammatical* collocations.

1.4.2. The teachers’ approach to collocations from the perspective of lexical semantics may also prove useful. Teachers should guide learners to distinguish between the different degrees of lexical cohesion characterizing collocations. Lexical cohesion and lexical signalling are relevant to the teaching of lexis in discourse. Learners should be creatively involved in recognizing the role of lexical items in the realization of semantic relations. They should also be encouraged to exploit the discourse potential of synonyms, antonyms and hyponyms across speaking turns. Conzett (2000: 79-80) considers that teachers should *train learners to observe and note collocations in reading and writing*. The teacher’s selection of appropriate

texts from various language-specific domains is very important because it helps learners become aware of the frequent use of collocations in language. However, the fact should be pointed out that *collocations* should not be approached only when teaching vocabulary or grammar. Such fixed lexical patterns may be easily *integrated* by teachers in *essay preparation* by finding words related to the given topic and by adding useful collocations to each word. For example, the task of writing an essay on *EDUCATION* may be facilitated by challenging learners to find *words related* to the topic (e.g.: *school, education, qualification, teacher*, etc.) and by further encouraging them to look up the collocations corresponding to these words in the dictionary and to note them down.

Last, but not least, research in the field of vocabulary teaching has demonstrated that teachers should avoid making learners' task difficult, by helping them to remember previously taught fixed lexical patterns. In order to do this, teachers should constantly '*recycle*' *collocations* by means of specially designed grids and vocabulary exercises, as well as by producing numerous illustrative sentences, and collocation games designed for each group of selected collocations. In addition, teachers should guide learners to record fixed lexical patterns in special *lexical notebooks*. If *lexical notebooks* are organized according to grammatical criteria, to the key words or to the topic, *collocations* may be more easily revised and retrieved by learners.

Instead of a conclusion, mention should be made that, similarly to language teaching, teaching lexis presupposes that teachers should *review strategies at different levels*. Lexis in general, and *collocations* in particular, should be approached in different ways at different levels.

With elementary learners the teachers' main objective is to gradually increase the number of individual words and of simple lexical patterns, at the intermediate level learners should be introduced to a larger number of new words with more complex collocates, whereas in the case of advanced learners teachers should envisage adding both to their stored collocations and to the semantic content of individual words. To put it differently, "the more advanced the learner becomes and the more emphasis is placed on production, the more teaching of words in a network of semantic associations should be activated" (Carter, 1998: 240).

1.5. As far as *learning* collocations is concerned, the fact has been often pointed out that "if learners wish to sound 'natural', 'idiomatic', or 'native-like', they need to use the *collocations*, the phraseologies and the patterns of English that native speakers automatically chose" (Hunston and Francis, 2000: 268).

Although not impossible, this is an objective difficult to achieve because the learners' native-language specificity is accepted to greatly influence and limit their phraseological skills in English. There are a lot of situations when learners of English use *collocations* in different ways: they underuse native-like collocations creating quite often atypical word combinations which resemble structures specific to their native language, i.e. to L1. The reason for this is that all learners of English are more familiar with their native-language lexical patterns which inevitably condition and influence the acquisition of the corresponding structures in English as L2. As Raupach (1983: 208) put it, "many factors that constitute a learner's fluency in his L1 are liable to occur, in one form or another, in the learners' L2 performance". Starting from Nattinger and De Carrico's (1992: 12) pattern of L1 acquisition (see the figure below), according to which children first acquire chunks, and then progressively analyze the underlying patterns to finally generalize them into regular syntactic rules, Willis (1990) suggests that the same pattern may be used to explain L2 acquisition. This would mean "exposing learners to the commonest patterns and then rely on the 'innate ability' of learners to recreate for themselves the grammar of the basis of the language to which they are exposed" (Willis, 1990: iii).

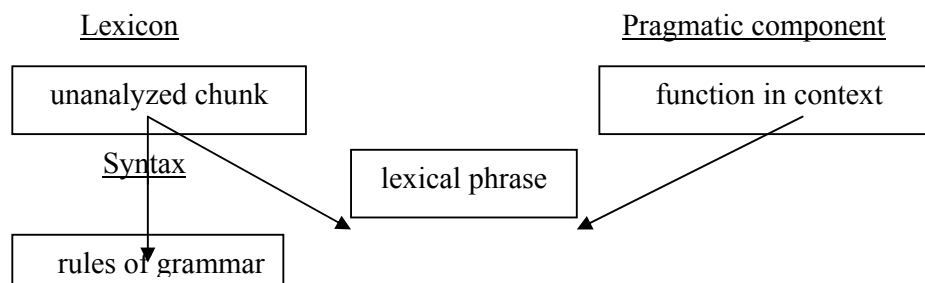


Fig. 1 – First language acquisition (Nattinger and De Carico, 1992: 12)

We share Willis's opinion but we consider that this holds valid only with beginners, on the one hand, and with technical students, on the other. As regards Nattinger and De Carrico's diagram, we think that the derived relation between unanalyzed chunk → syntax → rules of grammar does not reflect the real process of understanding and acquiring lexical phrases by the awareness of the syntactic rules governing them. It obvious that learners become aware of the grammatical rules only after having acquired the lexical phrases. Thus, we would suggest a slightly modified diagram:

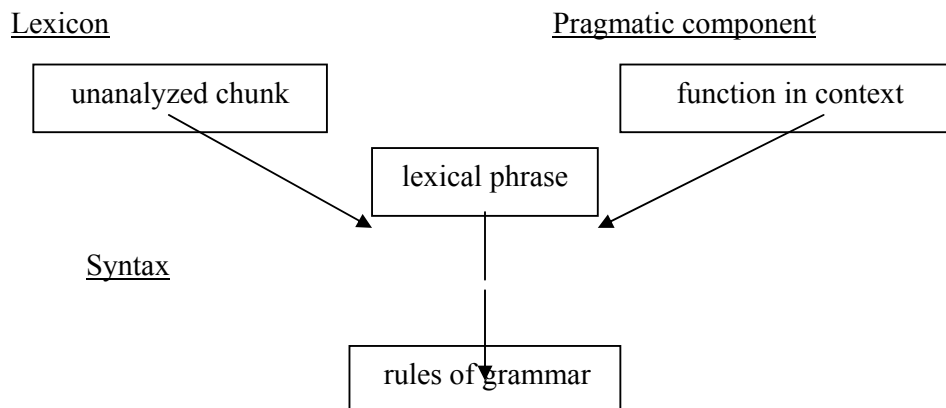


Fig. 2 – Suggested diagram for first language acquisition

An argument in favour of our suggestion may be the fact that very young learners are (very) familiar with various lexical phrases without necessarily being aware of the grammatical rules. Another pro may be the very extensive lists of structures in corpus linguistics that do not make any reference to rules of grammar.

As regards vocabulary learning, Richards (1976: 83, qtd. in Carter, 1998: 235) states that this “is always an active process of reconstruction ... (and) ... much of the way a particular meaning is formed cannot be recorded in a dictionary. That is a word’s meaning is rarely static and users must continually construct representations of what they are reading, hearing or saying before meanings can be fully activated”.

Moreover, the appropriate use of collocations, phraseologies and patterns depend, at a large extent, on the learners’ observations. As pointed out by Hunston and Francis (2000: 265), “current theories of second language acquisition and of methodology suggest that learners learn what they notice, that they can be encouraged to notice particular things and that lexis and its patterning is a useful aspect of language to notice”. Successful learning of vocabulary cannot be achieved just by noticing lexical items, but especially by recording them in a very organized manner. In addition, it is very important that learners should constantly “revisit and re-activate the significant vocabulary they meet” (Wollard, 2000: 43).

The most accessible instrument that learners have at their disposal in order to record is the *lexical notebook*, a decoding tool, as well as a resource to be further used as an encoding instrument to guide learners’ own production of language. Besides the pronunciation and translation, such

notebooks should include the specific collocational patterns grouped into distinct morphological classes. As suggested by Conzett (2000: 70), *context and collocation notebooks* are even more useful since they highlight the different meanings that one and the same collocational pattern may have in different contexts (Conzett's examples):

<u>Word</u>	<u>Special context</u>	<u>Collocations</u>
<u>discretion</u>	caution / privacy / authority / judgment	exercise / use / show discretion, at discretion, handle smth with discretion

In order to facilitate the learners' gradual move from receptive to productive use of language, teachers should guide them to make the best of the resources available, i.e. monolingual, bilingual, LSP dictionaries, dictionaries of collocations, as well as vocabulary exercises resource books.

1.6. To conclude we should say that, although some might think that the appropriate use of English *collocations* is merely a matter of learning *lexical chunks*, the specialists in the field have proved that things are not as easy as they might seem. Non-native speakers of English may become collocationally competent if vocabulary teaching is constantly combined with independent vocabulary learning.

Teaching English *collocations* is extremely important because it facilitates the learners' access to more routinized aspects of language production and to the essential skills of maintaining discursal relations through language use. Moreover, teaching such word combinations in discourse may prove incredibly useful because it "encourages appreciation of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions of lexical items at all levels" (Carter, 1998: 240).

In learning *collocations*, vocabulary comprehension and production play an important role. The learners' appropriate use of *collocations* is relevant to accuracy, i.e. to conformity to an arbitrary norm, and helps non-native speakers of English sound indistinguishable from a native speaker.

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INVESTIGATING ATTITUDES TO CAMBRIDGE ESOL EXAMINATIONS

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***Abstract:** This paper reports on the results of a questionnaire based on a case study on teacher and student perceptions of Cambridge ESOL examinations, as part of a larger in-progress project concerning the role, currency and impact of major high-stakes examinations in Romania.*

***Key words:** high stakes examinations, language testing, perceptions and attitudes.*

1. The Context

The present study is part of a larger, longitudinal research project initiated in 2006 concerning the status and currency of major high-stakes EFL examinations in Romania. This longitudinal type of study has been labelled in the literature as ‘repeated cross sectional study’ or ‘trend study’. Such a study is defined by Dörnyei (2007: 83) as:

A popular way of obtaining information about change by administering repeated questionnaire surveys to different samples of respondents.

This project is an impact study whose focus is on two very different examinations: one designed, administered and corrected in Romania, namely the English component of the Romanian school leaving examinations; the second one, a range of Cambridge ESOL examinations which are designed and marked by Cambridge ESOL and administered by British Council Romania. The project consists of several stages. The project seeks to reveal how perceptions and attitudes of students and teachers concerning the most important high-stakes examinations existing in Romania change overtime.

The results of the first stage were reported by Frențiu and Goșa (2007). The authors presented an overview of the status of the Cambridge examinations in the Timișoara sub-centre on the one hand. On the other hand, the study reported on the familiarity with the perceptions of and the attitudes towards various Cambridge ESOL examinations as put forward by English majoring students in the University of Timișoara. The authors found that the students were most familiar with the Cambridge ESOL’s Certificate in Advanced English. They also observed that:

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 (Frențiu and Goșa, 2007: 299).

The second stage of the project consisted in an overview of the history, development and status of the English papers of the Bacalaureat (the Romanian school leaving examination). The findings were reported by Goșa and Frențiu (2008 a) who, argue that the *Bacalaureat* was afflicted by what they called ‘the yo-yo effect, that is, very frequent (almost on a yearly basis) changes and counter changes as far as the content and techniques were concerned. The authors conclude the paper by arguing:

... one problem in desperate need of attention is that of the design of the papers, with particular reference to the validity of the content and to the reliability of the making. (...) since the content of the items still reflects the knowledge-based, memory oriented nature of the Romanian education system, disregarding basic questions such as: what do educators in Romania expect the Bacalaureat degree holders to do with the knowledge in real life (Goșa and Frențiu, 2008: 148-149).

The third stage consisted in a replication of the improved pilot study administered in 2006, whose aim was to elicit the perceptions and attitudes of students and teachers towards the English papers in the Bacalaureat and Cambridge ESOL examinations. Partial results, namely a comparison between attitudes towards the Bacalaureat and the Cambridge ESOL’s Certificate in Advanced English were reported by Goșa and Frențiu (2008 b: 36). They argue that:

... the English papers in the Bacalaureat are not viewed positively by the respondents (both students and teachers). They are not seen as valid and reliable. Their attitudes are much more favourable, though, when it comes to Cambridge ESOL’s CAE exam.

The present paper focuses on the perceptions of the various Cambridge ESOL examinations existing in Romania, as seen by teachers and students from the English Department of the University of Timișoara, as elicited through questionnaires administered to university teachers and students.

2. The study

The 2008 study, as mentioned before, was conducted in the University of Timișoara and was based on self-completion questionnaires administered to teachers and students in the English Department. There

were 25 teachers out of which 15 returned the completed questionnaire. As far as the students are concerned, 85 Year 1 English major students were targeted and 43 completed questionnaires were returned. The questions analysed here refer to:

- the teachers' and students' familiarity with the Cambridge ESOL's examinations available in Romania,
- the Cambridge ESOL's examinations which they chose to sit and the reasons for sitting them,
- the teachers' and students' willingness to recommend sitting a Cambridge ESOL examination to other people
- the students' willingness to sit a Cambridge ESOL examination
- and finally to the teachers' and students' perceptions of the features of the Cambridge ESOL examinations.

2.1. Cambridge ESOL examinations

The teachers' and students' familiarity with the Cambridge ESOL's examinations will be presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. The teachers' and students' familiarity with Cambridge ESOL exams

	Very	Fairly	Vaguely	Not at all
Teachers (15)	9	5	1	-
Students (43)	9	7	22	5

As it can be observed from the table, the university teachers appear to be much more familiar with these examinations than the students. The vast majority of the teachers consider themselves as being familiar, while the majority of the students are vaguely or not at all familiar with them. One possible explanation for this discrepancy, besides the teachers probably being more interested in issues connected to teaching and learning, can be found in Table 3 which presents the number of respondents who have sat a Cambridge ESOL examination. This shows that almost half of the teachers have sat such an examination as compared to a small number of students who have sat one.

The next table shows which of the Cambridge examinations are most familiar to teachers and students.

Table 2. Familiarity with particular Cambridge ESOL's examinations

	CAE	CPE	FCE	PET	KET	BEC	YLE	TKT	IELTS	Not. compl.
Teachers (15)	15	14	14	6	5	7	4	1	1	-
Students (43)	20	6	22	2	-	1	-	-	2	19

The table above shows that both teachers and students are more familiar with the Upper Main Suite, which is not surprising since these are the most popular examinations worldwide. Surprising, though it may seem that both teachers and students are most familiar with CAE which is not the most widely sat examination around the world (FCE is). The most reasonable explanation is that in Romania CAE is the most widely taken examination. This is probably due to the Bilingual Schools Project initiated and supported by British Council Romania which allows bilingual schools to organise this examination on their premises and by offering a discount to the students as far as the fee is concerned.

The popularity of the CAE with the students is confirmed by our respondents as well. As shown in the next table.

Table 3. Cambridge ESOL examinations sat by teachers and students

	CAE	CPE	FCE	Total no. of people with a Cambridge ESOL exam
Teachers (15)	-	7	-	7
Students (43)	7	-	2	9

As mentioned previously, almost half of the teachers have chosen to sit a Cambridge ESOL examination, namely the CPE. The number of students who have chosen to sit one is dramatically lower, however, the majority who did choose to sit a Cambridge ESOL examination opted for CAE.

Table 4. The reasons given for having chosen to sit

	International	Studies	Career	Check	To become

	certification			level	an oral examiner
Teachers (15)	1	1	1	-	4
Students (43)	6	1	2	4	-

The reasons given by teachers and students for having chosen to sit a Cambridge ESOL examination differ, as well. While the majority of the teachers declared that they needed them to become a Cambridge oral examiner, the students wanted to have Cambridge ESOL certification because of its international recognition.

In Table 5 we present the number of teachers and students (students who, after sitting a Cambridge ESOL examination themselves), are willing to recommend it to other people along with a checklist of the reasons given for doing so.

Table 5. The teachers' and students' willingness to recommend sitting a Cambridge exam to other people and reasons

YES	Usefulness	Recognition	Relevance	Language development	Fair competition	Unlimited validity
15 Teachers (all)	6	7	1	2	-	1
9 Students (all)	3	2	4	2	1	-

All the teachers who responded to our questionnaire and all the students who have a Cambridge certification have a positive attitude towards these examinations because for their recognition and usefulness mainly (teachers) and for their usefulness and relevance mainly (students). On the other hand, the majority of the students of have not yet sat a Cambridge ESOL examination are willing to sit one, as shown in the following table.

Table 6. Students' willingness to sit a Cambridge ESOL examination (out of the 34 who have not yet sat any Cambridge examination)

	Yes	Possibly	I don't know: 1
No. of students (34)	19	3	1

The mainly positive attitude manifested by both the university teachers and student respondents in our survey can be explained by how they view the features of Cambridge ESOL examinations to be, as revealed by our analysis and presented as follows.

2.2. Features of Cambridge ESOL examinations

The following two tables present a checklist of features selected by the teachers and students to characterise the Cambridge ESOL examinations, a checklist of the reasons given and revealed by our analysis of the responses.

Table 7. Features of Cambridge ESOL examinations as seen by teachers and students

	Relevant	Useful	Trustworthy
Teachers (15)	Yes: 14 No: – I don't know: 1 Not completed: -	Yes: 13 No: – I don't know: 1 Not completed: 1	Yes: 14 No: – I don't know: - Not completed: 1
Students (43)	Yes: 24 No: 2 I don't know: 8 Not completed: 9	Yes: 41 No: – I don't know: 2 Not completed: -	Yes: 25 No: 1 I don't know: 6 Not completed: 11

The overwhelming majority of both teachers and students see Cambridge ESOL examinations as having predominantly positive features. They see them as relevant, useful and trustworthy. It is worth noting, nevertheless, that when it comes to their usefulness, almost all the students consider them as being so.

The reasons given by the teachers and students are listed in the table below.

Table 8. A checklist of the reasons given

	Positive	Negative
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Relevant	- it tests all skills - variety of task types: - communicative nature - validity - ESOL's professionalism	- term of validity too long
Useful	- for language development - for career - for immigration - for university studies - improves self-esteem	-
Trustworthy	- computer based marksheets - correction - security - papers marked in Cambridge - fairness - reduced subjectivity	- the role of luck -

The opinions have been grouped as positive and negative. As it can be seen, all the comments, except one are of a positive nature. Some examples of the kind of quotes found in the questionnaires might also prove illustrative and for this reason we provide a few of the most salient ones.

- 'It really shows what you know.'
- 'they test what Cambridge syndicate says it's ok to know'
- 'I consider it useful because of the image it creates about me.'
- 'cheat-proof administration'
- 'I guess nobody has any reasons to sabotage results.'
- 'A lot of people after sitting this exam forget English'
- 'luck has a role in your score'

We consider these quotes as being quite telling in putting forward how the students and teachers view Cambridge ESOL examinations, namely: valid, reliable and useful.

3. Concluding remarks

In this paper we have reported on the results of the third, 2008 stage of our investigation into high-stakes examinations and their impact in Romania. The focus of this report is on the perceptions of and attitudes towards Cambridge ESOL examinations.

As compared to the 2006 stage, in this stage we took into account both teacher and student perspectives. Our analysis revealed that the teachers consider themselves to be much more familiar with Cambridge ESOL examinations than the students. Similarly, a much larger proportion of teachers have sat a Cambridge ESOL examination, namely the Certificate of Proficiency in English, while only a small number of students have sat one, the most popular being the Certificate in Advanced English (a trend also identified in 2006). Nevertheless, both teachers and students view Cambridge ESOL examinations in very favourable way, considering them reliable, valid, relevant and useful mainly because of their international recognition (a trend also identified in 2006).

It can also be observed that in the trend identified in 2006, only a small number of students actually sat a Cambridge ESOL examination (out of 43 respondents, 10 had chosen to sit one). In 2008, from a very similar number of student respondents (43), only 7 said they had sat a Cambridge ESOL examination. Consequently, we notice a slight decrease in the number of students who sat a Cambridge ESOL examination. This, apparently, might challenge the student's positive attitudes towards these examinations and their high view on them. However, there may be other explanations for this discrepancy: the rather prohibitive cost of these examinations or the fact that the students wishing to attend our department do not view possessing a Cambridge certificate as being very useful. Additionally, those possessing one might choose to attend other departments or universities (such as Medicine and Pharmacy or Polytechnics).

Whatever the case, such issues are worth exploring in the further stages of our research project.

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NOTES ON THE CAMBRIDGE ESOL'S TEACHING KNOWLEDGE TEST IN WESTERN ROMANIA

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***Abstract:** This paper overviews the main features concerning the structure and administration of a relatively newly introduced Cambridge ESOL examination in Romania. It then reports the results of a mini survey on the views and opinions of the teachers who have chosen to sit TKT in Western Romania.*

***Key words:** examinations, mini survey, teachers, TKT.*

1. General overview of TKT

Introduced in May 2005 by Cambridge ESOL, the Teaching Knowledge Test (TKT) is designed to assess English language teachers' knowledge about teaching, including concepts related to language, language use and the background to and practice of English language teaching and learning. Unlike other Cambridge ESOL's tests for teachers (such as CELTA, CELTYL, ICALT and DELTA), TKT is test-based rather than course-based, as teachers' knowledge is assessed by means of a series of objective-format tests.

1.1. What is TKT?

TKT is a relatively new certificate from Cambridge ESOL, available internationally, suitable for teachers of English worldwide. Being a test of knowledge, it tests concepts related to:

- theories of language learning and teaching;
- English language systems and language skills;
- English language use;
- learners and learning;
- the practice of English language teaching and learning.

Consequently, TKT is neither a test of language proficiency, nor a test of classroom performance.

1.2. Who is TKT for?

The test is suitable for pre-service and novice teachers of English, teachers changing track, or English teachers wishing to get a valid life-long certification, teaching English to primary, secondary and adult learners, be it either non-first or first language English speakers. In fact, TKT is an ideal test for all teachers, whatever their background and teaching experience and

also suitable for people who would like to teach English but do not yet have a teaching position. TKT has no formal entry requirements, however, an intermediate level of English — Level B1 of the [Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages \(CEFR\)](#) — e.g. PET, IELTS band score of 4 – is expected (for a more detailed discussion of TKT candidate profiles see N. Novakovič's article in *Research Notes*).

1.3. Theoretical background of TKT

TKT draws on Grossman's (1990: 121) definition of teaching knowledge, which identifies four components:

- '*general pedagogic knowledge*' – general principles of teaching and learning that are applicable across subject disciplines;
- '*subject matter knowledge*' – more specifically facts and concepts of a subject discipline;
- '*pedagogic content knowledge*' – the representation of the subject matter through examples, analogies, ways of making it more comprehensible to students;
- '*knowledge of context*' – knowledge of educational aims, students, syllabus, etc.

The content of TKT stems from the first three of these knowledge areas, but *knowledge of context* is not assessed in TKT, because this knowledge would be evidenced more appropriately through teaching practice, which does not form part of the assessment for TKT. TKT tests candidates' knowledge of teaching, not their proficiency in English or performance in the classroom.

1.4. Content, format and results of TKT

There are three free standing modules with 80 multiple-choice questions each, which can be taken in one session or separately, in any order. Each module is free-standing and there's no aggregate score. Task types include matching and multiple-choice, among others. There is no listening, speaking or extended writing in this test.

Module 1 tests subject matter knowledge needed by teachers of English, such as knowledge about language systems, skills and subskills, the range of methods, tasks and activities available to the language teacher, factors in the language learning process

Module 2 is concerned with lessons planning, consulting reference resources to help in lesson preparation and selection and use of materials, activities and teaching aids.

Module 3 focuses on identifying the functions of learners' language, categorising learners' mistakes and options available to the teacher for managing learners and their classroom in order to promote learning.

Tests are available on dates requested by test providers and results are reported in four bands, with candidates gaining a certificate for each module taken. Results are reported in four bands:

<u>BAND 1</u>	<i>limited knowledge of TKT content areas</i>
<u>BAND 2</u>	<i>basic, but systematic knowledge of TKT content areas</i>
<u>BAND 3</u>	<i>breadth and depth of knowledge of TKT content areas</i>
<u>BAND 4</u>	<i>extensive knowledge of TKT content areas</i>

1.5. Accessibility, flexibility and support

The modular structure of TKT offers maximum accessibility and flexibility to test takers and test providers, therefore the test is relevant to teachers in a variety of teaching contexts, and at any stage of their teaching careers. The syllabus for the test is specified in the TKT Handbook, available at

www.cambridgeesol.org/support/dloads/tkt_downloads.htm, also containing full sample papers. A further resource that can support test preparation is the *TKT Glossary* – a 'dictionary' of approximately 400 teaching terms that may appear in the test, available at www.cambridgeesol.org/support/dloads/tkt.

In addition, seminars preparing for TKT examination are offered by British Council Romania in cooperation with Cambridge ESOL and are given by well-trained local presenters, selected by Cambridge ESOL and the British Council. Following such a seminar run in Western Romania (Oradea) in early spring 2008, an important number of teachers who attended it decided to take TKT.

The following section of the paper will present some details as far as the candidates profiles are concerned and their responses. Finally, the results obtained by the candidates will be also presented.

2. The mini survey

24 candidates sat TKT in Oradea in spring 2008 – almost all being practising teachers, with a professional experience ranging from 4 to more than 25 years. There was, however, one pre-service teacher who took the test in order to get a teaching position abroad. The candidates registered for a total of 49 distinct modules (half of them registering for all three modules available, 11 candidates took only one module, and one candidate took 2 modules).

The data collected from candidates by means of a questionnaire indicate that most of them were fairly familiar with Cambridge exams in general, considering these: 'best exams: valid for life', 'good for self improvement', 'a fair measure of one's knowledge', 'valid and reliable' because they are 'recognised worldwide' and 'one has to prepare for a Cambridge exam, so one learns more' (original comments).

As far as the reasons why the candidates said that they decided to take TKT mainly motioned two reasons: either to refresh or to confirm their knowledge about teaching. Here are some illustrative comments in their original wordings:

'I want to see what I am good at and improve where I'm not;
'simply to test my knowledge';
'to improve my teaching'.

Candidates who took all three modules accounted for their choice by claiming the holistic nature of this exam. For example, one candidate said: 'they refer to different aspects of teaching and core knowledge'. The candidates who chose one single module referred to the tentative nature of their endeavour or they mentioned financial reasons. Some illustrative quotes:

'I want to start with the beginning'
'I cannot afford more financially'.

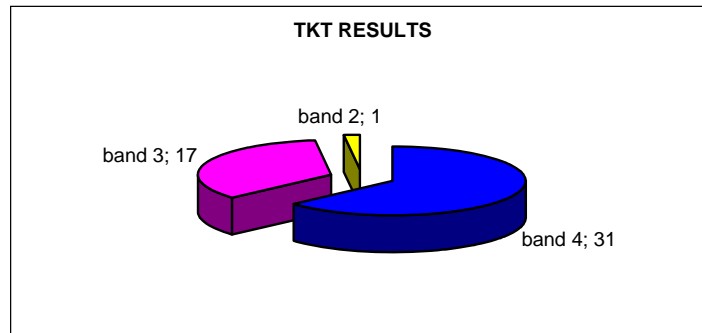
All candidates prepared for TKT by reading relevant materials, including a course book – *The TKT Course*, written by Mary Spratt, Alan Pulverness and Melanie Williams, published by Cambridge University Press, which was considered ideal for self-study. They also had access to some sample tests and Internet materials.

For these teachers, TKT provides a means of confirming the teaching knowledge they have gained from their experience in the form of a world wide recognised certificate. The reasons also referred to the developmental and career opportunities it entails, in spite of their costly nature. Here are some examples of salient quotes:

'It opens new career prospects';
'I'll become more aware as a teacher';
'It a means of self-evaluation';
'I need it in order to teach in another county';
'whatever the score, it will be a remarkable experience for me';
'It's quite expensive'.

3. The results obtained by the TKT candidates

The chart below reveals the results obtained by the candidates



As it can be seen, about two thirds of the total number of modules taken were in band 4 (the maximum band, as shown earlier), one third was in band 3, and only in one case a band 2 module was obtained. We view these results as an encouraging marker of the Romanian teachers' of English teaching knowledge.

4. Conclusions

The results obtained in the exam and responses to the questions in the questionnaire seemed to reveal a positive impact of this newly introduced exam. The TKT candidates manifested their satisfaction and positive attitudes towards it. It is similarly positive that this exam is being perceived a means of access to professional development for teachers.

The presentations and workshops organised by British Council in western Romania have resulted in a greater familiarity with the TKT, an increasing number of teachers still registering and requesting preparation courses in order to sit the exam this year. It seems that the modular structure of the test and the addition of two new modules:

- *Content and Language Integrated Learning*
- and *Knowledge About Language*

allow teachers to consider TKT as part of their teaching development strategies, and as a way of checking their teaching knowledge by connection to the international world of English as a foreign language teaching.

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TEACHING LANGUAGE THROUGH LITERATURE

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***Abstract:** Developing language, enlarging the students' cultural horizon and improving their creativity, imagination and critical thinking are a few of the advantages of teaching literature. My paper focuses on the question whether literature is still used for teaching language in Romanian primary and secondary schools, based on several discussions with teachers and an evaluation of some textbooks.*

***Keywords:** students, teachers, teaching language, teaching literature.*

Literature is one of the best ways of teaching and learning language, as it provides authentic texts and a variety of language. "Foreign language learners have to be exposed to different types of texts, from the most conventional to the most particular, but if they are eventually to find their own voice in the foreign language and culture, literary texts can offer them models of particularity and opportunities for the dialogic negotiation of meaning" (Kramsch, 1993:131).

"The language model", discussed by Carter and Long (1991), is associated with language-based approaches in which structures (grammar and vocabulary) are imposed and reinforced. Teaching literature also provides an opportunity to develop skills like reading, listening, speaking and writing and also study skills, training students to work on their own.

Littlewood, referring to language based methods for teaching literature, distinguishes some levels: "language as a system of structures", basically grammar and vocabulary, "language in a specific stylistic variety", which gives the students a chance to learn about different language varieties, "language as the expression of superficial subject matter", which refers to the situations and characters presented, and "language as the symbolization of the author's vision" (Littlewood, 2000: 178-180). This proves that studying literature and language is a complex process, involving the study of structures and the stylistic varieties of language which lead to the interpretation of the text.

Learning language through the use of literary texts is essential not only for language itself, but also for the future interpretation, which cannot be done without a proper understanding of the text. An "aesthetic reading" (McKay, 2000: 194) cannot be done without an examination and

understanding of the text. This should be followed by its interpretation at a more subtle level, teaching the students how to understand the characters, the narrative techniques and the symbolical meanings of the text.

Starting from these premises I wanted to find out if literature is still used by English teachers to teach language. Another starting point of this research consisted in my observations of the fact that the new textbooks used in English classes do not contain lessons based on literature. The methods used in my research are qualitative: starting from observations, I have asked 10 primary and secondary school teachers to answer several questions referring to the topic. Here are the findings of the study.

1. The first question refers to the importance of literature in English classes.

Only one teacher said that it is not one of her priorities. Most of the teachers acknowledged the fact that literature is important and gave several reasons:

- “it is important for my teaching and professional formation. It helps to improve language in a creative and stimulating way”.
- “it is important from a pragmatical point of view: useful for passing exams and being able to use it class, explaining certain notions to the students”.
- as “a source of authentic information, language, models, food for thought”.
- for personal development.

2. The level at which literature is used:

- Primary level- beginners;
- Secondary level – beginners –intermediate, upper intermediate, advanced.

3. Types of texts used:

- texts from course books: children’s and adult’s literature, modern literature:
 - autobiographies, SF, adventure novels;
 - adapted texts from books: detective stories, historical stories, fairy tales, legends;
 - prose, short fragments, used for development of vocabulary.

4. Textbooks

Many of the textbooks for primary or secondary level do not contain literature. The textbooks that have literature lessons are:

- English Factfile (6th grade) which has a story divided in chapters in every unit - Charlie and the Chocolate Factory.
- English Scrapbook (7th grade) includes units dedicated to reading: Factual and cultural information and Extensive reading and listening, containing stories for children (Pocohontas, Robin Hood).
- Snapshot (the textbook for the 8th grade) has special lessons devoted to literature. They are based on fragments taken from different stories/novels – *The Thirty-nine steps* by John Buchan, *The Horse Whisperer*, by Nicholas Evans, *Heat and Dust* by Ruth Praver Jhabvala, *Harry* by Rosemary Timperley - which are at the students' level (intermediate) and which appeal to their interests. The lesson contains some extra information about the author and the book. The texts are followed by different types of reading listening and vocabulary exercises and also writing ones.
- Prospects is another textbook that includes lessons based on literary fragments. In fact the whole unit is constructed upon it: the first activities are discussions of different topics related to the text and also vocabulary activities. The text is followed by reading exercises. The writing, speaking listening skills and grammar structures are developed based on the same text or on the topic of the text. The texts belong to famous writers, both traditional and modern: e.g. for the 12th grade, advanced: Olivia Manning, Charles Dickens, Arthur Miller, Scott Fitzgerald, William Shakespeare, H. G. Wells, etc.

5. Objectives aimed at when teaching literature:

- General objectives:
 - to make the lessons more attractive;
 - to develop the students' imagination;
 - to help students think creatively;
 - to create a pleasant atmosphere;
 - to build literary culture;
 - to arouse interest for literature and to encourage students to find out more about English literature;
 - to familiarize the students with the writing of a text / an author.
- Specific objectives (referring to language)
 - to use a variety of activities and texts;
 - to develop abilities in English;
 - to develop writing skills;
 - to develop speaking skills;

- to develop reading skills;
- to develop prediction skills (discussing the beginnings in order to arouse interest in the text);
- to introduce models of different styles of writing;
- to practise creative writing;
- to analyse the language used by the author in order to create the atmosphere;
- to describe the characters, their attitudes, development;
- to describe the story line / settings;
- to write a parallel story;
- to act out parts of a play / novel;
- to compare the action / language in the text to that in the film which was made after the book.

6. Teachers enjoy teaching literature

- because it offers a different perspective on the English language, adding value to English classes;
- they enjoy it as long as they get positive feedback from the students;
- it gives students the possibility to express themselves in different situations other than the regular English classes and the lesson may be structured in such a way, a to suit the students needs;
- it can be fun and interesting if the students are interested in the author / text chosen.

7. Students enjoy literature

- if they work on literary texts which are relevant for their level and interests;
- if it implies visualisation, connecting, personalizing, interpreting and simulating;
- it depends on how interesting the classes are;
- most of them are interested in the types of texts studied because they find out new things or if the info is already acquired, they can speak about it and this is fulfilling.

8. Reasons for which they do not like literature:

- sometimes they study it just because it is in the book;
- they are reluctant if they are told it is literature;
- they do not enjoy literature because of the Romanian classes where they have to write after dictation and learn ideas by heart.

9. Developing interest in literature and motivating students to read:

- using texts that suit their interests and are at their level (of language and understanding);
- through the use of varied activities;
- using materials that imply visualisation;
- using different types of interaction (pair work and group work).

In conclusion, teachers still use literature for teaching language, this being an important aspect of English classes, as it develops language skills and structures. They use literary texts as authentic sources of language, which could serve as models for their students. There are additional advantages, as literature improves the students' personalities and their critical thinking.

Although there are only a few textbooks which still contain lessons dedicated to literature, teachers still use a variety of texts, from supplementary resources. Therefore, young learners can be helped to acquire many language items in a pleasant way, using easy texts, stories, poems and this is also a good way of motivating students to learn the language.

The objectives of such lessons are diverse and quite numerous, ranging from general ones, which refer to the students personal qualities, to more specific ones, referring to skills, structures and specific objectives of a literary lesson. Students enjoy literature, but this is a component which depends on the teachers' attitude: if the classes are interesting, the texts well chosen, then the students are interested, if not, they lose interest. Therefore, teachers have to use specific strategies to get the students to study literary texts, to arouse their interest and to motivate them to read more. The success of such lessons depends on the teacher and the benefits refer not only to language, but also to personal qualities and cultural background.

Questionnaire

1. How important is literature to you personally as an English teacher?
2. Do you teach literature? (Please, refer to children's literature as well.) At what levels?
3. What type of literature do you teach / prefer to teach?
4. Which are your objectives when teaching literature?
5. Do the textbooks you are using contain lessons devoted specifically to literature? Please, detail.
6. Do you enjoy teaching literature? Please, explain.
7. Do your students enjoy studying literature? Please, explain.

8. How do you develop their interest in literature and motivate them to read?

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SOME GRIM EFFECTS OF A NATIONALLY IMPOSED ENGLISH CURRICULUM IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: *Recent reforms of the English curriculum in Romanian secondary schools have mainly adopted foreign approaches regardless of contextual requirements and the negative consequences of imposed uniformity. This article analyses several such implications, suggests an 'ecological' approach to educational change and recommends that teachers start their own reform by addressing students' needs.*

Keywords: *educational reform; individuality; national curriculum; Romania; syllabus design; teaching English*

1. Introduction

It has been argued that *we are what we know*, issues of knowledge always entailing issues of identity (Moore, 2000). Therefore, what is taught in schools is never an '*innocent*' decision, nor simply the result of shifts in educational theory, Moore maintains. It is, then, a matter of natural consequence (and, indeed, of desired harmony) that school curricula should be influenced by the social, economic, cultural and political context. However, when socio-economic or political issues take precedence over the students' interests, there are reasons for serious concern.

Of all the subjects taught in schools, languages are perhaps most intimately related to the idea of identity, and given that English has acquired such global status, issues related to English teaching (as a foreign or second language) are bound to be laden with controversy. From this point of view, in English-speaking countries there is a *top-down* decision-making process involving problems related to the identity of minorities who learn English as a second language (ESL) (Crookes, 1997; Ellis, 1996; Poetter, 2007; Troudi, 2005), whereas in non-English-speaking countries dissension revolves around issues of teaching English as a foreign language (EFL), with *bottom-up* decision making (Crookes, 1997; Ellis, 1996; Mihai, 2003). (The terms *top-down* and *bottom-up* are used here to represent the double-sided question: '*How much influence should we exert?*' versus '*How much influence should we accept?*') In either case, the teaching of English is far from being an independent education-driven pursuit, with English teachers often being mere '*political actors (or instruments)*' (Crookes, 1997:75).

But what happens when perfectly evitable problems are added to these inherently inevitable complications? What happens when top educational decision makers undermine the very essence of education, and end up planning for failure? A case in point is the situation of nationally imposed curricula, which – under the egalitarian pretence – level everybody up (students and teachers alike), stifling creativity, originality and everything that is personally relevant to those concerned.

The curricula for all subjects taught in schools would lead to similar negative results when externally imposed, but foreign languages are a particularly problematic case through the peculiar character of foreign/second language acquisition. Searching for answers to perennial questions, the present article analyses some of the implications of forced uniformity in schools, with an emphasis on the English-as-a-Foreign-Language teaching in Romanian state schools – an educational system that I have known as a student, as a teacher student and as a teacher.

2. Background

After four decades of oppressive communist dictatorship, Romania is still struggling to regain balance and its staggering return to democracy has been subject to numerous external influences. The replacement of the communist government, in 1989, with a neo-communist regime brought further complications to the context in which the last major reforms in Romanian education have taken place.

The combination of strong international influences like the World Bank, the European Union and the British Council (Mihai, 2003) – on the one hand – and a controversial political atmosphere with changes of government triggering changes in educational policy every four years – on the other – has led to a condition of *faulty* (rather than *healthy*) *glocalization* in the Romanian EFL context. Friedman (1999, in Mihai, 2003:14), defines ‘*healthy glocalization*’ as ‘*the ability of a culture, in contact with other strong cultures, to absorb influences that can enrich that culture, to resist those cultural elements that are truly alien, and to acknowledge those elements that, while different, can nevertheless be enjoyed and celebrated as different*’. But this would imply a very strong national identity (and, perhaps, economy), which Romania does not have yet. Modern educational principles have thus been implanted in the Romanian EFL curriculum, and forcefully imposed on everybody in the *good* old communist spirit. The effects are – not surprisingly – grim, as we shall see.

The (ever) new Romanian National Curriculum stipulates in great detail everything that is expected from kindergarten to senior secondary school, including ‘*attainment targets, reference objectives, learning*

activities, syllabi and curricular standards of performance' (Mihai, 2003:64). What this means in real terms is a series of prescriptive documents written in a bombastic and manipulatory style, that most teachers never actually see. What some of them do see is the subject syllabus – usually different for every level and specialisation – but teachers who have taught for many years closely following a textbook, and who do not even know what the syllabus is or where it can be found, are not infrequent.

The theoretical framework of the secondary-school EFL curriculum is based on a functional-communicative model of learning and teaching, and syllabi included prescribe a number of objectives that students must attain every year. In practice, though, teaching is still heavily driven by grammar-translation methodology, and the final examination (the baccalaureate) – which for most students represents the main reason for learning – has a structure that contradicts the theoretical principles stated in the official documents.

The much-acclaimed curricular reforms have actually taken some Western educational grafts and transplanted them into an organism that was not ready to receive them yet. What is even worse, both teachers' and students' individuality is being crushed by having to comply with uniform standards that allow for little creativity. No wonder, then, that both groups display various escapist behaviours meant to protect their self-worth (Covington, 1984).

3. Forced uniformity in education

3.1 General effects

'Despite having different races, religions, socioeconomic statuses, and ability levels, students are expected to learn using the same curriculum. How does this teach them to celebrate their individual uniqueness?' – Poetter (2007:84) asks rhetorically. Indeed, recent currents in educational psychology have emphasised the overwhelming importance of the individual experiences, backgrounds, expectations, attitudes and cognitions that every person brings to the learning experience (Arnold, 1999; Deci and Ryan, 1985; Poetter, 2007; Williams and Burden, 1997, 1999). And yet, individualised education is still the exception, rather than the rule.

As Deci and Ryan (1985) have demonstrated, the lack of choice necessarily implies the presence of control, and control rules out self-determination, and, thus, intrinsic motivation – which is crucial to successful learning:

Events that control behavior generally lead people to comply with the controls, but they can also stimulate the opposite tendency to defy. Often people respond to a control by rebelling against it, perhaps doing just the opposite of what was

demanded. [...] Controlling events are hypothesized to stifle creativity, diminish cognitive flexibility, yield a more negative emotional tone, and decrease self-esteem, relative to events that support autonomy. (p. 62)

Compliance, defiance and demotivation are natural reactions to controlling environments, present not only in students, but also in teachers. Controlling contexts are known to foster competitive orientations and, through the very idea of competition, they encourage one or very few winners, to the detriment of the rest. And, as theorists like Covington (1984) have postulated, all human beings are driven by the desire to preserve a sense of self-worth, so will do everything to avoid looking incapable (even if only in their own eyes). Since competition involves many 'losers' and just a few 'winners', most people in controlling circumstances will either comply superficially, rebel against the imposition or become amotivated.

For the teacher, having to work on externally imposed syllabi, with (perhaps) externally imposed textbooks, in a school where administrative decisions are made in the interest of the institution, not of teaching professionalism (Crookes, 1997), consequences can be disastrous: loss of autonomy and motivation, alienation, burnout (Brown, 1995), and what Crookes (1997:68) calls the 'deskilling of professional teachers' (having four main causes: the exclusion of teachers from curriculum design, too much accountability, too little provision for peer interaction, and underfunding.)

For some learners, externally imposed language syllabi may be – at their best (when grave negative consequences do not appear) – a waste of time, since it is now well known that learners acquire foreign languages in accordance to their own individual internal syllabi (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987; Mitchell and Myles, 1998), accommodating new items into their particular interlanguage according to how '*learnable*' these are at a given developmental stage (Ellis, 1993; Lightbown and Spada, 1999; Nunan, 2001).

And yet another important problem of imposed uniformity in education is that a programme that treats every learner in the same way undermines its own accountability (a term that is so dear to controlling authorities in education) (Richards 1984:4). For an educational programme to be accountable to its stakeholders, it has to start with an accurate needs analysis which will dictate possible tailored ways of catering to the *customers'* educational needs (Brown, 1995; Richards, 2001). However, a nationally imposed curriculum can never achieve this, as it puts everybody in the same box and applies the same label, failing to take into account – or choosing to ignore – individual differences, hence individual needs.

3.2 Romanian secondary schools

Apart from the general problematic character of educational uniformity already discussed, Romanian secondary schools have a few particularities that I know from first-hand experience.

3.2.1 Teachers

Though Crookes (1997:67) was generalising when he said that '*much teaching remains at the level of coping*', this assertion is representative of many Romanian teachers. Humiliated by a severe decrease in status over recent years, being paid embarrassing salaries which are never confidential, losing their authority in the eyes of students who cannot find much practical usefulness for education in today's unbalanced society (Popa and Acedo, 2006), Romanian teachers have become social pariahs. The restrictions and the impositions pertaining to a teaching job, as well as the ever increasing paperwork, ensure that most competent graduates – who are desperately needed in education – do not even consider entering the field.

Especially among teachers who feel insecure for one reason or another, there is a general tendency to fight for an elusive sense of authority, which is often kept in place by the granting of marks. In the Romanian system, these are assigned on a 1-10 scale, '*based more on teacher's experience and perception rather than clear, relevant and unitary criteria*', as Mihai (2003:69) comments. Frequently, bad marks are granted for bad behaviour – leading to further bad behaviour, which in turn leads to more bad marks. And, in a system that is excessively assessment-driven anyway, tests are sometimes given as punishment, to the extent that the mere thought of a test is now associated in the students' minds with punitive, unfair, teacher behaviour.

3.2.2 Students

Given that teachers have a dramatic influence on their students (Dörnyei, 2001; Littlejohn, 1985; Williams and Burden, 1999), consequences are easy to predict. Under conditions of imposed uniformity and controlling circumstances, just like teachers, students either comply (more often than not relinquishing identity and any form of personal contribution), defy control, or become totally amotivated. In addition, they may display a very interesting behaviour discussed by a handful of researchers including Covington (1984), Rollett (1987) and Seifert & O'Keefe (2001): *effort-avoidance motivation*. In Rollett's words, such students

try to do everything within their power to avoid being trapped [...]. By trying to escape from these situations, however, they show every sign of motivated behaviour, but it is a type of motivation which acts in many ways contrary to achievement motivation. When aroused by a task, it causes the learner to summon all of his (or her) resources to succeed in avoiding the goal-directed actions and/ or the goal itself. (Rollett, 1987: 148)

Striving to regain control over the situation (hence, a sense of competence and self-worth), such learners may resort to *self-handicapping strategies* (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Dweck, 1999; Rhodewalt and Vohs, 2005), a form of active manipulation through which they employ all their energy, intelligence and creativity to convince their educators that they are not competent or intelligent enough to cope with the task imposed on them. As Covington explains, one cannot fail in something one does not do, and since the competitive mark-driven context of the classroom only favours a few lucky ‘winners’ (especially in conditions of teacher subjectivism), these students prefer to invest all their efforts in *not* doing what they are expected to, and thus protect their self-perceptions (Covington, 1984; Seifert and O’Keefe, 2001).

It has been argued that marks – and, indeed, any other form of material or psychological reward – are efficient instruments of control and, together with the drive to avoid punishment, commonly used to restrict and influence people’s behaviour. Besides other unethical implications, external rewards or constraints lead to the activity in question being perceived as a means to an end, rather than the end itself. The respective behaviour does no longer occur because it is interesting, but because it is a way of obtaining a reward (or the negative counterpart of avoiding punishment) (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Dweck, 1999). This, of course, means *external motivation* – whose main problem is that it is not *sustainable*: when the external reward or constraint has ceased to exist, the person does not find any reason within to continue the activity in question. This is why most students would only learn in order to acquire high marks (or to avoid failure), rather than because they are driven by curiosity and personal interest. Sadly, this is a natural consequence of inflexibly imposed curricula.

4. Solutions?

4.1 Ideally...

All education should be ‘ecological’ – a term used by Tudor (2001, 2003) and other authors to represent a combination of three key words: *context*, *ethnography* and *dynamics* (of the teaching-learning situations). All these actually translate into one single concept: *local meaningfulness*. When

external influences are accepted, these should always be adapted to the local attitudes, perceptions, values, beliefs and goals (Clarke, 1991; Davies, 2007; Ellis, 1996; Mihai, 2003; Troudi, 2005).

Communicative language teaching, for example, is perceived by many as a magic wand in the English teaching world. However, it would not have the same efficiency in all situations. As Ellis (1996:215) explains, a communicative approach is more justified in an ESL medium (where language learning is meant to help individuals function in the community) than in an EFL environment (subject to curricular demands and examination pressures). '*Reconsidered in this light,*' Ellis notes, '*the EFL teacher could be doing the student a disservice by focusing on oral skills when, for example, the examination is testing for translation skills*'. As we have seen, this is exactly what happens in Romanian schools. For this context, a '*principled communicative approach*' would be more suitable, which combines '*direct, knowledge-oriented and indirect, skill-oriented teaching approaches*' (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell, 1997:148; also – under various tags – Breen, 2001; Davies, 2007; Ellis, 1993; Finneman, 1987).

But even a locally adapted curriculum that is set in stone and imposed from the outside may produce the unwanted effects mentioned above. A more beneficial option may be the so-called *negotiated* or *process* syllabus, in which syllabus design itself becomes part of the learning process (Clarke 1991:14), with learners playing an active role in the ongoing process of negotiation. While such an approach would be impossible to apply completely in the development of large-scale curricula, many authors endorse the immense importance of involving the learners (Clarke, 1991; Gray, 1990; Littlejohn, 1985; Spratt, 1999; Williams and Burden, 1997) and – of course – the teachers: '*Involving teachers in systematic curriculum development may be the single best way to keep their professionalism vital and their interest in teaching alive*' (Brown, 1995:206).

Then, without question, we need better teachers (i.e., more funding for education). They are especially needed in a process-oriented English teaching curriculum, where teacher expertise will replace the old-fashioned adherence to authoritarian imposition (Crookes, 1997; Ellis, 1996; Poetter, 2007; Richards and Nunan, 1990). And, from an *ecological* perspective, they need a strong combination of content and cultural knowledge. In today's world, this will have to go far beyond a mere collection of grammatical rules and factual data about the native speakers of the language one teaches – it will have to comprise a deep insight into second/ foreign language acquisition (supported by comprehension of technical terms and a critical view of pedagogy), as well as thorough understanding of the role

that English has in the world nowadays, and its sociocultural, economic and political implications (Troudi, 2005).

4.2 Practically...

However, it would not be particularly helpful if teachers waited for improvement to come *from above*, while bemoaning their limited options. As headway is more likely to propagate from bottom to top, teachers should become more aware of the impact they have on students' lives and, indeed, of the massive improvement that they can bring into the classroom with just a little determination.

In terms of (English) language syllabi, even when these are externally imposed, they can easily be adapted to match the existing schemata of the learners (Clarke, 1991). Using the same prescribed activities irrespectively with a number of learners, ignoring their different attitudes, expectations, knowledge, learning style and pace, is bound to trigger antagonism (Ellis 1996), effort avoidance (Rollett, 1987), helplessness (Dweck, 1999; Dweck and Licht, 1980) and impaired academic achievement (Deci and Ryan, 1985).

Clarke (1989) offers an insightful illustration of how language teachers can involve the learners even in imposed-syllabus imposed-textbook situations, when the course focuses on linguistic content (still very much the case in Romania). Students' virtually unlimited creativity can be put to good use in the process of materials adaptation and design, for which the author offers five basic principles followed by useful examples (p. 135). As Clarke underlines elsewhere,

...the adoption of a negotiated component within an external syllabus would at least in some measure provide a manageable opportunity for reducing the almost inevitable dichotomy between the cognitive and affective individuality of learners and the external, ends-focused syllabus with which they typically have to work. (1991:26)

Studies have shown important discrepancies between students' and teachers' perceptions of what constitutes an enjoyable language learning activity. All too often, Spratt (1999:152) remarks, those involved in syllabus, materials and activity design predict what learners would like or dislike and act accordingly. But, having seen that '*teachers' perceptions of learners' preferences for activities cannot be fully relied upon when used as an input to lesson planning, materials writing or syllabus design*' (p. 150), the importance of involving students' cognitive and affective sides in the development of their own language learning seems not only logical, but also vitally recommendable.

5. Conclusion

Mark Twain is credited to have said, ‘*I’ve never let my schooling interfere with my education*’, and we know he has many followers among students all over the world. But what, then, is our mission as teachers? Why not use the children’s fascination with discovery and natural curiosity to better ends? Why not turn our students’ *effort-avoidance motivation* by 180° and help them achieve great things in a way that is personally significant to them? It all starts with us, individual teachers, not with governments and educational authorities. If these are more preoccupied with international emulation and monetary policies than the interests of our students, nothing stops us from doing the opposite. It is, after all, the students we see every day who offer us our *raison d’être*.

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