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CONTENTS

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HUMAN (IN)CONSISTENCIES IN IAN MCEWAN'S *AMSTERDAM*

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Abstract: *Ian McEwan's Amsterdam has supplied its readers with psychological, moral and social topical issues presented in an easy flowing and exhilarating style. Starting from the assumption that life consists of a series of inconsistencies which are inherent and bring their contribution to the individual's formation, the paper aims at demonstrating that the protagonists' judgmental and moral inconsistencies, which are used as a plot generator and are environmentally determined, reveal features of their personality.*
Keywords*: consistency, inconsistency, judgmental inconsistencies, moral inconsistencies, novel.*

1. Introduction

Ian McEwan's *Amsterdam* is widely perceived as different from his previous novels both as "a kind of writing experience", as the author admits in an interview (McEwan, *Interview*, 1998 qtd. in Childs 2006:120), and as a finite product, since the readers' opinions vary from very appreciative ones, resulting in the Booker Prize in 1998, to critical ones which fail to adhere to its pattern breaking newness. However, beyond its apparent shallowness and easily flowing style, the novel plays with overlapping and often sliding planes of human behaviour which, changing in time and space, reveal inconsistency as a consistent feature of human nature.

2. Consistency/ Inconsistency

(In)consistency, roughly seen as (dis)agreement or lack of coherence among things or parts, is related to the continuous change of man's "knowledge base" (Perlis 1997:15) as part of the cognitive process which cannot be entirely controlled. An individual's mind receives new data which are processed on the background of the already existing data, meaning that one's mind is always active and is in a permanent change. Irrespective of whether we apply the pattern of Wolfgang Iser's (1974) phenomenological reader of the surrounding "text of the world" or the one of the mind receiving "myriad impressions", according to Virginia Woolf (1966:105), or of the data receiving mind, there is a consensus theory according to which the knowledge basis keeps changing. On the one hand, new information enters the individual's knowledge basis and changes it, some pieces of information may be in agreement and only enlarge the basis without affecting his/her consistent attitude or behaviour while others may be in conflict, therefore inconsistent with former knowledge, which may lead to a change of attitude; on the other hand, the mind aims to accommodate the new information or to regain the agreement between its parts. Therefore, the information is processed so as to surpass the

conflict and find a solution which may either re-establish the former state or establish a new attitude.

The dichotomy consistency/inconsistency, mainly explored in psychology, has found its utility in various domains, from economics to cybernetics and political sciences, which are related to decision making and behavioural changes. Researchers have thus identified sources and types of inconsistencies. The sources of inconsistencies are associated with the new information the already existing knowledge basis receives, with the relation between expectations and data inconsistency, or with the time-space component. As mentioned above, the knowledge basis is in a continuous change due to the ever coming information that may either agree or disagree with its parts. The reception of new information cannot be entirely controlled and the mind goes through a process of checking the data, in case it disagrees with the other elements and leads to conflict, therefore through a period of confusion or inconsistency, until the solution is found (Perlis 1997:14).

Another source of inconsistency is associated with the type of memory based on more or less stereotypical beliefs. Küppers and Bayen (2014:2043-2044) make the difference between schema-consistent information and schema-inconsistent information, which are less well and respectively better remembered. In their analysis, founded on the research of Gawronski et al. (2003) and of Stangor and McMillan (1992), they share the idea of this "connection between expectancy strength and the occurrence of inconsistency effects." However, they also agreed on the fact that stronger stereotypical beliefs lead to "better memory for inconsistent stereotypes", while "weaker stereotypical beliefs [show] no difference in memory". (Küppers and Bayen 2014:2043-2044)

Human inconsistency also depends on time and space. Starting from psychologists' and economists' conclusion that people generally are inconsistent at different times, Prince and Shawhan demonstrate that men are more often inconsistent than women are, and therefore show a tendency towards procrastination and making choices "with long term costs or risks against their own prior wishes" (Prince and Shawhan 2011:501). As regards space, people's movement from one place to another implies a change of their beliefs and attitudes sometimes in connection with the expectancy strength and with the difference between home, implying stability/consistency, and other places. Spatial exploration supposes the desire to discover new data and feel new emotions which may cause inconsistency.

Since inconsistency is associated to knowledge acquisition, it is, according to Perlis (1997:16), "not only necessary as a component of commonsense reasoning, but is even a good thing, a guide to rational decision making." He also mentions the fact that the opponents consistency/inconsistency have both positive and negative features as follows: "Somehow consistency carries an aura of sense, solidity, correctness, and its opposite – inconsistency – an aura of incorrectness, sloppiness, nonsense." (Perlis 1997:16) Such features have determined the association of inconsistency with misjudgements and with the lack of morality, a direction that McEwan follows in his novel. However, "strict adherence to consistency also carries an aura of hidebound inflexibility, unwillingness to consider new ideas", which eventually leads to periods of inconsistency. On the other hand, from moments of inconsistency new ideas, "new insights and re-interpretations" often emerge (Perlis 1997:16).

Since inconsistencies are unavoidable in people's life, they also represent an important ingredient in literature, which mainly speculates on conflicts and turning points in characters' evolution. In *Amsterdam* McEwan (2005) explores a drift from life's smoothness and imagines a quest for a solution or a return to stability which can be interpreted as a concatenation of events causing judgemental and moral inconsistencies.

3. Inconsistency As a Plot Generator

Within the economy of the narrative, inconsistency acts as a generator of tension and makes the story unfold. Disturbing the stability of the characters' lives, an inconsistency launches an inner conflict and an implicit quest for the initial state of calmness. McEwan's *Amsterdam* shows how unexpected events lead to inconsistent behaviour in the story of two friends, Vernon and Clive, whose common friend, Molly, died due to her mental decline. This sudden death creates a moment of crisis which makes the two friends decide upon assisting each other in euthanasia if they enter such a decline. Following the structure and the well dosed pace of a play, without lingering in descriptions, the novel rests on Vernon and Clive's inner conflict: Molly's mental decline resulting in sudden death. 'Sudden' carries the burden as it implies weak or no expectancy marking a lasting memory and a problem they have to deal with. The strong impact Molly's death had on the two characters is fuelled by their love for Molly and the time they had spent together. Therefore, besides the fact that new data are added to their knowledge basis, they have to accommodate to the new situation, reason and find a commonsense solution. Since death is irreversible, they start worrying about their own death and find a provisional solution in their agreement which is meant to spare them the embarrassment Molly had been through. Yet, their vow generates new unexpected circumstances, a sequence of inconsistencies and suspicion, which force them to keep searching for a solution to restore stability.

Clive's inconsistent behaviour determined by the new situation consists of the delay in finishing the Millennial Symphony, of the failure to help a woman who was being raped while he was creating, of the change of his feelings towards Vernon as he had noticed the changes in Vernon's attitude and beliefs (Vernon's inconsistencies), his failure to recognize the man who had raped the woman or to anticipate his friend's behaviour. Vernon, in his turn, in his attempt to meet his readers' recognition by publishing the pictures of Garmony and when he decides to poison Clive in the end without caring about Clive's possibility to do the same, shows a different behaviour arising from his inconsistencies.

An analysis of the inner and outer planes of the novel shows that the protagonists as well as the author go through challenging experiences which determine behavioural changes as evidence of their bias towards procrastination. McEwan admits the pleasurable effect the experience of writing *Amsterdam* had on him:

> It was a real pleasure to write *Amsterdam*. If I had to characterize my mood, I wrote in a state of glee. It was a very different kind of writing experience from *Enduring Love*, which was full of almost nightmare intensity – which in itself was exhilarating. But this had a quality of...I kept thinking, 'If nobody else likes it, I don't give a damn, because I really am having fun.' (McEwan, *Interview*, 1998 qtd. in Childs 2006:120)

McEwan's emotions associated with the two novels are different, even contradictory, which reveals his inconsistencies with himself/his creative selves. This very confession restates the well known fact that an artist has multiple personalities or authorial selves or masks which change from work to work. Clive Linley, a composer himself, should be expected to reveal his creative personalities, although the novel covers only the period when he is working on a symphony.

Echoing the emotional changes in both the author and his characters, as well as the fluctuant plot, critics and readers shared contradictory impressions. The novel was awarded the Booker Prize, which proves its qualities in terms of narrative devices, for instance, used in an easily flowing and exciting narrative. There were also voices rising rather from impressions that the novel may give, such as a simple and "preposterous" plot or the use of an "irritating" tone (Jordison 2011), and which considered it McEwan's worst novel. But *Amsterdam* is a novel completely adequate to its time: short, entertaining, flowing rapidly

among apparently distracting loops of memory or rhythm, resulting in conflicts and suspense. The author's joy and emotions were transferred to the narrative, yet they were harshly rejected by readers who failed to see the beauty in variations of intensity and changes of rhythm. Eventually the inconsistency is in the reader's eye and is a result of the reader's expectation.

Procrastination, misjudgements and moral hypocrisy, aspects that will be identified in the characters' behaviour, attend the inconsistencies in the protagonists' evolution and also stand for basic tendencies of their personalities.

4. Inconsistencies of Judgement

A highly determinant role in judging or making decisions lies in the context – meaning knowledge basis, time, space, situation – which influences people's feelings and way of thinking. According to Perlis (1997:14), any new piece of information creates a state of confusion until it is understood, recognized as true and assimilated, and contributes to the enlargement of the knowledge basis. The information or knowledge basis undoubtedly varies in time; therefore, a person's attitude as a result of the same information may be different at different times. Besides this time inconsistency, other more flexible factors such as a person's mood, which often is rendered or influenced by space or by the interaction with other people, can determine his/her behaviour.

In *Amsterdam* the characters' change of attitude in relation with space is obvious and extensively exploited. Open and public spaces require a kind of behaviour in accordance with social rules; houses and rooms provide a more intimate space that reveals a less formal or even hidden side of the characters. For example, Clive lives in disorder when he creates:

> The house had a closeted atmosphere and he [Vernon] guessed that Clive had not been out for a day or two. A half-opened door revealed the bedroom to be in a mess. He sometimes asked the housekeeper not to come in when he was working hard. The state of the studio confirmed the impression. (McEwan 2005:47)

While such short-term and routine variations, which are deliberately adhered to, do not count as inconsistencies, other more striking, isolated and unexpected situations resulting in long-term disturbances and obvious changes of behaviour are to be analysed.

Molly's funeral, including the journey to the cemetery and the meeting with George and Garmony, and Vernon's visit to her room, seasoned with George's memories about her mental decline in contrast with Clive's and Vernon's memories about the Molly they knew, are two experiences with a strong emotional impact. Clive, for instance, feels powerful sensations that he considers "simple night fear" but which are instilled by Molly's death:

> His feet were icy, his arms and chest were not. Anxieties about work transmuted into the baser metal of simple night fear: illness and death, abstraction which soon found their focus in the sensation he still felt in his left hand. (…) Wasn't this the kind of sensation Molly had when she went to hail that cab by the Dorchester? He had no mate, no wife, no George, to care for him, and perhaps that was a mercy. But what instead? (…) He would see a doctor in the morning. But that's what Molly did, and they sent her off for tests. They could manage your descent, but they couldn't prevent it. Stay away then, monitor your own decline, then when it is no longer possible to work, or live with dignity, finish it yourself. But how could he stop himself passing that point, the one Molly reached so quickly, when he would be too helpless, too disoriented, too stupid to kill himself? (McEwan 2005:25)

Their commonsense reasoning, assuming the situation has been understood, resorts to an extreme solution mirroring panic and nonconformism:

> Just supposing I did get ill in a major way, like Molly, and I started to go downhill and make terrible mistakes, you know, errors of judgement, not knowing names of things or who I was, that kind of thing, I'd like to know there was someone who'd help me to finish it … I mean, help me to die. (McEwan 2005:49)

Both Vernon and Clive fail to notice the context that determined the intensity of their feelings and their mental and behavioural sideslip at this very moment. Had Molly not been their close friend and had they considered the changes that may appear in time, they wouldn't have made the vow. It is actually the proof of their first inconsistency of judgement.

Besides, the vow has an anticipatory effect as it elicits the reader's expectation for death in at least one of the characters. Consequently, inconsistency becomes an engine that makes the narrative coherently continue with changes and that turns the two friends into enemies. The conflict arises from Vernon's disagreement with Clive's not having helped the woman in the Lake District and Clive's disagreement with Vernon's decision to publish the pictures that George had given to him. Vernon asked Clive to go to the police to tell them what he had seen otherwise he would go himself, Clive "emerged from a tunnel into clarity", that is into understanding what kind of "Vermin" his friend was, and later decided to send him a "poisonous card": "Your threat appals me. So does your journalism. You deserve to be sacked. Clive." (McEwan 2005:138) This attitude towards each other somehow echoes their inner and unspoken beliefs, as they both have an intuition of their wrongdoings, beliefs that they eschew by hiding behind "reasoning". This disagreement with each other and with themselves is a result of time and space inconsistencies, including imaginary ones.

Another inconsistency lies in Clive's failure to anticipate Vernon's behaviour and Vernon's failure to anticipate Clive's and it comes at the end when they kill each other in the same way, despite their fundamental similarity of character. Their commonsense reasoning hinders them from doing it in England, from breaking the law and being common murderers. Their behaviour is geographically inconsistent, as it adapts to the place where they are. In their decisions they harmonize their inner wishes with the geographical opportunities to get maximum satisfaction: the mountains of the Lake District are supposed to provide Clive with inspiring loneliness and he counts on privacy when he decides upon not telling the police about the rape; Amsterdam means openness and freedom.

5. Moral Inconsistencies

Amsterdam is often interpreted as a moral novel due to the dilemmas around which the story is woven. "*Amsterdam* has the briefness, the relatively simple characters, the clear moral and social dilemmas that are associated with the genre. Clive and Vernon are each confronted with a moral dilemma, and each makes a disastrous decision." (Malcom 2002:194) The protagonists' 'moral dilemmas' are, according to Hertwig and Hoffrage, "moral inconsistencies" which cause inconsistent behaviour. In their opinion, "focusing on internal traits may obstruct our view of the external world", therefore moral inconsistencies are environmentally determined and classified as follows: "inconsistencies in moral behaviour across situations" – people who used to be ethical in the past but within a context, which is misunderstood or misinterpreted, suddenly do bad things –, "inconsistencies between moral judgment and reasoning" – when people support their deeds with false post hoc reasons –, and "inconsistencies between moral judgment and behaviour" – when people lie despite their being against lying (Hertwig and Hoffrage 2013:464). The last category is also called "moral hypocrisy" and seen as a source for behavioural inconsistency by Monin and Merritt (2011).

Moral inconsistencies are easy to identify in both Clive's and Vernon's behaviour and judgement. Being under time pressure with his Millennial Symphony, Clive decides to take an inspirational journey to the Lake District. Along the route he takes he sees a woman and a

man during an argument and an attempt to rape, and refrains from helping the woman, being afraid that "the murmur of a voice" (McEwan 2005:84) which is inspiring him may disappear. He chooses to be absent: "I am not here." (McEwan 2005:85), revealing his selfishness and the two sides of his personality in the description below. There is, however, an obvious overlapping of imaginary and real planes, since he treats reality as a hypothesis ("if she needed protection"). His decision not to interfere shows his moral slippage in the style of dark comedy:

> He was crossing out notes as fast as he was setting them down, but when he heard the woman's voice rise to a sudden shout, his hand frozen. He knew it was a mistake, he knew he should have kept writing, but once again he peered over the rock. [He imagines a scene in which he saves the woman and they leave together.] Even this least probable of outcomes would destroy his fragile inspiration. […] Their fate, his fate. The jewel, the melody. Its momentousness pressed upon him. […] What was clear now was the pressure of choice: he should either go down and protect the woman, if she needed protection, or he should creep away […] to find a sheltered place to continue his work – if it was not already lost. […] It was as if he wasn't there. He wasn't there. He was in his music. His fate, their fate, separate paths. (McEwan 2005:86-89)

Although less usual experiences, which may be considered 'schema-inconsistent information', are expected to be well remembered, Clive fails to remember the face of the man who raped the woman when he is taken to the police. This ranges him among people with "weaker stereotypical beliefs" (Küppers and Bayen 2014:2044). The solution he found to his brief conflict of whether to help the woman or not shows his selfishness.

Similarly, Vernon reveals his moral inconsistency when he claims he wants to publish the pictures Molly had taken of Garmony in woman underwear and clothes. He invokes his responsibility as an editor and ignores the moral prejudice he could bring to Molly's memory. While Clive gets sensitive to this moral issue, as a result of his friendship for Molly, Vernon, just like his friend writing the symphony during the journey, believes in the success the newspaper *The Judge* will have due to the publication of the pictures. He presents a reason of social and economic interest, which hides his personal aim and betrays his friendship for Molly, revealing an inconsistency between moral judgment and reasoning.

> Clive! Listen to me. You're in your studio all day dreaming of symphonies. You've no idea what's at stake. If Garmony's not stopped now, if he gets to be a prime minister in November, they've got a good chance of winning the election next year. Another five years! There'll be even more people living below the poverty line, more people in prison, more homeless, more crime, more riots like last year. He's been speaking in favour of national service. (McEwan 2005:74)

Their disagreement with each other evolves into an apparent betrayal: Clive sends the poisonous card to Vernon who does not receive the criticism well and goes to the police to tell them that Clive witnessed the rape. Unexpectedly, Clive cannot identify the man who raped the woman, which reflects his total detachment and/or loss of memory. Each identifies the other's inconsistent behaviour consisting of misjudgements, moral inconsistency and loss of memory, and decides to act according to the vow.

6. Conclusions

Irrespective of whether inconsistencies are perceived as the frequent inner conflicts emerging out of a challenged knowledge basis daily assaulted by new information, as inconsistencies of judgement determined by situations or misunderstandings, or as moral inconsistencies arising from the conflict between people's declared adherence to moral principles and their deeds – everybody confronts them and learns to identify them, solves them and uses the results in a process of evolution. Being inconsistent is part of human nature

and, as an inherent human trait, it ensures man's consistency, which may even reside in the identification of a behavioural pattern based on the individual's behavioural inconsistencies. Clive and Vernon, as particular as they may seem – the composer who was invited to write the Millennial Symphony and the editor of *The Judge* –, do not succeed in surpassing man's ambition, selfishness, errors and natural fear of death.

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STORIES AS SILT IN GRAHAM SWIFT'S *WATERLAND*

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Abstract*: The essay analyses Graham Swift's* Waterland *and shows that history and identity are subject to a process of reconstruction within stories which evince their author's power to build on the past based on his vision and cultural experience. We associate the process of recreating the world of the past through stories with the process of recreating a new world through siltation. The same as silt develops land and a new world on the already existing pieces of land reclaimed from water, stories reconstruct history and the past. Both silt and stories reconstruct the past.*
Keywords*: history, identity, the past, silt, story, water.*

1. Introduction

A postmodernist novel which calls the concept of historical truth into doubt by associating historical reality with a haunting story, Graham Swift's (1992) *Waterland* approaches the theme of the cyclical times, cyclical historical events and stories, demonstrating the idea that everything returns to its own beginning symbolized by water, which stands for the origin of life. Enlarging upon the sacred symbol of water, Graham Swift's novel suggests the fact that, when it recedes and becomes subject to siltation, water allows land to extend in order to make human life possible and allows stories to spread and to dominate our lives. Ever since waters parted so that the world could be created, stories have gone around, causing various interpretations of historical reality. *Waterland* is the land developed through siltation and the land of never-ending stories which reconstruct the past according to the narrator's vision.

Graham Swift's *Waterland* is a collection of fifty-two stories told by Tom Crick, a history teacher threatened to have History excluded from the school curriculum, threatened to lose his job and to be retired. Most stories are addressed to his pupils at school in an attempt to define the concepts of *revolution*, *history*, *reality*, *the past*, *the present*. His main idea is that any revolution brings about a refreshing beginning, everything being cyclical and recyclable, gone and brought to life again. Teaching History to his pupils at school, Tom Crick makes comparisons between the terrible time lived by his ancestors, who had to survive floods and resort to "land reclamation" (Swift 1992:9) through siltation and drainage, and the terrible time of the French Revolution. His history lessons turn into stories which are told in instalments, switching from the past to the present. As he admits, he combines facts and fiction, history and fairy-tales, which are presented piecemeal like fragments of lessons to be put together and understood by educated readers and students: "he takes refuge in the fanciful fabric of Kingsley's yarn, in which, in misty Fenland settings (which match his misty, love-sick state of mind) history merges with fiction, fact gets blurred with fable…" (Swift 1992:208). He illustrates the postmodernist idea that the *grand narrative* is an illusion, that the various instances of historical reality presented in stories and the various interpretations of

historical events must be put together in order to understand the present which is another image of the past.

A Fenlander whose historical past is marked by a never-ending struggle with rising waters at certain times, a struggle for "land reclamation" (Swift 1992:9) for living and working, Tom Crick enlarges upon the process of siltation which causes land to extend and stories to go around. The same as silt develops land and recreates a new world, stories recreate history and the past. Stories illustrate the narrator's view on the immemorial past that we bear in our minds and that we become aware of through *déjà-vu* experiences. Stories can be associated with silt as they rebuild the past, the same as silt creates a new world:

> Silt: which shapes and undermines continents; which demolishes as it builds; which is simultaneous accretion and erosion; neither progress nor decay. (…)
> What silt began, man continued. Land reclamation. (…)
> So forget, indeed, your revolutions, your turning-points, your grand metamorphoses of history. Consider, instead, the slow and arduous process, the interminable and ambiguous process – the process of human siltation – of land reclamation (Swift 1992:8-10).

Siltation, which results in "land reclamation" (Swift 1992:8-10), stands for a process of recreating a new world on the world of the past under water. Siltation is cyclical, natural and spontaneous causing stories to unfold and to illustrate the "Here and Now" (Swift 1992:60) which is nothing but a face of the past. Beyond the solid ground created through siltation and drainage, there is water or the source of poetry and meditation: "for water and meditation, they say, go together" (Swift 1992:13). Water stands for a sacred living entity that appreciates moral values and hard work, having to be treated with due deference so as not to take revenge and do away with everything. Our actions cause the world to crumble, to be rebuilt and the stories to go round: "When you work with water, you have to know and respect it. When you labour to subdue it, you have to understand that one day it may rise up and turn all your labours to nothing" (Swift 1992:13). Not only does siltation cause the formation of a new world, but it also influences human behaviour, marking it by "phlegm. A muddy, silty humour" (Swift 1992:15). That is why in the next part of this essay, we will enlarge upon the concept of identity, which is subject to what the process of siltation implies: a reconstruction of a new world on the already existing pieces of land reclaimed from water or from the immemorial past. We compare the process of siltation, which results in developing land and a new world, with the process of constructing one's identity and one's past within stories.

2. Identity as Subject to Siltation. The Recreated Past and History

One's identity, which is nothing but one's story in a postmodernist context, is to be understood in the process of reading and of putting the storylines together. It is subject to a cyclical regeneration and reconstruction within stories; it is subject to what the process of siltation implies, to the inhabited space and to the lived experiences which return and haunt the present. Tom Crick's identity is revealed by the stories he tells. The same as his Fenland ancestors survived the rising waters, floods and harsh times through determination, hard work, creativity, patience and a phlegmatic character, Tom Crick overcomes his career difficulties by his determination to have his story, his *histoire*, understood by his pupils and by his readers. He speaks convincingly, never being ironic. That is why he is a "reliable narrator" who, according to Seymour Chatman (1990:153), "is free to explain and comment on the characters' misapprehensions, though in many cases she ('covertly') elects to let them reveal themselves". Warned by Lewis, his headmaster, that he will no longer be able to teach History, as it will be removed from the curriculum, and warned by Price, his student who

interrupts his lesson about the French Revolution, that "history is coming to an end" (Swift 1992:125), Tom Crick asks Lewis not to forbid his own story or history: "Don't banish my history…" (Swift 1992:21). He strongly believes in the idea of recurrent times, in the idea of the circle of life and historical events, of the power of the story to overcome the end of the world associated with the end of the Atkinson Empire or with the floods. He has inherited the gift of telling stories from his parents and grandparents and does his best to rewrite history in his own stories, to explain the past events in a dialogue with his pupils and readers:

> How did the Cricks outwit reality? By telling stories. Down to the last generation, they were not only phlegmatic but superstitious and credulous creatures. Suckers for stories. While the Atkinsons made history, the Cricks spun yarns. (Swift 1992:17)

Tom Crick's identity is shaped by his story and history. His words, ideas and history define his identity. The fact that the way one narrates and enlarges upon one's story defines one's personality and identity is evinced by Mark Currie (1998) in *Postmodern Narrative Theory*, where he shows that "the only way to explain who we are is to tell our own story, to select key events which characterise us and organize them according to the formal principles of narrative – to externalise ourselves as if talking of someone else, and for the purposes of self-representation" (Currie 1998:17). Thus, Tom Crick's gifted hand turns history into a beautiful story which reminds us of the recurrent themes of other literary works of the past: the crumbling of great empires or *vanitas vanitatum*, the incest, the unrequited love followed by suicide, the power of water to destroy and regenerate the world, the power of stories to keep history and meditation alive. Tom Crick turns historical truth into a tale replete with rhetorical questions. He urges his pupils to permanently ask *why* and invites them to think of his stories and theories, to ponder on them, to interpret them in order to understand them. In his view, our knowledge and understanding of history bring about our nostalgia for the origins. He associates history with heavy luggage that we have to carry in order to do our duty and wonders whether it is an instrument of progress or of regress: "And how do we know that this mountain of baggage called History, which we are obliged to lug with us – which slows our pace to a crawl and makes us stagger off course – is really hindering us from advancing or retreating?" (Swift 1992:136). From his standpoint, "history accumulates" (Swift 1992:136) and that is why we can state that it is subject to what the process of siltation implies. It is the historian's creation in his own story based on his vision and cultural experience. It "accumulates" (Swift 1992:136) the historian's views on the past and his queries: "And because history accumulates, because it gets always heavier and the frustration greater, so the attempts to throw it off (in order to go – which way was it?) become more violent and drastic" (Swift 1992:136-137).

Just as Tom Crick's identity is built, defined and revealed by his discourse, history is reconstructed and given an identity according to our interpretation. In a postmodernist fashion, Tom Crick claims that history is a creation of our imagination, moving in a circle which we cannot escape: "How it repeats itself, how it goes back on itself, no matter how we try to straighten it out. How it twists and turns. How it goes in circles and brings us back to the same place" (Swift 1992:142). We are caught in a circle of history and stories whose remembrance and narration lead us to our salvation and understanding of our human condition and existence. Tom Crick's stories promote the idea of cyclical history and times, the idea that everything returns to its origins. Thus, the fifteenth story, "About the Ouse", shows that the river flows in order to return to itself: "Ouse flows to the sea, it flows, in reality, like all rivers, only back to itself, to its own source; and that impression that a river moves only one way is an illusion. (…) Because it will return. Because we are always stepping into the same river" (Swift 1992:145-146). Moreover, in the 38th story, "About the East Wind", the narrator reinforces the belief that the past returns and enlarges upon the use

of *gone* as more appropriate than the use of *dead*. If things are *gone*, they are supposed to come back, if they are *dead*, they are not supposed to revisit us:

> For 'Gone', in such circumstances, is a far more elusive word. To little Tom, whose whole life might have been different if his father had told him what his infant heart was already braced to accept – that his own Mum was dead, no more, finished, extinct – this word 'Gone' carried the suggestion of some conscious, if perverse decision on his mother's part, as if she had not ceased absolutely to exist but was somewhere very far away, inaccessible, invisible, yet still there. (…) 'Well, if she's gone, when is she coming back?' (Swift 1992:283)

The son of Henry Crick, a lockkeeper on the River Leem, married to Ernest Richard Atkinson's daughter, Helen Atkinson, a beautiful and helpful nurse, Tom Crick loses his mother at an early age and remembers her stories in the "fairy-tale place", "far away from the wide world" (Swift 1992:1). He investigates the history of his family, which he presents with detailed facts and explanations throughout the fifty-two stories. In his ninth story, "About the Rise of the Atkinsons", he shows that the law of compensation governs our world, as "there can be no success with impunity, no great achievement without accompanying loss" (Swift 1992:72). This idea is proved by the story of Thomas Atkinson, a successful businessman married to a beautiful woman, Sarah Turnbull of Gildsey. According to this story, Thomas Atkinson falls sick with gout and becomes madly jealous of his wife, Sarah. He severely hits his wife, who falls on a wooden table and becomes unconscious due to the head injury, never recovering her wits, having to spend the rest of her life in a wheelchair. This story turns into a haunting legend as, in her insanity, Sarah predicts the burning of the Atkinsons' brewery and the end of their business: "she would utter the only words specifically attributed to her in all the years following her husband's dreadful fit of rage. Namely: 'Smoke', 'Fire!', 'Burning!', in infinite permutations" (Swift 1992:84). Her husband's sin brings about the collapse of the Atkinsons' business. Sarah becomes a haunting presence for her neighbours, suggesting that justice prevails, that fire and water set the stage for a new beginning. This idea emphasizes Tom Crick's belief that everything comes back to its own beginning symbolized by water – the hidden Logos, the washed away past sin, the origin of life and stories.

If Tom Crick's identity is revealed by his vision and ideas throughout his own narrative, his physical aspect and traits are to be created in our mind based on his stories. His physical traits are just alluded to and associated with the physical environment marked by water, phlegm, dreams and visions. Tom Crick, the character who is not given a physical description, promotes the postmodernist idea that truth is the result of our interpretations based on the evidence that we collect and examine while reading. His identity encapsulates the essence of the phlegmatic Fenlander who survives the floods or the end of the world through stories and faith. Due to its temporary, mortal nature, the physical identity is given no major importance in Graham Swift's novel. It is subject to what the process of siltation implies, being built and rebuilt in our minds, in our interpretations based on our cultural experiences. What lies behind Tom Crick's physical identity is a series of deep-rooted ideas which are recurrent, revisiting all generations like circles.

The same as we have to construct Tom Crick's identity in our mind based on his stories and ideas, the past and history are reconstructed and reinterpreted in his own accounts. Throughout his stories, he demonstrates the idea that history and the past revolve in a circle, revisiting all ages and all generations. The fact that he associates man with a "story-telling animal" (Swift 1992:60) suggests the idea that human beings, who are endowed with the gift of cultural memory, the gift of thinking and of telling stories, meet their death if deprived of their ability to think, to tell stories and to ask questions in order to understand their human condition and past. The "story-telling animal" (Swift 1992:60) fights death by thinking and telling stories, advancing his knowledge and broadening his cultural perspective. This idea

reminds us of what Ihab Hassan (1987) claims in *The Postmodern Turn. Essays in Postmodern Theory and Culture*: "Behind all history, continuous or discrete, abstract or autistic, lurks the struggle of identity with death" (Hassan 1987:26).

The present history of Waterland, as recounted and interpreted by Tom Crick in his narrative, is a recurrent phenomenon. It is the past revisited and recreated by his stories and by his readers. According to Linda Hutcheon (2002), "knowing the past becomes a question of representing, that is, of constructing and interpreting, not of objective recording" (Hutcheon 2002:70). In line with this idea, Tom Crick's history lessons just offer his own perspective on the past as the history teacher admits that he tells stories. Linda Hutcheon (2002) argues that we cannot have the absolute historical truth revealed but we can only catch glimpses of the past within the narrative of what she calls "historiographic metafiction" (Hutcheon 2002:69). We can only recreate the past in our minds based on what we read:

> The question is never whether the events of the past actually took place. The past did exist – independently of our capacity to know it. Historiographic metafiction accepts this philosophically realist view of the past and then proceeds to confront it with an anti-realist one that suggests that, however true that independence may be, nevertheless the past exists for us – now – only as traces on and in the present. The absent past can only be inferred from circumstantial evidence (Hutcheon 2002:69)

The idea that everything comes back to its origin is suggested by the stories about Tom Crick's grandfather and brother. According to these stories, both commit suicide following their sins. Their death restores the equilibrium of life, signalling a fresh beginning of everything. They return to earth leaving behind never-ending stories. The same idea is illustrated by Mary's story. She aborted a child when very young, having asked Tom to throw it into a river. This event echoes the moment when she used to throw Dick's eels into water. The eel symbolizes the tormented subconscious that Mary wants to get rid of. It is returned to water, which stands for the origin of life and which brings about forgetfulness and a fresh beginning of everything. Water is our essence, "we are nine-tenth water" (Swift 1992:61). We build on it like silt and get drowned in it unless we respect it or if we sin like the Atkinsons whose violent acts, incest and greed cause their destruction and death. We build on the forgotten past times the same as silt creates a new world on the already existing pieces of land reclaimed from water. Associating history with "a red herring" (Swift 1992:165), Tom Crick becomes the spokesman of Postmodernism. If it is a "red herring" (Swift 1992:165), history is subject to interpretations just as stories are. We investigate it in order to carry out our duty and in order to satisfy our curiosity. Stories ensure the continuity of history and the past. The stories of the past are the source of the stories of the present as the past echoes the present. For instance, Mary, the character of the present and Tom Crick's wife, ends up resembling Sarah Atkinson, the character of the past, when confined to bed in the asylum. Both female characters end up suffering from total oblivion, waiting for their death in an isolated asylum. Therefore, everything turns out to be cyclical.

3. Conclusion

Turning history and time into fiction, Tom Crick, the narrator of *Waterland* and a history teacher, evinces the power of the story to reconstruct the past. Showing that *Waterland* is the land developed through siltation, the land revisited by a recurrent history and haunting stories, Tom Crick demonstrates that the present world is a powerful image of the past world. He rewrites history and the past in his stories, admitting that his history lessons are nothing but stories. Tom Crick alludes to the idea that the past and one's identity are subject to a cyclical reconstruction within stories, the same as *Waterland* is cyclically redeveloped through siltation. We can compare the process of siltation, which results in reconstructing a

new world on the already existing pieces of land reclaimed from water or from the immemorial past, with the process of reconstructing the past and one's identity within stories. Tom Crick's identity is his own story, which is subject to what the process of siltation implies. The outcome of Tom Crick's stories is similar to the outcome of the process of siltation, as it amounts to reconstructing the world of the past. Stories are like silt, as their purpose is to recreate the past. Both silt and stories reconstruct the past in Graham Swift's novel.

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KINGSLEY AMIS: THE PRESCRIPTIVIST

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***Abstract**: In* The King's English: A Guide to Modern Usage*, Kingsley Amis identified H. W. Fowler as his great predecessor. Amis revealed himself as a soldier in the army of prescriptivists, voices that settle 'modern linguistic problems' while proudly parading as non-linguists. The book exposed Amis's acrimonious dispute with descriptive linguists, while the writer delivered his very own brand of linguistics to his readers. This paper looks at the success of Amis's book and its similarities with Fowler's. It also emphasizes the continuity and popularity of usage handbooks while presenting some of their chief characteristics as exemplified by Amis's work.*
***Keywords**: H. W. Fowler, Kingsley Amis, prescriptivism, sociolinguistics, usage handbooks*

1. Introduction

Should a linguist take a book such as Kingsley Amis's *The King's English: A Guide to Modern Usage* (1st edn. 1997) seriously? Well, the linguists' gut reaction is likely to be a resounding 'NO!'. But such an answer cannot come from a researcher interested in the ways in which the general public seems to think about and understand language. Since its publication in 1997, Amis's book has been providing its readers with the 'right' solutions to many of their language conundrums while managing to be interesting, fun and a good read. In doing so, Amis has positioned himself in a long line of self-appointed language authorities who have been keeping prescriptivism and the 'complaint tradition' alive and well for centuries (Milroy and Milroy 1991, quoted in Milroy 1999:20).

2. The Popular Success of Kingsley Amis's *The King's English*

We will never know exactly how popular Kingsley Amis's book has been, but we can get at least some inkling by considering the number of editions and by looking at how the book is faring on the Internet. In this section, I look at the first three pages of the Google search results got for the query "how many editions did Kingsley Amis' *The King's English* have?" made on 25 March 2015. I then address some of the content found on the Internet that deals with Amis's book.

The book was published in a 1997 HarperCollins edition, a 1998 Thomas Dunne Books American edition, and a Penguin Modern Classics 2011 paperback edition. There is a Kindle edition as well (#1,053,480 in Amazon Best Sellers Rank on 7th April 2015). The appearance of four editions in eighteen years is indicative of a pretty high popularity. In addition, the book has received a rating of four out of five stars on www.goodreads.com and a 4.6 rating on amazon.com. On this major shopping site, the book is ranked in position 44 in books of its kind. All in all, this book seems to have been fairly well received.

The Google query has also revealed five thoroughly positive reviews and blog posts whose main topic is the book in question. *The King's English* seems to be a force to be

reckoned with, as two of the writers confess to have decided to change their ways and use the language as Amis indicated (see *Berks and wankers: A Canadian reaction to Kingsley Amis's English* (Charles 2013) and *Book of the Month: King's English (Kingsley Amis)* (Bookthrift 2011)). These texts possibly reveal the strongest reason why Amis's advice is taken seriously and why he is accepted as an authority: he is recognized as a good writer. In other words, it seems more than enough for someone to have established their ascendency in using the language to be regarded an expert thereof. Online, Amis is referred to as "[having] a way with the written English word few could match in the twentieth century" (*Kingsley Amis and The King's English: A Guide to Modern Usage (HarperCollins, 1997)*, Louis XIV/Jones 2013), as "a longtime British word maven" (*The Words of Summer*, Safire 1997), while his readers "[marvel] at the consummate skill with which the author used language" (*Book of the Month: King's English (Kingsley Amis)*, Bookthrift 2011).

The World Wide Web proves useful in determining the wider context in which this book circulates. In *The Words of Summer* (Safire 1997), Amis's book is suggested among others that "will make you a better reader, writer or orator". The online writer of the review *Berks and wankers, prescriptivists and descriptivists* uses a passage from Amis to introduce and comment on an argument between two "thoughtful language commentators". Finally, *Neither pedantic nor wild?* (McNay 2000), the introduction to *The Guardian* and *Observer* style guide, also recognizes Amis's *The King's English* place in "sharpening professional tools as well as for entertainment." Indeed, one finds out that the *Guardian* editors are expected to "be interested in the language, in its proper use and its development" and to make regular use of books such as this, as well as Gower's *The Complete Plain Words*, Partridge's *Usage and Abusage*, Orwell's *Politics and the English Language*, and Fowler's *Modern English Usage*. And in reading such advice, one understands with whom Amis keeps company.

3. The Fowler Connection

Amis's title was inspired by the Fowler brothers' *The King's English*, published in four editions, the first in 1906. Later, H. W. Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (1926, 1st edn.) had seventeen editions and reprintings spanning seventy years (cf. Bex 1999:93 and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008b). A further edition of the very first *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, with a new intrduction and notes by David Crystal, appeared in 2009. Such a successful publishing history is impressive by any standards. David Crystal (2003:196) notes that Fowler's usage guide is "[o]ften referred to in the revered tones which one associates with bibles [and] it is the apotheosis of the prescriptive approach". In the *Preface* to his own *The King's English*, Amis nominates Fowler's *Modern English Usage* as his "great predecessor" (Amis 2011:xv). To a large extent, he identifies his own aims with those of Fowler and uses his spectre to motivate and lend authority to his own endeavour, "a work of definition and reference" containing "a collection of more or less discursive essays on linguistic problems". However, Amis does not expect his advice to be heeded, but hopes he, like Fowler, will contribute to the English language becoming worse less quickly, and states: "A lost cause may still deserve support, and that support is never wasted" (Amis 2011:xv).

The reader encounters Fowler cited, commended, criticised, admired, corrected and taken as model in close to fifteen percent of the book's entries. The situation may be described in terms of a mature former student having a lively discussion with his master, or a pupil being not quite sure whether he has succeeded in emulating his teacher. Here are some examples of how Kingsley Amis introduces Fowler in the body of his own *The King's English* (the entries where they appear are given in parentheses):

> Fowler never said anything without good reason. (Amis 2011:8; "All right")
> I cannot improve on Fowler's contradistinction […]. (Amis 2011:41; "Delusion, illusion")
> Fowler got it wrong for once. (Amis 2011:65; "Fivepence")

It should not come as a surprise, then, that there are notable similarities in the way the two authors approach their work. Bex (1999:95) called some of Fowler's entries "idiosyncratic", a word that applies very well to Amis, too. He often gives advice or offers rules because some word or phrase "sounds" to him in a certain way. And it is not just the content or the stance, but the choice of the entry itself that clearly indicates plain personal preference. He could be called whimsical on several occasions, as when he titles an entry "Jargon 2001" (Amis 2011:106-109), reminiscent of the sci-fi book and movie title *2001: A Space Odyssey*. Amis often insists on exhibiting his own peculiar tastes, for example, when his "tolerance wears thin […]" (Amis 2011:5). For all his idiosyncrasies, he does have a moment of clarity and sincerity when he states: "Some of these entries are justifiable, if at all, chiefly because I had some remark to make and could find no better place to make it" (Amis 2011:142). *The King's English*, therefore, is Amis's speaking tube to whoever is listening.

In *The Language Wars*, non-fiction writer Henry Hitchings (2011:192) says of Fowler: "He is much more flexible in his thinking than many of his admirers seemed to imagine", and the same could be stated of Amis. While he is relentless in offering rules and advice and incessant in labelling language, he does come up with the odd word of wisdom: "Whatever the merits of any rule, however, it serves no purpose if nobody obeys it" (Amis 2011:60) and "In ordinary conversation, some people perhaps feel that *less* is a more informal word than *fewer* and talk about *less* cabbages. This is forgivable if you like the people" (Amis 2011:63).

Amis is often preoccupied with intelligibility. I have identified half a dozen cases where the author clearly considers that making oneself understood is the overriding principle of all language use. He brings forth such arguments as "a rational being prefers being understood, and served [by a waiter], to being right" (Amis 2011:5) and "[s]o it goes with linguistic change: the aim of language is to ensure that the speaker is understood, and all ideas of correctness or authenticity must be subordinate to it" (Amis 2011:155).

There are many more ways in which Fowler and Amis resemble. For instance, they seem to share a deep disregard for women and women's speech (see, for instance, Amis 2011:221). In addition, language use is equated with behaviour, as when Amis states "To behave properly you have to write […]" (Amis 2011:154). In this line of reasoning, to speak 'badly' is to behave inappropriately. Inevitably, the further logical step is taken in that people are defined by the language they use. The list of similarities could very well continue with how both Fowler and Amis are sometimes inconsistent in their views, how they both identify errors in the way journalists (and broadcasters in Amis's case) use language, and how they both tend to label usage they frown upon as being "idiomatic".

4. Kingsley Amis, Member of a 'Discourse Community' with a Pedigree

Amis's preoccupation with being understood is an old concern, dating at least back to the first half of the eighteenth century, to the normative stage in the standardisation of the English language. Thus, James Greenwood, in his 1711 *An Essay toward a Practical English Grammar,* started motivating his work thus: "Mens [sic] Intentions in Speaking are, or at least should be, to be understood" (qtd. in Watts 1999:46). But whereas Greenwood used this view so as to be normative and prescriptive, to argue for a 'proper' language, Amis concedes that often people need to use 'improper' language in order to get their meaning across. It is nevertheless fascinating how the same central idea has travelled such a long span of time to reach almost opposite conclusions.

One may identify a bunch of commonalities in the works of writers of grammars and language usage guides since around the turn of the eighteenth century, and even further back in time (cf. Watts 1999:62). Amis has quite a few things in common with these grammarians who may be called if not the creators, then at least the patrons of Standard English as we know it today. Thus, one can see an enduring 'community of discourse' that has been serving a certain audience with very particular needs, whose members' common goal is that of self-betterment, of becoming educated. By a 'community of discourse' Watts meant:

> a set of individuals who can be interpreted as constituting a community on the basis of the ways in which their oral or written discourse practices reveal common interests, goals and beliefs, i.e. on the degree of institutionalisation that their discourse displays. (Watts 1999:43)

Amis's immediate discourse community is revealed as he refers to Fowler frequently, and to Orwell's *Politics and the English Language* (essay first published in 1946) a few times. Moreover, in the *Bibliography* section of *The King's English*, four other guides to usage are listed. Both this discourse community and some of its other members were easily identified by the book's readership, as the introduction to *The Guardian* and *Observer* style guide clearly shows (cf. section *The popular success of Kingsley Amis's The King's English*).

Robert Baker's 1770 *Reflections on the English Language, in the nature of Vaugelas's reflections on the French* is regarded as the first usage guide produced for English, although a precursor may be seen in the notes on syntax of Robert Lowth's 1762 *Short Introduction to English Grammar, with Critical Notes* (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008b). It is not just the format of the work – a miscellaneous unordered collection of rules – that exposes Baker as the discourse great-great grandfather of Amis by way of Fowler. Baker was not an expert in language matters, a point which he seems to have regarded as an advantage (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008a:5), and nor was Amis. Further red lines of similarity can be identified, tying authors of usage guides together through history. For instance, newspaper language was also attacked by Baker (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008b:14), yet another point shared with Fowler and Amis.

Among other common features that Amis's work shares with its predecessors, the most obvious one, perhaps, is the didactic intent, which in Amis is motivated by a particularity of his character, "the didactic or put-'em-right side" as he calls it (Amis 2011:xvii). In addition, Amis refers readers to models of (written) language, just like the grammarians of old used to refer their readers to Milton, Addison, Dryden or Pope (cf. Watts 1999:59). And in Amis correcting Fowler, his very idol, one can see the reiteration of a long-time tradition, that of putting oneself above the very models proposed (Watts 1999:59). Telling readers what to avoid is also part of the long tradition of prescriptive grammars, as is the idea that one must have metalinguistic knowledge in order to be in control of the mother tongue. Why else would Amis have a glossary full of such terms (Amis 2011:228-35)? In brief, he is part of a long, century-old successful line of self-appointed arbiters of correct grammar, appropriate style and good taste.

5. What Exactly *Is* Kingsley Amis's *The King's English*?

In spite of the six various entries which contain the word *pronunciation* in the title, Amis's book is primarily a writing style guide. The author very likely borrowed the Fowler brothers' title in order to establish a link between two bodies of work sharing a common purpose. Hitchings (2011:192) reminds us that "[t]he most celebrated statement of the Fowler brothers' vision occurs on the book's first page, where 'general principles' for the good writer are succinctly set down". Amis does not follow this model to the letter as his rules, principles and recommendations are sprinkled all over. It also seems to be the case that he presupposes

some familiarity on the part of the reader with what rules and principles for "better", "proper" writing have already been set down by former authorities.

In Amis's view, "careful writers" need to avoid or refrain from using certain words and phrases; in other cases, he gives his "own set of rules" or solutions. Despite all the precepts, he warns that "[t]he annoying truth is that almost every written word confronts the writer with a choice for which no rule will ever quite serve " (Amis 2011:80) and that "[t]he fact that a word or phrase satisfies one set of criteria is no guarantee that it satisfies all. […] If a sentence keeps all the rules you know and still seems wrong, change it." (Amis 2011:121) His most frequent advice is that careful writers should refashion their texts whenever something wrong is identified. On the rather seldom occasion when he moves away from lexis, his focus on style is just as obvious, as when he claims: "A sentence […] is a stylistic as well as grammatical unit." (Amis 2011:181)

6. Kingsley Amis at Odds with the "Linguisticians" (and Vice Versa)

There is little to add to Don Chapman's summary description of the divide between prescriptivists versus descriptivists, except to say that there is no question as to which side of the fence harbours Amis:

> Generally speaking, linguists deplore the seeming naivety of prescriptivism, and prescriptivists deplore the seeming permissiveness of linguistics. Both linguists and prescriptivists claim to be experts: linguists claim to be experts on how language works, and prescriptivists claim to be experts on how language ought to be used. But few claim to be experts in both. Most prescriptivists do not hold advanced degrees in linguistics, publish language research in professional journals, or belong to professional linguistics societies, while most linguists pay little attention to prescriptivism. This divide presents a curious situation in which those who know how language works do not care much about the one issue that most non-experts care about (i.e. usage), and those who care about usage do not know much about how language works. (Chapman 2008:21)

Whether the use of the word *linguistician* in Amis's "Dialect or language?" entry (Amis 2011:42-44) was meant to be ironical, offensive, or just an old form is impossible to tell. It does not escape one's attention, however, that in the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua Academica* section of *The King's English*, he makes a series of claims that position him on a collision course with language academics and researchers. He admits that, while he retained a continuous interest in language, he did not study linguistic matters much, of which he is sorry. But he finishes the section with the following comment, which may be felt like a bomb having gone off in the professional linguists' courtyard:

> I am sustained by reflecting that the defence of the language is too large a matter to be left to the properly qualified, and if I make mistakes, well, so do they, and we must carry on as best we can pending the advent of a worthy successor to Fowler. (Amis 2011:xviii)

Probably the best word to describe Amis's opinion of language professionals is "unhelpful". They are the kind of people whom you *cannot* turn to when in need. Take Amis's comment in "Dialect or language?":

> […] no general consensus or overall definition of terms like dialect and language can be made to emerge. Nor is expert knowledge helpful in this way. It is rightly too particular, too partial, too local, in a word too expert to illuminate large, vague questions. (Amis 2011:43)

I think one can safely state that even now there is no general agreement among linguists on what dialect, or language, is. In the "Expert" entry, Kingsley Amis continues to assert his dissatisfaction. There are two major problems with experts. First, their opinions change over

time and second, when they do manage to reach a definitive conclusion, it is on a matter no one cares about (Amis 2011:61). Language experts also seem to anger the public when what they reveal goes against tradition or common practice (cf. the entry "Ye olde", Amis 2011:226). Furthermore, Amis cannot come to terms with language specialists on what constitutes or should be regarded as a sentence because they "have been busy for decades saying that the old rules are dead, that a sentence is more or less any chunk of wordage anybody cares to sling together" (Amis 2011:181). The offended party do not remain silent either, and have harsh words to say about people like Amis, "these guardians [who] feel […] entitled to prescribe what constitutes the 'grammar' of the language – usually without having studied that grammar in any depth or having a clear notion of what grammaticality is" (Milroy 1999:21). The difference is that professional linguists are their own audience.

What the reader gets in the end is a special blended brand of Amis linguistics. One of the writer's major concerns is language change, for which he provides explanations on two occasions. First, for the pronunciation of the vowels in Pall Mall from /e/ to /æ/, which he explains by social change. Here he evaluates his own exposition as "fanciful", but "possible all the same" (Amis 2011:117). Second, the amusing entry entitled "Pidgin Latin" aims to help the reader understand how Latin words were "perverted almost out of recognition" (Amis 2011:140) to become part of Spanish, French, English, etc. To attain his educational goal, Amis comes up with a few imaginary dialogues between a yokel and a legionary, one of which is reproduced below:

> L: Our chaps are thinking of calling this place *Eboracum*. Go on, *say it*, you bog-trotter.
> Y: York? (Amis 2011:141)

In such cases one must make allowance for the fact that Amis's creative strength resided in his ability to be imaginative and that he believed in the power of the fictitious example as a method of instruction (cf. James 2013). Amis has a complicated relationship with language change: on the one hand, he is adamant that once the change has run its course, there is no turning back (cf. Amis 2011:78); on the other, he is against it. "Resistance to all linguistic change is obviously a healthy instinct" (Amis 2011:4), he states. For Amis, change only manages to destroy what is of value and causes confusion. Which is why, in his view, models cannot be found in the present, only in the dead past (cf. Amis 2011:49).

Thus we move into the realm of language death and birth. Languages die because people are too careless or too careful. At least this is what we are left to understand in "Berks and wankers": "Left to [berks] the English language would die of impurity, like late Latin. […] Left to [wankers] the language would die of purity, like medieval Latin" (Amis 2011:23). However, when it comes to innovation, Amis seems to feel uncomfortable on at least two accounts: first, he is not consulted, and second, he is not aware of how it happens (cf. Amis 2011:120, 16-17). The fact that he is not in control appears to be the crux of the problem.

7. Conclusions

The success of Kingsley Amis's *The King's English* is indicative of the author being in tune with his audience. He has obviously been catering for a need that has little in the way of being satisfied: guidance in language usage. Sociolinguists talk about the public's 'anxiety' in using their own language as being engendered or heightened by self-appointed pundits and complainers as well as by an educational system which insists on treating language in terms of right and wrong. Amis offers 'know-how' where linguists have been offering 'know-about'. Perhaps this is the main reason for his success. It is obvious that people want to learn, to better themselves and perhaps they turn to writers of language usage books because here they find what they expect: the familiar 'do this, don't do that' of the public school environment.

Through such an approach, they come closer to what they feel they need: a recipe for success. Clearly, Amis's *The King's English* is conceived in a manner that allows the public to relate to it. His language usage guide is a testament to the extraordinary continuity and survival of the written discourse of the usage handbook, its traditions and related points of contention.

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THE DUMBING DOWN OF LITERATURE

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Abstract: *This paper proposes to prove that in the late 20th and early 21st century commodification, commercialization and consumerism have, so to say, joined forces and led to a decrease in high literature and the increase of cheap volumes which are of low quality but in high demand.*
Keywords: *commercialization, commodification, consumerism, high-quality literature, low literature.*

1. Introduction

In order to celebrate the 90th anniversary of the first presentation of the Nobel Prize for Literature, the Nobel foundation and the Swedish Academy organized a symposium on the topic of "The situation of high-quality literature in the harsh cultural climate of today", which took place in Stockholm from December 5th to December 8th, 1991. Two years later, they published the proceedings containing some of the papers presented at the jubilee symposium, with the title *The Situation of High-Quality Literature* (Allen 1993). Several of the distinguished scholars who presented their papers during the event gave them titles which included the phrase 'difficult literature' with the meaning of 'high-quality literature', as opposed to 'easy literature' – also called 'low literature'.

Explaining the difference between difficult and easy literature, in her paper "The Role of Visual Media", Jean d'Ormesson (1993:107) claims the following: "In some way, I think we could say that every piece of good literature is difficult literature. Why? Because easy literature is by definition a literature of commonplaces. If you have something new to say it is necessarily difficult." As for the ways to distinguish a good writer from a bad writer, she asserts that: "[T]he bad writer wants his readers immediately. The good writer accepts the fact that the readers come later on." (Ormesson 1993:109)

In his essay "The Other Voice", in the same volume, Octavio Paz (1993:91) discusses different phases through which literature has gone as history progressed, and the dangers it has encountered so far:

> Today literature and the arts are exposed to a different danger: they are threatened not by a doctrine or a political party but by a faceless, soulless, and directionless economic process. The market is circular, impersonal, impartial, inflexible. Some will tell me that this is as it should be. Perhaps. But the market, blind and deaf, is not fond of literature or of risk, and it does not know how to choose. Its censorship is not ideological: it has no ideas. ... It is impossible to fight, I know, against the market economy, or to deny its benefits.

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In the course of more than twenty years spent in thorough investigation of the reception of British novelists in Serbia, I could not fail but notice some rules and track down certain more than evident changes in the developments in that sphere. One of them is a peculiar shift from copious reception of high-class works almost a hundred years ago towards a flood of low-quality translations and reviews regarding some marginal authors at the turn of the century. The results of the research conducted for the purpose of writing my Ph.D. thesis were published in my monograph *Echoes of the English Novel: Modern English Novel in Serbo-Croatian Criticism* in 2006, as well as in this journal in 2007.

2. What Makes an Author Marginal or High-class

One of my ex-compatriots, a writer and critic – Dubravka Ugresic (2003:4) rightly claims in her book entitled *Thank You for Not Reading: Essays on Literary Trivia* that "producing books does not quite mean producing literature". If we equate the process of *producing* books with the process of *publishing* them, then we can go back to what Titus Maccius Plautus, the greatest Roman playwright, said about this activity. His claim is that to publish something – where we have to bear in mind that the verb *to publish* stems from Latin *publicare*, which meant "to put to anonymous disposal in public" (Ilic 1980:175) –, and especially to publish something exclusively for commercial purposes, represents for the author a certain kind of *prostitution*. The reason for this, according to Plautus, is that a literary work, or even any work of art in general, is a very private and personal thing, so by disclosing it to the broad public, its author cedes to a certain degree a part of his or her own experience to an unknown new owner, in line with the all-pervading processes of commodification, commercialization and consumerism – and this is the same thing that happens in *the world's oldest trade* (cf. Ilic 1980:175). Astonishingly, one of the greatest science fiction writers ever, Stanislaw Lem, uses the same kind of lingo when he speaks about SF:

> Without a doubt there is a difference between science fiction and all the neighboring, often closely related, types of trivial literature. It is *a whore*, but quite a bashful one at that; moreover, a whore with an angel face. *It prostitutes itself*, but [...] with discomfort, disgust, and contrary to its dreams and hopes. (Lem 1984:57, emphasis added)

The proof that Plautus rightly predicted what would happen two thousand years later is easily found everywhere around us. On the current literary market, says Stanislaw Lem (1984:53), there exists "only one index of quality: the measure of the sales figures of the books". However, Ugresic (2003:109) emphasizes that *literary values* cannot be measured by the numbers of sold books because – as Octavio Paz (1993:91) informs us – "the market ... knows all about prices but nothing about values". Then again, it remains true that nowadays books *are* being published exclusively for commercial purposes. Furthermore, Ugresic (2003:145) reveals to her readers that to some extent books are even being written, that is, produced in such a way as to be saleable: "The literary market does not tolerate the old-fashioned idea of a work of art as a unique, unrepeatable, deeply individual artistic act. In the literary industry, writers are obedient workers, just a link in the chain of production". Even the literary works which may still be classified as 'high literature' are nonetheless produced with only one eye casually cast at their academic value, and the other one widely and intensely staring at the profit. Not to mention those qualified as 'low literature', sometimes called *trivial*, which in its sense of "banal, commonplace, ordinary, trifling" (Kipfer 2002:633) almost equals *vulgar* – and that is another proof that Plautus was definitely right when he associated publishing with *prostitution*, since trivial literature is frequently described as something belonging to 'the Aesthetics of Vulgarity'.

In *The Situation of High-Quality Literature*, Jean d'Ormesson (1993:110) calls attention to the fact "that today the book is a product and that literature has become a section of marketing". How did all this come about and why/when was literary production commercialized to such an extent? Let us examine the genesis of what is commonly known as 'trivial literature'. Two other concepts most often related to 'low literature' are Kitsch and Schund, but it is also frequently called mass, popular, or pulp fiction. The term 'trivial' itself was used for the first time in 1923 (Saksida 1994:212) to describe low-quality literary production in Germany – as it was named: *a literature of entertainment* (opposed to the so-called *Hoch-literatur*), which was even penalized at that time. However, the origins of 'low literature' go much farther in the past. Commercialization of literary production was the result of literary works being converted into *articles* on the market, thus making the writers dependent on their sales, especially after the printing process and paper production became much cheaper, which largely influenced the costs of publishing and made books available to less learned recipients from the middle and lower class, with the result of creating mass cultural production and 'literary consumerism'. The undisputed link between mass production and consumerism is also emphasized by Lem (1984:52), who claims that "a reader of trivial literature behaves just like the consumer of mass products".

The authors of *The Novel in Europe 1670-1730: Market Observations*, Olaf Simons and Anton Kirchhofer (2001:1) remark that the early 18th century literary market was already characterized by a "division leading to the high market of literature and the low market of trivial literature", or what they call in other words: 'market of low productions' or even just simply: 'low market'. Noting that the latter "hardly deserved the term 'literature'" (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:2), the authors explain how and when such a division was created: "The moment we – those who talk and write about literature as literary historians and literary critics – entered the game and demanded a better production of novels to be written, we created the bad market to be ignored by us" (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:3). According to them, what happened at that time was that "[t]he realm of high literature was created by the secondary discourses focusing on the central production" (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:3), i.e. literary production branched into two separate streams: high literature – which stands for literary prose fiction encompassing such works of literature that "demand the attention of the secondary discourses" (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:4), and trivial or low literature – which is "not promoted by the critical discourse" (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:5). The places where the volumes belonging to the latter category can be easily found are "[b]ook-stacks in modern train stations" (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:4), which offer the following five categories of low literary works: sex and crime, history and romance, adventure, espionage and conspiracy, add the authors of this theoretical work, while Stanislaw Lem (1984:213) mentions that what he calls popular or mass literature, includes "detective stories, slushy love stories, science fiction, etc." Lem (1984:47) labels these two types of fiction as "the 'Lower Realm,' or Realm of Trivial Literature, and the 'Upper Realm,' or Realm of Mainstream Literature", on this occasion specifying that "to the Lower Realm belong the crime novel, the Western, the pseudo-historical novel, the sports novel, and the erotico-sentimental stories".

3. The Difference between Commercial and Difficult Literature

Having made the above-explained division according to the existence or absence of the secondary discourse, the authors of *The Novel in Europe* offer another factor which is crucial when differentiating between low and high literature, claiming that the former fails to "aim at anything higher, at art or the improvement of manners" (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:6). Then follows a nice comparison which comprises the parallel situation in other spheres of creative activities, namely the arts, music and journalism:

> We divided art into a prestigious performance analysed at universities, presented at exhibitions and gaining tremendous prices on the art-market. The commercial production lives on in a wide stratification from kitsch on the lowest level to pop art and design in the higher levels of the mass market. Music finds its own stratification ranging from pop music to serious, classical music. Again a field of secondary discourses offers the categories. The field of journalism developed a system of levels from meanest tabloids to most prestigious quality papers. (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:6)

This comparison helps to highlight another parallel – the distinction between high and low literature can be made just as in the field of movies, music and other arts! For instance, nobody raises the question of making a difference between high-quality and low, i.e. commercial, paintings. On the other hand, high literature may be compared with haute couture, and low literature with ready-made clothes. Translated to French the latter phrase becomes *prêt-à-porter* = ready to be worn – in other words, something that is convenient, necessitating no effort for either purchasing or consumption. Besides extremely good marketing and advertising, the sales of low-literature works have marked such huge success precisely because they are:

1) *easy to read*: unlike high-literature works which demand a certain amount of effort to be put in by their readers, and are therefore frequently called 'difficult literature';

2) *fun*: low literature is often named *pink*, because it is easy-going, happy, offering pure pleasure, while highbrow literature is thought to be unavoidably incomprehensible, melancholic, and no fun;

3) *far from reality*: having browsed numerous works on this topic, I have come upon the following attributes: artificial, fake, simplified, idealized, illusory, and deceptive; while Stanislaw Lem asserts that "American writers [...] find allies in the book buyers, who have become used to an easily digestible, sensationalistic literature that pretends to be science fantasy. Yet *the fairy-tale nature* of this 'fantasy' is obvious." (Lem 1984:250, emphasis added);

and

4) *shocking*: as just mentioned above, it is *sensationalistic*, whereas its purpose is to shock the readers and to excite the market (Ugresic 2003:57).

According to the authors of *The Novel in Europe*, such a situation in the world's market-oriented literary production continued "as long as readers wanted to read such works" (Simons and Kirchhofer 2001:3), and the trend will go on in the future as well, with the only one aim of publishers and writers fulfilled by so *successful* (in the terms of marketing and not regarding its real values) literary output, which is "to make money" (Ugresic 2003:29). And this claim, Ugresic (2003:230) notes, is confirmed by the fact that the book market of our contemporary world has become "dominated by the laws of supply and demand". Within the framework of the "mass cultural creation which follows economic laws, obeys the criteria of industrial and serial production and fits into market values" (Bozilovic 2006:153), it is evident that the price of a genuine work of art is not adequately correlated with its real value. However, adds the Serbian author: "a high art work, regardless of its economic price or market value, cannot essentially lose what is immanent to it – the ontological quality" (Bozilovic 2006:156, my translation). On the other hand, it is also true that "trivia has swamped contemporary literary life and become, it seems, more important than the books" (Ugresic 2003:2). Trivia, trivial literature, low literature – or in other words, what Ugresic (2003:165) calls "the imitation of literature instead of literature". Nowadays it has become virtually impossible to distinguish between a high and a low work, so: "The contemporary writer who aspires to the category of so-called high literature is confused by the absence of a value system," assesses Ugresic (2003:206), explaining the reasons for such a phenomenon: "Thirty years ago, the boundary between 'high' and 'low' literature still existed, and everyone

was satisfied. High literature had its admirers, trivial literature did too. The polite old lady, high literature, was the first to offer her hand to trivial literature." (Ugresic 2003:203) What has happened in the meantime, however, she adds (2003:204), is that "trivial literature has also mutated and gradually laid claim to the exclusive realm of high literature. Just as high literature played with the strategies of trivial literature, trivial literature decorates itself with the honours of high literature." Wolfgang Beutin (2005:439) in his *History of German Literature* alleges that market forces were exactly the factor that in general "led to a levelling process between what was held to be 'higher' literature and trivial literature", though he also adds that "serialised fiction in editions of millions, flooded the market with cheap trivial literature" (Beutin 2005:439).

On the extreme opposite end of this opinion stands what Carmen Callil and Colm Toibin (1999:xii) – who made the choice of *The 200 best novels in English since 1950* in their book *The Modern Library* – underline as one of their basic principles while carrying out that task:

> we were as one in our determination to ignore the distinction between so-called popular fiction and literary fiction (also so-called). This false distinction which is prevalent in literary prizes, in academia and in our educational mores, has been responsible for the treacherous suggestion that reading is a chore, and that the best writing is always difficult and obscure.

Having said this in their "Introduction", the two authors end their exquisite volume by providing a 33-page-long list of literary prize-winners (cf. Callil and Toibin 1999:214-246), including the winners of the Booker Prize, CNA Award, Commonwealth Prize, Prix Femina, Prix Medicis, Whitbread and of course, the inevitable Nobel Prize for Literature.

In the midst of these two opposing opinions, where could the truth be found about whether there are really differences between high and low literature, and how to determine what makes an author marginal or high-class? I think we'd better turn to an all-time authority – Arnold Bennett, whose book *Literary Taste* was first published more than a century ago – as early as 1909. Bennett (Chapter I) differentiates between two roles that literature plays in the lives of those who read, and thus between two types of readers:

> People who regard literary taste simply as an accomplishment, and literature simply as a distraction, will never truly succeed either in acquiring the accomplishment or in using it half-acquired as a distraction; though the one is the most perfect of distractions, and though the other is unsurpassed by any other accomplishment in elegance or in power to impress the universal snobbery of civilised mankind. Literature, instead of being an accessory, is the fundamental *sine qua non* of complete living. (Bennett 1909, Chapter I)

Therefore, those really interested in literature should not regard it only as a pastime, but a very serious part of their lives, which means that the choice of their reading list items should be made extremely carefully:

> The aim of literary study is not to amuse the hours of leisure; it is to awake oneself, it is to be alive, to intensify one's capacity for pleasure, for sympathy, and for comprehension. It is not to affect one hour, but twenty-four hours. It is to change utterly one's relations with the world. An understanding appreciation of literature means an understanding appreciation of the world, and it means nothing else. Not isolated and unconnected parts of life, but all of life, brought together and correlated in a synthetic map! The spirit of literature is unifying; it joins the candle and the star, and by the magic of an image shows that the beauty of the greater is in the less. (Bennett 1909, Chapter I)

Stressing the potential of literature to enforce *moral wisdom*, he adds that the oeuvre of a real first-class author can be recognized by the fact that critical authority has granted *the imprimatur* upon that particular work of fiction (Bennett 1909, Chapter II); however, despite

his best efforts, he admits to having failed to define the specific characteristics of such literary works:

> What are the qualities in a book which give keen and lasting pleasure to the passionate few? This is a question so difficult that it has never yet been completely answered. You may talk lightly about truth, insight, knowledge, wisdom, humour, and beauty. But these comfortable words do not really carry you very far, for each of them has to be defined, especially the first and last. It is all very well for Keats in his airy manner to assert that beauty is truth, truth beauty, and that that is all he knows or needs to know. I, for one, need to know a lot more. And I never shall know. (Bennett 1909, Chapter III)

On the other hand, Bennett (1909, Chapter III) is rather confident when it comes to the reasons why certain works survive as classics:

> A classic is a work which gives pleasure to the minority which is intensely and permanently interested in literature. It lives on because the minority, eager to renew the sensation of pleasure, is eternally curious and is therefore engaged in an eternal process of rediscovery. A classic does not survive for any ethical reason. It does not survive because it conforms to certain canons, or because neglect would not kill it. It survives because it is a source of pleasure, and because the passionate few can no more neglect it than a bee can neglect a flower.

Or, as Susan Bassnett (1998:134) asserts in *Constructing Cultures*: "The idea of a literary canon is premised upon the universal greatness of key writers, whose works transcend time and offer, as Leavis puts it, 'the finest human experience of the past'."

In his effort to make a distinction between high and low literature, which he calls "to sift the wheat from the chaff", Bennett (1909, Chapter XIV) describes the works belonging to high literature in this way:

> Great books do not spring from something accidental in the great men who wrote them. They are the effluence of their very core, the expression of the life itself of the authors. And literature cannot be said to have served its true purpose until it has been translated into the actual life of him who reads. It does not succeed until it becomes the vehicle of the vital. Progress is the gradual result of the unending battle between human reason and human instinct, in which the former slowly but surely wins. The most powerful engine in this battle is literature. It is the vast reservoir of true ideas and high emotions--and life is constituted of ideas and emotions.

On the opposite end, Bennett (1909, Chapter XIV) adds this illustrative description of the aims of low literature: "Of course, literature has a minor function, that of passing the time in an agreeable and harmless fashion, by giving momentary faint pleasure."

4. Conclusion

The basis of this paper has been Stanislaw Lem's (1984:212) famous statement that "whereas there do not exist any good organisms as distinguished from bad ones, there do exist good and worthless books". In *The Situation of High-Quality Literature* (Allen 1993), the authors use the following terms: 'difficult literature' with the meaning of 'high-quality literature' – or, in Lem's words, 'good books'; as opposed to 'easy literature', also called 'low literature' – which Lem calls 'worthless books'. The link between these terms can be found in the following explanation: "every piece of good literature is difficult literature. Why? Because easy literature is by definition a literature of commonplaces. If you have something new to say it is necessarily difficult." (Ormesson 1993:107)

One of the reasons for dumbing down literature is the rapid expansion of the mass market paperback during the second half of the twentieth century. Upon the revolution in publishing and printing, a book has become an article, the same as any other, and the value of every book is determined by the market, on the basis of what sells well. This

'commodification of literature' has been additionally boosted by the progress in marketing, advertising and selling methods, which resulted in commercialization of not only low literature but high-quality works as well, facilitated on the other side by the all-pervading process of consumerism which marked the late twentieth century in all domains. Thus, commodification, commercialization and consumerism have, so to say, joined forces to bring about the fall of high literature and the rise of cheap volumes, which are of low quality but in high demand.

But over and above all this, the most important reason which has led to the flood of low-quality writing in recent years, not only in Serbia but in other countries too, regards the financial motives of publishers who try to earn more by paying less, usually to marginal writers. There is nobody else to blame more for making wrong decisions about which literary works to produce and distribute but the publisher himself, who – though he may be assisted by experts or counsellors – is the person bearing the final responsibility for the moral, commercial and aesthetic impact of the output on the readers (cf. Ilic 1980:176).

In the proceedings of *The Situation of High-Quality Literature* symposium, Agneta Markas (1993:77) reports that a similar situation is evident in all Central European countries:

> In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, as well as in Poland, new small publishing houses are sprouting up like mushrooms – in Hungary alone, five hundred new publishers are said to have been established in the last two years, undoubtedly in order to earn a lot of quick money on pornography and other junk literature, literature that has been forbidden in the past. One can, of course, hope that this is a temporary phase through which these countries must pass in order gradually to achieve a more reasonable balance between serious and commercial publishing. In contrast to commercial publishing, difficult literature with a narrow appeal requires special efforts and support in various forms.

It only remains to be hoped that such a tendency regarding the publishing of serious/difficult/high-quality literature will be curbed into the opposite direction in the future, and that such literary works will receive the necessary support, which they obviously deserve.

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MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH AND THE SCOPE OF PURITAN PSYCHOMACHIA

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Abstract: *The present article attempts to portray a rather bleak personality of Puritan New England, Minister Michael Wigglesworth, who had in his time great influence on his community ipso facto. Mr. Doomsday, as he was called, kept a diary that reveals the abyss that a Puritan soul could fall into while struggling for perfection, which was unbreakable communion with God.*
Keywords: *doomsday, providence, psychomachia, redemption, sin.*

1. Introduction

Puritan diaries differ from autobiographies and biographies by being only of personal use (sometimes for the use of the diarist's children) and not intended for publication, an aspect which accounts for their authenticity. The reader may thus paradoxically have an objective image of the Puritan soul by observing exactly the subjective in its most intimate workings. As in the case of captivity narratives and the poetry of Anne Bradstreet and Edward Taylor, the puritan diary that we are going to dwell upon was not intended for the public. The inner duration and its relation to the outward flowing of events invite the reader, after the discovery and publishing of the diaries, to delve into the workings of the paradoxical Puritan mind and identify the "naked" human mechanism that stood behind the impressive community of the hottest branch of Protestantism.

Ceaseless introspection, resulted from the conviction that all spiritual progress was centred on the individual, places the diaries in a perpetual state of becoming. In this respect, we may argue that Puritan diaries are the forefathers of the psychological novels; the enemy is from within the individual, the danger is not to be found necessarily outside the troubled self.

In approaching the diaristic writings of some notable Puritan figures, one should keep in mind the distinction made by Lawrence Rosenwald (1986:325-341), namely that between the almanac diary and the diary of spiritual experience, between time viewed as *chronos* and time recorded as *kairos*. Whereas the first type of diary contained daily entries consisting of events, aspects related to weather and the like, the second variant, an account of someone's own acts and feelings, was appealed to in order to work out dilemmas, supervise one's spiritual progress and thus discover signs announcing his/her place among the elect. The practice of writing such a diary as the latter could show the author's fault or/and virtues, aspects to be improved or maintained and, hand in hand with this, it unveiled subtle or obvious links between daily events and acts, and God's plan. It was, in other words, with its detailed depiction of life, an appropriate instrument for measuring one's process of regeneration. All in all, the Puritan diary offered an escape from the tension of inner conflict; it was, in Kenneth B. Murdock's (1949:102) words an "outlet for doubts and fears", assuring purgation and relief from the perpetual sense of despair. Its role as a mirror for the self helped

the diarist explain doctrine in terms of individual life and concrete personal facts and thus integrate and understand it.

The approach of time as *kairos* in Puritan diaries will be made in this paper by highlighting the details offered by Michael Wigglesworth's diary, a document that, together with his famous poem, "Day of Doom", justify his nickname: "Mr. Doomsday".

2. Wigglesworth's Bleak View

Michael Wigglesworth (1631-1705) was born in England and moved with his family in New England in 1638. He graduated from Harvard in 1651 and was a tutor there for three years. In 1656, Wigglesworth was appointed minister for the parish in Malden, Massachusetts where he took care of both the spiritual and physical health (he also studied medicine) of his parishioners. Michael Wigglesworth sees through Manichean lenses. As a poet, he reveals a dark, bleak, pessimistic mood and the personal duration (as recorded in his diary) is burdened with eternal doubt. The temporal flow is eschatologically oriented towards the Second Coming. In depicting the moment of transcending the temporal and spatial dimensions, Wigglesworth emphasizes the frightening aspects bringing to the foreground the idea of sinfulness, judgment, damnation, and punishment. His *The Day of Doom, or a Poetical Description of the Great and Last Judgment; with a Short Discourse about eternity*, written in ballad meter is, in Alan Shucard's (1988:24-25) words, "an epic hellfire sermon" and "a summary of American Puritanism". Considered of an "ominous rigidity", almost pure doggerel, by the same critic, the poem was though "the most popular poem ever written in America" (Matthiessen 1928:492). Its didactic tone, with effective mnemonic measure, and the depiction of theological concepts essential to the Puritan devotee made it in fact the first American bestseller (1,800 copies printed and sold within a year – 1662) and earned its author the already mentioned nickname: "Mr. Doomsday".

"Psychomachia" (the term comes from the homonymous title of a poem by the Latin poet Prudentius), which describes the conflict between vices and virtues concluding with the defeat of paganism by Christian faith, is employed here not in order to highlight a pathologic tendency but rather to indicate the main reason for writing a diary as existential necessity – a conflict of the soul caused by the never-ending Puritan dilemma: "Am I damned or am I of the elect?". The struggle of one's soul against one's own weakness and drawbacks threatening with backsliding and estrangement from God is most accurately and also gloomily described in Michael Wigglesworth's *Diary*. It is an extreme example of how a Puritan understood to analyze his own life and it is excessively bleak. There is hardly a glimpse of the much longed for heavenly joys. In the "Introduction" to the twentieth-century edition of Wigglesworth's diary, Edmund S. Morgan writes:

> His diary is even more challenging than his verse to any liberal view of the Puritans. For the man that emerges here calls to mind those stern figures in steeple-crowned hats who represent Puritanism in poplar cartoons. So closely does Michael Wigglesworth approximate the unhappy popular conception of our seventeenth-century forbears that he seems more plausible as a satirical reconstruction than he does as a human being. (Morgan 1965:V)

From this point of view, minister Wigglesworth's writing does not portray the genuine Puritan, but an exception. We may add that "Mr. Doomsday" is an incomplete (crippled being too harsh a word) Puritan as the diary presents him, i.e. he absorbed completely only one of the Puritan tenets: innate depravity. That is why the content of the diary uncovers a "morbid, humorless, selfish busybody", an "ugly", "absurd", "pathetic" cartoon caricature of a Puritan (Morgan 1965:VII). Kenneth B. Murdock (1949:105) has a milder opinion, as he affirms that

Wigglesworth's unbearable morbidity "could be viewed as only the result of a hard working idealist".

Like most of the Puritans of his time, Michael Wigglesworth paid much attention to how he spent his time. As a professor at Harvard, a trained Greek and Latin scholar, the minister seems to be in perpetual conflict regarding the amount of time dedicated to his studies. It is rather puzzling because Puritans viewed acquiring knowledge as a way to get closer to God. Something that he at one point calls "ocean of deadly poison in my heart" (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:32) makes him unable to "prevail against that cursed frame to think long the time I spend in reading gods word" (1965:37). Even if "willing solemnly to spend time seeking Lord" (1965:35), Wigglesworth's spiritual yearnings are sabotaged, in his view, by his love for study and his students. There is a continuous struggle between his tendencies of either filling time with godly thoughts and acts or spending it by concentrating on his academic work. The states of mind he goes through range from paradoxical relief ("God caused me to taste Emptiness in my studies and to make my soul desire himself" (1965:42)) to almost numbness ("I was quite puzzled this day and the greatest part of it could do just nothing" (1965:56); being puzzled was a frequent, though not openly acknowledged, condition for the Puritans who were always trying to relate daily events with God's will). The day is punctuated by these changes as the following entries show:

> I found god in the forenoon mightly affecting my heart in publick prayer…After noon god pleased to give some affection. (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:7)
> This morning god let me in some comfortable perswasion of his love to me. (1965:8)
> On Thursday morning the Lord was pleas'd to give me somewhat a heart-breaking meditation of him. (1965:13)
> I was somewhat dejected with se feares in the forenoon. (1965:15)
> I found many vain things in the former part of the day and much dead-heartedness before noon. But afternoon god in some measure helping me to hear himself speak things that concerned me. (1965:41)

Many moments of the day, especially mornings, are dominated by fear. Wigglesworth is consumed by a never ending deep-seated angst in the most Kierkegaardian fashion: "my soul was exceedingly afraid and brought to the dust before god" (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:16). He is seized by it at day break and struggles with it through the day, the passing of time being not the common flow but a sequence of decisive moments regarding his own redemption. The tension which builds up leads to hair-splitting, psychomachian self analysis time and again. Always, in the background, analytical thoughts unreel, never changed, linked to or determined by exterior events, but not quite belonging to the common temporal sequence. Inside, there is a continuous tormented present painfully reflecting on sinful past and frightened by what future prepares. This oscillation of spiritual dispositions may be depicted as a series of inner developments delimited by Sabbaths expected by Wigglesworth as "blessed seasons wherein poor wandering harlots return to their husbands again" (1965:82). The Lord's Day seems to be a spiritual shore, as he felt God preached for him on such a day. It is a temporal parenthesis, a break from the inner workings tearing Wigglesworth's soul apart.

"My fear is lest my will should blind reason" (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:70), the Puritan divine confesses in an entry on March 12th, 1655. To this, he adds "a spirit of impenitent security" (1965:43), which could be translated into a "taking God for granted" attitude, and an excessive love for the creature. The diary unveils a mind inclined towards daring speculations and doubts which are dangerous for a soul heavily marked by fear. That is why sometimes he sees himself as a Jakob-like figure and records: "I set myself again this day to wrestle with the Lord for my self and then for my pupils" (1965:27), and "God helpt me to wrestle with him" (1965:40). At other times, he is surprisingly assertive regarding individual response to theological doctrine: "I desire universal holiness… such a

Christ pleaseth me best as will make me holly" (1965:78). The universal holiness wished by Wigglesworth reminds of Origen's conception of "apokatastasis", the redemption of all creatures including devils, which has always been regarded as heretical by Christian denominations. This adds to his anguish, but he oscillates here, too. He struggles to value his time on earth not by studying and teaching his beloved students as his will is inclined to, but by being faithful to God in a very restricted and restrictive manner, somewhere from beyond the time and place he lives in. He is convinced though that he is condemned to a consuming – because of the insecure "in-between" – condition. "I am unfit for heaven because unfit for earth" (1965:61), Wigglesworth concludes in his diary notes. Realizing that escaping his given time and place is not possible for a weak and backsliding man as he sees himself, Wigglesworth accepts his condition but begs to be assisted in his "walk with god in the world among a perverse generation" (1965:38).

The relationship with the world is as troubled as the one with God. The attitude is again wavering. At one point he is "ready to be desiring and hoping for a paradise in this world, Lord pardon it" (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:81) and then he prays for "weaned affections" from the world and shares his willingness to die. Still, the emphasis is on the negative implications of a love too ardent for the creature, mentioned in many of the entries:

> when creatures smile god is undervalew'd (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:7)
> I feel no power to love and prize god in my heart, my spirit is so leavened with love to the creature (1965:9)
> cares I had for the good of others…stoln my heart from god (1965:11)
> I find so much of my spirit goe out unto the creature, unto mirth, that there is little savour of god left in my soul. (1965:12)
> I find again *whorish* desertations of my heart from God to the creature. (1965:17)

Michael Wigglesworth's faith seems to be moulded on a literal grasp of the Protestant principle *sola fide*. Any act directed towards the creatures is a waste of time. He experiences an inner split: it is either one or the other, it is either here, this world, or beyond, in the next world; there is no reconciliation between the two. "I have hopes of doing or obtaining good…so that it is very hard for me to set my heart upon god himself and not to rest in the creature" (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:6). Perhaps that is why he hopes for a fusion between "doing", pertaining to the Puritan concept of the "calling", and the afterlife. "I cannot desire heaven" he explains in an entry on November 9, 1655, "because 'tis a place where I shall see and wonder at and acknowledge the glory of god forever; But I rather desire a heaven where I might be doing for god than onely thinking and gazing on his excellency" (1965:53).

As regards one's temporal limitations of the personal history on earth, both death and birth spur Wigglesworth to meditate on sinfulness and God's anger. The death of some members of the church in Cambridge, recorded through the use of a dynamic image – "Gods visiting hand has now pluckt away 4 from us" (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:56) – leads the Harvard professor to meditate on God's wrath and his sins, which have driven God away from the society and the place where he lived. Writing about the birth of his first child he dwells much on his own fatigue and discomfort, while his wife's pains are occasion for meditation on sin and death. Wigglesworth follows the traditional Puritan manner of establishing correspondence between the created world and the events in it on the one hand, and deep religious significance on the other. Striking is though the fact that he draws a parallel between the mother's bitter "dolours of child-bearing" and "the pangs of eternal death" (1965:96), while the event of giving birth is rather connected to redemption in Christian thought. Michael Wigglesworth the son, like Michael Wigglesworth the father, has a

strange attitude. Pondering on his father's death, he recurrently bemoans the lack of real sorrow without explaining it in the traditional way by the hope that he is in a "better place". His drama is being at odds with his own rebellious feelings.

Life is for Michael Wigglesworth a pilgrimage through the wilderness of sin, a wilderness that was also literal for a New Englander. "Lord take not thy good spirit from me", he prays, "which is my onely joy in the house of my pilgrimage" (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:23). This pilgrimage is guided by the providential hand of God: "Thou hast redeemed me, led me through a howling wilderness to humble me and there spoken to my heart" (1965:63). According to Puritan teaching, while on earth, man has to follow his calling and do the best of it. Each human being must observe this requirement as religious duty and fulfil it on an individual level, while God assists human history on a communal level: "Mind my work which is all duty; and let god alone with events which is his work" (1965:83). Individual history is not autonomous, of course; it is dependent on God's will and providential interference. One's calling cannot be activated unless placed under God's guidance: "I cast myself upon gods providence to see what he will do for me and by me." (1965:95) God's presence in human history on all levels means harmony as well as chaos, according to the way in which men understand to fulfil their part in the covenant both as community and as individuals. That is why Wigglesworth establishes a link between his personal history and that of the community he is a member of, by reading external events as consequences of individual sins: "no marvail, though he bast my endeavours and make the college and country about me fare the worse for my sake though he punish my bareness with publick drought" (1965:29). He also records that the way in which the community as a whole and each member by him/herself may try to make amends is by sanctifying time and investing it with healing properties in establishing days of public and private humiliation, and fast days for times of trial. "Thus god seals his word with dreadful works" (1965:30) – providential history is remarkable as well as strange for the human mind, but the Puritans internalized the paradox and lived accordingly.

Wigglesworth does not mention keeping such individual private days as Cotton Mather does for instance, but records moments of setting time apart to analyze his life. In one of the entries, as part of the preparation before Lord's Supper, Michael Wigglesworth draws bitter conclusions regarding his relationship with the creature and with God's providence. We will quote the list almost entirely because it is highly suggestive of the sense of inner depravity that the diarist was struggling with and it also shows the structured, detailed manner, or better said strategy, in which a Puritan understood to confront his soul:

> Upon examination before the Lord supper I find:
> A loose and common heart that loveth vanity and frothyness
> A prophane heart appearing in distracting thoughts in holy dutys, weariness of them through slouth and carnality
> A proud heart.
> An unbelieving heart which questions gods love, which cannot wait his time, which cannot trust his providence without distracting cares (…)
> A hard heart that cannot be so deeply affected with my sins (…) as with my outward troubles
> A sensual heart that sometimes can see no glory in heavenly things
> An unthankful heart
> A heart full of spiritual whoaredoms (…) (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:76-77)

Such conclusions, drawn after thorough introspection, make him afraid of his own heart and he thus confesses to be "above measure vile" (*The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth* 1965:20), "going awhoaring loosing my first love" (1965:14). The tone of his bitter outpourings get Davidian nuances – "pity for I am oppressed by thy foes" (1965:23) – and give way to other cries reminiscent of the *Old Testament*: "Is there no balm in Gilead for these plague

sores?"(1965:42), a reference to Jeremiah 8:22: "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then has not the health of the daughter of my people been restored?" (*The Geneva Bible* 1969) The Puritan typological view on history subtly comes in to create the link to the mythical time so that the present struggle has more substance and meaning as part of a God-determined cyclicity.

Towards the end of the diary, Wigglesworth makes a "bad/good" list in which he finds answers to worries regarding the approaching winter. This seems to be the season that he, and maybe also his friends and neighbours, feared most because of the sharp cold and heavy snows. New England's nature continually challenges its Puritan inhabitants and even more a man with hypochondriac tendencies as Michael Wigglesworth was. But we are on Puritan territory where religious vision transfigures everything that seems harmful at first glance. This is what the Harvard professor does by counterbalancing each trouble brought forth by winter with a thought on God's plan and the usefulness of everything that He sends unto people. The conclusion is that he has thanks to give because even if seemingly in distress, he is under God's protection. For this, he turns again to the *Old Testament* and decides to erect a pillar "in Memoriall of his former mercys received in answer to prayer." (1965:93) This monument, not only mentioned but also drawn in the diary, is a replica of the one erected by Samuel, called Eben-Ezer and accompanied by an inscription indicating God's help. This shows once again the Puritan awareness of the fact of belonging to the chosen people of a New Israel.

3. Concluding Remarks

Michael Wigglesworth wrote less a diary than o collection of observations regarding his spiritual state. The emphasis falls not on the hope in a future redemption, but on his failure as a Christian. Meticulous, introspective and apprehensive, Wigglesworth does a remorseless self-analysis. The reader almost does not get any sense of time passing, of anything changing. The whole diary consists of cycles of sin–prayer–(sometimes) godly alleviation–backsliding, after which the sequence starts again. It is a close circuit managed as it were by a mind prisoner to its own workings.

Psyhomachia, a continuous, arduous struggle for the soul, seems to go as a red thread through the history of American literature. An overall look into the American mind would discover that the Puritan legacy may be traced today in the American people's belief in the need for moral justification for private, public, and governmental acts as well as in the necessity and possibility of reaching perfection, a perfection that Michael Wigglesworth looked for his entire life.

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"*ONLY THE GODS ARE REAL*": THE MYTHOPOEIC DIMENSION OF NEIL GAIMAN'S *AMERICAN GODS*

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Abstract: *This paper aims to address the mythopoeic aspect of Neil Gaiman's* American Gods*, so as to disclose the elements of American cultural identity embedded in the novel. It is an attempt to analyse its legends, myths, folklore, popular culture figures, intertwined with Old World mythology, assessing their viability as modern myths, through the lens of formalist and structuralist reading.*
Keywords: *American cultural identity, cultural representations of America, mythology, mythopoeia.*

1. Introduction

Myth has been a part of human life from the dawn of time. Originally, myth was a classical fable that was told about the exploits of gods and heroes, but later it came to refer to a story that, despite being believed by many people, is not true. Today, it has also been associated with fantastic story (Itu 2008:1) or ideology (Barthes 1991:127-128). However, myth, at present, represents more than the above definitions. According to Campbell:

> Myth is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestation. Religions, philosophies, arts, the social forms of primitive and historic man, prime discoveries in science and technology, the very dreams that blister sleep, boil up from the basic, magic ring of myth. (Campbell 2004:1)

In this context, one may claim that myth constitutes the base of the human culture: it "bestows a culture with its central values and beliefs, and thus, has a major impact on identity-creating and self-assurance" (Gehmann 2003:105). Myths are expressed in great abundance in the popular culture of postmodernity. They are present in television programs, animation, cinema, videogames, comics, and literature. With such a wide presence of myths in the popular culture, the interest for myth analysis was increased, especially by the usage of Campbell's monomyth and Propp's functions as blueprints in the filmmaking industry (Lesinskis 2009:2-4). The aim of this article is to analyse the myths emerging from the novel, to assess their viability as modern myths, and in addition to establish whether a structuralist and formalist analysis could be applied with satisfying results to the analysis of a modern myth.

2. Modern Myths in *American Gods*

American Gods (Gaiman 2001) is a representation of modern America and its identity, from the point of view of a British expat living in America. Gaiman "uses myths to define what makes America" (Rimmels 2001). The novel's vast mythology is re-shaped and re-invented, combined with legends, folktales, and numerous intertextual references, to create a modern mythic representation of the United States. Since the beginning of the novel, in the

preface titled "Caveat and Warning for Travellers", we are warned that: "Only the Gods are real" (Gaiman 2001:3), thus being invited to step into the alternative reality of Gaiman's America, where, in the words of Mr. World, "the symbol is the thing" (Gaiman 2001:424). The novel's title – *American Gods* – offers two major premises for its analysis: *America* and *its mythology*. In discussing a state, one looks at the aspects that make it unique, thus particularly at its cultural identity. According to *Dictionary of Media and Communication,* cultural identity is: "The definition of groups or individuals (by themselves or others) in terms of cultural or subcultural categories (including ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, and gender)" (Chandler and Munday 2011:84). In the case of the United States of America, a country characterised by multiculturalism, globalization, and consumerism, the concept of cultural identity becomes a complicated structure. When addressing American cultural identity, one has to consider the multiple races, religions, ethnicities, and their respective histories, along with their common denominators: goals, values, dreams, and interests. Another important aspect of cultural identity is the fact that culture is ever-changing along with the society that uses it. As Lyotard (qtd. in Allen 2000:183) observes: "in the culture of late capitalism, traditional notions of national identity and culture are superseded by global forms deriving from transnational corporations in control of the media, of scientific research and other technological and commercial areas of life" (Allen 2000:183). This statement becomes even more relevant in the case of the United States of America.

In *American Gods* Gaiman uses mythology and mythopoeia in order to convey the complexity of American identity. His America is a combination of old and new, historic and mythical, legend and reality, in a melting pot which creates a unique portrayal of American identity. Lévi-Strauss (1974:21) considers "mythical thought" as a type of *bricolage:* "it builds ideological castles out of the debris of what was once a social discourse". In this sense, Gaiman is an *author-bricoleur*, who "works with signs, constructing new structures by adopting existing signifieds as signifiers" (Chandler 2007:205). The re-worked myths and modern myths resulting from his work are used to convey ideology, in the sense defined by Barthes. In *Mythologies*, when discussing the orders of signification, he talks about denotation and connotation combining to form the order of myth. Myth, according to Barthes (1991:127-130), is the dominant ideology of our time, serving the ideological function of naturalisation (Barthes 1977:45-46), "making dominant cultural and historical values seem self-evident, timeless, obvious", and "common-sense" (Chandler 2007:145). As a result, the mythological order of signification can be perceived as reflecting culturally variable concepts which support certain worldviews. Myths can also be seen as extended metaphors, since they facilitate understanding our experiences within a culture, just like metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:185-186). Aside from metaphors, myth is deeply linked with symbol and allegory, as well, and it is used to increase the meaning depth and to give the text multiple layers of meaning.

3. Mythic America

Two main types of myth emerge from the novel: the "American myth", defined as "the sum of views, visions, images, values, beliefs and opinions presenting the United States as a positive country, and Americans, as a people, in a good light" (Bogdanowicz 2014:15); and the myth of "new American folk hero" (Boggs 2009:22-28). The "American myth" in the novel presents a "mythic" America (Chernus 2012), characterized by duality, alienation, hyperreality (Baudrillard 1988:171), disconnectedness in geography and culture. The duality is implied by the symbolism of coins, which are permanently featured in the novel, along with references to Herodotus, who is simultaneously the "father of history", and the "father of lies" (Gaiman 2001:132). Every character is not what it seems at first. The novel features "real"

reality, and "behind the scenes" (Gaiman 2001:271). Characters, morals, ideas, Old World and New World, all are in opposition. Such myths like the land of "hope and change", where "all is possible", the land of "American dream", are undermined by the struggles of old gods to fit in, to adapt to the evolving reality, which makes them claim that this is a "bad land for gods" (Gaiman 2001:420). Furthermore, the idea is supported by narrative episodes called *Somewhere in America*, where the narrator presents the struggles of various characters, and numerous *Coming to America* interludes, unrelated to the main plot, but explaining the arrival of old gods. These interludes subvert another myth as well, that of "pioneers taming the wilderness", which is explained by Mr. Ibis in the following quote:

> the important thing to understand about American history…is that it is fictional, a charcoal-sketched simplicity for the children, or the easily bored. For the most part it is uninspected, unimagined, unthought, a representation of the thing, and not the thing itself. (Gaiman 2001:73)

This can serve also as an allusion to the concept of simulacra (Baudrillard 1988:167). In *Simulacra and Simulations* Baudrillard (1988:171) states: "there is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality; of second-hand truth, objectivity and authenticity". All of which are implied by the above quote from Gaiman.

The myth of "homeland insecurity" (Chernus 2012) is referred to in numerous allusions to "men in black", "spooks", and federal agencies. The myth of "racial equality" is undermined by such references, as: "And what are you? A spic? A gypsy?"… "Maybe you got nigger blood in you." (Gaiman 2001:10) In *American Gods,* the old gods pertaining to different pantheons, with their idiosyncrasies, represent different ethnicities and cultures, as well as the Old World they come from. The stereotypical representations of these nations or ethnicities are present in the way characters look, behave, and talk. As an example of their looks pointing to their origin, one can observe: Mama-ji (the representation of goddess Kali) is in a red sari, wearing a small dark blue jewel on her forehead; another example is that of Mad Sweeney (his name is an allusion to the Irish clan with the same name), presented as a modern day leprechaun, wearing a denim jacket covered with bright sew-on patches, with a bristle, short ginger beard (Gaiman 2001:42). These characters are depicted as alienated by their displacement, doing odd jobs, and having peculiar lifestyles; they are caricatures, parodies of their original selves. One can see the Norse god Odin, as Mr. Wednesday – Shadow's employer, a grifter, permanently on the move. Czernobog, a Slavic god, can be seen as a retired knocker, living in a small, dirty apartment, smelling of cabbage and cats. Queen of Sheba – Bilquis – is depicted as a prostitute. Egyptian gods Thoth and Anubis, appearing in the novel as Mr. Ibis and Mr. Jacquel, are morticians. They are challenged by their adoptive land, which tries to assimilate their specificity, and is therefore a "bad land for gods" (Gaiman 2001:478). They struggle to survive and adapt, but nevertheless they are confronted by the new gods, competing for worshippers. As a result, they have to deal with a "paradigm shift" (Gaiman 2001:219), in which the old values (represented by the old gods) are facing destruction, confronted by the new, modern gods of computers, telephones, highways, television, and credit cards. Modern gods have suggestive names, like: Media, Mr. World (allusion to globalization), Mr. Town (allusion to urbanization), and Technical Boy. They are described as: "proud gods, fat and foolish creatures, puffed up with their own newness and importance" (Gaiman 2001:107). The conflict between old gods and modern gods points to the clash between cultures, races, and generations in Gaiman's multicultural modern America. Numerous intertextual allusions and cultural allusions, along with numerous American personalities, trademarks, and landmarks are used to anchor the plot to modern America.

The myth of the 'new American folk hero' is represented in the novel by Shadow and his journey in search of identity. The main character is a symbol of every American. He is an 'average Joe' or average American. He is a middle-class man, married with no children,

unaware of his ethnical origins, a misfit, unattached to any place. In the beginning of the novel, Shadow is in prison, on the point of being released, being convicted for aggravated assault and battery. He never knew his father ("I don't know much about my father" (Gaiman 2001:148)). He has "cream-and-coffee" coloured skin (Gaiman 2001:10), and comes from a small town. Anxious to get home to his loving wife, his life shatters when he is released early, due to his wife's death. In shock, he tries to reach home, in hope that a mistake was made, and his wife might be alive. However, his hopes are destroyed when his potential employer shows him a newspaper article about the car crash that killed his wife and his best friend. The news makes him accept the employment offer, mostly due to the fact that, with his wife's death, all his dreams and hopes were gone. As a result, he ends up following his employer, Mr. Wednesday, on a trip across America, and promises to hold vigil for him, in case of his death. When his employer is shot, and Shadow holds his vigil on the World Tree, he comes to discover more about himself than he ever expected. So, he ends up discovering that Mr. Wednesday was his father, and the whole war plan was a scheme of his and Shadow's ex-prison mate, which leads to Shadow stopping the impending war by exposing the truth about the scheme. Shadow's journey through the novel is both literal and metaphorical. He goes on a journey of self-discovery, to find his "family and tribe" (Gaiman 2001:399). His choice to end the war without fighting, through words, by advocating multiculturalism and tolerance, makes him the "new American folk hero".

4. Myth in Postmodern Context

Myths are abundant in postmodern culture, despite the fact that postmodernism rejects "grand narratives" (Lyotard 1984:15), and despite Derrida's (2002:351) deconstruction attack on Levi-Strauss' work. This article tries to establish whether a structuralist and formalist analysis could be applied with satisfying results to the analysis of a modern myth. This endeavour may seem contradictory, because *American Gods* is a postmodernist novel, and displays a complex postmodern metamythology (Meletinsky 2000:340). However, the myth of the 'new American folk hero' or Shadow's journey resembles a traditional tale of adventure; and according to Campbell (2004:35), "popular tales represent the heroic action as physical; the higher religions show the deed to be moral; nevertheless, there will be found astonishingly little variation in the morphology of the adventure, the character roles involved, the victories gained". With this in mind, this article attempts to analyse the structure of the "new American folk hero" myth by using Campbell's monomyth and Propp's analysis of wondertales. Both of these structures were applied to novels, films, television shows. The other question this article attempts to answer is whether modern myth is as viable as the ancient myth, and whether it has the potential to survive under one form or another in the culture that created it. According to Kushner,

> the permanence of myths as they manifest themselves in modern literature lies not in fixity of narrative detail, nor in an ontological unity of the human mind as enshrined in the world of myths, nor again in the preservation of a classical flavour, but in the very dynamics of myth itself. If myths indeed are structures, they are not dependent upon one culture, one epoch, one specific narrative version, but have the ability to recombine elements of form and meaning through the very process of transformation, whereas it used to be thought that they survived in some esoteric way, immutably, despite transformation. (Kushner 2001:303)

In the context of permanent cultural evolution, it would be difficult to judge whether the modern myths have the ability to survive the passage of time. However, one can analyse the structure of the modern myth emerging from the novel in order to assess its compliance with ancient structures, as a means of survival.

5. Mythic Structures in *American Gods*

5.1. Campbell's monomyth

Campbell was inspired in developing his monomyth theory by the earlier works of Jung and Freud. His monomyth theory was based on Jung's theory of archetypes, and on the idea of mythology, as a projection of collective unconscious, found in all cultures. The term monomyth was borrowed from Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* (Campbell 2004:28). In studying myths, Campbell developed a basic structure and set common elements to all myths. He reduced the standard path of mythological adventure hero to a development of "the formula represented in the rites of passage: separation-initiation-return", which he named the "nuclear unit of the monomyth" (Campbell 2004:28). Campbell's nuclear unit of the monomyth can be explained as follows: "the hero ventures into a region of supernatural wonder, where fabulous forces are encountered and a victory is won, as a result the hero returns from the supernatural world with a power to bestow boons on his fellow man" (Campbell 2004:28). According to Campbell, this basic structure underlies every adventure hero myth. Campbell (2004:18) saw the myth as a "depersonalized dream", and as an allegory of individual personal experience.

In *American Gods*, the monomyth theory finds its applicability whilst being adapted to the needs of modern storytelling. The monomyth begins with an initial state, which in our case is that of Shadow imprisoned. Then comes the change announced by a "herald". The herald is represented by Sam Fetisher, who tells him that "the storm is coming", which Shadow dismisses. The role of herald is assumed by the prison warden as well, announcing Laura's death. This is the point where the hero feels lost, with no family, no friends, no birth place, and no ethnicity, unattached; as a result, he needs to find his identity, although he is not aware of it yet. An important part of the journey is departure, which begins with the "call to adventure": "a preliminary manifestation of the powers that are breaking into play" (Campbell 2004:34). This is the point where a stranger on a plane makes a strange job offer to Shadow. The natural reaction to this offer is to reject it, thus comes the next stage of hero's journey the "refusal of the call". After being imprisoned for three years, all Shadow wants is to leave the prison behind, this is the point when he is offered the job, by someone who knows his name, and acts suspiciously. This stage of the journey is explained by Campbell (2004:55) as follows: "the future is regarded not in terms of an unremitting series of deaths and births, but as though one's present system of ideals, virtues, goals, and advantages were to be fixed and made secure". The next stage is represented by the supernatural aid, often masculine in form, who may supply amulets and advice. In our case, the first helper is Mad Sweeney, who gives Shadow his golden coin that later brings Laura back from death. Consequently, Laura saved Shadow more than once. An example of advice given by Mad Sweeney is: "You have to learn to think outside the box" (Gaiman 2001:29), which becomes useful later in the novel, when Shadow finally starts to see "the hidden Indians". There are more helpers in the novel; one should mention Zorya Polunochnaya, Bast, Mr. Nancy, as was Laura (as already stated), and even Mr. Wednesday. Shadow begins his journey by drinking the mead, which represents a binding contract with his employer, and the "crossing of the first threshold" (Campbell 2004:71). Mr. Wednesday represents the "threshold guardian", and ensures Shadow's fittingness for the task, by making him fight Mad Sweeney. The "belly of the whale" represents "a transit into a sphere of rebirth" (Campbell 2004:83), which is Shadow's stay in Eagle Point, as the transition between his past and present life. With this last step the part of departure is over, and begins the second part of hero's myth "initiation" (Campbell 2004:89).

The initiation begins with "the road of trials", full of tests, adventures and ordeals. In the case of Shadow, the road of trials takes most of the book. He is tested both physically and

spiritually. He plays chess with Czernobog; gets into the carousel; is abducted by spooks; travels to Cairo, where he must work for the morticians; all of them leading to the ultimate trials: the vigil, and the trial in the Hall of the Dead. The "meeting with the goddess" could take numerous forms. Among these, Campbell offers the following possible explanation:

> woman… represents the totality of what can be known. The hero is the one who comes to know. As he progresses in the slow initiation which is life, the form of the goddess undergoes for him a series of transfigurations…she can always promise more than he is yet capable of comprehending. (Campbell 2004:106)

There are three goddesses whom Shadow meets during his journey and who help him along. These are: Zorya Polunochnaya, who gives him the Liberty dollar, and helps him in the Hall of the Dead, Bast, who helps him heal and assists him in the Hall of the Dead, and Easter, who resurrects him after dying on the world tree. In the "woman as temptress" phase, Shadow is tempted by Media with "power over what people believe and say and wear and dream" (Gaiman 2001:344). The "atonement with the father" makes Shadow finally find the truth about his father during his vigil on the Yggdrasil. In the "apotheosis" stage, Shadow hallucinates and dies on the tree; his soul gets weighted and measured in the Hall of the Dead (Gaiman 2001:378). The "ultimate boon" makes Shadow see the "hidden Indians" in his father's scheme, and retain the knowledge.

In the "return", which is the last part of hero's journey, the first phase is the "refusal of the return", when offered choices, Shadow chooses "nothing". He even hesitates to return when called back by Easter, who resurrects him. In the "magic flight" stage, Shadow is taken to Whiskey Jack's place. In the "rescue from without", unwilling Shadow is resurrected by Easter, and flies a Thunderbird to the Lookout Mountain, and "behind the scenes". In the "crossing of the return threshold" he restores the balance between the two worlds, and comes back into the "real" world. As a result he is a "master of the two worlds"; Shadow gets the wisdom of seeing, recognizing and understanding the coexistence of the two planes of existence, the "real" world and "behind the scenes". In this phase, the hero obtains:

> freedom to pass back and forth across the world division, from the perspective of the apparitions of time to that of the causal deep and back – not contaminating the principles of the one with those of the other, yet permitting the mind to know the one by virtue of the other—is the talent of the master. (Campbell 2004:212)

And the last stage of the hero's journey is the "freedom to live", where Shadow gets the permission to live with his knowledge, which he does in travelling the world, and meeting the original Odin in Iceland. As it can be seen, every main plot point is covered by the monomyth structure. However, certain plot points and subplots, some of them arguably important for the plot development, could not be covered by the monomyth structure.

5.2. Propp's functions

Unlike Campbell who researched common mythical structures, Propp dedicated his life to researching common structures in wondertales. However, according to Lévi-Strauss (qtd. in Propp 1984:79): "myth and the wondertale exploit a common substance". Propp (1984:84) distinguished between a tale and a wondertale, as follows: "the tale is born out of life; however, the wondertale is a weak transcript of reality…To determine the origins of the wondertale, we must draw upon the broad cultural material of the past". He associated certain types of myth with wondertale, identifying common structures of the two, along with common themes and motifs. He distinguished between story (*fabula*) and plot (*sjuzhet*), based his analysis of wondertales on plot structures, and considered plot as "all actions and incidents

developed in the course of the narrative" (Propp 1984:76). He called functions "the action of the character from the point of view of its significance for the progress of the narrative" (Propp 1984:74). The functions, according to Propp (2003:21), are the "constant, stable elements, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled". Their number in a wondertale is limited. Their sequence is uniform, and always identical. The functions of the characters can be isolated. Wondertales exhibit thirty-one functions, not all of which are found in any one tale. According to Propp (1984:170), "all wondertales are of one type, in regard to their structure". They have a few functions, which take multiple forms (Propp 1984:69-83). In Propp's (1984:173) analysis there are eight "dramatis personae": "villain", "dispatcher", "(magical) helper", "princess or prize (and her father)", "donor", "hero", and "false hero". These *dramatis personae* fulfil thirty-one functions, but as mentioned before, "the number of functions in a wondertale is limited", and the "absence of certain functions does not interfere with the order of appearance of the others" (Propp 1984:83).

Propp's (1984:70) formalist analysis of wondertales can be applied to almost any type of narrative. A method of story creation by rearranging the plot functions was developed based on Propp's model (Lesinskis 2009). It has been used to create other tales and video games. His analysis method is used today to analyse other types of narrative, from television shows (Latourette 1990), to video games (Dickey 2006). According to Propp's model, in *American Gods,* the *dramatis personae* fulfilling the functions are: the villain – Mr. Wednesday, Loki Liesmith; the dispatcher – Mr. Wednesday; the (magical) helper – Zorya Polunochnaya, Bast, and Mr. Nancy; the princess or prize – Laura; the donor – Mad Sweeney, Zorya Polunochnaya; the hero – Shadow; and the false hero – Mr. Wednesday. For the purpose of this analysis, certain functions will be eliminated, those irrelevant to the novel's plot. According to Propp, there can be encountered substitutions, inversions, transformations, extensions of certain elements of the tale. The substitution of one *dramatis persona* for another does not change the order of functions. The model has multiple choices of functions per stage, consequently, only one appropriate function will be chosen. Propp designates Greek alphabet letters to every function. The plot starts with an "initial situation": α (Propp 2003:26), and is followed by "absentation" (Propp 2003:26): β^1 ("one of the members of a family absents himself from home")/ "The person absenting himself can be a member of the older generation". In the case of *American Gods,* Shadow's initial situation is his being imprisoned. The death of Shadow's wife can also be filed under absentation. The following stage is "trickery" (Propp 2003:29): η^1 ("the villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings")/ "The villain uses persuasion". Mr Wednesday tricks Shadow to drink his mead before Shadow agrees to work for him. The next stage is "complicity" (Propp 2003:30): θ^1 ("the victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy")/ "The hero agrees to all of the villain's persuasions". Shadow drinks the mead, which functions as a binding contract, and becomes Mr. Wednesday's employee. The stage of "villainy" (Propp 2003:31): A^1 ("the villain causes harm or injury to a member of a family"), with its variant: "the villain abducts a person" (A^1) comes next. Shadow is abducted by the Technical Boy, who works for Loki Liesmith. In the stage of "lack", "one member of the family either lacks something or desires to have something": α (Propp 2003:35). Laura communicates her desire to become alive again. In the stage of "mediation" (Propp 2003:36): B^4 ("misfortune or lack is made known; the hero is approached with a request or command; he is allowed to go or he is dispatched")/ "Misfortune is announced "(B^4). Mr. Wednesday tells Shadow about the impending war and the search for allies. The "departure" (Propp 2003:39): $\uparrow$ is about the hero leaving home. Shadow leaves Eagle Point with Mr. Wednesday. The departure is followed by "the first function of the donor" (Propp 2003:39): D^2, where "the hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc., which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or helper"/ "The donor greets and interrogates the hero". Shadow meets Zorya

Polunochnaya. This function is followed by the "hero's reaction" (Propp 2003:42): E^1, where the "hero reacts to the actions of the future donor/ the hero withstands (or does not withstand) a test" (E^1). It is represented in the novel by their nocturnal discussion. This function is followed by "provision or receipt of a magical agent" (Propp 2003:43): F^1 ("the hero acquires the use of a magical agent")/ "The agent is directly transferred". At this stage Shadow receives the Liberty dollar. The next stage is "spatial transference between two kingdoms, guidance" (Propp 2003:50): G^1, where the "hero is transferred, delivered, or led to the whereabouts of an object of search". "The initial misfortune or lack is liquidated: K^1/ "The object of a search is seized by the use of force or cleverness" (K1). In the novel this is featured by the multiple allies made along the way. The stage of "return" (Propp 2003:55): ↓ ("the hero returns"), applies in the case of Shadow for his period of residence in Lakeside without Mr. Wednesday. This stage is followed by the "unfounded claims" (Propp 2003:60): L, where "a false hero, presents unfounded claims". An offer to end the war without bloodshed results in the killing of Mr. Wednesday. The next stage is the "difficult task" (Propp 2003:60): M ("a difficult task is proposed to the hero"). The difficult task for Shadow is the vigil, which he promised to hold. After a task comes "the solution" (Propp 2003:62): N ("the task is resolved"). Shadow holds vigil, and dies on the tree. During his time on the tree, he discovers the truth about his parentage and Mr. Wednesday's scheme. Resurrected Shadow goes to the Lookout Mountain to stop the bloodbath, which leads to the "recognition" (Propp 2003:62): Q ("the hero is recognized"), as Odin's son. Shadow's speech leads to Mr. Wednesday plan's "exposure" (Propp 2003:62): Ex ("the false hero or villain is exposed"). This subsequently leads to his "punishment" (Propp 2003:63): U ("the villain is punished"). No death is dedicated to him in this stage, therefore he cannot resurrect. The overall structure appears as follows: $\alpha - \beta^1 - \eta^1 - \theta^1 - A^1 - \alpha - B^4 - \uparrow - D^2 - E^1 - F^1 - G^1 - K^1 - \downarrow - L - M - N - Q - Ex - U$, even though the scheme covers only the main plot points without covering multiple subplots. Not even all plot points are covered. Nevertheless, Propp's and Campbell's structures are flexible and adjustable to the purpose of their use. Neither of the authors pretends a definite answer for each stage, offering variants to choose from. As a result, one may claim that this analysis shows that Propp's method of analysis can be used for other types of narrative, in addition to wondertales.

6. Conclusions

According to Meletinsky (2000:303), "mythification…expresses the unlimited freedom of the contemporary artist vis-à-vis the traditional symbol system, which is no longer a constricting force in modern thought". Gaiman embraces and explores this myth/literature relationship, imagining a contemporary mythology of his own. Although he re-shapes and re-invents classical myths and combines them with legends, folktales and intertextual references in a postmodern blend, his mythology follows the classic structures of ancient myth and wondertale.

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IN SEARCH OF THE INVISIBLE ROOTS: IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCES IN JHUMPA LAHIRI'S *UNACCUSTOMED EARTH*

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Abstract: *This paper attempts an analysis of the metaphorical strategies Jhumpa Lahiri uses in her 2008 collection of short stories* Unaccustomed Earth *in order to explore and comment on the intricate relations and the complex web of feelings and resentments, longing and attachment that make up the essence of family life as shaped by the diasporic experience. In this volume, Lahiri particularly focuses on the conflicting emotions engendered by migration, on the articulation of displacement and reintegration, and on the capacity to fully assume the diasporic experience and turn it into a meaningful assertion of one's identity.*
Keywords: *belonging, emplacement, Indian diaspora, intertextuality, translation*

1. Introduction

Acknowledged as one of the most appreciated Indian-American writers of the day, Jhumpa Lahiri reveals her artistic skill through close analyses of the intricate web of human relationships and the fragile mechanisms of the human mind and soul when faced with the traumatic experience of exilic displacement. Her main concern generally goes with the subtly nuanced conflicts between the first, second and third-generation Indian immigrants and with their endeavour to acknowledge, if not to completely come to terms with, their roots and past.

The article focuses on Lahiri's use of metaphoric and intertextual strategies that go beyond the biographical coordinates of exile towards the universal dimensions of human displacement, in a successful attempt to merge personal and collective experience, individual and universal aspects and her particular means used to convey the general estrangement and acute sense of loss that seem to afflict her characters. Caught between identities and cultures, between nostalgia and alienation, these people constantly try to translate themselves into a new cultural idiom and to counterbalance their vulnerability and the inherent fragility of their relationships with the reliance upon the concreteness of the material world they inhabit and the apparently comfortable security of the American life style. Lahiri makes the palpable materiality of her characters' environments dissolve into elusiveness and gradually transfers its solidity and corporeality to the world of emotions.

Jhumpa Lahiri's exquisite treatment of objects in her Pulitzer winning collection of short stories *Interpreter of Maladies* (1999) is prolonged and further nuanced in *Unaccustomed Earth* (2008). In her second collection of short stories she uses the same strategy of projecting a world of feelings, personal traumas and life changing conflicts upon small details and apparently insignificant objects that acquire prophetic, symbolic and metaphorical functions. She goes deeper this time projecting the material world – seen as an intermediary between people, between their lost dreams and their new expectations, between their invisible roots and their newly developed sprouts – upon a more generous context that

encompasses real and metaphorical spaces and transforms the characters' individual experiences into a universal drama of displacement and alienation.

2. When Hyphenation Is a State of Being

Indian diaspora has most often been envisaged in the light of the trauma it engenders, the sense of loss, uprootedness and the ambiguous status it always confers to the persons placed "between locations of residence and locations of belonging" (Gilroy 2000:124). The difficulty of fully containing the diasporic experience within definite theoretical paradigms comes from the tendency to level and generalise totally different historic contexts and socio-economic circumstances that have engendered different diasporic communities. Indian diaspora has a long history. Starting with the "ancient diaspora" of the Buddhist travellers to Central and Eastern Asia, the *ghummakar* tradition of the migrant Gypsies, the subsequent migration of traders and indentured workers, old and new, colonial and postcolonial, the Indian diaspora has most frequently been regarded as a unitary phenomenon though it generally fails to encompass all the aspects that fully characterise the dynamics of displacement. Theorists generally relate the cultural dynamics of diasporic movements to social adjustment, resilience and cultural persistence, integration, ethnicity and to more specific dimensions such as gender, caste and regional and religious identity.

The ever intensifying processes of globalisation and hypermobility and the increased awareness of distinct diasporic communities actively engaged in a permanent negotiation and renegotiation of identity have gradually changed the perception on immigration which has been redefined in terms of class, gender and motivation. Most theorists rely upon a common ethnic consciousness and an active associative life, upon the permanent contact with a homeland and tight relations with various groups of the same ethnic origin, when trying to define diaspora (see Raghuram et al. 2008). The common point of all definitions of diaspora is the central idea of a home and homeland in relation to which any diasporic entity tries to define itself.

Present day diasporic displacement is regarded as "brain circulation", whereas diaspora itself as "brain bank" (Sahay 2009:7). The new redefinitions of diaspora, now engaged in an economic exchange process that has long ceased to be unidirectional, modified the general perception on Indians and demolished old cultural stereotypes, redefining the traditional understanding of the old dichotomies centre/margins, home/away and the strict relationship formerly established between geographical location and identity. Hybridity, interculturation and syncretism, key elements of our age, are engendered by the cultural hyphenation of diaspora whose dynamic is still characterised by a double allegiance to the currently occupied space and to a lost home.

If social, economic and political reassessments of the Indian diaspora strive to get as objective as possible, most of its literary analyses are often criticised for their generalising formula, their exoticism and biased redefinitions of national and ethnic identities. The legitimacy of many Westernised representations of a country one has deliberately left behind is often questioned, as well as the authenticity of the cultural construct of a unitary India offered by some texts and the essential Indianness they try to promote.

Jhumpa Lahiri herself was sometimes criticised and accused of simplifying the diasporic experience, of over-generalising and depoliticising it, of embracing the perspective of the well-off second-generation Indian American immigrant, devoid of financial worries and ignoring issues such as gender, caste and class or religious identity. The remarkable success of her fiction and the huge appeal to the reading public were considered to be a proof of the mercantile character of her writings. "I've never written for anyone other than myself" (Grossman 2008) was her reply to the accusation of lending her voice to all ethnic

immigrants, irrespective of their regional, religious identity and social status, and projecting her own experience upon the entire diasporic phenomenon.

Member of a second-generation Bengali immigrant family, New York-based, London-born, raised in Rhode Island, Lahiri got quickly aware of "the intense pressure to be two things, loyal to the old world and fluent in the new", exerted on the Indian-American writer (Chand qtd. in Dhingra 2012:12). She belongs to the generation called "Midnight's grandchildren" in honour of Rushdie's famous novel and in recognition of his part in the revival of the Indian novel written in English.

Unaccustomed Earth (Lahiri 2008), winner of the Frank O'Connor Prize, continues to discuss the issues put forth in her previous works, problems of belonging and unbelonging, identity and multiple identification, roots and uprootedness, displacement and multiple locations. All these issues revolve around the idea of home and the necessity and importance of translating the hyphen inherent to the diasporic condition.

> Diasporas are people who would want to explore the meaning of the hyphen, but perhaps not press the hyphen for fear that this would lead to massive communal schizophrenia. They are precariously lodged within an episteme of real or imagined displacements, self-imposed sense of exile; they are haunted by specters, by ghosts arising from within that encourage irredentist or separatist movements. (Mishra 2007:2)

Vijay Mishra's definition of diaspora based on the "meaning of the hyphen" matches Lahiri's interest in translating one hyphenated side into the other, in negotiating the boundaries between the two, and in finding meaningful strategies to give voice to what Mishra referred to as the "specters" and "ghosts" that arise from within. In Lahiri's case the hyphen seems to bridge the space between "exilic emplacement" and "diasporic self-fashioning", as theorised by Nico Israel (2000) in his study on diaspora *Outlandish: Writing between exile and diaspora*. The "haunting ghosts" Mishra was talking about arise here from all the gaps and silences created after a failed attempt to perfectly translate and retranslate homes, cultural and linguistic identities, as well as personal dreams and collective expectations, interpreted in her novels as aching absences, family secrets and screaming silences.

"Exilic emplacement", generally explained as a means of being placed in and inscribed within a particular space (see Israel 2000), characterises Jhumpa Lahiri's depiction of her first-generation Bengali immigrants inclined to long for a lost home and recreate imaginary homelands, in a continuous oscillation between displacement and multiple emplacements. Diasporic "self-fashioning" seems to better characterise Lahiri's second-generation immigrants, focused upon defining their identity in relation to a real, coherent and unitary space. They are still haunted by the memory of the Other space but are mainly preoccupied with taming the Otherness of the former generations and projecting their sense of loss and nostalgic appropriation of reality upon an objectively mapped out space. Besides this "tension without resolution" of the "modernist metaphor of exilic deracination (seen as the subject's melancholic refusal or inability to repudiate his or her geographic and cultural 'roots') and the postmodern/postcolonial metaphor of diaspora (as potential hybridity or multiple rooting of national and ethnic identities)" (Israel 2000:18) – Lahiri introduces yet another element, a sort of "situatedness-in-displacement", to use Bruce Robbins' term (1992:173), which gives space a surreal, highly flexible dimension. By bringing into discussion the diasporic dimensions of the third-generation Indian/Bengali immigrants, Lahiri tackles the issue of possible diasporic mutations into a post-diaspora community with a totally different understanding of origins and a new conception of the chronotope of belonging.

In *Unaccustomed Earth* Lahiri juxtaposes all these exilic/diasporic dimensions at the same time playing with tropes and participating in a new rhetoric and tropology of

displacement, focused on irretrievable loss as a key image. She usually builds her first-generation immigrants as people hovering in the space of in-betweenness, caught in endless processes of metaphorical trans-lations between a point of departure and a space of arrival; the second-generation immigrants are mostly characterised by means of metonymic and synecdochic strategies that focus upon fragmentation and hybridisation whereas the few characters belonging to the third-generation immigrants receive again a metaphoric treatment, a strategy mainly relying upon dissemination and return to the origins.

Lahiri envisages translation as the essence of the migrant/diasporic condition and as a key metaphor of our times since the migrant is permanently forced to translate his/her Otherness into new idioms. Related to the important emphasis placed upon translation in all her writings, she confessed in an interview that "almost all my characters are translators in so far as they must make sense of the foreign to survive" (Lahiri qtd. in Dhingra 2012:37). "While I write as an American or as an Indian, about things American or Indian or otherwise, one thing remains the constant: I translate therefore I am" seems to be Lahiri's favourite motto (Dhingra 2012:37).

Fully embraced in *The Interpreter of Maladies* (Lahiri 1999), the idea of translation as defining the diasporic condition goes beyond the linguistic realm well into the psychological effects of displacement, trauma and loss interpreted through a highly suggestive strategy of materialising emotions and metaphorising objects. Her treatment of translation reveals it as one of the most significant cognitive processes of understanding Otherness and is similar to Rushdie's identification operated on etymological grounds between translation/trans-lation and metaphor (with the same meaning of "carrying across" and thus similar in their capacity to bear significance across cultures, languages and identities); it also bears similarities to Steiner's inherent "internalised inscription" of linguistic and cultural Otherness as "every act of communication between human beings increasingly takes the shape of an act of translation" (Steiner 1971:19).

3. Deep Roots Rest in Infinity

Lahiri uses "ideas rather than places" and metaphors rather than plain definitions in order to translate the traumatic experience of her characters in *Unaccustomed Earth* (2008), always in search of a way of expressing the space of "untranslatability" inherent in any diasporic experience. Loss, absence and silence thus become the main coordinates of the diasporic space Lahiri creates in her fiction.

In her first novel *The Namesake* (2003) Jhumpa Lahiri introduces the idea that identity goes deeper than spatial location, physical dislocation and socio-political circumstances. She also initiates the permanent game of metaphorically translating Self into Other, here into there, belonging into unbelonging and multiple belongings. "We all came out of Gogol's overcoat" (Lahiri 2008:78) one character in *The Namesake* says, quoting Dostoyevsky and alluding to a cultural allegiance and inherited otherness that both transcend physical spatiality. This cultural allegiance is present in *Unaccustomed Earth* which begins with a motto from Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Custom House* and establishes the central preoccupation of all the short stories collected in the volume with the complex process of diasporic readjustment of first and second-generation Indian immigrants and the mutations it causes on family relationships. "Striking roots" in a foreign land and translating the idea of "home" become the precondition of the evolution of humanity. 'We all come out of Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*' might be the reply of the characters in *Unaccustomed Earth* as America's cultural heteronomy could find a point of reference in Hawthorne, he himself a descendent of the first Puritan settlers.

> Human nature will not flourish, any more than a potato, if it be planted and replanted, for too long a series of generations, in the same worn-out soil. My children have had other birthplaces and, so far as their fortunes may be within my control, shall strike their roots into unaccustomed earth. (Hawthorne qtd. in Lahiri 2003)

This motto also provides Lahiri with one of the most suggestive structural metaphors of the volume, which is the agricultural metaphor that leads her to "two senses of genealogy": the interethnic and the intertextual. "Indeed the genetic aspect of ethnicity is simply intertextuality in the biological context: both in-group reproduction as well as ethnic outmarriage yield different cultural and genetic 'texts' in the bodies and cultural identities of new subjects" (Dhingra 2012:11).

The double-meaning genealogy is alluded to in the short story that opens the volume with *gardening* as its central metaphor. Once again, Lahiri pays close attention to minute details and objects charged with an overwhelming power of suggestion. For Ruma, the postcards she receives from her father become strange epitomes of minimalist family relations and a means of mapping out her father's wanderings around the world, revealing at the same time her difficulty in adjusting to new places (a second-generation immigrant, born in America but displaced from Brooklyn to Seattle). For the father, they are a token of simplicity, a form of appropriating his adoptive world, a celebration of simple things as they always end up with "'Be happy, love Baba' as if the attainment of happiness was as simple as that" (Lahiri 2008:4). During her father's visit, small gestures bring father and daughter closer and the growing of the small garden he plants in her backyard connotes the tightening of their relationship, a tentative connection to her father, to her past and her forgotten roots.

As everywhere in Lahiri's writings there is a deep sense of loss, a deterministic feeling that everything, even "the entire enterprise of having a family, of putting children on this earth… was flawed from the start" (Lahiri 2008:55). But beyond this inherent loss, Lahiri almost always insinuates a grain of hope, placing loss and gain, determinism and acceptance in a strange dialectical relationship. Hope, in this case, is connoted by the discovery Akash, Ruma's little son, makes of his own roots. His grandfather's gift for him – a Pinocchio puppet – projects upon Akash all the symbolism embedded in the transformation of a wooden puppet into a real boy. Akash's gradual bond with his grandfather and with his Indian past is achieved through his participation in the tendering of the garden, his lessons of Bengali and his discovery that buried seeds yield future harvests. In a highly symbolic gesture he imitates his grandfather and starts sowing toys and personal belongings into the ground.

The desperate attempt to "strike roots" in a foreign soil is variously illustrated in this volume. In "Hell-Heaven", Aparna's inability to adjust to her adoptive land (having moved out of India to Berlin and out of Berlin to the Central Square in America) and her obsessive cling to the past make her desperately want to recreate her homeland at all costs, and pushes her into the trap of a love triangle. Pranab, the student she befriends and receives into her home like a brother, makes Aparna and her husband feel estranged as if coming from two different worlds. Pranab recreates Aparna's lost world through music, films, poetry and cooking. Loss comes in this short story under the guise of mother-daughter alienation and failure of both Indian traditional and mixed marriages.

All stories embrace the perspective of the American born Indian child who judges his/her parents according to American standards, mostly for their failure to adjust and for their transforming existence into a "life sentence of being foreign" (Lahiri 2008:138) as in "Only Goodness". The first generation immigrants' fascination with the Promised Land and its wonderful images of a bright future for their children, make them ignorant of the suffering of these children born between worlds and condemned to always strike roots across two different continents and come to terms with both.

4. Aching Absences and Speaking Silences

In her attempt to translate the multiple aspects of the diasporic experience Jhumpa Lahiri encounters and bridges various spaces of untranslatability represented by silences, gaps and absences. The solution she finds to cover these spaces is to project her characters' silent traumas and unexpressed longings upon their material surrounding that takes over all this emotional investment and acts as a substitute, an omen and gap-filler.

Besides the prevalent agricultural metaphor, there is an entire range of images that make up metaphors of connection and disconnection or images ambiguously placed in between. The postcards in *Unaccustomed Earth* (Lahiri 2008) or the image of the "house" in "Hema and Kaushik" could be such examples. A burn in a skirt in "A Choice of Accommodations" occasions a close analysis of a mixed marriage. While attending a wedding, imperceptible frictions and signs of marital dysfunction become visible, significantly represented under the guise of a circular burn in the wife's skirt the two spouses try to conceal by sticking close together. The burn becomes at the same time a mark of their estrangement and a small impediment that only makes them aware of their failures but brings them closer. From the sagged balloon connoting dashed expectations and personal failure in "Only Goodness" to the lost bangle in "Hema and Kaushik" Lahiri's metaphorically charged objects speak of the inevitable dissipation of a family and the unavoidable "cracks" that tear families apart.

One of the most notable aching absences in the volume is that of a well-defined home/homeland. The house acquires metonymic dimensions in most of these short stories as it evokes a gone by world and becomes a material substitute for somebody absent in the family. In the last novella of the collection, "Hema and Kaushik", the "house" acquires complex nuances, from identification with particular persons to embodying different aspects of the experience of exile. Immigration itself is seen as a sequence of home building in the attempt to find a lost home or settle into another one, and this implies moving around a set of items that epitomises the idea of home. Different ways of approaching and envisaging houses become emblematic for different approaches of the diasporic condition. The first generation endeavours to set up households, to strike roots and thus make up for the absence of the home they left. In contrast, the second generation, as illustrated by Hema and Kaushik, tries hard not to build homes and get stuck to one place for fear of being displaced and obliged to live once again their parents' trauma.

Kaushik internalises the condition of the perpetual outsider, a position reinforced by his profession as a photographer, the eternal witness of other people's traumas. Through photography he finds the best way to colonise reality, to appropriate and master the new world in a different way than his parents, developing a symbolic and elusive attachment to materiality and its frozen representations in photographs. Photography becomes in this volume one of Lahiri's favourite strategies of playing with absences and presences with signifiers and signifieds, referents and implied significances. It is, too, a form of "home building" by taking possession and taming the material world, making it more familiar and inhabitable.

One of the most suggestive metaphoric images, characteristic for Lahiri's perspective on the Indian family in exile is the ekphrastic introduction of van Eyck's painting, *The Arnolfini Marriage*, in "Only Goodness". The small mirror in this painting becomes the focal point of the composition, capturing and reflecting back to the viewer the ceiling, the floor and the outside world that includes van Eyck himself. The mirror functions as a silent witness revealing, as all Lahiri's short stories, small but significant details, small secrets and concealed objects that might make the difference between a loving family and one doomed to fail. Like van Eyck, Lahiri lets herself be seen at times, sharing with us her diasporic

experience. Van Eyck's portrait as well as the photographs alluded to in the volume play with the elusiveness of presences and absences, with the unreliability, fragility and persistence of memories and the interesting effects drawn by the implicit though mostly invisible presence of the photographer/painter/writer and the conviction that there is always something that remains unsaid and unseen, that escapes and cannot be translated.

5. Conclusion

Jhumpa Lahiri's *Unaccustomed Earth* (2008) continues to explore the Indian diaspora in America, in terms of deracination, readjustment to a new place, redefinition of identity and impact on family relationships. First and second generation immigrants find themselves separated by different expectations and life values and obliged to translate themselves in the idioms of the two cultures they simultaneously inhabit. The stories in this collection focus on the metaphor of "striking roots into unaccustomed earth", which allows Lahiri to dwell on the problem of exilic emplacement and the conflict between unbelonging and multiple belonging. Her perspective on diaspora is that of "being in translation", of appropriating and internalising a new reality in both linguistic and cultural dimensions. Losses, silences and absences, recurrent in Lahiri's fiction, are subtly negotiated with and metaphorically translated so that in the end, the diasporic condition could be defined as a balanced mixture of 'lost-and-found', 'loss and gain', a middle path where the translated migrant becomes a "self-reflexive translation that holds up for scrutiny the translator, his or her presuppositions, standards and life philosophy" (Cronin 2003:141).

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STRINGS OF LIFE: MEMORY AS MYTH IN PORTER'S MIRANDA STORIES

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Abstract: *The Pulitzer-prize writer, Katherine Anne Porter, dedicates a great part of her work to the Southern history. Through Miranda's memories, this writer questions some of the major Southern myths – the Southern belle, the Southern family. This paper aims to highlight the moulding of a feminine voice of the South, whose identity is torn between the Old and the New Order.*
Keywords: *feminine voice of the South, mythical past, Old Order – New Order, reality-myth-"blind" memories, Southern belle*

1. Introduction

"Memory is identity" (Barnes 2008:189). The past is shaped from millions of memories – personal or historical – that give us a meaning, and mould our present and future. Can our identity be destroyed? What does it happen then, with ourselves or with our society? How do we forge a new identity, when all of our values have collapsed under the pressure of History, of wars, or of scientific developments? How do we survive in a new world, different from the traditional one, alienated from the reality that we have known, within a present so different from the one in which we have been born or raised?

Like William Faulkner (2005), Katherine Anne Porter presents in her short stories a decayed, aristocratic world; "[e]ven the future seemed like something gone and done with when they spoke of it. It did not seem an extension of their past, but a repetition of it." (Mooney Jr. 1957:17) Miranda Rhea, one of her major and intriguing characters, lives at the intersection between a sublime, mythical past and a decayed, empty present; she is raised in the mosaic of family memories, which proves in time not to be so real and perfect as she imagined in her childhood. Miranda from "Old Mortality", the little girl or adolescent who lives in the South, is not the same as Miranda from "Pale Horse, Pale Rider", the one who stops "embracing place" and runs away from the South, ignoring one of the ancient unwritten rules of Southerners. As Robert H. Brinkmeyer Jr. (2008:4) puts it in his interesting study, *Remapping Southern Literature – Contemporary Southern Writers and the West,* "a solitary figure breaking free from the community would, in the fiction of most Southern writers, be less a hero than a potential psychopath, a person tragically alone and isolated, cut off from the nourishing bonds of family and community."

How does she then evolve? What happens when the Old South's mentality clashes into the motionless present, into the mind of the new generation of the South, who was bred with ancestors' memories, memories that are no longer representative for their times, but which are playing an essential role in these characters' lives? And do these characters, who are filled with such 'blind memories' – memories that are not theirs – belong to the Old South, to the dead past, or to the New South, to the present?

2. Miranda's *Songs of Innocence*

How can the Southern woman be defined? As the young Miranda Rhea learns from the portrayals of Aunt Annie, from "Old Mortality" (Porter 1980), or of Miranda Gay, the cousin from "The Circus" (Porter 1980), one has to be a beauty, to know and to respect the social habits, and later, to be a submissive wife and to give birth to as many children as possible. In her innocence, Miranda hopelessly dreams to be like the legendary depictions of Annie or like her cousin, Miranda, "a most dashing young lady with crisp silk skirts, a half dozen of them at once, a lovely perfume and wonderful black curly hair above enormous wild gray eyes." (Porter 1980:343) She listens to her father's description of the Southern belle, wishing to be like that in her maturity, but at the same time she dimly acknowledges the fact that she will never possess the necessary features:

> First, a beauty must be tall; whatever color the eyes, the hair must be dark, the darker the better; the skin must be pale and smooth. Lightness and swiftness of movement were important points. A beauty must be a good dancer, superb on horseback, with a serene manner, an amiable gaiety tempered with dignity at all hours. Beautiful teeth and hands, of course, and over and above all this, some mysterious crown of enchantment that attracted and held the heart. It was all very exciting and discouraging. (Porter 1980:176)

In her childhood, Miranda is left on her own to discover the world; she does not receive answers when she asks her father if they go to the Cedar Grove or not, because she "never got over being surprised at the way grown-up people simply did not seem able to give anyone a straight answer to any question, unless the answer was 'No'" (Porter 1980:354); she is not asked of the things that bother her, why she is crying, or why she is scared by the Circus, and she does not receive explanations for simple notions of life. Even so, she is living in a world where past memories are still alive, where everything and everyone nourishes the Southern story of romantic love, and of the perfection of the Southern belle. As Porter puts it, the child is a stranger in the adult world, as the children described in Henry James' works were, and these adults from Miranda's life, in a more direct or indirect way, try to inflict in her the Southern code and standards.

The memories and the events from this stage, that are illustrated in "The Fig Tree", "The Circus", "The Grave", and "Old Mortality" (Porter 1980), have an essential role in her development, because, as Porter (1970:16) affirms in "Reflections on Willa Cather", "the rest is merely confirmation, extension, development. Childhood is the fiery furnace in which we are melted down to essentials and the essential shaped for good."

Miranda's journey starts with her innocence and naivety, gaining with every new story a piece of experience. In "The Fictions of Memory", Edward Greenfield Schwartz (1960:204-205) makes a comparison between Porter's Miranda and Shakespeare's heroine from *The Tempest*. Schwartz pointed out that Miranda begins her journey where Shakespeare's character ends it: "O, wonder!/ How many goodly creatures are there here!/ How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world! That has such people in it!" Moreover, if in the case of Shakespeare's Miranda, the name has Latin origins, meaning *strange* and *wonderful,* Porter gives to her character the Spanish meaning, "the seeing one", a feature that characterises Miranda, because she easily observes the absurdities of the world, the discrepancies between reality and the things that her family tells her.

If Prospero's daughter is sheltered on an island, and she is characterised through her lack of experience, Miranda Rhea is also sheltered, "immured" from the present world, from her individuality and independence through the mentality of her grandmother, and the stories of her father, in an indirect attempt to transform her into the Southern female prototype.

However, in this ignorance, as she observes, she already has the memories of other generations, memories that are already influencing her way of perceiving the world:

> Maria and Miranda, aged twelve and eight years, knew they were young, though they felt they had lived a long time. They had lived not only their own years; but their memories, it seemed to them, began years before they were born, in the lives of the grown-ups around them, old people above forty, most of them, who had a way of insisting that they too had been young once. (Porter 1980:174)

First of all, the *grandmother* represents the authoritarian figure, the matriarchal image of the South, who ordered the chaos, and offered stability to the family. She is the mother with eleven children, who does not say a word against her husband's decisions, even when he gambles away her dowry. She is the image of the Southern aristocrat, and at the same time she is for the children the mother figure and the tyrant, conservative even in her tastes: in her house, she has Dickens, Scott, Thackeray, Dante, Pop, Milton, and Dr. Johnson's Dictionary. For her, like for the characters of Faulkner, the changeless past represents the *illo tempore,* the time in which everything, in one way or another, should return.

However, Miranda observes in astonishment that this Grandmother, who wants to control everything in her house and on her farm, in front of whom nobody from the family says a word, pretends "not to see anything" when Great-Aunt Eliza snuffles her nose, a "shameful habit in women of the lower classes, but no lady had been known to 'dip snuff', and surely not in the family." (Porter 1980:359) So, is the code that she imposes real, or is it another story?

Sophia Jane's way of thinking symbolises the cultural ideologies of the South, and transmits to the *new order* the *patriarchal* way of thinking. She is depicted in "The Old Order" (Porter 1980) as one of the "giants" of the past, showing to Miranda how a woman should be, if she wants to be respected and have a place in society. Her grandmother, although she is depicted as the head of the family, who takes control of the family business after her husband's death, who is feared by everyone, is still a carrier of patriarchy. As Andrea K. Frankwitz (2004:2) shows in "Katherine Anne Porter's Miranda stories: a commentary on the cultural ideologies of gender identity", "Sophia Jane's thoughts reflect the patriarchal ideology of gender, which reinforces the feminine as subordinate and the masculine as authority".

She is also the product of the past, the last one who remained from the Old Order. For her, men and women have fixed places and roles in society, and a woman who is too fragile to bear children or too modern in her thinking, such as the wives of her sons, cannot be accepted.

This is the mentality that shaped the universe of Miranda, the child. However, owing to her way of thinking, of analysing things, and seeing the incoherence of the story, she does not only discover the patriarchal world, but she also reacts to it, discovering inside herself her femininity, power, and independence.

If in "The Circus" (Porter 1980), which represents a microcosm of the world, Miranda becomes aware of the physical distinctions between males and females, in "The Grave" (Porter 1980) she explores several Southern codes, myths, and taboos. First of all, she and her brother Paul discover in the tomb a small treasure: the coffin screw in form of the *dove*, well known for its Christian symbol of the soul's immortality, here seen as the immortality of the past and its traditions, and the *ring*, also a symbol of the past, but also of marriage and femininity. Before she had the ring, she was unaware of gender distinctions and limitations, and felt free in her boyish clothes, in her games with Paul, shooting rabbits and birds. Once she puts the ring on her finger, she wants to be pretty and covered in the old, lost luxury. The golden ring "turned her feelings against her overalls and sockless feet, toes sticking through the thick brown leather straps. (Porter 1980:365)

The ring is a strong symbol for sexuality, marriage, and death, and when she later discovers the fetal young rabbits, she suddenly becomes aware that being a woman has also physical implications, that giving life can sometimes mean death – and here, in her subconscious, we can easily depict the images of her grandmother and her mother – that the womb may mean the destruction of the feminine; at the same time, in an indirect way, she understands the power that it has over Paul, who looks in amazement at the tiny things, speaking "cautiously, as if they were talking about something forbidden", his voice dropping when he utters the word "born" (Porter 1980:367).

DeMouy (2001:140) asserts that

> Miranda is not traumatized until her quick mind sees the link between her femaleness and the precarious, bloody ritual of birth. Giving life means risking death. This is her true legacy from her grandmother and her society.

"The Grave" (Porter 1980) – as Mary Titus (1988) emphasised in "Mingled Sweetness and Corruption" – represents at the same time the shifting of Miranda's family from nurturing, fulfilment, stability and wealth to the violence and the instability that the death of the mother-figure, the grandmother, who also represented the faithful image of the old order, brought into their world. When that past is dead, time seems to fall into chaos. This grandmother, with everything that she represented, tried to teach Miranda the Southern moral code of the woman, the sacredness of marriage, of honour, and of beauty. "Old Mortality" (Porter 1980) is another version of this image, of the illusion of romantic love, that characterises the South, of the differences among *reality*, *poetry* and *story*. The story of Amy, of Eva, and the rest of the legends that she hears in her childhood represent for Miranda, as Janis P. Stout (2001:45) asserts in "The Expectations in the story", her *mental independence*, "a struggle toward self-definition through acts of separation from family and home".

For Maria and Miranda, Aunt Amy represents a sad, beautiful, Southern story. She "had been beautiful, much loved, unhappy, and she had died young" (Porter 1980:173), the main ingredients for moulding a Southern myth. In their family, every road goes to the sad story of Amy – the women are always compared with her, the men with Gabriel, while the girls wish to be just like "poor Amy". However, the little girls see the contradictions between reality and the story told by the adults, asking themselves why everyone saw Amy so beautiful and charming, when they only see an ordinary girl in the photos. She represents all the values that a Southerner searches in a woman – slenderness, gracefulness, charm –, but she strongly disobeys her family, rejects Gabriel several times, causes Henry's exile, and she describes her own wedding as her funeral. Why did she become the myth of the Southern belle?

There was a certain peculiarity in the South for romance, as Miranda easily observes at the beginning of the story; she and her sister are also attracted by Gothic novels and sentimental readings, and in their naïve beliefs, they give credulity and attention to the story. For them and for their family, Gabriel becomes the image of the Southern knight, whose heart was broken by the loss of his beloved. He "had youth, health, good looks, the prospect of riches, a devoted family circle" (Porter 1980:181), but somehow, he lost everything. He was perfect for this role, and he fell in love with Amy, the other character that is moulded by the family. As M.K. Fornataro (2001:49) puts it in "Neil on the Family Legends", "both Amy and Gabriel have, in effect, been written by others so as to conform to the romantic ideal of the Old South."

One Sunday afternoon, when they are freed from their "immured" state at the convent, they face the reality of their myth: Gabriel is an ugly drunkard, who makes a living through horse-races, having an unhappy marriage, and he feels also self-pity and ignorance towards

the reality around him. This is the moment when the girls question the myth of the romantic ideal, and part of it is dismissed.

The story of Amy becomes a double source of torment for the young Miranda; first she feels uneasy because she cannot be another image of Amy, and second she sees the things that happen when women are only judged by their beauty, as it is the case of Eva's emotional scars and her plight. Amy is "the heroine of the novel", who brings poetry nearer, as Miranda remarks, but she is also a character who, according to M.K. Fornataro (2001) in "Neil on the Family Legends", speaks a different language. Her real personality is not the image of the Southern belle, and very often we have the impression that she wants to escape the mentality of the old order. In order to do so, she rejects all social codes, dresses as her family tells her not to, cuts her hair when Gabriel tells her that he loved it. She tries to determine her place in the family myth, within it, or outside it, and as it happened with Miss Lucy's victory, there is a side of this story that we cannot know.

At the end of this short novel, Miranda remains caught between the old order and the new one. As she learnt from her society, marriage is the fulfilment of the romantic story, so she is in a certain way proud that she is eighteen and married: "'I'm married now, Cousin Eva,' said Miranda, feeling for almost the first time that it might be an advantage." (Porter 1980:212) On the other hand, before her father's rejection, in her conscience, she thinks the following:

> […] it was important, it must be declared, it was a situation in life which people seemed to be most excited about, and the only feeling she could rouse in herself about it was an immense weariness as if it were an illness that she might one day hope to recover from. (Porter 1980:213)

Miranda rebels and stands outside the family myth, but her rebellion and her escape are given by her pride, "in her arrogance" (Porter 1980:219). She is rejected by her father, and she "feels homeless" (Porter 1980:219), unable to return to her husband, but also finding it impossible to remain there. By rejecting several myths – the one of Amy, and the one of Eva – she forges her own myth, with her own romanticism, as "the Byronic exaltation of the solitary rebellious spirit" (Stout 2001:270). She does not have a mother figure in her life to tell her to protect her marriage, as Mrs. Halloran tells to her daughter in "A Day's Work" (Porter 1980), but she cannot escape the influence of her own family, in "her hopefulness, her ignorance" search of personal truth.

3. Miranda's *Songs of Experience*

"When you don't like it where you are you always go West […] We have always gone West", says Robert Penn Warren in *All the King's Men* (1996). Miranda goes West, too. The *innocent* girl from the "Fig Tree" (Porter 1980) has slowly started her life, gaining with every new episode another *experience* for her own development. Through these experiences, she understands the Southern code, but at the same time they lead her away from the South. In her "innocence", she thought that she could run away from her family, leaving the past behind, and start a new life, without memories, in the West, a symbol of freedom, where the past is left behind. But Miranda is still a Southerner, and in "Pale Horse, Pale Rider" (Porter 1980), we discover a woman whose thoughts are running back in time, especially to the fields in which she grew up. This short novel, "the most death-haunted of all stories" (Stout 2001:60), is built on a world of dreams, depicting with their help the inner reality of Miranda, her stream of consciousness, and the reality of the South.

"Pale Horse, Pale Rider" (Porter 1980) has five dreams in its structure, with the help of which a "sleeping reality" is revealed, a reality whose truth could not have been depicted in

another way. It is the sleeping South inside Miranda, the unconscious world that is always influenced by memories, the reality within, in which the past is always present.

This story of the present is filled with *death, loss,* and *sufferance.* As William Faulkner's character from *Absalom, Absalom* (1971), Quentin Compson, her only escapement from the voice of the South, of her own past, and of other's memories, seems to be in death. Her entire life had been under the sense of death, which meant "gone away forever. Dying was something that happened all the time, to people and everything else." (Porter 1980:354) And the rider from the "Pale Horse" is not a stranger to her:

> The stranger rode beside her, easily, lightly, his reins loose in his half-closed hand, straight and elegant in dark shabby garments that flapped upon his bones; his pale face smiled in an evil trance, he did not glance at her. Ah, I have seen this fellow before, I know this man if I could place him. He is no stranger to me. (Porter 1980:270)

If in "Old Mortality" (Porter 1980) Miranda seldom speaks with anyone, the reader detecting around her a sense of isolation, in this short novel we discover her as a social being, in her room, in the newspaper office, in her walks to the theatre, or at the dance hall. However, in this amalgam of characters, in the several moments that are shown from her life, we have the impression that Miranda is more isolated than she has ever been. She is away from her family, which she tried to forget, and she feels away from people like her. Her illness is the last drop of her inner and social isolation: "Far from putting up a sign, she did not even frown at her visitors. Usually she did not notice them at all until their determination to be seen was greater than her determination not to see them." (Porter 1980:271)

She survives, but she does not live, and her "survival had become a series of feats of sleight of hand" (Porter 1980:271). Because she left her family behind, Miranda does not have anything. In the first dream, we discover her struggle to escape the identity within her family, "her fear of engulfment by her family, and her emerging a wariness of death" (Porter 1980:58). For her, the old order and the Judeo-Christian conceptions of life, death, and afterlife – as George Cheatham (2001) in "Death in Porter's Stories" emphasises – are gone. However, if we look behind her thoughts in the dream, we can feel, in her pride, a sense of remorse: "What else besides them did I have in the world? Nothing. Nothing is mine, I have only nothing but it is enough, it is beautiful and it is all mine." (Porter 1980:270)

The South gave her myths, stories, and seemed sometimes cruel in its own code, if we think of Eva's or of Amy's stories. But the South, with all its oldness and past, was something that she had, that offered to her stability and a family. By not respecting the code, by running away from home and getting married – although marriage is one of the central myths of the South – she was rejected and she, in her turn, rejected it, hoping that the world outside the South would be better.

Miranda Rhea is in some aspects a feminine version of Joyce's Stephen Dedalus: both have been "immured" in the religious life, both have wanted to escape it, and both have rebelled in front of tradition. But by doing so, both have sunk into remorse, into the *agenbite of inwit,* and have lost their ways. The "Let me be and let me live" (Joyce 2000:11) of Stephen, the last words he told his mother, are similar to the act of Miranda going away and trying not to look back. But in Porter's depictions, the South, the past, and her childhood are too linked to her, too deep within herself to be forgotten, this is why we have access to the fields of South in Miranda's dreams, meaning her unconscious, her deepest Self.

In "Pale Horse, Pale Rider" (Porter 1980), the narrative voice changes, depicting not only a world of decay *outside* the South, but also the decay within the character, who becomes almost a ghost, too tired to live her own life: "Miranda turned over in the soothing water, and wished she might fall asleep there, to wake up only when it was time to sleep again". (Porter 1980:274)

Here, Miranda comes at the end of her path, caught now between the chaos of the modern world, and the memories of the old order; death seems to her the only escape that she got.

Her maturity and her personal truth comes with her sadness and her illness, which ironically, she says, starts when World War I breaks out, with her unobserved headaches, and ends when she wakes up from her agony, when the War is over.

> There must be a great many of them here who think as I do, and we dare not say a word to each other of our desperation, we are speechless animals letting ourselves be destroyed, and why? Does anybody here believe the things we say to each other? (Porter 1980:291)

And this person who is like her is Adam. As George Hendrick (2001:78) explains, at a mythical level he is also the first Adam, Isaac, "subject to sacrificial slaughter", and even Apollo, "a handsome young man". He is also "the only really pleasant thought she had" (Porter 1980:278), who asks her of her own happiness and makes her think of it. Like her, he is a Southerner, from Texas, and he can barely wear a watch, symbol of the timeless South, where the only time was the past, the *illo tempore.* With him, Miranda remembers the old romance story, in which she used to believe, the poetry that she loved in Amy and Gabriel's story. This time, she says the following words:

> Once they had gone to the mountains and, leaving the car, had climbed a stony trail, and had come out on a ledge upon a flat stone, where they sat and watched the lights change on a valley landscape that was, no doubt, Miranda said, quite apocryphal – 'We need not believe it, but it is fine poetry', she told him; they had leaned their shoulders together there, and had sat quite still, watching. (Porter 1980:285)

If Miranda from "Old Mortality" (Porter 1980) had learnt the difference among poetry, reality, and story, here Miranda returns to the poetry that she loved when she was a child, poetry she can hardly believe in, but which she now discovers in ephemeral moments. Moreover, if at the end of "Old Mortality" (Porter 1980) she ran away twice, first with her lover, and then inside herself, away from her family, by rejecting the rejection, here she also wants to run away, but this time from the atrocities of modernity: "I'd like to run away; let's both" (Porter 1980:282). The tranquillity of the fields – which taught her the secrets of the grave, of birth, and of death, and to which she returns in her dreams – seems to be here the only place in which she could live. In her futile attempt to run away from war and pain, she sees in Adam her only salvation.

4. Conclusions

The chaos of modernity and the memories from her childhood metamorphose in her illness. The South as an image disappears, but it is now part of herself, from which she cannot be separated, that haunts only her delirious dreams.

From struggling between the past, old world, and her new one, Miranda comes to struggle between other two worlds, the living one, and the dead one, a fight that changes everything. In her foreshadows and dreams, she says the following: "No, no, like a child cheated in a game, It's my turn now, why must you always be the one to die?" (Porter 1980:305) Here, "you" emphasises the importance of her losses, "you" standing for her mother, her grandmother, and now, for Adam.

At the end of the story, Miranda acknowledges her own pain, but at the same time she becomes aware of the importance of life. The end is opposed to the one from "Old Mortality" (Porter 1980), in which we saw her ignorance; here, although Miranda seems defeated by her own pain, she is a survivor. In her last line, she says "Now there would be time for

everything" (Porter 1980:317), a sentence that is uttered at the end of a long road, in her journey from the South's *illo tempore* to the world of modernity and the nothingness of death. Katherine Anne Porter, in her interview with James Day (1973), confesses and completes Miranda's final remark: "And it was".

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DESIRE UNDER THE TRIBE IN NURUDDIN FARAH'S *A NAKED NEEDLE* AND KEN N. KAMOCHE'S "SECONDHAND WIFE"

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Abstract*: This paper will address the notion of desire in Ken N. Kamoche's "Secondhand Wife" and Nuruddin Farah's A Naked Needle; it will be centered on the idea of men's and women's sexual desire as caught between being controlled and willing to be free. Desire will be studied as being controlled by the tribe in Kenya and Somalia, which channels men's and women's desire into pre-made forms. These channels of desire approved by the tribe are contested in Kenya and Somalia by both men and women. Desire is then situated between collective manipulation and individual freedom.*
Key words*: desire, freedom, Ken N. Kamoche, Nuruddin Farah, tribe*

1. Introduction

This paper is a study of the relationship between, on the one hand, the tribe both as an abstract notion and an institution and, on the other hand, the individual person's desire; it is about desire that wants to be free of tribal regulations but which is targeted by the tribe as a site of control. For this purpose, this paper will examine "Secondhand Wife" (2011), a short story by Kenyan author Ken N. Kamoche, and *A Naked Needle* (1976), the second Anglophone novel by Somali author Nuruddin Farah. The article is divided into three major parts: first, a study of the importance of tribes in Kenya and Somalia, second, a study of the relationship between desire and tribe in Somalia, and third, a study of the relationship between desire and tribe in Kenya. The aim of this study is to explore the differences between the tribal attempt to establish a homogeneous and uniform sphere of desire and the individual's venture at a more heterogeneous understanding of desire.

2. Desire under the Tribe

2.1. The Poetics of Tribe and Desire

A tribe can be defined as "a large group of related families who live in the same area and share common language, religion, and costumes" ("Tribe" def.1:1282); this definition stresses the existence of a space, which is characterized by quasi-identical values and habits-that is, a homogeneous place. Each tribe has its chieftain, who represents the locus of tribal power and traditions and functions as a reminder of the bases upon which each tribe is founded. One of the main definers of any tribe is the subject of marriage, where the individual is not in total freedom in his/her choice; as anthropologist David J. Parkin observes: "The concept of tribe is here used objectively by people to distinguish groups into which a person may or may not marry. It has extended reference for distinguishing kin and affines and appropriate obligations" (1971:273-4). The issue of marriage in the context of African tribes goes beyond the mere act of choosing to the question of the survival of the tribe and its

traditions; marriage is thus both functional and political. Marriage is seen by the tribe as a means to keep power and wealth within the same entity or to acquire more through the very act of marriage; inter-tribal marriages are only encouraged when they result in either economic or political gains for the tribe.

Indeed, the individual is never totally free in his/her decisions; even those, who have left the space demarcated by the tribe, are still themselves spaces occupied by the tribe. In other words, the individual is not merely a subject among other subjects but rather an object, which is both controlled and utilized by the tribe. According to South African social anthropologist Max Gluckman:

> The moment an African crossed his tribal boundary, he was 'detribalized', outside the tribe, though not outside the influence of the tribe. Correspondingly, when a man returns from the towns into the political area of his tribe he is tribalized—de-urbanized. (qtd. in Mayer 1968:311)

The tribe is an omnipresent force that transcends the physical boundaries of the land it controls; the tribe inhabits not only a physical dimension but also a mental position, which is the hardest to escape. The tribe penetrates the whole social body of its members; it indicates for the individual a strict code of behavior to adhere to. This point will be the main focus in our study of Kamoche's "Secondhand Wife" and Nuruddin Farah's *A Naked Needle*, two texts which show how the tribe is ever-present in the form of a mental inhibiting dialectic.

Sexual desire as a notion is about two distinctive parts joined together to indicate a more wholesome notion: sexuality and desire. First, sexuality is linked to engaging in sex, that is, in bodily encounter with another entity including oneself; second, desire can be defined, among others, as that, according to Jacques Lacan, which "is neither the appetite for satisfaction, nor the demand for love, but the difference that results from the subtraction of the first from the second" (1977:580). Sexual desire is thus the subject's yearning for something that is not a need but rather an additional plus, which is nevertheless seen by the subject as necessity; in other words, sexual desire is about what one does not have now but aspires to have in the future, which once achieved loses its connotation as desire because desire is always about what *is not* and not what *is*.

The tribe, as defined earlier, is a set of families linked by several factors, which differentiate them from others and empower them over others; sexuality and sexual desire are two tools to sustain the tribe and maintain its powers. Indeed, the sexual activities of the tribe's members are not essentially about an individual pleasurable activity but rather about a tribal collective entitlement; in other words, sexual desire is a tribal prerogative, which is used to further endorse the tribe's powers. Michel Foucault states in *The History of Sexuality* that:

> Sexuality is not the most intractable element in power relations, but rather one of those endowed with the greatest instrumentality: useful for the greatest number of maneuvers and capable of serving as a point of support, as a linchpin, for the most varied strategies. (1978: 103)

The power relations, which govern the tribe and its individuals, are based on an understanding that sexuality and sexual desire are not the property of the individual but the possession of the tribe as a whole. To transcend this unwritten rule is to be written out of the tribe and to be de-tribalized; in other words, sexual desire should be always in accordance with the overall tribal policies. We may even speak of the poetics and the politics of sexual desire: first, the poetics stresses the existence of two agents engaged in a relationship similar to two intersecting circles, and second, the politics emphasize the existence of a triangle where the two partners are guided and supervised by the tribal collective mindset. One can even argue that sexuality is like "blood . . . *a reality with a symbolic function*" (Foucault 1978:147, emphasis in original); sexuality is a real and tangible activity with a hidden and intangible function, that of keeping the tribe pure, powerful and ever-progressing in its own stability.

The following segment is a study of the relationship between individual sexual desire and the collective tribal tenets; the two texts show two variations of a similar dialectic between the individual and the tribe in the context of Kenya and Somalia. The first text, *A Naked Needle*, portrays the refusal of Somali tribes to accept inter-religious and inter-national marriages. The second text, "Secondhand Wife," depicts a woman entrapped by the tribe of her late husband and forced to marry her brother-in-law.

2.2. Nuruddin Farah's A Naked Needle

A Naked Needle is the story of Koshin Qowdhan, an English teacher from Somaliland; the novel revolves around one day in the life of Koshin, when a woman by the name of Nancy is coming to fulfill an old promise of marriage by the age of thirty. Nonetheless, the story's overall main idea is centered on the clash between the tribal perceptions of marriage and that of the modern European-educated Somalis; the conflict arises around the women chosen by some Somalis as wives, who are either rejected for being white or non-Muslim. Some of these relationships are the ones, which join a Somali man and a non-Somali woman, such as the marriage between Barre and Mildred, Mohamed and Barbara, and Koshin and Nancy; for the purpose of this paper, we will focus on the two first couples and the Somali tribe.

On the one hand, Mohamed, a Somali man, marries Barbara, who is an American; by marrying a non-Somali, "Mohamed took the title of being the first Somali ever to marry a foreign in Mogadiscio" (Farah 1976:72). The act of marrying a foreigner is seen by the Somali clans in Mogadishu as a source of rumor and "talk of town for months" (Farah 1976:72); Mohamed's marriage with Barbara is such an immense shock for the Somali clan that it results in Mohamed being at the heart of discourse for a long period. This shock is symbolic of two interrelated matters: first, Mohamed's marriage is perceived as a transgression and transcendence of the endorsed traditions of Somalia, second, Mohamed represents a new image of the Somali man—one who is willing to fulfill his individual perception of desire against the dogma of the collective position. In a discussion with Koshin, Barbara elaborates on the question of desire and the tribe:

> And then we married in spite of everything. And I dreamt for him and he dreamt for me, for the country, for the possibilities of partaking in the development of something tangible. Dreams and dreams that have never materialized. Face to face we then were with reality, and we fought day and night for months on end. (Farah 1976:63)

Barbara's argument is centered on two facts: the clash with the tribe and the survival of dreams in a suffocating environment. Barbara's marriage is based on something that is not visible or tangible, that is, love; but, marriage and family are tangible institutions that cannot be unseen or unnoticed. She, an American woman, perceives her marriage to Mohamed as a materialization of love, which takes form in an accepted institution; Barbara thinks that by inscribing her love in a highly-upheld tribal establishment, she would escape the wrath of the tribe. She even states: "I must get used, not to the whole tribe" (Farah 1976: 64), but only to Mohammed, her husband and partner in a tribally-forbidden love. Nonetheless, it was all in vain because the marriage internalized the outer clash and the struggle became one between the couple rather than between the couple and the tribe. Quoting a Somali proverb, Barbara makes it clearer: "laba isu dhow wey dirirta; carab iyo daan koley tahay" (Farah 1976:63), which translates as "of two close together they fight; tongue and jaw probably are" (Andrzejewski 1974:225); the jaw and the tongue, which are supposed to be part of the same system and attuned to each other, are in chaos resulting in the collapse of the whole system.

On the other hand, Barre, while being in an AID course at Minnesota, meets an American woman named Mildred; they "decided that each would love the other, decided on

their making it to their maximum ability" (Farah 1976:27); this description of the couple, which will face everyone and everything for the sake of their love, is romantic and reminiscent of a fairy-tale. But this fairy-tale-like love story is founded on a collection of lies made by Barre; Barre idealizes and romanticizes his Somali tribe as the "kin and kith [that] would welcome her [Mildred] into their midst as the daughter, the white daughter of the tribe, immediately as she c[o]me[s] to the country" (Farah 1976:36). Barre gives Mildred an image of an accepting tribe, which does not mind her whiteness and Christian faith, which are indicative of a double foreignness. Indeed, in Farah's fourth novel, *Sardines*, the Somali tribe accepts the Arab Fatima Bint Thabet as a wife for a Somali man, because she shares with Somalis the same religion making her foreign on only one level, that of her ethnicity; the essential marking of differentiation, which the tribe cannot overlook or ignore, is religion rather than Somaliness.

In other words, the Somali tribe is depicted as being able to adjust itself to the needs of its members; but in reality, Mildred was "offere[d] . . . their hate in abundance" (Farah 1976:34), which is in sharp contrast with Barre's presentation. Indeed:

> Barre's tribesmen have protested [. . .] She is a white whore, they have said, and you can't keep a woman, a white woman, who is also a whore. Two principle sins that you can't shoulder in the presence of God on the day [sic.] of judgment, they have said. (Farah 1976:30)

The association, between on the one hand Mildred's whiteness and Christianity and the infamous image of the whore, is an association by absence between Somaliness and Islam and morality. Mildred is here rejected on religious grounds as the woman who is corrupt and possibly corrupting because of her identity; Islam is used to back the tribe's claim of rejecting and denying Mildred the status of a tribally-approved wife of a Somali man. In a discussion between Koshin and an old man of his tribe, a verse from the Quran, Surat Al-Hujurat verse 13, is introduced: "And we divided you into nations and tribes in order that you might know one another better" (Farah 1976:13); the tribe, which presents itself as applying Islam in its daily interactions, seems either oblivious or unconcerned with this verse that encourages establishing ties between various human groups. Thus, one can argue that the tribe only uses Islam as a pretext and not because of strong conviction; Mildred is not rejected because she is not Muslim Somali but because she just represents the other, who is not understood by the I of the tribe.

In brief, *A Naked Needle* presents two instances where the individual's desire is countered by the tribe, which forbids the individual from engaging in any unapproved form of desire; the individual, being a member of a Somali tribe, is forced into pre-made and pre-selected channels of desire. One can here refer to Foucault's words: "Sex is placed by power in a binary system: licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden" (Foucault 1978: 83); the Somali tribe, which is one of the major components of the Somali society, is based on an unwritten contract by which everything is regulated in accordance with the will of the collective tradition rather than individual aspiration. Sexuality, as a private act, is claimed by the tribe as a continuation of the communal and public space; sexuality is thus imprinted by the tribe's doctrine, which sees sex and sexual desire as tools for the continuation and not a reversal of the status quo. Via sex and individual desire, the tribe brings to the foreground the traditions of the past and marks the present with the values of the past; via the same acts, the individual tries first to escape both the intangible traditions of the past and their tangible manifestations in the present and second to create a new status quo, which is both a refusal of the past/present and a foundation for a new future.

2.3. Ken N. Kamoche's "Secondhand Wife"

A Naked Needle's problematization of the issue of desire locates itself in the dialectics of the Somali self and the foreign other; it focuses on the tribe's rejection of who and what is not Somali whether on the level of nationality, religion, or even color. As for Kamoche's "Secondhand Wife," it takes the issue of desire to a more intense level, where the tribe establishes a more detailed and scrutinized form of rejection; in "Secondhand Wife" those prevented from indulging in their personal desire, are not attached to non-Kenyan partners but to Kenyan partners belonging to other tribes. Thus we move from *A Naked Needle*'s general rejection of anyone, who does not adhere to the tribe's definition of the suitable and possible partner, to "Secondhand Wife"'s specific rejection of those who belong to the larger Kenyan space but not to the smaller tribal space.

First of all, we should give a brief summary of "Secondhand Wife". This short story accounts for a day in the life of a Kenyan woman named Anina, whose husband, Nyanga—a driver of a *matatu* minibus—dies in an accident in Nairobi; the funeral of Nyanga results in the unearthing of a dormant conflict between, on the one hand, Anina and her late husband and, on the other hand, the Nyisagene tribe.

Upon hearing the news about the death of her husband, Anina tries to explain to her daughter Toto the meaning of death and *eben*—Kenyan for heaven; in the midst of this, Anina remembers the beginning of her life as a wife of Nyanga where there was a discrepancy between the position of Anina's father-in-law and her mother-in-law: "Forest grandpa had been one of her few allies in Nyanga's clan. Unlike her mother-in-law, who disapproved of the interethnic marriage, her father-in-law was prepared to accept that she was right for his son" (2011:n.p.). This division about whether to accept or reject an inter-tribal marriage shows the two forces that govern the tribe in Kenya; the mother-in-law's position is but a reflection of a deeply-rooted belief that the tribe needs to stay pure and untainted by outside blood. Nonetheless, the father-in-law's position is symbolic of a move away from such tribal restrictions on inter-tribal marriages; but, his position is linked to Anina's financial capabilities: Anina "H[o]ld[s] down a good job in the city, working for an Indian trader, which for him was no mean achievement" (2011:n.p.). Anina's income is seen as an advantage that can be capitalized; Nyanga's and Anina's double income enables them to have a domestic helper and to consider buying "a plot in Kahawa West and build their own house" (2011:n.p.). Thus, the seemingly progressive views of the father-in-law only hide a practical aim, which is to help and assist her husband.

In a more direct confrontation between the mother-in-law—called Mama—and Anina's husband, the following dialogue occurs, which stresses the refusal of inter-tribal desire:

> [Mama]"They're no good [. . .] And that tribe of theirs, do you know they eat snakes? [. . .] "I can't see how normal people can eat snakes."
> [Nyanga] "It's just rumours, mama," protested Nyanga. "And you know they don't approve of our eating wild pigs. What's important is I love Anina. She's the only one for me." (2011: n.p.)

The logic behind Mama's refusal of the inter-tribal marriage is linked to the private life and traditions of Anina's tribe; the fear of the other is not based on reasonable or logical foundations but on food habits, for instance. But what is more interesting than Mama's accusations is Nyanga's response; Nyanga states that eating snakes is but gossip. The reasoning of Nyanga is rather apologetic and claims that eating snakes is but a rumor; but the main question here: Why does Nyanga not acknowledge the traditions of his wife's tribe? Why does he immediately resort to rejecting Anina's tribe traditions? One might argue that Nyanga is not confident of his choice of marrying outside of his tribe; he could not defend his wife's tribe. Again, just like his father, it seems that even the individual—involved in the inter-tribal marriage—is not able to justify his choice; the Kenyan tribes apparently still hold

a tight grip over their members whether consciously—as is the case with Mama—or unconsciously—as is the case with Nyanga.

Continuing with the same thought, in a clearer tribal involvement with the desire of its members, Anina is pressed to accept a proposal of a levirate marriage, which is a form of marriage forcing a widow to marry her brother-in-law; the tribe wants Anina and Ogondo to marry each other. This levirate marriage presents the reader with two problematic characters: Anina, the newly-widowed woman and Ogondo, her brother-in-law; both agree on refusing this marriage but for different reasons. What this marriage shows is that it is not only women who suffer under the tribe rigid system of power, but men do also suffer from it.

Abudo, the head of the Nyisagene tribe and Nyanga's uncle, is the source of the proposal for a levirate marriage; he states that it is not his decision but the tradition of Nyanga's tribe, to which she married:

> [Abudo] "You know our customs!" he declared. "The clan has chosen Ogondo for you. He will be your new husband. Our daughter [Toto] will not wander around the city streets like a prostitute. The cows and goats Nyanga paid for you will not have been in vain, you hear?" (2011: n.p.)

The reason behind the levirate marriage is the customs of the late husband's tribe; the tribe perceives Anina as a possession, which needs to be kept within the space controlled by the tribe. Indeed, Abudo declares that the bride price given by Nyanga must not leave the tribe; eventually, this proposal, given the veneer of protecting the reputation of Toto and Nyanga, is only aimed at safeguarding the wealth within the tribe of Nyanga and not losing it to another man's tribe.

This marriage proposal suggested by Abudo is both rejected by Anina and Ogondo. Anina, in an attempt to strip Abudo of any pretext for persisting on this marriage, declares that he and the tribe "can take everything" that was left to her by Nyanga; Abudo immediately rejects her suggestion and declares that "if [she] cho[o]se[s] to ignore, that is [her] funeral" (2011:n.p.). The death threats made by Abudo made Anina sick and she vomits "within inches of Abudo's feet" (2011:n.p.); she rose her finger in his face, made suggestions but all in vain, resulting in her physical collapse symbolic of her present defeat in the face of a persistent tribal tradition. Nevertheless, Anina ultimately declares:"You will have to kill me first! I will not be a secondhand wife!" (2011:n.p.); her rejection of being a secondhand wife is a refusal of having her freedom taken from her and a denunciation of the tribal claim to her body as a site for enforcing tribal power. In uttering her rejection, Anina moves from being silent and voiceless to voicing and articulating her will to choose her fate; one can argue that the tribe expects Anina to fit the image of the woman as depicted in the following passage from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "The Courtship of Miles Standish":

> [. . .] for it is the fate
> of a woman
> Long to be patient and silent, to wait like a
> ghost that is speechless,
> Till some questioning voice dissolves the spell of
> its silence. (1858:76)

Longfellow's poem depicts women as beings, who are voiceless in the making of their future; instead of voicing themselves by themselves, others voice women on their behalf. The tribe functions in this manner, in which women are supposed to be observers of their destiny which is created by external agents. In the tribe, women' desire is like a play enacted on the stage with an audience composed of only the women, whose lives are written and enacted; they see their lives performed and formulated without having the possibility of intervening—they are mere spectators. Anina, nonetheless, presents a challenge to this tribal perception of women;

Anina occupies the stage, becomes a true actor in and writer of her life and puts the tribe in the position of the spectator not the playwright.

In continuation of the analysis of the levirate marriage, Ogondo, who also rejects it, is described as "the only one who was yet unmarried [. . .] quiet and unassuming" (2011:n.p.); he represents a different image of the tribal man, who is usually seen as a leader and as arrogant in his manhood. Indeed, upon refusing to marry Anina, Ogondo's manhood is put into question by his uncle: "If you knew anything about women you would be married by now" (2011:n.p.); the attack on Ogondo is an attack on the representational and symbolic manhood offered by Ogondo, which is both unorthodox in and unaccepted by the tribe. Ogondo's refusal of the levirate marriage is linked in his own words to the question of mutual intimacy: "Uncle, please . . . I don't want [. . .] I can't . . . what about love?" (2011: n.p.); Ogondo's understanding of marriage is not one that is supported by the tribe, which sees marriage as rather an institution of control of men over women not of mutual co-existence.

Ogondo's inability to convince his uncle of the impossibility of marrying Anina is met with a damnatory statement by Abudo, in which Ogondo "will live under the shadow of the angry spirits. The clan will not forgive [him] until this [marriage] is done" (2011:n.p.). Here Ogondo is rejected by both Abudo, symbolic of the present status-quo in the tribe, and by the past and traditions of the tribe, seen in the spirits of the ancestors; Ogondo's unwillingness to marry Anina strips him of both his past and his present and forbids him from engaging in the future of his tribe. Being a man does not prevent Ogondo from being defeated by the tribe personified in Abudo; the image of Ogondo given towards the end of this short story is but indicative of an ever-powerful tribe: "Ogondo bent forward and slapped the ground with both hands, bowing low and letting out a mournful wail that tore like a clap of thunder through the chilly night" (2011:n.p.); as it was the case with Anina, the physical fall is symbolic of a defeat and a failure to make the collective tribal attitude succumb to the individual will for the freedom to choose a partner. Ogondo, in the act of wailing, mourns his life, which is controlled by the tribe; he also mourns his inability to escape the darkness of the tribal traditions into the literal and metaphorical light of the city.

To sum up, the levirate marriage practiced by many Kenyan tribes has managed to survive and carve itself a space, where it is the norm not the exception; the defeat of Ogondo and the apparent ongoing battle Anina is undergoing with Abudo are both indications of the conflict, which is emerging between the conservative inner-tribal circle and the rebellious wing of the tribe. Desire, which is supposed to be about an individual enjoyment, is seen by the tribe as the site for control and for the fostering of long-held traditions about continuity and proprietorship; between individuality or collectivity and mutual pleasure or forced slavery, desire in the context of the Kenyan tribe is caught in a battle over whose views will triumph and whose will be defeated. In other words, desire is used either to erase the individual freedom by the tribe or to erase the possessiveness of the tribe by the individual.

3. Conclusion

In brief, Nuruddin Farah's *A Naked Needle* and Ken N. Kamoche's "Secondhand Wife" present the dialectics of desire within the framework of both the Somali and Kenyan tribes. These dialectics are entangled in two contradictory paths: first, the tribal system of control of everything including the desire of its members, and second, the individual aspiration to carve a private space for his/her desire. The two texts highlight the conflict between the tribal insistence on publicizing the individual desire and the individual fight to maintain the private attribute of desire; the issue of desire under the tribe is mainly about whether or not desire should be or will continue to be essentially under the tribe, that is, made within the limits of the tribal space and under the control of the tribe. The studied texts expose

three critical matters: firstly, the tribal control of desire is inflicted on both men and women; secondly, there is a rising tendency to counter this tribal control by means of either inter-national-religious relationships or by rejecting one's desire to be tribally conceived; thirdly, despite the individual fight for self-definition of desire, the tribe still perceives itself as the source of the (il)legitimization of desire, where the latter is "an object and a target" (Foucault 1978: 147) in the overall power relations. Thus, the problem of desire and the tribe is both an issue of either having an inner- or an outer-understanding of the member's desire and furthermore an issue of desire as either a personal affair or a contested matter between the individual and the tribe, to which he/she belongs.

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GARDEN MANUALS: OLD PRACTICE, NEW PROFESSIONS

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Abstract: *This article sketches the cultural significance that garden manuals had in England, from exemplifying a pleasurable and an aesthetic activity to encouraging the setting up of a profitable business. By investigating gardening manuals and treatises from the period, this study argues that eighteenth-century gardening manuals played an important role in shaping the cultural meanings of English gardens, in conveying "a practical knowledge of gardening, to gentlemen and young professors, who delight in that useful and agreeable study" (Abercrombie, The Preface, 1767) and in producing an original type of discourse which was employed to describe and represent the newly created professions.*
Keywords: *eighteenth-century garden manuals, new professions, paradigm shift, profitable business, readership, utilitarian and aesthetic functions*

1. Introduction

In *La Crise de la conscience européenne* (1935) Paul Hazard drew attention to the transformations in European culture and mentality that occurred in the late seventeenth century, a period associated with the rise of modern science in Europe. According to Hazard, the Enlightenment stemmed from the "crisis of the European mind" that took place during the late seventeenth century, and despite the fact that his thesis has been sometimes challenged by historians of the Enlightenment, the fundamental consequences of the critical period between 1680 and 1715 that he pointed out cannot be refuted. The quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns stemmed from the fact that knowledge and taste were no longer dictated by tradition. A crisis of authority was on its way and it brought about all the other subsequent crises: a crisis in authenticity, a crisis of representation, and eventually, a sincerity crisis which encompassed the others.

The crisis mainly reflected the controversial attitudes toward such concepts as "Truth" and "Nature." Before the crisis, it was commonly assumed that truth will be attained by scrutinizing the Book of Nature and the Book of Scripture together. After Descartes' mechanical worldview had interfered with the principles displayed by the Book of Nature and after the eighteenth-century European world had enlarged to include the whole world via the voyages of exploration, the telescope, the microscope, and Newton's contribution to scientific knowledge, these two fundamental Books for the European Christian tradition raised controversial questions about the understanding of the world, which caused an unprecedented crisis of faith as well as a crisis in understanding the relationship between the two Books. In the words of Matt Goldish,

> The European mind was forced by these discoveries to re-evaluate its picture of the natural world, the respective places of God and man within the world, and the religious traditions which underlaid the intellectual *status quo ante* (1998:2).

The natural sciences were not the only areas of knowledge that underwent fundamental revaluations and innovations. A radical revaluation of the chief aims and ends of gardening occurred in the arrangement of the natural world as well. The socio-economic changes that occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries enabled English people of the middling sort to afford to design their own gardens modelled after royal estates and aristocratic gardens. These changes influenced the evolution of the practice of gardening in England in the long eighteenth century and consequently, the authors of gardening manuals distinguished between professional and amateur gardeners. In other words, the rise of the profession of gardener generated a paradigm shift in the organisation of the new professions related to gardening as a leisure activity and gardening as a profitable business.

Eighteenth-century English book trade produced a large number of garden manuals, all pretending that they consisted of the most recent and authoritative information concerning gardening methods and techniques. Apart from the ones considered at large in this article, I shall mention some of them here, as the limited space of this article does not permit a detailed discussion of all the significant writers of garden manuals: Stephen Switzer, *The Practical Kitchen Gardiner: Or, a New and Entire System of Directions for His Employment in the Melonry, Kitchen-garden, and Potagery, in the Several Seasons of the Year.* London: Printed for Thomas Woodward, 1727; Richard Weston, *The Universal Botanist and Nurseryman: Containing Descriptions of the Species and Varieties, of All the Trees, Shrubs, Herbs, Flowers and Fruits, Natives and Exotics, at present cultivated in the European Nurseries, Greenhouses, and Stoves, or Described by Modern Botanists.* London: Printed for J. Bell, 4 vols., 1772; and Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening, Illustrated by Descriptions.* London: Printed for T. Payne, 1770.

The eighteenth century witnessed the foundation of professions such as market gardeners, nursery men, botanists, and florists, as well as the rise of various types of gardens (botanical gardens, kitchen gardens, cottage gardens, landscape gardens, flower gardens, etc.), which confirmed the changing nature of gardening and the close relationship between people's social roles and what they cultivated in their own gardens. Although I am concerned primarily with pleasure gardening, my interest necessarily extends to practical gardening, because a garden provided for orchards, flowers, herbs, fruit, and vegetables in order to meet the demands of both pleasurable activity and utilitarian purpose. In the eighteenth century, gardening manuals and handbooks, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, as well as "Kalendars" were all widely available in England. John Abercrombie's *Every Man His Own Gardener* (1767) and Thomas Mawe's *The Universal Gardener and Botanist* (1778) were the standard practical gardening handbooks during the latter half of the eighteenth century, but the number of similar publications was by far greater.

2. Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Gardens

Throughout the medieval and Renaissance period, there was an obvious distinction between the practical garden and the leisure garden. Similar to the household gardens that flourished in the seventeenth century, practical or utilitarian gardens were of medieval origin and their main emphasis was on the cultivation and management of kitchen and fruit gardens. As Sylvia Landsberg asserts,

> The kitchen or utilitarian garden, in contrast with the pleasure garden, contained food and medicinal plants as well as plants for strewing on floors, making hand waters, quelling insects and other household purposes (Landsberg 1995:27).

The garden was not merely a space allocated to decorative plants and profitable vegetables, but a significant and symbolic text endowed with webs of meaning as well as cultural configurations and codes that were deciphered within the context in which they were enacted. The garden of Renaissance England was hugely explored in romances, epic and lyric poems, and practical handbooks. The ideal landscape or *locus amoenus* was known in the medieval period as the enclosed garden or the *hortus conclusus*, a site of erotic encounters as well as a place of desire and delight. Medieval gardens were usually surrounded by walls in order to protect the ornamental "pleasance" or "herber" where beds were crammed with "native plants, flowers, and herbs; some had topiary and ornamental pots for delicate and exotic specimens" (Henderson 2012:47-8). The discourse of medieval gardening manuals addressed significant social and intellectual issues which were taken over and improved upon by the subsequent early modern manuals, handbooks, treatises, and calendars dealing with how to weed and cultivate fruit, herb, and flower gardens. Rebecca W. Bushnell declares that her account of gardening manuals ends in the early eighteenth century, when all the key genres of the gardening book became relatively settled and stable (Bushnell 2003:9). As a matter of fact, it is this controversial stability of a genre which eventually turned into scientific theory that has convinced me to investigate the subsequent cultural conditions conducive to innovation in garden practices during the eighteenth century, in order to trace the evolutionary history of the English garden manuals and treatises. Thus, my own tentative approach to the discourse employed by eighteenth-century writers of gardening manuals will necessarily depart from the medieval tradition of gardening, which was largely preserved during the Renaissance and the early modern period.

Actually, publication of practical English manuals as a form of popular and accessible literature goes back to 1557, when Thomas Tusser, an English poet and farmer, published his didactic volume in rhymed verse, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*. Although the book has long been considered a standard manual on farming, it focuses less on practical knowledge of farming, as it contains much useful advice on how to make a profit from the cultivation of a garden.

Anthony Low states that Thomas Tusser "oscillates between anxiety to preserve the ancient hierarchies and concern for making a quick profit" (Low 1985:32). Indeed, Tusser himself openly expresses his intentions to offer instructions about plants for household consumption and teach both men and women how to bring their harvest to the market in order to turn a profit, even on a small scale. His book proves all the more valuable on the account that it gives advice on the basics of garden practices: "What is a groat/Or twain to note,/Once in the life,/For man or wife,/To save a pound,/In house or ground,/Each other week? […] That every share/Of every verse,/I thus rehearse,/May profit take,/Or vantage make/By lessons such" (*To the Reader* xi). Besides, Thomas Tusser's book is not so much a gardening treatise as it is a "husbandry" manual that focuses on household management and prescribes the general guidelines for the preparation and management of a household, distinguishing between the duties of the husband from those of the wife. Whereas the housewife does most of her duties indoors, being associated with domestic chores and the supervision of the servants, the husband completes the outdoor jobs such as ploughing and planting.

The book is a general introduction into domestic matters, but it includes an interesting fragment "Of Herbs and Flowers" intended for the housewife. This section displays various references to herbs for the kitchen, cultivated for medical virtues (avens, betony, beets, burnet, cabbage, colewort, cresses, endive, onions, parsley, rosemary, spinage, thyme, violets of all sorts, etc.), herbs and roots for salads and sauce (artichokes, blessed thistle, cucumbers, mints, radish, spinage, sparage, tarragon, capers, lemons, olives, oranges, rice, and samphire), herbs and roots to boil and butter (beans, carrots, gourds, rapes, turnips, etc.), "strewing herbs of all sorts" (basil, camomile, sweet fennell, lavender, marjoram, red mints, sage, etc.), herbs

and flowers for windows and pots (eglantine, gillyflowers, lavender, etc.), "herbs to still in summer" (blessed thistle, betony, dill, endive, fennell, hyssop, mints, etc.)., and herbs grown "for physic" (annise, archangel, cummin, dragons, licquorice, peony, poppy, rhubarb, valerian, etc.) (Tusser 1812 (1557):118-124).

In his long rhyming handbook, Tusser recommends that the use and arrangement of flowers and herbs conform to certain standards and he indicates that the most effective arrangement to be placed in windows and pots should include lilies, sweet Williams, carnations, lavender, roses and double marigolds. This ornamental arrangement with symmetrical and geometric patterns was typical of the Renaissance and the choice of flowers was essentially symbolic.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, another book on gardening written as a manual in verse discusses the growing of plants. The English poem *The Feate of Gardeninge* written by Jon Gardener before Tusser's publication, enumerates at least a hundred plants and the poet gives seasonal advice on how to use wild herbs (Thacker 1985 (1979):86 et *passim*). Gardener includes a section on saffron, one on parsley and, what is most noteworthy, he does not discuss flowers in a separate section, as he considers them herbs that could be very useful in the treatment of various affections: "Perunynke violet cowslippe and lyly […] rose ryde, rose whyghte, foxglove, and pympernold" (Thacker 1985 (1979):86).

Long before that, in 1393, a late medieval document was written as a treatise on how to grow plants throughout the year. Written in the fictional voice of a husband who gives advice to his younger wife, The *Ménagier de Paris* does not list as many plants as Gardener would do a century later, but gives advice on housekeeping and contains a cookery section where the author deals with herbs, vegetables, and fruit.

3. Eighteenth-century Gardening Treatises and Manuals

By and large, neither instruction nor practical manuals brought something new to the practice of gardening in the eighteenth century. What sets the eighteenth-century gardening treatises apart from their previous relatives is a better management of the manual into sections that separate flowers from herbs, on the one hand, as well as the kitchen garden from the flower garden. These manuals offered a hierarchical organisation of information about "natural" ranking that ought to be preserved. Whereas during the early modern age the gardening manual was in its incipient stages and accommodated miscellaneous, disorderly texts, in the eighteenth century the major genres of the gardening book (garden calendars, dictionaries, treatises, handbooks, comprehensive manuals, and pocket companions) had all been established. Consequently, the expansion of market gardening in the sixteenth century became the object of scholarly study in the eighteenth century.

As Rebecca W. Bushnell puts it, manuals "elaborated dreams of self-improvement, fashioning 'the image of the gardener as sensualist, man of wit, lover of God, and creator of wealth […] someone who reads and works to better himself and his world'" (Bushnell 2003:16).

It appears that the number of publications on gardening manuals grew considerably during the long eighteenth century. The distribution of the various forms of knowledge in the shape of printed material, including periodicals, imaginary voyages, fiction narratives, pamphlets, biographies, handbooks, and manuals brought about a crucial transformation in European intellectual thought. The flood of gardening treatises and gardening periodicals can be explained by the rise of the urban middle classes in conjunction with the botanical systematisation and the dramatic increase in printing and literacy. Ever since the beginning of the seventeenth century, botanical knowledge was growing swiftly along taxonomic lines and practical knowledge of horticulture as well as understanding of the factors that affect plant

growth became necessary for social advancement. The bulk of didactic literature was pragmatic and despite their focus on pleasure and embellishment, sixteenth-century gardening manuals had no illustrations, apart from garden tools and utensils, equipment and gardening techniques:

> The art of botanical illustration did not flourish in English gardening books (as opposed to herbals) until the eighteenth century, when copper engraving became common. Where there are illustrations in early gardening books, the crude figures mostly depict tools and techniques (watering, grafting, or weeding) or designs for knot gardens (Bushnell 2003:64).

Another distinction that should be pointed out in regard to gardening manuals addresses the question of readership. There were not too many literate people at the end of the seventeenth century and those who read did so for pure entertainment. According to Paul Hunter, before the rise of the novel, readers were concerned mainly with religious writings or "works of imagination" (Hunter 1990:86-8). Whereas early modern manuals were intended for women's practical use, and did not separate men's and women's gardening customs, late seventeenth-century handbooks describe women "more as parts of gardens or objects of garden desire and less as creators of them." (Bushnell 2003:10) This change of paradigm comes from literary depiction of women as "flower gatherers and 'flowers' themselves" (Bushnell 2003:109-110). This fact is best exemplified by the portraits of Shakespeare's Ophelia and Perdita, Milton's Eve, and Marvell's Mary Fairfax.

Eighteenth-century English gardening manuals written for English people of the middling sort demonstrate the important role gardening played in promoting the principle that the cultivation of land might represent both a pleasurable activity and profitable leisure. The question of readership at the beginning of the eighteenth century is rather blurred, as there are confusing recordings of the types of readers as well as their gender and social class (Hunter 1990), so we cannot know exactly who engaged in reading, apart from the few educated people. Historians of the book have often declared that justifying why eighteenth-century readers made a specific choice from the available books on the market is a matter of critical speculation. Analytical information related to the class, profession, age, and sex of readers, as well as the existence of particular genres of print is accurate and accessible to the contemporary academic world, but issues concerning relevant facts about individual experiences of reading cannot go further than speculative conclusions.

These manuals stand proof of the fact that in between the medieval period and the middle of the eighteenth century, the history of gardening added to its artistic purpose that of scientific arrangement of plants. Besides, a typology of gardening manuals and plant taxonomy was now available. There was still the dictionary-type manual, which included and explained all types of gardens, but many books titles were issued on distinct types of gardens, which dealt with a distinct classification of plants, and distinguished among various occupations, such as gardener, florist, and nurseryman.

In 1728, Batty Langley, an architect of buildings and plants, published *New Principles of Gardening*, a garden manual which gives testimony of the unclear boundaries between the design of a garden - that pleases the eye - and the cultivation of fruits and vegetables - that can provide profitable production. As Rachel Crawford observes, "Langley's ideal garden is a tumult of components, an entire world in which pleasure and utility jostle together" (Crawford 2002:198-9). Langley greatly contributed to the literature on the subject of gardening, in that he mainly focused on the design of landscape gardens, and was a promoter of the method called graduation, which recommended that trees should be planted in ranks or "choruses," according to their size and flower colour – whites, yellows, blues, and peach: "Thus combining the principle of graduation with the tradition of mixing […] the gardener could

then produce 'a perfect Slope of beautiful Flowers'" (Crawford 2002:198-9). Here is how Langley decided to arrange the plants:

> Let the first Plant be the double-blossom Cherry; the second, an Almond; the third, the Mirabalon Plumb; the fourth, a Blue Lilac; the fifth, a Guilder-Rose; the sixth, a *Spanish* Broom; the Seventh, a White Lilac; the eighth, a Laburnum; the ninth, the White Rose; and the tenth, a Tulip-tree; and then beginning again with the double-blossom Cherry, Almond, Mirabalon Plumb, Blue Lilac, Guilder-Rose, *Spanish* Broom, etc. you will have placed them in such a Manner, as to be always beautiful. And altho' they are not all in Bloom at one Instant, yet one or other of them are: And even those as have no Blossoms, are extremely beautiful, in respect to the great Variety of Colours contain'd in their leaves and Shoots (Langley 1728:182-3).

There is nothing exotic in Langley's method of arranging plants. However, the author's reputation resides in the novelty of his approach to the design of Georgian gardens. The principles professed by the author in regard to the method of laying out gardens and the elements of geometry necessary in the "dispositions of gardens in general" reflect the author's intention to replace the old patterns of a regular and formal garden with a new style which encourages the imitation of nature by taking advantage of streams, canals, cascades, rocks, ruins, hedges, grottos, etc. Batty Langley's handbook became one of the best known manual on gardening among the gardeners and nurserymen, seedsmen and botanists, although the principles that Langley puts forward in his book are hardly new and they basically restate the practices illustrated by Addison's *Spectator* and Steele's *Guardian,* the only difference being that Addison values the garden solely for the delight and pleasure he takes in its natural beauty. Addison does not ascribe utilitarian function to the garden, as, for instance, Langley and Phillip Miller do.

In his dictionary Philip Miller promoted the idea that people derive both pleasure and utility from a kitchen garden. *The Gardener's Dictionary* first came out in London in 1731 in folio and its successful reception was visible in the rapid multiplication of subsequent editions. Miller embraced the system of Linnaeus, although he learned the structure and characters of plants according to the traditional and formal theory and practice of gardening. As the preface to *The Gardeners and Florists Dictionary, or a Complete System of Horticulture* (1731) shows, there is an express invitation on the part of the author to experience the environment, as he whets the appetite of his readers:

> What can be more *delightful*, than in the *Spring-time*, to behold the Infant Plants putting forth their verdant heads, from the Bosom of their fostering Mother the earth? In the *Summer Months*, the Flowers ting'd with a Variety of the most charming Dyes, seeming, as it were, to vie with each other, which shall most allure the Beholder's eye with their splendid Gaiety, and entertain the Nostrils with their enlivening Fragrancy? And in *Autumn,* to view the bending Boughs, as it were submissively offering their delicious Fruit, and courting the Gatherer's Acceptance? (Miller qtd. in Crawford 2002:199)

Miller's rhetorical questions are typical of the discourse employed by other authors of garden manuals who considered that, apart from offering pleasure and delight to the eye, gardens played social symbolic roles and proved to be useful as well, providing fruits, vegetables, and herbs.

To John Abercrombie and Thomas Mawe, useful and delightful are not only the products of the garden, but also the practices of gardening as such. The discourse they employ in their manual provides a clear and comprehensive account of the practical knowledge of gardening. Eighteenth-century gardening manuals made the distinction between the gardener, the botanist, and the florist, on the one hand, and between the gardener and the owner of the garden, on the other hand. According to every garden manual, the gardener, the florist, and the nurseryman were expected to do whatever was necessary in the kitchen-garden, fruit-garden, nursery, and flower-garden. Every gardener was advised to provide himself with

appropriate garden utensils and learn how to use them correctly, according to the weather and each type of soil. A gardener was expected to display his abilities and show his talent in his profession, as he knew the perfect time to gather the cauliflowers for use, how to assist cucumbers and melons, how to arrange hedges of evergreens, and he should show great skill in performing all the gardening operations. In 1822, John Claudius Loudon, who was born in 1783 and was a member of the Linnean Society, became first interested in landscape gardening and then devoted himself to writing on horticultural subjects, thus encouraging the publication of the first edition of his *Encyclopedia of Gardening*, which he considered a complete and systematic treatise on the art of gardening. The encyclopaedia is a training manual, as it includes specific instructions and advises how to accomplish the mission of gardening and what someone needs in order to become a skilful gardener.

In the section entitled "Of the intellectual Education which a Gardener may give himself independently of acquiring his profession" the author specifies that no gardener should practice his profession as a master gardener under the age of twenty-five. A gardener works from eight in the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon, being allowed two hours for breakfast and dinner. After careful calculation and accurate division of time, the author concludes that every gardener should devote twelve hours of study every Sunday, thus being compelled to find time for his "intellectual improvement" (Loudon 1822:1328), but, at the same time, a gardener is advised to carefully choose the branches of knowledge which are worthy of attention. The next recommended step is "to determine the studies to be commenced with" (Loudon 1822:1329). Reading solely is not sufficient, unless someone is able to analyse language and discourse, identify the goals of the author, and understand the order of the writer's ideas. Besides, a moral, religious, and physical education of the gardener is also required. It can be easily noticed that eighteenth-century manuals, treatises, encyclopedias, as well as other books that systematically explained the design of gardening practices provide plentiful evidence that writers of such compendia took a methodical approach to the subject of gardening.

In *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening* Richard Bradley, Professor of Botany at the University of Cambridge, member of the Royal Society, and editor of the first British horticultural journal, expressed his uses methodology in order to initiate the reader to his observations on planting and gardening. Bradley pretends to have invented a new System of Vegetation and he attempts to prove his theory according to which "the Sap of Plants and Trees circulate much after the same manner as the Fluids do in animal Bodies" (*Preface*). He then proceeds to explain his approach to the generation of plants and the theory of cross-pollination. He is fascinated with the result of plant impregnation:

> For example, the *Carnation* and *Sweet William* are in some respect alike; the *Farina* of the one will impregnate the other, and the *Seed* so enliven'd will produce a *Plant* different from either, as may now be seen in the Garden of Mr. *Thomas Fairchild* of *Hoxton*, a Plant neither *Sweet William* nor *Carnation*, but resembling both equally, which was raised from the *Seed* of a *Carnation* that had been impregnated by the *Farina* of the *Sweet William* (Bradley 1739: 18).

This new plant creation was reported to the Royal Society in 1720 and, as a consequence, Bradley was selected to serve as a member of the Royal Society at the age of 26. In his *New Improvements* he is concerned about the difference of soils, how to make plantations of Timber-trees, how to best ornament a flower garden (in which part he introduces his invention "for the more speedy Drawing or Designing of Garden-Plats"), how to propagate and manage fruit-trees, how to order the kitchen garden, and how to correct the faulty ornaments in a garden:

> *Iron-Works* are often placed where there are no Prospects. We see many large *Statues* in small Gardens, and a few small ones in large Gardens. The misplacing of Ornaments in Gardens is another Fault, which is sometimes so absurd as to equal the mismanag'd Picture in *Horace.* […] Thus we view a *Neptune* in a *dry Walk*, and a *Vulcan* in the middle of a *Fountain.* These are so shocking to common Sense, that I think it sufficient only to take a cursory Notice of them to make them avoided (*Preface* 1739).

The author explains the rules representative for each type of garden, such as, for instance, the management of the fruit-trees, the arrangement of the kitchen garden, the construction of greenhouses, the propagation of timber-trees, and the cultivation of orange tree. He concludes with observations on exotic plants, which were mainly used at that time to increase someone's status. In Bradley's opinion, cultivating the garden and planting present peculiar advantages not only for the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, who generally maximize their private profit, but it is also as a source of profit to the nation at large.

A similar horticultural taxonomy appears in Thomas Mawe (gardener to the Duke of Leeds) and John Abercrombie's (a horticultural writer) *Every Man his own Gardener* (1767). They titled the chapter on how to cultivate flowers "The Pleasure, or Flower Garden." In this chapter, the authors give advice on how to plant hyacinth and tulip roots, how to sow Anemony and Ranunculus seed, how to transplant perennial plants, how to cut box edgings, how to clip hedges, and how to trim flowering plants.

4. Conclusion

Significantly, by 1800, the increase in publications on the topic of gardening suggests the growing interest over the period in organising and promoting a typical gardening discourse while at the same time a distinction was drawn between professional and amateur gardeners, and the relationship between different types of gardening and various social positions. Eighteenth-century England witnessed the foundation of professions such as market gardeners, nursery men, botanists, and florists, as well as the rise of various types of gardens (botanical, kitchen, and cottage gardens), which confirmed the changing nature of gardening and caused a linguistic explosion. According to Jennifer Munroe, in *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature before 1800*, Blanche Henrey mentions at least "nineteen new titles on botany and horticulture during the sixteenth century, one hundred or so new titles in the seventeenth century (of which over eighty came after 1650), and over six hundred during the eighteenth century" (Munroe 2008:37).

In order to frame the story of garden writing, this article tried to survey the flourishing practices of English gardening in the long eighteenth century. What is noteworthy about this subject matter is the amazing diversity of modern gardeners, who expected different responses from their work: a comfortable household, a profitable business, a pleasant stimulating space, a magnificent estate, or scientific knowledge. Gardening offered a path to self-improvement for all categories of citizens. The role of garden manuals appears to have been essential in the construction of the personal and social identity of the master gardener in generating an emblematic discourse used to describe this profession, and in challenging the gardener to create a balance between the various species of plants, trees, and flowers, on the one hand, and their colour, textures, and shapes, on the other hand. Also, the impact that these manuals and treatises had on the reader was immense. By using textual evidence and sometimes images, these manuals detailed gardening techniques and methods for the advancement of a theoretical discourse on the eighteenth-century garden in order to provide the readers with the basic knowledge of perennials and annuals, plants, and horticulture. The fact that the writers were themselves gardeners or had significant experience in cultivating the land granted them authority to instruct the reader. Besides, these manuals introduced the reader to the utilitarian as well as the aesthetic function of the garden. That said, authors of eighteenth-century

gardening manuals fully exploited the fashion for gardening and landscape by offering comprehensive guidance on all practical aspects of gardening. On the one hand, these manuals represented a source of income to the publishers, editors, and authors. On the other hand, they marked an increase interest in horticultural activities, which, in the nineteenth century, will result in the future development of commercial horticulture.

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PROFILING PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNERS

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Abstract: *The purpose of this study is to explore the components that foreign language learners need to acquire in order to develop their pragmatic competence. This paper presents a description of phase one of an ongoing research project at Goce Delcev University-Stip, Republic of Macedonia, on developing pragmatic competence of foreign language learners. We first define pragmatic competence; then we discuss data collection instruments and procedures; and we conclude with an outlook on further research.*
Keywords: *Discourse Completion Test, explicit instruction, pragmatic competence, role play, speech acts*

1. Introduction

The main aim of foreign language learning is communication, and pragmatic competence is narrowly tied to it. Gumprez (in Stalker 1989:184) defines communicative competence as "the knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers have to create and sustain conversational cooperation, and thus involves both grammar and contextualization". Similarly, Canale and Swain point out that the term 'communicative competence' refers to "the relationship and interaction between grammatical competence or knowledge of the rules of grammar, and sociolinguistic competence, or knowledge of the rules of language use" Canale and Swain (1980:6). In connection with this, Stalker sees pragmatics as "a system of rules which enables us to successfully fulfil the functions we choose to accomplish by matching linguistic structures (at all levels from speech genre to phonology) with the environment in which we are operating" Stalker (1984:184). Accordingly, people "accommodate linguistic features both consciously and unconsciously in order to adjust the social distance between the producer and the receiver" (Stalker, 1989:182).

In the process of communicating in the foreign/second language, learners need to be able to successfully navigate through a language and culture that are new to them. Developing pragmatic competence is particularly difficult when the language is learned in an environment in which it is not a means of daily communication, as the learners do not get enough input that will allow them to become aware of the pragmatic principles used in the respective society. Hence, language instruction is of immense importance for them.

This has been realized by many authors who have argued in favour of developing models for second/foreign language teaching based on the communicative approach, which would integrate linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence (Canale and Swain

1980; Johnson 1978; Richards & Rodgers, 2001; Van Ek 1976; Widdowson 1987). As a result different forms of language teaching syllabi developed focusing on the communication functions: requesting, apologising, inviting, describing, asking for and giving information, etc. Other forms focused on situational dialogues, conversational gambits, etc. The point of reference for all language programmes today is the Common European Framework of Reference Levels (Council of Europe, 2001) which is based on the assumption that communicative language competence include linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences.

Despite the great activity in this field, there is a lack of valid data on communicative competences of Macedonian learners of English. In language teaching there is a lack of syllabi focusing on teaching communicative competences and there is a widespread need of tracing effective methods for reinforcing communication skills. The aim of this project is to fill in this gap.

Motivated by this, the authors of this paper started the project *The role of explicit instruction in developing pragmatic competence in learning English and German as foreign languages* carried out at Goce Delcev University-Stip, Republic of Macedonia. In particular, the project will focus on the following:

- realization of the speech acts of requesting, apologising and complaining in the interlanguage of English and German language learners;
- comparison of the speech act realization in the target language and in learners' interlanguage;
- definition of the reasons that bring about pragmatic failure by foreign language learners;
- the role of explicit instruction in the development of the pragmatic competence of foreign language learners.

In this paper we first define pragmatic competence and discuss what learners need to know to become pragmatically competent. Then we discuss the instruments for measuring learners' pragmatic competence. Finally, we point out to the next stage of our research.

2. Defining learner's pragmatic competence

We would like to start this part with Crystal's broad definition that pragmatics is "the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication" (Crystal 2008:379).

This definition puts the social context of discourse (e.g. power and politeness, use of metaphor and irony, and so on) in the foreground. It also focuses on the user and the intended meaning. In defining pragmatic competence we find Leech's distinction between sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge particularly useful.

Sociopragmatic knowledge refers to the "specific 'local' conditions on language use […] for it is clear that the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle operate variably in different cultures or language communities, in different social situations, among different social classes, etc." (Leech 1983:10). In particular, this means knowledge of the context, recognition and production of illocutionary meaning, distribution of politeness strategies, the speaker-hearer relationship, formality of the situation, social values and cultural beliefs, etc.

Pragmalinguistic knowledge, as described by Leech (1983:11), refers to the particular linguistic resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions. This means knowledge of socially appropriate language use with respect to the sociopragmatic variables.

The learner's pragmatic competence according to Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993:3) is seen as "a non-native speaker's use and acquisition of linguistic action patterns in a second language". It includes learners' pragmatic and discourse knowledge. Because sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic rules are not obvious, it often happens in communication that learners do not understand or misunderstand what native speakers say. It is even more difficult for learners to produce the appropriate expressions in a given context to meet the expectations of native speakers. Not abiding by the target language and cultural norms results in pragmatic failure of foreign language learners.

The above discussion raises the question of what abilities learners have to acquire to become pragmatically competent. Most of the studies that we have consulted have focused on speech acts (Röver 2005; Liu 2004; Beebe et al. 1990; Blum-Kulka 1982; Kasper 1989; Olshtain and Weinbach 1993; Trosborg 1995; etc.). Other studies have investigated routines, implicature, the ability to perform politeness functions, the ability to perform discourse functions, and the ability to use cultural knowledge.

Most studies of speech acts have focused on a particular speech act, its realization and variations in strategies used by the participants. Among those studies, the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) was the pioneering one and very influential as a large international project.

3. Assessing speech acts in second language pragmatics

The early efforts for assessing speech acts appeared in the 1980s when there were efforts to obtain more empirical information about key speech acts such as apologizing, requesting, complimenting, and complaining (Fraser *et al*. 1980, in Cohen 2004). Data were collected through a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) and the goal of the studies was to establish cross-language and language-specific norms of speech act behavior in order to better understand the development of second language learners' pragmatic competence. The initial efforts were made by Cohen and Olshtain (1981), Blum-Kulka (1982), Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989), etc. The instruments included prompts for closed, guided, or open-ended responses, and the prompts were aimed at speech act comprehension or production.

More recent efforts at assessing speech act ability have resulted in composing batteries of instruments for studying speech acts. The most notable work was conducted at the University of Hawai'i (Hudson et al. 1992, 1995) which resulted in devising six measures: written discourse completion task, multiple-choice discourse completion test, oral discourse completion task, discourse role-play task, discourse self-assessment task, and role-play self-assessment. The tasks were varied with respect to the power of the speaker, the social distance between the speaker and the listener, and the degree of imposition caused by the speech act.

We would also like to point to Roever's work (2005, 2006), who tested three aspects of English as a second language learners' pragmalinguistic competence: recognition of situational routine formulas, comprehension of implicature, and knowledge of speech act strategies. As McNamara and Roever note "Roever tried to strike a balance between practicality and broad content coverage to avoid construct underrepresentation: His test could be delivered through a standard Web browser, took about one hour, and both the routines and implicature sections were self-scoring" McNamara and Roever (2006: 60).

4. Methodology and procedures

In our research on investigating the pragmatic competence of Macedonian language learners of English, we focus on three speech acts: requests, apologies and complaints. We are currently in the process of collecting data for assessing learners' pragmatic competence and in

this paper we will focus on the instruments that we applied for this purpose. Learners' speech acts were elicited with the following questions in mind:

1. Are the students aware of the sociopragmatic variables and do they vary their responses according to their interlocutor?

2. Do they use the same strategies and formulaic expressions as native speakers? We will use the term formulaic expressions to encompass expressions which have more or less fixed form such as greetings, exclamations, swear words, collocations, sentence frames, automatic responses, etc. They are "stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation and analysis by the language grammar" (Wray 2000:465).

3. Are the students aware of the cultural differences between the two languages?

4. Do they produce the appropriate amount of speech?

The participants of the project were 139 students of English in their second and third year of study, age between 19 and 24. The whole process was completed in three stages:

1. All students were first asked to fill in an information sheet and sign a consent form. The information sheet included information about their age, gender, year of study, mother tongue, other languages spoken, and length of stay in an English-speaking country (if any). The consent form informed them that data from the test would be kept confidential and used for research purposes only, that their results would have no effect on their grades, and that their name will not appear publicly. Upon completion of the information, the students were asked to sit the Quick Placement Test designed by Oxford University Press and University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate and their level of proficiency in English was determined. The students had 45 minutes to complete the test.

2. In the second stage the students were asked to complete a DCT consisting of 18 tasks, six tasks for each of the speech acts.

3. In the third stage the students were asked to do the role plays immediately followed by a retrospective interview. The DCT, role plays and retrospective interview are described in more detail in the next section.

The results of the Quick Placement Test were as follows: C2 - 9, C1 - 36, B2 - 52, B1 - 35, and A2 - 7. For the purpose of this study we will continue working with the levels B2 and C1. This will enable us to form a good, cohesive group of students who have good knowledge of the grammatical structures and have enough vocabulary to be able to express their views, mood and emotions. Not having to struggle to express themselves, they will be able to focus on the pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of communication.

All the students who completed the DCT also did the role plays. Table 1 summarises the number of DCT responses and role plays for each of the levels. Following the role plays, we obtained 37 retrospective interviews from the students.

Table 1 Number of DCT responses and role plays: B2 and C1 levels

	Apologies	Requests	Complaints	Total
B2				
DCT responses (49 students)	277	275	265	817
Role plays (49 students)	31	41	45	117
C1				
DCT responses (31 students)	185	185	186	556
Role plays (31 students)	21	27	21	69

5. Research instruments for speech acts

In this section of our paper we discuss the instruments that we used for assessing the pragmatic competence of language learners. We will refer to 1) the design of the testing instruments; 2) context parameters, i.e. the setting in which the speech acts take place; and 3) the importance of retrospection.

1) The instruments

The instruments were designed largely by drawing on assessment and research instruments already in use (Bachman 1990; Boxer and Cohen 2004; Gass and Mackey 2011; Hudson, Brown, and Detmer 1995; Liu 2004; Röver 2005; etc.). We were led by Röver's statement that "they have to be practical and their scores should allow defensible inferences about a learner's pragmatic knowledge" (Röver 2005: 39). Three types of instruments were adopted: DCT, open role play, and introspective interview.

Discourse Completion Test (DCT)

DCTs are the most criticised, but the most frequently used type of instrument for measuring pragmatic competence. DCTs are attractive because they "elicit something akin to real-world speech act performance and because they are still somewhat practical despite the need for rating - at least they can be administered to large numbers of test takers at the same time" (McNamara 2006: 65). Although there are many claims that DCTs do not replicate reality, and people do not use DCT responses in the same way that they use language in real-life communication, there are certain aspects that can be assessed with this instrument. McNamara points out that "although DCTs measure knowledge and do not allow direct predictions of real-world performance, they can be thought of as measuring potential for performance, as knowledge is arguably a necessary precondition for performance" McNamara (2006:67).

The DCT that we used for assessing our language learners' pragmatic competence consists of three parts referring to the three distinct speech acts: requests, apologies and complaints. In constructing the section on requests, we referred to the studies of Blum-Kulka, and Olshtain (1984), Economidou-Kogetsidis and Woodfield (2012), and Olshtain and Cohen, (1990); for apologies we referred to Blum-Kulka, and Olshtain, (1984), Ogiermann (2009), and Trosborg (1995); while for complaints we referred to Trosborg (1995). All situations involve some kind of conflict or social difficulty (medium or high offence/or medium or high threat for the speaker (S) or the hearer (H)) and would require elaborate facework to achieve the desired goals.

Each situation described in the DCT represents differing degrees of power, social distance and degree of imposition. Each task is followed by a blank space within which the subject writes his/her response, as in the example below:

> You borrow a book from the library and while reading it you make some comments which you forget to erase. The librarian notices the comments and complains about them. In response you say:

The DCT was piloted with 15 students. The main purpose of this phase was to show if the students will find the situations acceptable, suitable and similar to real-life situations; if they will find the instructions sufficient to be able to decide how to formulate their speech acts; and if the instructions will trigger the required speech act.

Based on students' feedback, the items were revised before being used among larger population. The students' remarks showed that some of the situations needed further explanations about the relationship between the speaker and the hearer in terms of length of

friendship, closeness, frequency of contact, etc. For example, in the Ride home situation, it wasn't clear whether the people have communicated previously and how close their relationship was. There were two situations that many of the students did not understand and had to be rephrased (Term paper, Down payment). There were also a few problems with vocabulary so explanations of the problematic items were included (dent in the fender, down payment, baggage reclaim, luggage rack).

Open role play

The open role play tasks involve 9 role plays, three for each of the speech acts investigated. Students were divided in pairs of the same level of proficiency. Each student received the description of the situation and of his/her role.

In comparison with the DCT tasks, role plays are more similar to real-life speech situations. They allow for involvement of both interlocutors and as in real conversation "there is a distributed responsibility among interlocutors for the creation of sequential coherence, identities, meaning, and events" (McNamara and Roever 2006:46). The context in which they are built up is wider: the situation is described in more detail, there are two interlocutors and their roles are described more precisely. Conversation unfolds naturally as in real-life communication. Also there is a moment of surprise. Additionally, although a lot of the talk is predicted, the hearer cannot be sure what strategies, formulaic expressions and other linguistic means the speaker will use; the hearer may be surprised by the attitude projected by the speaker and may need to adapt and modify his/her own response in compliance with it; there is language planning, asking for clarification, conversation management, etc. All these characteristics make the conversation more like conversation in real life. Still, it cannot establish context as in real world. There is nothing at stake, the face of the speaker and the hearer are not really threatened, speakers may be bolder and risk more than in real life.

Of course there are some drawbacks as well. Role plays are more difficult to organise and manage. It is difficult to keep track of a large number of students and to organise them in pairs of the same level of proficiency. They are time consuming and it is difficult to transcribe the conversations. Generally, students find them interesting and fun to do. However, for some students they may be stressful.

The tasks involved in the role plays included Professor's book (apology to a person in position of authority), Baggage reclaim (apology to a stranger), and Appointment (apology to a friend) for apologies; Project work (request to a person in position of authority), Ride home (request to a stranger), and Notes (request to a friend) for requests; and Wrong mark (complaint to a person in position of authority), Noisy party (complaint to a stranger), and Owing money (complaint to a friend) for complaints. The number of role plays obtained at B2 and C1 level is given in Table 1.

2) context parameters

The DCT tasks varied with respect to power, social distance and degree of imposition (Hudson, Brown, and Detmer 1995).

Relative power (P) is the degree to which the speaker can impose his or her will on the hearer due to a higher rank within an organization, professional status, or the hearer's need to have a particular duty or job performed. Social distance (D) is the degree of familiarity and solidarity the interlocutors share. Absolute ranking of imposition (R) refers to the imposition on the hearer to perform the act or the severity of offence. Table 2 shows distribution of the variables of power, social distance and degree of imposition across the DCT tasks.

Table 2 Power, social distance and degree of imposition across the DCT and role play tasks.

Situation	Contextual setting	Power	Social distance	Degree of imposition/ offence
Apologies				
1.	Library book	+	+	medium
2.	Professor's book	+	+	high
3.	Baggage reclaim	-	+	medium
4.	Shopping bag	-	+	medium/high/low
5.	Appointment	-	-	high/low/medium
6.	Term paper	-	-	high
Requests				
1.	Project	+	+	medium
2.	Invitation to give a speech	+	+	high
3.	Ride home	-	+	medium
4.	Lighter	-	+	medium
5.	Notes	-	-	medium
6.	Down payment	-	-	high
Complaints				
1.	Wrong mark	+	-	high
2.	Wrong medicine	+	+	high
3.	Noisy party	-	+	medium
4.	Cut in line	-	+	medium
5.	Late pick-up	-	-	medium
6.	Dent	-	-	high

Some of these variables were difficult to determine because we do not have the full context, and, for the role plays, we do not know how the other person would respond. It was especially difficult to decide about the imposition. For example, some people may consider the Appointment situation high offence; others could consider it low offence. The imposition depends on other factors as well: the hearer's plans, momentary mood and circumstances, etc.

The perception of the imposition may also be culturally constrained. What is considered high offence in one culture may be considered low offence in another. The perception of the imposition or offence is also dependent on the personality of the interlocutors. Some speakers may view the Shopping bag scenario high offence because of the damage caused; for others it may be low offence because they will not consider it their fault.

In analysing the interlocutors' responses, we also need to take into consideration the face threat for the speaker and the hearer, which is not always obvious. The Ride situation, for example, may be considered a low threat for the couple if they were going home. However, if they had planned on not going home, the request may be viewed by them as high threat. The latter case may also be a high threat for the speaker, because he may be seen as intruder and his request may be rejected.

Due to these factors, some scenarios may not trigger the required speech act. Such was the case of the Shopping bag, when some students explained that they wouldn't say anything, just take the bag and put it in their lap because after all it wasn't their fault.

3) Retrospective interview

In support of the retrospective interview, Cohen (2004: 320) suggests that "there may also be some value in using verbal report as a complement to the other forms of data – as a means of triangulation". It allows for discussion afterwards as to "what the respondents actually perceived about each situation (e.g. what they perceived about the relative role status of the interlocutors) and how their perceptions influenced their responses, what they wanted to say vs. what they actually said, how they planned out their responses, and what they thought of the social event of going through the tasks altogether" (Cohen 2004:321). The information collected from the respondents provides valuable support for the analysis. The retrospective interviews were conducted immediately after the role plays with the following aims in mind:

- to check how the actual environment influences students' language performance (classroom, not natural environment; the fact of being recorded);
- to check students' awareness of social factors underlying communication, i.e. if the students are aware of the norms of interaction in a given context considering the power, social distance and degree of imposition/severity of offence; and
- to check students' awareness of the cultural constraints in interaction, i.e. if the students are aware of the characteristics of the English and Macedonian culture (positive politeness/ negative politeness; directness/ indirectness).

According to their answers, students found the situations for the role plays similar to everyday, real-life situations. However, they found them more difficult than the DCT because they were under pressure for what to say and how to say it. Sometimes they struggled with words and nervousness.

All students mentioned that while preparing, they were mainly focusing on understanding the situations and the roles of the interlocutors. They are aware of the social variables of power, social distance and degree of imposition and would vary their speech to comply with them. However their perception of the roles may be culturally constraint. The importance of personality traits in communication was also pointed out. Some people are more careful, and some opt out more often than others.

The use of the linguistic expressions, however, was not planned; it was rather spontaneous and intuitive. Also, some students mentioned that in real life they would talk differently. While doing the role plays they were still aware that the conversations were staged and they were talking to a colleague and not to the "imagined person". Consequently, the product that we receive may be different from what they would actually produce in real-life.

The students thought that in real life they would use the same content, but their talk would be different when talking to an English speaking person. They would apologize much more, would use more in-depth explanations and more formal language. When the students said that their responses would be "more polite", they meant more formal. Generally, Macedonian students perceive the English speakers as more formal and more polite. Besides, they noted that the fact that they would be talking to a stranger would make the situation more formal. They would also try to be more polite because they think that if you are not polite enough, English speaking people would think that you are aggressive and would avoid talking to you.

In Macedonian, their responses would be shorter with fewer expressions of apologizing and thanking. They wouldn't be "so polite", would be more direct and their reactions would be more emotional. Their speech would be more colloquial and they would use more forms showing solidarity and closeness with the interlocutors. Consequently, they would use different forms of address when speaking to a Macedonian than to an English speaking person. In Macedonian, they would not shy away from getting into an argument or becoming more aggressive. According to their perception, Macedonian speakers are less

formal, more direct, and the distance between the speakers is smaller even if they are strangers or even if there is difference in power. Some of them pointed out that they know how to communicate with the people in Macedonian, but in English they are not sure about people's reactions and feelings and they feel insecure in their communication with the others.

6. Conclusion and outlook

In this paper we discussed the instruments that we used for collecting data for analysing the pragmatic competence of Macedonian learners of English: DCT, role play and introspective interview. In particular, we referred to the contextual parameters of communication of power, social distance and degree of imposition. The choice of both the DCT and role play scenarios was motivated by the different potentials of the two. In the DCT, learners are given time to study the situations, the roles of the interlocutors and what to say. Thus it sheds light on the knowledge of the language learners. Role plays are more like authentic conversation because they unfold language as in real life, revealing more clearly learners' productive skills. Learners' comments in the introspective interview will be helpful in understanding some of their language behaviour.

The DCT and role play scenarios elicited requests, apologies and complaints. These speech acts are very frequent and of great importance in everyday communication. The next stage would involve coding of these speech acts and analysis of the learners' performance. The coding scheme will be established on the basis of previous speech act research. In particular we will focus on analyzing the realization of the head acts (request, apology or complaint) and their internal modification (mitigation or aggravation) as well as their supportive moves (external modification). The obtained speech acts will also be analyzed with respect to (1) ability to use the correct speech act; (2) typicality of expressions; (3) appropriateness of amount of speech and information given; (4) level of formality; (5) directness; and (6) politeness (Hudson and Kim 1996).

Finally we would like to mention some limitations related to our data interpretation and analysis. First, all our data for this pragmatic analysis was collected through controlled elicitation procedures producing non-authentic, non-spontaneous data. These could produce responses that would be different from those produced in real life situations. Second, our access to parallel native data is limited and we will have to rely on previous studies of English speech acts. As, for Macedonian, the cross-cultural studies of English and Macedonian are restricted to several individual attempts. This will pose some difficulties in interpreting those language behaviours of the Macedonian learners differing from native speakers.

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Marija KUSEVSKA, Biljana IVANOVSKA, Nina DASKALOVSKA and Tatjana ULANSKA make up a team working on the research project “The role of explicit instruction in developing pragmatic competence in learning English and German as a foreign language.” The aim of the project is to investigate learners’ pragmatic competence and to create modules for its development.

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METAPHORS OF HAPPINESS IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN

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Abstract: *According to Ekman et al. (1972), happiness is one of the six universal basic human emotions. Kövecses (2000) claims that certain aspects of the conceptualization of emotions are universal or near-universal. The paper compares linguistic expressions to discuss the question of the universality of the emotion happiness and its metaphors in English and Russian.*
Keywords: *basic emotion, happiness, metaphor, universal*

1. Introduction

Emotions are a widely studied area of scientific research. Biologists, psychologists, cognitive scientists and linguists focus on different aspects of emotions. My aim in the present paper is to summarize some of the most important findings of emotion research, to see what implications they have for a linguistic study of emotions, and to discuss the question of universality of the basic emotion *happiness* in English and Russian, as well as to compare metaphors instantiated in linguistic expressions of the two languages.

2. What Is Emotion?

Bányai (2013:51) defines emotion as a complex system of short-term changes that help the individual to react adaptively to events that are important to them. The changes are intertwined, harmonized, subjective and vegetative and consist of expressions of the emotion in question, cognitive appraisal of the situation, tendencies of thought and action, as well as overt or cognitive activity.

2.1. What Kinds of Emotions Do We Have?

Researchers using a biological approach (going back to Darwin 1872/1965) claim that we have a relatively small number of basic emotions, which are universal and characteristic of both humans and animals, and have a biological and evolutionary determination (Bányai 2013:45). Most researchers agree with Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth (1972) and Ekman (1982, 1992) that there are six basic emotions (happiness, anger, fear, sadness, surprise and disgust) that are accompanied and can be distinguished by universal facial expressions and physiological reactions.

Cognitive scientists acknowledge the existence of a limited number of basic emotions; however, they claim that different emotional states may be accompanied by the same physiological reactions (Bányai 2013:46). In other words, physiological changes may not totally define emotions. What makes a difference between emotions is the cognitive appraisal of a situation (Lazarus 1991). Emotions coming about on the basis of different cognitive

appraisals are considered secondary or learned emotions whose number is considerably higher than that of basic emotions.

Researchers often have debates on the relation of universal basic emotions and secondary/learned emotions. Ekman (1994) suggests a compromise, namely, basic emotion terms have two roles: they stand for individual basic emotions and represent families of emotions that are interconnected with each other. Thus, for example, the term *fear* is understood as a basic emotion and also as a family of emotions which contains such members as fright, panic, anxiety, horror, tension, etc. Members of an emotion family share some of the characteristics of the basic emotion (physiological changes, subjective experience, etc.) but may differ from culture to culture because they are determined by the learning processes and socialization of individuals as well as cultural differences.

2.2. The Language of Emotions

When we are in an emotional state we do not only experience physiological and behavioural changes but also talk about what we feel. Therefore, besides psychological studies of emotions, it is interesting to look at the language of emotions, too.

Words like *happy* and *angry* have literal meanings. But phrases like *it's a red rag to a bull* or *he has gone white with fear* figuratively refer to anger and fear respectively. It must be noted that figurative expressions do not usually express or name emotions but rather describe certain aspects of different emotional states. This group of emotion-related vocabulary can be divided into two groups, one of which contains conceptual metaphors, while the other conceptual metonymies.

> Conceptual metaphors bring two distant domains (or concepts) into correspondence with each other (Kövecses 2000:4).

In this context, correspondence means that one concept is understood in terms of another, as we usually understand an abstract concept in terms of a more concrete concept. For example, when we say *it's a red rag to a bull/it's like a red rag to a bull,* we figuratively refer to something that has caused someone's anger, that is, we understand the cause of a person's anger in terms of what a red rag is to a bull in a bullfight. The phrase is an example of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL (Kövecses 1990:62-63), and refers to the fact that anger is a very intense emotion, in which the danger and control/loss of control aspects are very important.

Expressions like *he has gone white with fear* belong to the group of metonymies.

> Conceptual metonymies, unlike conceptual metaphors, involve a single domain, or concept. The purpose of metonymy is to provide mental access to a domain through a part of the same domain (or vice versa) or to a part of a domain through another part in the same domain […]. Thus, metonymy, unlike metaphor, is a "stand-for" relation (i.e., a part stands for the whole or a part stands for another part) within a single domain. (Kövecses 2000:5).

The example *he has gone white with fear* above describes a person whose face and neck area turns white. The phrase stands for fear, that is, it is a linguistic example of the metonymy BLOOD LEAVES FACE (Kövecses 1990:70).

2.3. The Language of *Happiness* in English and Russian

In the remainder of the present paper, I will attempt to compare some English and Russian expressions of *happiness*, to answer the question whether corresponding English and Russian expressions denote the same basic emotion in the English and Russian speaking cultures, and to find out whether the two cultures share some happiness metaphors listed in Kövecses's *Metaphor and Emotion* (2000:24-25).

Following Ekman's (1994) view on emotions, researchers seem to agree that *happiness* is a basic emotion in English, while *cheerfulness, delight, joy, contentment* are nonbasic and belong to the emotion family of happiness. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Hornby 1989) gives the following definition and examples of the adjective *happy*:

> ***happy:*** *feeling or expressing pleasure, contentment, satisfaction, etc.*
> *a happy marriage, scene, memory, child, ending (to a book, etc.)*
> *I won't be happy until I know she's safe.*
> *Are you happy in your work/with your life?*
> *Happy birthday! Happy Christmas!*
> *I am happy to be of service.*

The examples above show that the emotion *happiness* is associated with anniversaries and holidays and also with very mundane experiences like work and helping other people.

If we look up a possible Russian translation of *happiness*, we find *schast'e* and *radost'* along with *uteshenie, udovol'stvie, utekha (*roughly 'joy', 'satisfaction', 'joy', respectively). (Throughout the present paper, Russian examples are presented with the author's translations.) I think that *schast'se* and *radost'* are better candidates for the basic category than the rest, while the last three terms clearly belong to the Russian emotion family of happiness. Consider how the *Slovar' russkogo jazyka* (*Dictionary of the Russian Language*) by Ozhegov (1988) defines the words *radost'* and *schast'e*:

> ***radost':*** *vesëloe chuvstvo, oschuschenie bol'shogo dushevnogo udovletvorenija* ('happy feeling, sensation of great spiritual satisfaction').
> ***schast'e:*** *chuvstvo i sostajanie polnogo, vysshego udovletvorinija* ('feeling and state of full, ultimate satisfaction').

Both definitions suggest that *radost'* and *schast'e* refer to very special and intense emotional states that seem to be rather difficult or almost impossible to reach. Now let us consider how the two terms are used in Russian. From a grammatical point of view, it is interesting to note that the word *radost'* can take either the singular or the plural form, whereas *schast'e* can only be used in the singular. Levontina and Zalizniak (2001:297) point out that "a person may have several *radosti* (cf. *te nemnogie radosti, kotorye u nego v zhizni ostalis* 'the few joys which remained to him in life'), but only one *schast'e* (if at all)." To compare the two concepts consider:

> *radosti zhizni* ('joys of life'); *radost tvorchestva / svidanija* ('the joy of creation / meeting')
> *delit' s kem radosti zhizni i gore* ('to share all the joys of life and grief with someone')
> *ty moja radost'* ('you are my joy' said to one's beloved)
> *narodnoe schast'e* ('people's happiness'), *semejnoe schast'e* ('family happiness'), *stremlenie k schast'u* ('efforts made to attain happiness')
> *Segodn'a pochemu-to vse zhdut volshebnykh razvjazok v dukhe skazok, kogda vsë zakanchivaetsja vechnym schast'em dlja vsekh*. (Russian National Corpus) ('Today for some reason everybody is expecting magic solutions in the spirit of fairy tales, when everything ends for everybody in happiness for ever after.')

The examples above show that *radost'* and *radosti* refer to particular events or people, to things one is strongly attracted to, in other words, to concrete things in the world. The term *schast'e*, however, is not normally used to refer to events but rather to refer to long-lasting situations or states that are almost impossible to reach. *Schast'e* is often used to explain ideas concerning philosophical issues. Discussing the meaning and use of the terms *radost'* and *schast'e,* Levontina and Zalizniak (2001:298) argue against their basicness, claiming that *schast'e* is concerned with ideas like the "meaning of life, ideal love and other fundamental categories of being". *Radost'* "belongs to the 'elevated', spiritual world, […] it is associated

with the abilities of the soul" (Levontina and Zalizniak 2001:293-294); however, it usually refers to shorter-term situations. Therefore, Levontina and Zalizniak (2001:297) come to the conclusion that *radost'/schast'e* and *happiness* cannot be considered translation equivalents because they denote things that do not belong to the same field of experience.

As far as the question of basicness in Ekman's work and in linguistics is concerned, the above argumentation shows that Wierzbicka (1992) and Levontina and Zalizniak (2001) think of basic emotions "picked out on the basis of facial expressions" (Levontina and Zalizniak 2001:297) as very common everyday experiences that cannot be concerned with concepts or ideas relating to some idealized or hardly attainable state with a strong emotional charge. I find it important to note that Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth (1972) and Ekman (1982, 1992) were interested in similarities of certain emotional states in different cultures rather than differences; Ekman and his associates were not concerned with contexts in which basic emotions come about in individual representatives of different cultures. So, my claim here is that the differences between Levontina and Zalizniak's findings, on the one hand, and Ekman's and other psychologists', on the other, come from their different approaches to the study of emotions. Being linguists, Levontina and Zalizniak study emotions through linguistic expressions; they are interested in contexts and meanings of emotion terms and consider emotions as concepts, while Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth (1972) study emotions as a combination of physiological and psychological reactions to certain situations. Wierzbicka (1995, 1996) suggests a system of semantic primitives to enable linguists to compare emotion concepts of different cultures, while Ekman uses facial expressions to identify and distinguish emotional states throughout different cultures and claims that there are (1) universal basic emotions and (2) varieties of emotional states (e.g. *joy, pleasure, satisfaction*, etc.) that belong to larger emotion families (e.g. *happiness*) denoted by names of basic emotions.

Kövecses (2000) shows that a great deal of our emotion vocabulary belongs to conceptual metaphors which reveal how we think of emotions. He gives an extensive list of American English *happiness* metaphors (Kövecses 2000:24-25) which I use as a checklist for my attempt to identify Russian emotion vocabulary as instantiations of the metaphors in the list. I hypothesize that finding the same or similar metaphors in Russian would mean that there are shared components of the English and Russian concepts of *happiness*, while differences would prove the opposite, that is, would support the view that *radost'* and *schast'e* are concepts different from the concept of *happiness* and that the Russian terms do not denote basic emotions in the Russian culture.

I have collected expressions with *radost'* and *schast'e* from mono- and bilingual dictionaries, selected those that have a figurative meaning and attempted to find which metaphor they instantiate in Kövecses's (2000:24-25) list, if any. For practical reasons, I will go down the list of happiness metaphors and will only discuss the ones that are instantiated by Russian expressions.

HAPPY IS UP (*We had to cheer him up.*) comes first in Kövecses's list as an orientational metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), of which I only found one example: *byt' na verkhu blazhenstva* ('be on the top of happiness'), which associates the best point of happiness with its top.

In the dictionaries I have consulted I have found four versions of the same expression, which all instantiate the metaphor HAPPINESS IS BEING OFF THE GROUND (*I am six feet off the ground. I was so happy my feet barely touched the ground.*), namely *on nog pod soboj ne chuvstvujet/ ne slyshit* ('he does not feel/hear his feet under himself') and *on zemli pod soboj ne chuvstvujet/ ne slyshit* ('he does not feel/hear the ground under himself'). I have also come across one example of HAPPINESS IS BEING IN HEAVEN (*That was heaven on earth.*), namely, *byt' na sed'mom nebe* ('be in the seventh sky'), where the religious connotation clearly speaks

for itself; thus, the phrase refers to the highest level of *happiness*. However, HAPPY IS LIGHT (*She brightened up at the news.*) is instantiated in the following expressions:

> *Masha sijajet' ot radosti / lico sijajet ot radosti* ('Masha is shining with joy / 'one's face is shining with joy')
> *ego glaza iskrjatsja radost'ju* ('his eyes are sparkling with happiness')
> *u nego sverkajushchije radost'ju glaza* ('he has eyes gleaming with joy')

I have also found two expressions which combine the idea of light with its being faded or being cast a shadow on, consider:

> *omrachat' radost'* ('to throw a shadow on one's joy')
> *bezoblachnoje schast'e* ('cloudless happiness')

By incorporating the idea of a shadow, the former expression refers to a situation in which something impairs the positive emotion, while the latter, by using a privative prefix (*bez-* means '-less/without', *oblachnoje* 'cloudy' neuter form of the adjective) in the adjective, describes happiness in its perfectness.

The next metaphor in Kövecses's list is HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (*He was overflowing with joy.*), the Russian instantiations of which are the following:

> *on perepoln'als'a radost'ju* ('he was filling with joy')
> *sluchaj preispoln'ajet men'a radost'ju* ('the case fills me with joy')
> *moje serdce perepolnilos' radost'ju* ('my heart was filled with joy')
> *nasha radost' perelivalas' cherez kraj* ('our joy was overflowing the edge')

The first three expressions represent joy figuratively in terms of a fluid that fills someone or someone's heart which serve as containers for the fluid, while the last expression shows a situation where the 'fluid' is more than the container can take.

Talking of the container metaphor, we must consider *on vne ceb'a ot radosti/ot vostorga* ('he is not in himself due to his joy/rapture'). So far, we have seen that joy can fill a person or a person's heart, that is the body or a body part works as the container for the emotion. But this example shows that someone does not have enough room in his body when in a state of joy.

I see the expressions below as examples of the EMOTIONS ARE FORCES generic-level metaphor (Kövecses 2000:62):

(a) *on otvetil s burnoj radost'ju* ('he answered with stormy joy')
(b) *posle razvoda Nina skoro vljubilas' v krasivogo muzykanta, znachit zhazhda schast'a ne ostavila eje* (Russian National Corpus) ('after her divorce Nina fell in love with the handsome musician, which means that the hunger for happiness did not leave her')
(c) *v ego glazakh pojavilis' slezy radosti* ('there appeared tears of joy in his eyes')
(d) *ona plakala ot radosti* ('she was crying with joy')

I think the first expression in example (a) above instantiates the metaphor HAPPINESS IS A NATURAL FORCE because the adjective *burnoj* (instrumental case, feminine gender, singular number) associates the features of a storm with the concept of joy. Kövecses's (2000:25) example *He was swept off his feet* has more to do with things that "natural forces, like floods, wind, and so forth" (Kövecses 2000:71) can cause. He gives the following explanation:

> The object affected by the natural force can't help but undergo the impact of the force; in the same way, a person experiences emotion in a passive and helpless way. (Kövecses, 2000:72)

The other three expressions (b-d) seem to instantiate the EMOTION IS A PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE metaphor in which the physiological forces can "come in several kinds: hunger, thirst, illness, and agitation" (Kövecses 2000:77). In example (b) we can see the metaphor EMOTION IS HUNGER (Kövecses 2000:78), or more precisely, HAPPINESS IS HUNGER, whose underlying mapping in the conceptual system is that hunger for food is mapped onto desire for emotion. That is "the person who is hungry is the person who would like to but does not have the emotion" (loc. sit.). It is important to note that it only applies to positive emotions (Kövecses 2000:79).

I have not found tears mentioned separately in Kövecses's (2000) analysis; however, we may think of them as part of the agitation that accompanies intense emotional states, in other words, they are a form of physiological force which one can hardly resist or can only undergo passively. So, examples (c) and (d) could also be understood as instantiations of the EMOTION IS A PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE metaphor. In fact, they show the emotion *happiness* as the cause of crying, a form of physiological agitation.

In the following group of expressions, *happiness/joy* is conceptualized as an object that can be attained, received, experienced and chased by someone, shared with another person and also wished to someone as if it were a commodity. Consider:

dostavit' /nesti radost' komu ('get/bring joy to someone')
sostavl'at'/ poluchit' radost' ('get joy')
lovit' radosti v zhizni ('fish for/try to get joys in life')
gnat's'a za radost'ami ('chase joys')
delit' s kem vse radosti /delit'sja radost'ju ('share joys with someone')
zhelat' radost' komu ('wish joy to someone')

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that we think of limited resources in terms of valuable commodities. Discussing emotion metaphors, Kövecses (1990:160-167) claims that we think of emotions in terms of objects and, if an emotion is evaluated as positive, we think of it as valuable. Thus we have the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE VALUABLE OBJECTS. Kövecses (2000:106-108) shows that the VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor is a chief metaphor for anything that is desirable. Koivisto-Alanko and Tissari (2006:208) refer to the same idea of Kövecses' (1990:160-167) claiming that "If the emotion is positive, and thus desirable, it is a VALUABLE COMMODITY." I think *happiness* is also a VALUABLE COMMODITY since it is a positive emotion, that is, desirable and difficult to have. Thus we have the metaphor HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY. However, it is interesting to note that it is not mentioned in the list of happiness metaphors in Kövecses (2000: 24-25); the reason for this may be that it is not as elaborated in the English speaking cultures as in the Russian speaking culture.

It is interesting to note that the expressions *delit' s kem vse radosti* and *delit'sja radost'ju* ('share joys with someone') show a connection between the concepts of the emotion *happiness* and human relationships through the ideas "sharing (experience) objects" and "valuable commodity", which are specific-level metaphors in the conceptualization of human relationships (Kövecses 2000:110). Although Kövecses does not include the VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor in his list of emotion metaphors (Kövecses 2000:110) or more specifically in his list of happiness metaphors (Kövecses 2000:24-25), I find it a common point of the Russian concept of *happiness* and the concept of *human relationships*; moreover the idea of sharing is incorporated in the expressions in question.

The last group of the expressions I discuss contains a number of adjectives that can modify the noun *radost'* ('joy'). All these adjectives express the idea that *happiness is difficult to capture*. Consider:

neskazannaja radost' ('unspeakable joy'), *neopisannaja radost'* ('undescribable joy'), *neizmerimaja radost'* ('unmeasurable joy'), *nepoddel'naja radost'* ('unadulterated joy = genuine/real joy')
skorotechnaja radost' ('fleeting/short-term joy')
skrytaja radost' ('hidden joy')

I think that the expressions above instantiate the metaphor HAPPINESS IS AN OBJECT THAT IS DIFFICULT TO CAPTURE. I have not found a similar metaphor in Kövecses's (2000) list.

3. Conclusion

The Russian concept of *happiness* is not an exact equivalent of the English concept of *happiness*, and *schast'e* and *radost'* do not prove to be translation equivalents of the English term *happiness*. Wierzbicka (1992), Levontina and Zalizniak (2001) do not accept *schast'e* and *radost'* as basic emotions and claim that they do not share universal characteristics of the emotion, either. (It must be noted that the articles I quoted do not consider the term *joy*, probably because it is not a basic emotion term in Ekman's sense.) However, linguistic expressions discussed in the present paper seem to instantiate a number of the *happiness* metaphors listed in Kövecses (2000:24-25). This may be considered as proof of the fact that the Russian concepts of *schast'e* and *radost'* share at least some characteristics with the English concept of *happiness* or even share some universal (or near universal) characteristics, which may also mean that the Russian concepts are not very far from either the English concept of *happiness* or a universal prototype of the concept *happiness*. On the other hand, this study shows that the HAPPINESS IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor seems to be more important and better-elaborated in the Russian speaking culture than in the English speaking culture.

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PHRASE STRUCTURE PATTERNING AND LICENSING FOR ENGLISH AND SERBIAN SPEAKER-ORIENTED ADVERB SUBCLASSES

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Abstract: *This paper attempts to set phrase structure rules for English and Serbian speaker-oriented adverb subclasses. Adverbs are looked at here as specifiers licensed by the semantic feature [ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE]. The results suggest that illocutionary, evaluative and evidential adverbs normally merge within the complementizer layer and the inflectional layer, and that English epistemic adverbs are in most cases preferably integrated into the inflectional layer, whereas Serbian epistemic adverbs tend to occur in the sentence-initial position.*
Keywords: *speaker-oriented adverbs in English and Serbian, their distribution and semantics, the functional specifier analysis and head feature licensing approach*

1. Introduction

The issue of adverb patterning and licensing has been closely analysed in linguistic theory basically within the framework of two distinct types of analysis of the interplay between adverb syntax and semantics. Proponents of the functional specifier analysis (cf. Laenzlinger 1996, 1998; Alexiadou 1997; Cinque 1999, 2004, among others) state that syntax determines semantics, whereas proponents of the adjunction approach (cf. Frey and Pittner 1999; Haider 2000, 2004; Ernst 2000, 2002, 2004a, 2004b, for instance) believe that semantics determines syntax. Linguists also differently explain the integration of adverbs into clause structure. If adverbs have argument status, they are considered to be complements. McConnell-Ginet (1982), Larson (1988) and Alexiadou (1997) analyse temporal, spatial, manner and completion adverbs as complements. Chomsky (1986:6) maintains that adjunction is possible only to a nonargument. Ernst (2002:67) shows, for example, that manner adverbs can merge into syntax as VP adjuncts if placed on a left-branch. Degree elements, quantifiers and negative constituents have been recategorized as functional heads. Rakowski and Travis (2000) view postverbal adverbs as functional heads (e.g. *She could investigate no longer*). Kayne (1994) illustrates that adverbs can integrate into syntactic structure as complements or specifiers. Cinque (1999) establishes canonical order of adverbs and claims that they merge into syntax as unique specifiers of designated functional projections. As speaker-oriented adverbs specify the whole proposition, they will be looked at in this paper as specifiers.

The main research objective of this study is to reveal structure patterning and licensing for speaker-oriented adverbs, *i.e.* their subclasses – illocutionary adverbs, evaluative adverbs, evidential adverbs and epistemic adverbs, and their base positions in the two languages under scrutiny. We assume that this investigation will help us establish phrase structure rules for English and Serbian speaker-oriented adverb subclasses, and better understand the interplay between adverb syntax and semantics. The analysis is expected to show that adverb

distribution in Serbian is more flexible than in English, and that English and Serbian adverbs do not basically overlap structurally. The theoretical concepts and key terms employed will be defined in the following sections.

2. Corpus, Method and Analysis

The corpus of this study is mainly built from English examples extracted from the BNC. Examples in English were selected based on speaker-oriented adverb positions in syntactic structure. Sentences in Serbian are translations of English examples.
The functional specifier analysis (see Cinque 1999; Haumann 2007) and head feature licensing approach (see Travis 1988) are employed to consider the interplay between adverb syntax and semantics. Throughout this paper, it has been assumed that each functional projection has its own specific semantic interpretation, and that adverbs enter into transparent semantic relations with the head of the functional projection they occur in. (For more details see Cinque 1999).
The starting point of the analysis is that adverbs have phrasal status. In accordance with this, certain abbreviations are used in the text. Some of them are specForce(Fin)P, which stands for specifier Force (Finite) Phrase, specEvalP – specifier Evaluative Phrase, specEvidP – specifier Evidential Phrase, IP – Inflection Phrase, where Inflection is the sentence, ForceP – Force Phrase, which hosts illocutionary adverbs, EvalP – Evaluative Phrase, where evaluative adverbs sit, EvidP – Evidential Phrase, into which evidential adverbs are merged, EpiP – Epistemic Phrase, where epistemic adverbs occur, CP – Complementizer Phrase, NegP – sentence-negating phrase, etc. The phrases ForceP, EvalP, EvidP and EpiP represent, thus, the licensing sites of adverbs, with adverbs entering into a transparent semantic relationship with their licensing functional heads.
Co-occurrences of adverbs are not explored here, though they certainly deserve thorough examination to help us better understand adverb licensing (see, for instance, Cinque 1999, 2004; Ernst 2002; Haumann 2007; Dimković-Telebaković 2011; Dimković-Telebaković 2013; Dimković-Telebaković 2015).
In Section 2.1, we discuss different speaker-oriented adverb subclasses. The results of the investigation presented in this paper are summarised in Section 3.

2.1. Speaker-oriented Adverbs and Their Patterning in English and Serbian

Speaker-oriented adverbs have received this label because they express the speaker's attitude to the event denoted by the sentence (cf. Jackendoff 1972:56). They are also called pragmatic adverbs (cf. Bellert 1977:349) or stance adverbs (see Biber et al. 1999). As speaker-oriented adverbs are syntactically and semantically heterogeneous, we follow Bellert's (1977:341ff.) classification mainly based on semantic criteria, and examine a number of illocutionary adverbs, evaluative adverbs, evidential adverbs and epistemic adverbs here. The strings below show that speaker-oriented adverbs are licensed by the semantic feature [ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE] (cf. Travis 1988:290), and how they may pattern in English and Serbian.

2.1.1. Illocutionary Adverbs

Bellert (1977:349ff.) maintains that illocutionary adverbs either specify the content of the proposition (e.g. *honestly*, *frankly* – *honestly*-type adverbs) or the way in which it is expressed, i.e. the form (e.g. *briefly*, *roughly* – *briefly*-type adverbs). To corroborate the assumption that illocutionary adverbs sit in specForce(Fin)P and are licensed under specifier-head agreement, Haumann (2007:339) illustrates that they fail to occur within the scope of

relative operators (e.g. **On the way down I fell over a man hiding in a dark corner, who roughly ran away immediately*), conditional operators (e.g. **Had she not been so downhearted briefly Ruth would have enjoyed herself*) and interrogative operators (e.g. **I wonder if frankly that would have helped*). These examples show that illocutionary adverbs depend on Force-related features, and that can be analysed as assertive operators.
Sentences (1e) and (1s a, b) demonstrate that the illocutionary adverbs (ForceP) *frankly/iskreno*, *otvoreno* may be used in the sentence-initial position, i.e specForce(Fin)P. If this is the case, it is significant to say that Serbian sentence patterning allows the subject omission, as shown in (1s b), (2s b), (3s b), (4s b), (5s b) and (9s b), whereas English structure patterning does not.

(1e) *Frankly*, I don't have much faith in the aunt.
IP → ForceP – NP –AuxP– V – NP – PP
(1s) a. *Iskreno* / *Da kažem otvoreno*, ja nemam mnogo poverenja u tetku.
IP → ForceP / ForceP –NP – V – NP – PP
(1s) b. *Iskreno* / *Da kažem otvoreno*, nemam mnogo poverenja u tetku.
IP → ForceP / ForceP – V – NP – PP

In sentence (2e), *frankly* assumes the post-subject position, while *otvoreno* in example (2s a) occurs within the inflectional layer, and in (2s b) in the front sentence position.

(2e) He *frankly* admitted to being obsessed with her sex …
IP → NP – ForceP – V – VP – PP
(2s) a. On je *otvoreno* priznao da je opsednut njenom privlačnošću …
IP → NP–AuxP – ForceP – V – VP – NP
(2s) b. *Otvoreno* je priznao da je opsednut njenom privlačnošću …
IP → ForceP – AuxP – V – VP – NP

Frankly can also appear after the finite non-lexical verb, as in (3e). The adverbs *neskriveno* and *iskreno* are realized within the inflectional layer too, which is illustrated by (3s a, b). Sentence (3e) has two meanings here, since *frankly baffled* may be translated as *neskriveno osujećen* or *iskreno zbunjen*. Example (3s b) *Bio je iskreno zbunjen* shows that if a sentence contains no subject it can open with a verb in Serbian. Further investigation into adverbs in this paper will demonstrate that Serbian typically patterns in this way.

(3e) He was *frankly* baffled …
IP → NP – AuxP – ForceP – V –
(3s) a. On je bio *neskriveno* osujećen …
IP → NP–AuxP–V – ForceP –
(3s) b. Bio je *iskreno* zbunjen …
IP → V– AuxP – ForceP –

In strings (4e) and (4s a, b), we show that these illocutionary adverbs may follow the finite non-lexical verb, and have different structure patterning in the two languages.

(4e) They can *frankly* ask him for a favour.
IP → NP –AuxP-ForceP–V–NP –PP
(4s) a. Oni ga mogu *otvoreno* zamoliti za uslugu.
IP → NP–NP–AuxP–ForceP – V –PP
(4s) b. Mogu ga *otvoreno* zamoliti za uslugu.
IP → AuxP–NP–ForceP – V –PP

If we compare examples (2e) and (4e) with Haumann's (2007:342f.) examples, containing subject-oriented adverbs and subject-attitude adverbs, we can see that Haumann is right in claiming that *frankly*-type illocutionary adverbs, i.e. *honestly*-type illocutionary

adverbs, overlap with subject-oriented adverbs and subject-attitude adverbs. This comparison confirms Haumann's findings and shows that it is not easy to identify base positions for different adverb subclasses, since they may overlap.

Strings (5e) and (5s a, b) illustrate that *frankly*-type illocutionary adverbs may be found in the final-sentence position too, but we must point out that sentence (5s b) sounds more natural in Serbian than (5s a). In contrast, sentence (5e) shows that English does not allow structure patterning which excludes the subject of the sentence.

(5e) I can tell you quite *frankly*.
IP → NP –AuxP – V – NP – ForceP
(5s) a. Ja ti mogu reći sasvim *otvoreno*.
IP → NP–NP –AuxP – V – ForceP
(5s) b. Mogu ti reći sasvim *otvoreno*.
IP → AuxP–NP – V – ForceP

Examples (6e) and (6s a, b) contain the illocutionary adverbs *honestly* and *iskreno*. These sequences show that the adverbs may assume the initial sentence position when they precede focalized expressions, but cannot follow such expressions. Haumann (2007:340) also provides evidence to support this claim, and illustrates that illocutionary adverbs cannot follow topicalized constituents, but can precede them. This confirms her assumption that illocutionary adverbs are inmates of specForce(Fin)P. Sentences (6s a, b), on the other hand, demonstrate that Serbian has different sentence patterning than English in cases when the illocutionary adverb *iskreno* is followed by focalized expression.

(6e) *Honestly*, HIS MONEY (**honestly*) you should have asked for, not his car.
IP → ForceP – NP – (*ForceP) –NP – AuxP– AuxP– VP – NP
(6s) a. *Iskreno*, trebalo je da tražiš NJEGOV NOVAC (**iskreno*), ne njegova kola.
IP → ForceP – VP – V – NP –(*ForceP) – NP
(6s) b. *Iskreno*, bolje da si mu tržila NOVAC (**iskreno*), a ne kola.
IP → ForceP – VP – NP – V – NP –(*ForceP) – NP

Honestly/iskreno may occur in post-subject position too, that is, within the complementizer layer, as in (7e) and (7s), or may follow the finite non-lexical verb, which is a clear case of its realization within the inflectional layer, as shown in (8e) and (8s). Sentences (7e) and (7s) demonstrate that English and Serbian structure patterns may occasionally overlap.

(7e) He *honestly* believes that you are his friend.
IP → NP – ForceP – V – CP
(7s) On *iskreno* veruje da si mu prijatelj.
IP → NP – ForceP – V – CP

(8e) He had never invited anyone to dinner at the house, for the simple reason that they never had anything he could *honestly* call dinner.
IP → Clause – NP– AuxP – ForceP – V – NP
(8s) On nikada nije nikoga pozvao u kuću na večeru iz jednostavnog razloga jer nikada nisu imali nešto što bi (on) mogao *iskreno* da nazove večerom.
IP → Clause – AuxP–(NP)– AuxP – ForceP – V – NP

Example (9e) illustrates that the illocutionary adverb *honestly* may occupy a postverbal position in English, whereas sentences (9s a, b) show that the adverb *iskreno* cannot assume this position in Serbian but may occur either in the post-subject position or the front sentence position. Limitations in adverb placement in different languages impose close consideration of adverb constraints in languages, because they help us specify the base positions of certain

adverb subclasses. Examples (9s a, b) therefore demonstrate that, in Serbian, typical positions for the illocutionary adverb are within the complementizer layer. Analysing distributional ranges of *briefly*-type adverbs and *honestly*-type adverbs, Haumann (2007:341) concludes that the distributional range of *briefly*-type adverbs is narrower than that of *honestly*-type adverbs, and that *briefly* is banned from positions lower than NegP (e.g. **They hadn't briefly been entertaining this stupid idea*) and nonfinite non-lexical verbs (e.g. **They will have seriously been (seriously*) *claiming that* …). These examples prove that illocutionary adverbs have the status of assertive operators which are inmates of the complementizer layer and which take scope over the entire proposition. Examples (9s a, b) support this claim for Serbian illocutionary adverb *iskreno*. To explain how English illocutionary adverbs are realized in postverbal position, Haumann (2007:341) maintains that they merge within empty **VP** structure, where they are licensed by forming a representational chain with the expletive assertion operator in specForce(Fin)P. She also shows later in her 2007 book that the empty **VP** structure may be applied to all speaker-oriented adverb subclasses which assume the final sentence-position.

(9e) I believe this is the shape of movie future, *honestly*.
IP → NP – V – CP – ForceP
(9s) a. Ja *iskreno* verujem da je ovo pravi oblik budućeg filma, **iskreno.*
IP → NP – ForceP – V – CP – *ForceP
(9s) b. *Iskreno* verujem da je ovo pravi oblik budućeg filma, **iskreno.*
IP → ForceP – V – CP – *ForceP

2.1.2. Evaluative Adverbs

Palmer (1968:12ff) and Ernst (2002:76) state that the speaker uses evaluative adverbs to evaluate a given state of affairs with respect to her/his standards. Haumann (2007:346f.) specifies constraints of evaluative adverbs. She shows that they are barred from occurring within the scope of interrogative operators (e.g. **Can he luckily take a joke*?), counterfactual operators (e.g. **Had he had more self-esteem, he luckily could have taken a joke*) and sentential negation (e.g. **He cannot luckily take a joke*), as well as from following focalized constituents (e.g. *Fortunately*, SO HOPELESS (**fortunately*) *was* (**fortunately*) [*his*] *attempt at shoplifting* [...] *that the manager finally let him go*), and nonfinite non-lexical verbs (**You should have ideally eaten less*). Ernst (2002:100) explains that the occurrence of evaluative adverbs in these cases would mean that the speaker creates a contradiction of the truth of the proposition. As evaluative adverbs take scope over true propositions, i.e. facts, they may be called factive operators. The relation between factivity and finiteness makes us understand that evaluative adverbs are merged as specifiers into FinP, below ForceP. To prove this, Haumann provides further evidence: evaluative adverbs occur within the scope of the declarative complementizer that (*I believe of course that ideally chimps should live freely …*), after relative operators (… s*he opened her new copy of the Church Times which fortunatelly she had in her bag*) and after topicalized constituents (*She said that) temptation, fortunately, she could resist*) (adapted from Haumann 2007:347).
The following examples show that evaluative adverbs may assume the sentence-initial position (10e, 10s a and 13s c), the post-subject position (10s b and 11e), the position after the finite non-lexical verb (11s, 12e, 12s and 13s b) and the sentence-final position (13e and 13s a). The adverb *ideally* has been translated as *najviše* in (12s), which suggests that the semantics of English sentences containing evaluative adverbs may result in adjectives in Serbian equivalents. As for the sentence-final occurrences of English evaluative adverbs, Haumann (2007:351) claims that they are not right-adjoined but are merged into structure as the complement of an empty verbal head, **V**, by forming a representational chain within the

factive operator in specEvalP. Examples (13s a, b, c) show that Serbian allows a more flexible adverb distribution and that the position of the adverb *nažalost* in syntactic structure does not change the meaning of the sentence. Examples (13s a, b) indicate that the adverb specifies the whole proposition, no matter whether it is placed at the beginning of the sentence or at the end of the sentence. That said, we can conclude that it is logical that the adverb is left-joined.

(10e) *Luckily*, she didn't come.
IP→ EvalP – NP – VP
(10s) a. *Srećom*, ona nije došla.
IP→ EvalP –NP–VP
(10s) b. Ona *srećom* nije došla.
IP→ NP–EvalP–VP

(11e) They *hopefully* realized how good he was.
IP→ NP– EvalP – V – CP
(11s) Oni su *srećom* shvatili koliko je on dobar.
IP→ NP–AuxP–EvalP – V –CP

(12e) They might *ideally* like to go on a tour of Italy.
IP→ NP–AuxP–EvalP – V– V –PP
(12s) Oni bi *možda* najviše voleli da obiđu Italiju.
IP→ NP–AuxP–AuxP – – V – V –NP

(13e) Tom turned up, *unfortunately*.
IP→ NP – VP –EvalP
(13s) a.Tom se pojavio, *nažalost.*
IP→ NP– VP –EvalP
(13s) b. Tom se *nažalost* pojavio.
IP→ NP–VP–EvalP– VP
‿ ‿
(13s) c. *Nažalost*, Tom se pojavio.
IP→ EvalP – NP – VP

2.1.3. Evidential Adverbs

Evidential adverbs express degrees of certitude of the speaker's subjective perception of the truth of a proposition. The evidential adverbs (EvidP) *obviously/očito* may be placed in the initial-sentence position in both languages, as in (14e) and (14s), though it is obvious that the rest of the sentence patterning differs in the two languages.

(14e) *Obviously* if you are worried about someone's safety, you should dial 999.
IP → EvidP – Clause – NP–AuxP–V–

(14s) *Očito* je da bi, ako ste zabrinuti za nečiju bezbednost, bilo potrebno da pozovete broj 999.
IP → EvidP–V– VP–Clause –VP – V –
‿ ‿
NP

In strings (15e) and (15s), the adverbs assume the post-subject position. These examples illustrate that English and Serbian can have nearly identical clause patterning with one apparent difference: in sentence (15e), the negation is over *self-control*, while in (15s) the negation is over the lexical verb.

(15e) Pat *obviously* has no self-control.
IP → NP – EvidP – V – NP

(15s) Pet *očigledno* ne vlada sobom.
IP → NP – EvidP – VP – NP

The adverbs *obviously/očigledno* may also occupy the position after the lexical verb, as shown in (16e) and (16s). These examples illustrate that English and Serbian sentences may share the same patterning.

(16e) He is *obviously* educated.
IP → NP – V – EvidP –
(16s) On je *očigledno* obrazovan.
IP → NP – V – EvidP –

Example (17e) contains the evidential adverb *surely*, placed at the end of the sentence. Haumann (2007:357) demonstrates that the evidential adverb is realized within empty structure **VP** and licensed by forming a representational chain with the expletive operator in specEvidP. In contrast, example (17s a) shows that *zaista* is barred from occurring in the final position, but can assume the position after the lexical verb, as illustrated by (17s b).

(17e) She is only a child, *surely.*
IP → NP–V–PrtP– NP –EvidP
(17s) a. Ona je samo dete, **zaista*.
IP → NP–V– PrtP–NP–*EvidP
(17s) b. Ona je *zaista* samo dete.
IP → NP–V–EvidP–PrtP–NP

2.1.4. Epistemic Adverbs

Biber et al. (1999:854) consider epistemic markers to be "adverbs which express the speaker's judgment about the certainty, reliability and limitations of the proposition." Haumann (2007:365) claims that *possibly* and *probably* "structurally, though probably not pragmatically, make perfect **VP**-inmates, and *maybe* as a head is barred from assuming a specifier position within **VP**." Our analysis presented below shows how these adverbs and their Serbian equivalents pattern.

Examples (18e) and (18s) demonstrate that the epistemic adverbs (EpiP) *possibly* and *moguće* may assume the initial sentence position, but cause different sentence patterning in the two languages analysed.

(18e) *Possibly*, Peter turned up.
IP → EpiP – NP – VP
(18s) *Moguće* je da se Petar pojavio.
IP → EpiP – V – VP – NP – V

Sentence (19e) illustrates that the adverb *probably* may occupy the post subject position. In (19s), the adverb *verovatno* appears in the front sentence position, although *Njima su verovatno bile potrebne glumice za tu vrstu stvari* is acceptable, where *verovatno* occurs within the inflectional layer.

(19e) They *probably* needed actresses for that sort of thing.
IP → NP – EpiP – VP – NP –PP
(19s) *Verovatno* su im bile potrebne glumice za tu vrstu stvari.
IP → EpiP – VP–NP –VP – NP –PP

Epistemic adverbs may assume the position between two auxiliaries too, as illustrated by (20e). The Serbian translation (20s) shows that *verovatno* occupies the position before the

negative form of the finite non-lexical verb. Example (20s) illustrates that Serbian sentences can contain two negations.

(20e) On reflection, none of the family could *possibly* have chosen it.
IP → PP – NP –AuxP – (EpiP) –AuxP – V – NP
(20s) Posle razmišljanja, niko od članova porodice *verovatno* ne bi to izabrao.
IP → PP – NP – (EpiP) – AuxP –NP – V

The adverb *possibly* may also appear in the postverbal position, as in (21e), whereas in the equivalent Serbian translation *verovatno* occurs in the sentence-initial position, as shown in (21s), and the terminal adverb *tada* is introduced to express the exact meaning of the sentence. In other words, example (21s) suggests that semantics has an impact on syntax and that it requires the inclusion of new elements into the sentence and changes its structure to a certain degree.

(21e) It was *possibly* the first time the BBC had had to take other eqipment out of service …
IP → NP– V– (EpiP) – Temp – NP – AuxP – V – V – NP –PP
(21s) *Veorovatno* je BBC tada morao prvi put da uzme drugu opremu van upotrebe …
IP → (EpiP) –V – NP–Temp–AuxP–Temp – V – NP – PP

Examples (22e) and (22s a) show that *maybe* and *možda* are not acceptable in the final sentence position, unless they are stylistically marked. In sentence (22s b), *možda* occurs in the sentence-initial position, although it is possible to say *On će me možda posetiti*, where *možda* occurs within the inflectional layer.

??? (22e) He'll look me up, *maybe*.
IP → NP –AuxP– VP– NP–VP–EpiP

??? (22s) a. Posetiće me, *možda*.
IP → VP –NP –EpiP
(22s) b. *Možda* će me posetiti.
IP → EpiP – AuxP–NP–VP

Example (23e), however, illustrates that *maybe* can occupy the initial position. Its equivalent in Serbian, *možda*, also assumes this position, as shown by (23s).

(23e) *Maybe* we even passed each other in the supermarket.
(23s) *Možda* smo čak prošli jedni pored drugih u samousluzi.

Maybe and *možda* preferably occur in the sentence-initial position and not in the epistemic adverb's base position within the inflectional layer, as Haumann (2007:361) also states for *maybe*. She explains that *maybe* originates as the head of EpiP and is too verbal-head-like, which helps us understand why *maybe* and *možda* act differently in syntax from other epistemic adverbs.

We would like to end this Section by pointing out that a framework for our analysis was found in Haumann's study (2007), which was built on the findings of her peers dealing with adverbs previously.

3. Conclusions

The investigation conducted in this paper suggests that all subclasses of speaker-oriented adverbs may be realized within the complementizer layer and the inflectional layer in both

languages, and that only some of them may occur in postverbal position. Examples, containing the illocutionary adverb *iskreno,* the evidential adverb *zaista* and the epistemic adverbs *možda* and *maybe* in the sentence final position, demonstrate that the adverbs analysed are barred from occurring in this position. The fact that *maybe* and *možda* do not preferably occupy the epistemic adverb's base position within the inflectional layer points to the conclusion that they are too verbal-head-like and that they originate as the head of EpiP. It is therefore possible to claim that English epistemic adverbs are in most cases integrated into the inflectional layer, and Serbian epistemic adverbs tend to occur in the sentence-initial position.

Our next conclusion refers to the interplay between adverb syntax and semantics. Example (21s) suggests that semantics has an impact on syntax, since it requires the inclusion of a new element into the sentence, which changes its structure.

General conclusions, related to structural differences between the two languages under discussion, are that English and Serbian adverbs do not basically overlap structurally, although there are cases when they share the same patterning. It has been illustrated, too, that Serbian allows subject omission and two negations in a sentence, whereas English does not, and that adverb distribution in Serbian is more flexible than in English.

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PHRASE STRUCTURE PATTERNING AND LICENSING FOR ENGLISH AND SERBIAN SPEAKER-ORIENTED ADVERB SUBCLASSES

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Abstract: *This paper attempts to set phrase structure rules for English and Serbian speaker-oriented adverb subclasses. Adverbs are looked at here as specifiers licensed by the semantic feature [ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE]. The results suggest that illocutionary, evaluative and evidential adverbs normally merge within the complementizer layer and the inflectional layer, and that English epistemic adverbs are in most cases preferably integrated into the inflectional layer, whereas Serbian epistemic adverbs tend to occur in the sentence-initial position.*
Keywords: *speaker-oriented adverbs in English and Serbian, their distribution and semantics, the functional specifier analysis and head feature licensing approach*

1. Introduction

The issue of adverb patterning and licensing has been closely analysed in linguistic theory basically within the framework of two distinct types of analysis of the interplay between adverb syntax and semantics. Proponents of the functional specifier analysis (cf. Laenzlinger 1996, 1998; Alexiadou 1997; Cinque 1999, 2004, among others) state that syntax determines semantics, whereas proponents of the adjunction approach (cf. Frey and Pittner 1999; Haider 2000, 2004; Ernst 2000, 2002, 2004a, 2004b, for instance) believe that semantics determines syntax. Linguists also differently explain the integration of adverbs into clause structure. If adverbs have argument status, they are considered to be complements. McConnell-Ginet (1982), Larson (1988) and Alexiadou (1997) analyse temporal, spatial, manner and completion adverbs as complements. Chomsky (1986:6) maintains that adjunction is possible only to a nonargument. Ernst (2002:67) shows, for example, that manner adverbs can merge into syntax as VP adjuncts if placed on a left-branch. Degree elements, quantifiers and negative constituents have been recategorized as functional heads. Rakowski and Travis (2000) view postverbal adverbs as functional heads (e.g. *She could investigate no longer*). Kayne (1994) illustrates that adverbs can integrate into syntactic structure as complements or specifiers. Cinque (1999) establishes canonical order of adverbs and claims that they merge into syntax as unique specifiers of designated functional projections. As speaker-oriented adverbs specify the whole proposition, they will be looked at in this paper as specifiers.

The main research objective of this study is to reveal structure patterning and licensing for speaker-oriented adverbs, *i.e.* their subclasses – illocutionary adverbs, evaluative adverbs, evidential adverbs and epistemic adverbs, and their base positions in the two languages under scrutiny. We assume that this investigation will help us establish phrase structure rules for English and Serbian speaker-oriented adverb subclasses, and better understand the interplay between adverb syntax and semantics. The analysis is expected to show that adverb

distribution in Serbian is more flexible than in English, and that English and Serbian adverbs do not basically overlap structurally. The theoretical concepts and key terms employed will be defined in the following sections.

2. Corpus, Method and Analysis

The corpus of this study is mainly built from English examples extracted from the BNC. Examples in English were selected based on speaker-oriented adverb positions in syntactic structure. Sentences in Serbian are translations of English examples.

The functional specifier analysis (see Cinque 1999; Haumann 2007) and head feature licensing approach (see Travis 1988) are employed to consider the interplay between adverb syntax and semantics. Throughout this paper, it has been assumed that each functional projection has its own specific semantic interpretation, and that adverbs enter into transparent semantic relations with the head of the functional projection they occur in. (For more details see Cinque 1999).

The starting point of the analysis is that adverbs have phrasal status. In accordance with this, certain abbreviations are used in the text. Some of them are specForce(Fin)P, which stands for specifier Force (Finite) Phrase, specEvalP – specifier Evaluative Phrase, specEvidP – specifier Evidential Phrase, IP – Inflection Phrase, where Inflection is the sentence, ForceP – Force Phrase, which hosts illocutionary adverbs, EvalP – Evaluative Phrase, where evaluative adverbs sit, EvidP – Evidential Phrase, into which evidential adverbs are merged, EpiP – Epistemic Phrase, where epistemic adverbs occur, CP – Complementizer Phrase, NegP – sentence-negating phrase, etc. The phrases ForceP, EvalP, EvidP and EpiP represent, thus, the licensing sites of adverbs, with adverbs entering into a transparent semantic relationship with their licensing functional heads.

Co-occurrences of adverbs are not explored here, though they certainly deserve thorough examination to help us better understand adverb licensing (see, for instance, Cinque 1999, 2004; Ernst 2002; Haumann 2007; Dimković-Telebaković 2011; Dimković-Telebaković 2013; Dimković-Telebaković 2015).

In Section 2.1, we discuss different speaker-oriented adverb subclasses. The results of the investigation presented in this paper are summarised in Section 3.

2.1. Speaker-oriented Adverbs and Their Patterning in English and Serbian

Speaker-oriented adverbs have received this label because they express the speaker's attitude to the event denoted by the sentence (cf. Jackendoff 1972:56). They are also called pragmatic adverbs (cf. Bellert 1977:349) or stance adverbs (see Biber et al. 1999). As speaker-oriented adverbs are syntactically and semantically heterogeneous, we follow Bellert's (1977:341ff.) classification mainly based on semantic criteria, and examine a number of illocutionary adverbs, evaluative adverbs, evidential adverbs and epistemic adverbs here. The strings below show that speaker-oriented adverbs are licensed by the semantic feature [ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE] (cf. Travis 1988:290), and how they may pattern in English and Serbian.

2.1.1. Illocutionary Adverbs

Bellert (1977:349ff.) maintains that illocutionary adverbs either specify the content of the proposition (e.g. *honestly*, *frankly* – *honestly*-type adverbs) or the way in which it is expressed, i.e. the form (e.g. *briefly*, *roughly* – *briefly*-type adverbs). To corroborate the assumption that illocutionary adverbs sit in specForce(Fin)P and are licensed under specifier-head agreement, Haumann (2007:339) illustrates that they fail to occur within the scope of

relative operators (e.g. **On the way down I fell over a man hiding in a dark corner, who roughly ran away immediately*), conditional operators (e.g. **Had she not been so downhearted briefly Ruth would have enjoyed herself*) and interrogative operators (e.g. **I wonder if frankly that would have helped*). These examples show that illocutionary adverbs depend on Force-related features, and that can be analysed as assertive operators.
Sentences (1e) and (1s a, b) demonstrate that the illocutionary adverbs (ForceP) *frankly/iskreno*, *otvoreno* may be used in the sentence-initial position, i.e specForce(Fin)P. If this is the case, it is significant to say that Serbian sentence patterning allows the subject omission, as shown in (1s b), (2s b), (3s b), (4s b), (5s b) and (9s b), whereas English structure patterning does not.

(1e) *Frankly*, I don't have much faith in the aunt.
IP → ForceP – NP –AuxP– V – NP – PP
(1s) a. *Iskreno* / *Da kažem otvoreno*, ja nemam mnogo poverenja u tetku.
IP → ForceP / ForceP –NP – V – NP – PP
(1s) b. *Iskreno* / *Da kažem otvoreno*, nemam mnogo poverenja u tetku.
IP → ForceP / ForceP – V – NP – PP

In sentence (2e), *frankly* assumes the post-subject position, while *otvoreno* in example (2s a) occurs within the inflectional layer, and in (2s b) in the front sentence position.

(2e) He *frankly* admitted to being obsessed with her sex …
IP → NP – ForceP – V – VP – PP
(2s) a. On je *otvoreno* priznao da je opsednut njenom privlačnošću …
IP → NP–AuxP – ForceP – V – VP – NP
(2s) b. *Otvoreno* je priznao da je opsednut njenom privlačnošću …
IP → ForceP – AuxP – V – VP – NP

Frankly can also appear after the finite non-lexical verb, as in (3e). The adverbs *neskriveno* and *iskreno* are realized within the inflectional layer too, which is illustrated by (3s a, b). Sentence (3e) has two meanings here, since *frankly baffled* may be translated as *neskriveno osujećen* or *iskreno zbunjen*. Example (3s b) *Bio je iskreno zbunjen* shows that if a sentence contains no subject it can open with a verb in Serbian. Further investigation into adverbs in this paper will demonstrate that Serbian typically patterns in this way.

(3e) He was *frankly* baffled …
IP → NP – AuxP – ForceP – V –
(3s) a. On je bio *neskriveno* osujećen …
IP → NP–AuxP–V – ForceP –
(3s) b. Bio je *iskreno* zbunjen …
IP → V– AuxP – ForceP –

In strings (4e) and (4s a, b), we show that these illocutionary adverbs may follow the finite non-lexical verb, and have different structure patterning in the two languages.

(4e) They can *frankly* ask him for a favour.
IP → NP –AuxP-ForceP–V–NP –PP
(4s) a. Oni ga mogu *otvoreno* zamoliti za uslugu.
IP → NP–NP–AuxP–ForceP – V –PP
(4s) b. Mogu ga *otvoreno* zamoliti za uslugu.
IP → AuxP–NP–ForceP – V –PP

If we compare examples (2e) and (4e) with Haumann's (2007:342f.) examples, containing subject-oriented adverbs and subject-attitude adverbs, we can see that Haumann is right in claiming that *frankly*-type illocutionary adverbs, i.e. *honestly*-type illocutionary

adverbs, overlap with subject-oriented adverbs and subject-attitude adverbs. This comparison confirms Haumann's findings and shows that it is not easy to identify base positions for different adverb subclasses, since they may overlap.

Strings (5e) and (5s a, b) illustrate that *frankly*-type illocutionary adverbs may be found in the final-sentence position too, but we must point out that sentence (5s b) sounds more natural in Serbian than (5s a). In contrast, sentence (5e) shows that English does not allow structure patterning which excludes the subject of the sentence.

(5e) I can tell you quite *frankly*.
IP → NP –AuxP – V – NP – ForceP
(5s) a. Ja ti mogu reći sasvim *otvoreno*.
IP → NP–NP –AuxP – V – ForceP
(5s) b. Mogu ti reći sasvim *otvoreno*.
IP → AuxP–NP – V – ForceP

Examples (6e) and (6s a, b) contain the illocutionary adverbs *honestly* and *iskreno*. These sequences show that the adverbs may assume the initial sentence position when they precede focalized expressions, but cannot follow such expressions. Haumann (2007:340) also provides evidence to support this claim, and illustrates that illocutionary adverbs cannot follow topicalized constituents, but can precede them. This confirms her assumption that illocutionary adverbs are inmates of specForce(Fin)P. Sentences (6s a, b), on the other hand, demonstrate that Serbian has different sentence patterning than English in cases when the illocutionary adverb *iskreno* is followed by focalized expression.

(6e) *Honestly*, HIS MONEY (**honestly*) you should have asked for, not his car.
IP → ForceP – NP – (*ForceP) –NP – AuxP– AuxP– VP – NP
(6s) a. *Iskreno*, trebalo je da tražiš NJEGOV NOVAC (**iskreno*), ne njegova kola.
IP → ForceP – VP – V – NP –(*ForceP) – NP
(6s) b. *Iskreno*, bolje da si mu tržila NOVAC (**iskreno*), a ne kola.
IP → ForceP – VP – NP – V – NP –(*ForceP) – NP

Honestly/iskreno may occur in post-subject position too, that is, within the complementizer layer, as in (7e) and (7s), or may follow the finite non-lexical verb, which is a clear case of its realization within the inflectional layer, as shown in (8e) and (8s). Sentences (7e) and (7s) demonstrate that English and Serbian structure patterns may occasionally overlap.

(7e) He *honestly* believes that you are his friend.
IP → NP – ForceP – V – CP
(7s) On *iskreno* veruje da si mu prijatelj.
IP → NP – ForceP – V – CP

(8e) He had never invited anyone to dinner at the house, for the simple reason that they never had anything he could *honestly* call dinner.
IP → Clause – NP– AuxP – ForceP – V – NP
(8s) On nikada nije nikoga pozvao u kuću na večeru iz jednostavnog razloga jer nikada nisu imali nešto što bi (on) mogao *iskreno* da nazove večerom.
IP → Clause – AuxP–(NP)– AuxP – ForceP – V – NP

Example (9e) illustrates that the illocutionary adverb *honestly* may occupy a postverbal position in English, whereas sentences (9s a, b) show that the adverb *iskreno* cannot assume this position in Serbian but may occur either in the post-subject position or the front sentence position. Limitations in adverb placement in different languages impose close consideration of adverb constraints in languages, because they help us specify the base positions of certain

adverb subclasses. Examples (9s a, b) therefore demonstrate that, in Serbian, typical positions for the illocutionary adverb are within the complementizer layer. Analysing distributional ranges of *briefly*-type adverbs and *honestly*-type adverbs, Haumann (2007:341) concludes that the distributional range of *briefly*-type adverbs is narrower than that of *honestly*-type adverbs, and that *briefly* is banned from positions lower than NegP (e.g. **They hadn't briefly been entertaining this stupid idea*) and nonfinite non-lexical verbs (e.g. **They will have seriously been (seriously*) *claiming that* …). These examples prove that illocutionary adverbs have the status of assertive operators which are inmates of the complementizer layer and which take scope over the entire proposition. Examples (9s a, b) support this claim for Serbian illocutionary adverb *iskreno*. To explain how English illocutionary adverbs are realized in postverbal position, Haumann (2007:341) maintains that they merge within empty **VP** structure, where they are licensed by forming a representational chain with the expletive assertion operator in specForce(Fin)P. She also shows later in her 2007 book that the empty **VP** structure may be applied to all speaker-oriented adverb subclasses which assume the final sentence-position.

(9e) I believe this is the shape of movie future, *honestly*.
IP → NP – V – CP – ForceP
(9s) a. Ja *iskreno* verujem da je ovo pravi oblik budućeg filma, **iskreno.*
IP → NP – ForceP – V – CP – *ForceP
(9s) b. *Iskreno* verujem da je ovo pravi oblik budućeg filma, **iskreno.*
IP → ForceP – V – CP – *ForceP

2.1.2. Evaluative Adverbs

Palmer (1968:12ff) and Ernst (2002:76) state that the speaker uses evaluative adverbs to evaluate a given state of affairs with respect to her/his standards. Haumann (2007:346f.) specifies constraints of evaluative adverbs. She shows that they are barred from occurring within the scope of interrogative operators (e.g. **Can he luckily take a joke*?), counterfactual operators (e.g. **Had he had more self-esteem, he luckily could have taken a joke*) and sentential negation (e.g. **He cannot luckily take a joke*), as well as from following focalized constituents (e.g. *Fortunately*, SO HOPELESS (**fortunately*) *was* (**fortunately*) [*his*] *attempt at shoplifting* [...] *that the manager finally let him go*), and nonfinite non-lexical verbs (**You should have ideally eaten less*). Ernst (2002:100) explains that the occurrence of evaluative adverbs in these cases would mean that the speaker creates a contradiction of the truth of the proposition. As evaluative adverbs take scope over true propositions, i.e. facts, they may be called factive operators. The relation between factivity and finiteness makes us understand that evaluative adverbs are merged as specifiers into FinP, below ForceP. To prove this, Haumann provides further evidence: evaluative adverbs occur within the scope of the declarative complementizer that (*I believe of course that ideally chimps should live freely …*), after relative operators (… s*he opened her new copy of the Church Times which fortunatelly she had in her bag*) and after topicalized constituents (*She said that) temptation, fortunately, she could resist*) (adapted from Haumann 2007:347).
The following examples show that evaluative adverbs may assume the sentence-initial position (10e, 10s a and 13s c), the post-subject position (10s b and 11e), the position after the finite non-lexical verb (11s, 12e, 12s and 13s b) and the sentence-final position (13e and 13s a). The adverb *ideally* has been translated as *najviše* in (12s), which suggests that the semantics of English sentences containing evaluative adverbs may result in adjectives in Serbian equivalents. As for the sentence-final occurrences of English evaluative adverbs, Haumann (2007:351) claims that they are not right-adjoined but are merged into structure as the complement of an empty verbal head, **V**, by forming a representational chain within the

factive operator in specEvalP. Examples (13s a, b, c) show that Serbian allows a more flexible adverb distribution and that the position of the adverb *nažalost* in syntactic structure does not change the meaning of the sentence. Examples (13s a, b) indicate that the adverb specifies the whole proposition, no matter whether it is placed at the beginning of the sentence or at the end of the sentence. That said, we can conclude that it is logical that the adverb is left-joined.

(10e) *Luckily*, she didn't come.
IP→ EvalP – NP – VP
(10s) a. *Srećom*, ona nije došla.
IP→ EvalP –NP–VP
(10s) b. Ona *srećom* nije došla.
IP→ NP–EvalP–VP

(11e) They *hopefully* realized how good he was.
IP→ NP– EvalP – V – CP
(11s) Oni su *srećom* shvatili koliko je on dobar.
IP→ NP–AuxP–EvalP – V –CP

(12e) They might *ideally* like to go on a tour of Italy.
IP→ NP–AuxP–EvalP – V– V –PP
(12s) Oni bi *možda* najviše voleli da obiđu Italiju.
IP→ NP–AuxP–AuxP – – V – V –NP

(13e) Tom turned up, *unfortunately*.
IP→ NP – VP –EvalP
(13s) a.Tom se pojavio, *nažalost.*
IP→ NP– VP –EvalP
(13s) b. Tom se *nažalost* pojavio.
IP→ NP–VP–EvalP– VP
‿ ‿
(13s) c. *Nažalost*, Tom se pojavio.
IP→ EvalP – NP – VP

2.1.3. Evidential Adverbs

Evidential adverbs express degrees of certitude of the speaker's subjective perception of the truth of a proposition. The evidential adverbs (EvidP) *obviously/očito* may be placed in the initial-sentence position in both languages, as in (14e) and (14s), though it is obvious that the rest of the sentence patterning differs in the two languages.

(14e) *Obviously* if you are worried about someone's safety, you should dial 999.
IP → EvidP – Clause – NP–AuxP–V–

(14s) *Očito* je da bi, ako ste zabrinuti za nečiju bezbednost, bilo potrebno da pozovete broj 999.
IP → EvidP–V– VP–Clause –VP – V –
‿ ‿
NP

In strings (15e) and (15s), the adverbs assume the post-subject position. These examples illustrate that English and Serbian can have nearly identical clause patterning with one apparent difference: in sentence (15e), the negation is over *self-control*, while in (15s) the negation is over the lexical verb.

(15e) Pat *obviously* has no self-control.
IP → NP – EvidP – V – NP

(15s) Pet *očigledno* ne vlada sobom.
IP → NP – EvidP – VP – NP

The adverbs *obviously/očigledno* may also occupy the position after the lexical verb, as shown in (16e) and (16s). These examples illustrate that English and Serbian sentences may share the same patterning.

(16e) He is *obviously* educated.
IP → NP – V – EvidP –
(16s) On je *očigledno* obrazovan.
IP → NP – V – EvidP –

Example (17e) contains the evidential adverb *surely*, placed at the end of the sentence. Haumann (2007:357) demonstrates that the evidential adverb is realized within empty structure **VP** and licensed by forming a representational chain with the expletive operator in specEvidP. In contrast, example (17s a) shows that *zaista* is barred from occurring in the final position, but can assume the position after the lexical verb, as illustrated by (17s b).

(17e) She is only a child, *surely.*
IP → NP–V–PrtP– NP –EvidP
(17s) a. Ona je samo dete, **zaista*.
IP → NP–V– PrtP–NP–*EvidP
(17s) b. Ona je *zaista* samo dete.
IP → NP–V–EvidP–PrtP–NP

2.1.4. Epistemic Adverbs

Biber et al. (1999:854) consider epistemic markers to be "adverbs which express the speaker's judgment about the certainty, reliability and limitations of the proposition." Haumann (2007:365) claims that *possibly* and *probably* "structurally, though probably not pragmatically, make perfect **VP**-inmates, and *maybe* as a head is barred from assuming a specifier position within **VP**." Our analysis presented below shows how these adverbs and their Serbian equivalents pattern.

Examples (18e) and (18s) demonstrate that the epistemic adverbs (EpiP) *possibly* and *moguće* may assume the initial sentence position, but cause different sentence patterning in the two languages analysed.

(18e) *Possibly*, Peter turned up.
IP → EpiP – NP – VP
(18s) *Moguće* je da se Petar pojavio.
IP → EpiP – V – VP – NP – V

Sentence (19e) illustrates that the adverb *probably* may occupy the post subject position. In (19s), the adverb *verovatno* appears in the front sentence position, although *Njima su verovatno bile potrebne glumice za tu vrstu stvari* is acceptable, where *verovatno* occurs within the inflectional layer.

(19e) They *probably* needed actresses for that sort of thing.
IP → NP – EpiP – VP – NP –PP
(19s) *Verovatno* su im bile potrebne glumice za tu vrstu stvari.
IP → EpiP – VP–NP –VP – NP –PP

Epistemic adverbs may assume the position between two auxiliaries too, as illustrated by (20e). The Serbian translation (20s) shows that *verovatno* occupies the position before the

negative form of the finite non-lexical verb. Example (20s) illustrates that Serbian sentences can contain two negations.

(20e) On reflection, none of the family could *possibly* have chosen it.
IP → PP – NP –AuxP – (EpiP) –AuxP – V – NP
(20s) Posle razmišljanja, niko od članova porodice *verovatno* ne bi to izabrao.
IP → PP – NP – (EpiP) – AuxP –NP – V

The adverb *possibly* may also appear in the postverbal position, as in (21e), whereas in the equivalent Serbian translation *verovatno* occurs in the sentence-initial position, as shown in (21s), and the terminal adverb *tada* is introduced to express the exact meaning of the sentence. In other words, example (21s) suggests that semantics has an impact on syntax and that it requires the inclusion of new elements into the sentence and changes its structure to a certain degree.

(21e) It was *possibly* the first time the BBC had had to take other eqipment out of service …
IP → NP– V– (EpiP) – Temp – NP – AuxP – V – V – NP –PP
(21s) *Veorovatno* je BBC tada morao prvi put da uzme drugu opremu van upotrebe …
IP → (EpiP) –V – NP–Temp–AuxP–Temp – V – NP – PP

Examples (22e) and (22s a) show that *maybe* and *možda* are not acceptable in the final sentence position, unless they are stylistically marked. In sentence (22s b), *možda* occurs in the sentence-initial position, although it is possible to say *On će me možda posetiti*, where *možda* occurs within the inflectional layer.

??? (22e) He'll look me up, *maybe*.
IP → NP –AuxP– VP– NP–VP–EpiP

??? (22s) a. Posetiće me, *možda*.
IP → VP –NP –EpiP
(22s) b. *Možda* će me posetiti.
IP → EpiP – AuxP–NP–VP

Example (23e), however, illustrates that *maybe* can occupy the initial position. Its equivalent in Serbian, *možda*, also assumes this position, as shown by (23s).

(23e) *Maybe* we even passed each other in the supermarket.
(23s) *Možda* smo čak prošli jedni pored drugih u samousluzi.

Maybe and *možda* preferably occur in the sentence-initial position and not in the epistemic adverb's base position within the inflectional layer, as Haumann (2007:361) also states for *maybe*. She explains that *maybe* originates as the head of EpiP and is too verbal-head-like, which helps us understand why *maybe* and *možda* act differently in syntax from other epistemic adverbs.

We would like to end this Section by pointing out that a framework for our analysis was found in Haumann's study (2007), which was built on the findings of her peers dealing with adverbs previously.

3. Conclusions

The investigation conducted in this paper suggests that all subclasses of speaker-oriented adverbs may be realized within the complementizer layer and the inflectional layer in both

languages, and that only some of them may occur in postverbal position. Examples, containing the illocutionary adverb *iskreno,* the evidential adverb *zaista* and the epistemic adverbs *možda* and *maybe* in the sentence final position, demonstrate that the adverbs analysed are barred from occurring in this position. The fact that *maybe* and *možda* do not preferably occupy the epistemic adverb's base position within the inflectional layer points to the conclusion that they are too verbal-head-like and that they originate as the head of EpiP. It is therefore possible to claim that English epistemic adverbs are in most cases integrated into the inflectional layer, and Serbian epistemic adverbs tend to occur in the sentence-initial position.

Our next conclusion refers to the interplay between adverb syntax and semantics. Example (21s) suggests that semantics has an impact on syntax, since it requires the inclusion of a new element into the sentence, which changes its structure.

General conclusions, related to structural differences between the two languages under discussion, are that English and Serbian adverbs do not basically overlap structurally, although there are cases when they share the same patterning. It has been illustrated, too, that Serbian allows subject omission and two negations in a sentence, whereas English does not, and that adverb distribution in Serbian is more flexible than in English.

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SYNTACTIC AND LEXICAL COMPLEXITY OF B2 LISTENING COMPREHENSION SUBTESTS IN ENGLISH: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Abstract: *Adopting Weir's (2005) socio-cognitive validation framework, the present paper focuses on the syntactic and lexical complexity of listening comprehension subtests in three B2-level examinations: The City Guilds international examination in English, The First Certificate in English, and the General Matura in English. By analysing and interpreting the results obtained from different automated tools, the research aims to determine to what extent the three subtests are comparable. The results of the study suggest the unreliability of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) as a sole mechanism for test comparisons.*
Keywords: *context validity, lexical complexity, listening comprehension texts, syntactic complexity*

1. Introduction

The question of test comparability has long been topical in the field of language testing. Since its publication, the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) has been increasingly used to facilitate attempts to compare the target levels of different language tests. Ostensibly, by establishing common levels of reference, the CEFR made it possible for both the test-developers and test-takers to identify the proficiency levels expected, tested and awarded. However, since tests are designed to meet different objectives and to assess knowledge of different populations, it remains questionable to what extent two (or more) tests targeting the same CEFR level are truly comparable.

As it is an established fact that any comparability analysis of language tests should encompass a wide array of factors (Taylor 2004), a number of proposals that also entail components not necessarily included in the CEFR have been developed. An oft-quoted example of such a model is Weir's (2005) socio-cognitive validation framework, which focuses on different types of test score validity. The aim of the analysis presented herein is to focus only on one segment of this elaborate validation framework in three B2-level examinations: the City Guilds international examination in English (C&G), The First Certificate in English (FCE), and the General Matura in English (GM). Our main objective is to establish to what extent the three examination subtests are comparable in terms of their syntactic and lexical complexity and to investigate how these factors relate to the test-providers' claims that their test targets the B2 CEFR level. The analysis mostly draws on the results obtained from automated tools (VocabProfile 6.2, Coh-Metrix Version 3.0).

2. Test (Score) Validity: Basic Tenets

In the field of language assessment, the concept of test validity pertains to the critical exploration of how meaningful a test score is. According to Weir (2005:12), the most basic definition of validity, which continues to be relevant today, can be traced to psychologist Truman L. Kelley, who already in 1927 stated that "the problem of validity is that of whether a test really measures what it purports to measure" (quoted in Weir 2005:12). Although some researchers and practitioners in the field still subscribe to this basic, unitary description of validity, there are those who have elaborated the concept further and developed models that distinguish between several types or aspects of validity (e.g., American Psychological Association et al. 1954; Messick 1995; Weir 2005).

As a non-unitary approach, Weir's (2005) socio-cognitive framework enables a broad comparison of heterogeneous tests, and thus takes into account the oft-reported inadequacy of relying solely on CEFR descriptors when comparing tests that are based on different constructs (see Alderson et al. 2004; Jones 2009; Ilc and Stopar 2015 among others). This framework draws on evidence from different types of validity, five of which are presented below.

Perhaps the most fundamental type of validity is "theory-based validity" (also referred to as "construct validity") as it is related to ensuring a match between the theoretical construct and the test. For instance, if the listening comprehension construct includes only listening for detail, the test should not elicit answers measuring other listening skills, such as listening for main idea. Related to this concept is "criterion-related validity", which is established by correlating test performances with a valid external measure of the same construct – usually this can be some other test measuring the same skill. To continue, "scoring validity" covers what some authors describe as "reliability", i.e., it refers to statistical analyses of the test that provide the test providers information with regard to the degree to which they depend on the test results. Another type of validity is "consequential validity", which takes into account the wider social consequences of testing: the perception of the test scores by the stakeholders, the backwash of the test, and such. See Weir (2005) for more on these types of validity.

For the purposes of the analysis presented in this article, it is assumed that the listening subtests under investigation here are not disputable with regard to the types of validity described thus far. Namely, the C&G, the FCE, and the GM are analysed merely from the perspective of "context validity", which is sometimes also referred to as "content validity". Weir (2005:19) defines it as follows:

> Context validity is concerned with the extent to which the choice of tasks in a test is representative of the larger universe of tasks of which the test is assumed to be a sample. This coverage relates to linguistic and interlocutor demands made by the task(s) as well as the conditions under which the task is performed arising from both the task itself and its administrative setting.

Broadly speaking, a contextually valid test score is feasible if the test situation is made as similar as possible to real-life situations. In line with Weir's definition above, this includes taking into account a variety of linguistic, content-related and other demands, such as: the rubric; authenticity of texts and activities; selection of task-types; ordering of items in a task; assessment information; the setting for and the administration of the test; and various features of the texts selected for the examination such as length, genre, structure, lexical difficulty, structural demands, etc. Some other contextual factors also include the constraints on timing, speech rates, the nature of information in the text (abstract vs. concrete), the amount of background/content knowledge required to do the tasks, the type of input provided, the type of output required, the communicative functions required, and so forth (see Weir 2005 for

additional examples). The emphasis of the present analysis is, however, predominantly on lexical and structural components of context validity.

3. Contextually Valid Texts: Lexical and Syntactic Aspects

With regard to the selection of contextually valid listening comprehension texts, text features such as vocabulary selection, text/task length, and syntactic complexity are paramount.

Buck (2001:15) defines the process of understanding words as including the basic stages of recognising the word and understanding its meaning. As this process also relies on contextual knowledge, word-frequency is a significant factor to consider in the selection of texts. Buck (2001:16) summarizes Garnham's (1985) findings that "higher-frequency words are recognised faster than lower frequency words," and that "word recognition is faster if the words are in a helpful context." Related to this, Buck (2001:170) also warns that slang and less frequent words should be avoided, especially when testing lower-ability students. Weir (2005:78) further substantiates these claims by quoting Bond and Garnes, who showed that "[i]n listening, low-frequency lexical items are less likely to be recognized or more likely to be misheard." Consequently, Weir (2005:78) suggests that item writers should always investigate whether "the input or out text require knowledge of too many unknown lexical items." While recent research (e.g., Matthews and Cheng 2015) suggests that high-frequency words only partially account for the variance in the listening comprehension scores, the negative impact of low-frequency/unknown vocabulary seems to remain undisputed. Kobeleva's (2012) study, for instance, shows that even the presence of unknown proper names in a listening comprehension text can negatively affect the performance of test-takers.

The length of texts is frequently perceived as an important element of listening comprehension tests (e.g., Alderson 2006 and Rost 2006). However, according to Bloomfield et al. (2011:2317-2318), empirical studies in second language listening comprehension so far have failed to show a strong connection between passage length and item difficulty. The reason for this lies in the fact that text length is not always indicative of the amount of information a text contains. In addition, other factors, such as the amount of repetition, discourse type and speech rate, make it difficult to make any conclusive claims about the effect of text length alone. In spite of this, research has shown that "[l]onger texts will tend to require discourse skills, whereas shorter texts will tend to focus more on localised grammatical characteristics" (Buck 2001:123). Thus, the length of the text in most cases determines the type of skills and strategies you can test (Weir 2005:74).

Structural characteristics are also a contributing factor when tackling context validity. In his seminal book on assessing reading, Alderson (2000:37) emphasizes the importance of "the ability to parse sentences into their correct syntactic structure," while Shiotsu and Weir (2007) even produce evidence that syntactic knowledge may be more important for predicting reading test performance than vocabulary. Similar claims have been made for the listening skill: already in 1990, Rost pointed out the role of listener familiarity with syntactic patterns used in the listening text and concluded that unexpected patterns may hinder comprehension. Thus, when considering listening comprehension, claims Buck (2001:10), it should be taken into account that in spoken language idea units tend to be shorter with simpler syntax; for instance, they typically contain fewer dependent and subordinate clauses. Also important in this respect are various connectives – their role as discourse markers has been widely discussed since the ground-breaking work of Halliday and Hasan (1976) on cohesion in English. Buck (2001:10) states that, in listening texts, idea units in spoken language are strung together relatively simply by coordinating conjunctions such as "and", "or", and "but". Furthermore, McNamara et al. (2014) observe that the overall high frequency of connectives

and discourse markers adds positively to the cohesion and text ease. In particular, the authors (2014:36) point out that this is especially the case with the causal connectives (e.g., "because" and "so") and logical connectives (e.g., "or", "if" and "then"): high incidence of causal and logical connectives is directly linked to high cohesion.

To conclude the introductory section, let us quote Alderson's observation (2000:70-71) on some aspects of contextual validity: "[c]learly at some level the syntax and lexis of texts will contribute to text and thus difficulty, but the interaction among syntactic, lexical, discourse and topic variables is such that no one variable can be shown to be paramount." We believe that our validation study adds positively to a better understanding of these factors and their interdependencies.

4. Study

4.1. The Context

The present study examines three listening comprehension subtests, for which the test providers claim that they are aligned with the B2 level of the CEFR scale. The subtests under investigation are: (i) The First Certificate in English (FCE), (ii) The City Guilds international examination in English (C&G), and (iii) the General Matura in English (GM). The first two are ESOL examinations administered internationally, whereas the GM is a secondary school leaving examination administered on the national level. The structure of the three subtests is presented in Table 1.

		Task-Type	**Text-Type**	**Items**	**Target**
FCE	Part 1	multiple-choice	8 short dialogues	8	gist/detail
	Part 2	gap-fill	monologue	10	detail
	Part 3	matching	5 short monologues	5	gist
	Part 4	multiple-choice	interview	7	overall comp. ability
C&G	Part 1	multiple-choice	8 short dialogues	8	gist
	Part 2	multiple-choice	3 dialogues	6	gist
	Part 3	completion	monologue	8	detail
	Part 4	multiple-choice	conversation	8	overall comp. ability
GM	Part 1	T/F	interview	9	detail
	Part 2	short answers	interview	8	overall comp. ability

Table 1. The internal structure of the listening subtests

4.2. Instruments

To determine the syntactic and lexical complexity of the three listening comprehension subtests, two automated text-analysis tools were used: VocabProfile version 6.2 (Cobb, n.d.; Heatley et al. 2002), and Coh-Metrix Version 3.0 (McNamara et al. 2005). VocabProfile version 6.2 was applied to determine the lexical frequency and consequently lexical complexity, whereas Coh-Metrix Version 3.0 was employed to detect lexical diversity, word information, connectives, syntactic complexity, syntactic pattern density, and readability. All of the listed categories play an important role in determining the context validity within Weir's (2005) validation framework.

Prior to the analysis, the three listening subtests were word-processed and saved as plain text. Since they involve reading comprehension as well (i.e., understanding questions),

each subtest was divided into two parts: (i) the questions (Q), and (ii) the tapescripts (T) to minimize the influence of the reading input on the final results.

4.3. Results

VocabProfile version 6.2 was applied to the three subtests for questions and tapescripts. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 2.

	FCE		C&G		GM	
BNC levels	**Q**	**T**	**Q**	**T**	**Q**	**T**
k1	83.13	87.02	89.00	91.91	68.15	84.01
k2	8.35	5.90	4.63	3.39	7.01	5.53
k3	1.70	1.87	2.12	1.18	6.37	2.36
k4	0.51	0.73	0.39	0.28	3.82	0.94
k5	-	0.24	0.58	0.45	-	0.67
k6	0.68	0.28	-	0.11	0.64	0.34
k7	0.68	0.85	0.19	-	0.64	0.34
k8	1.36	0.57	0.39	0.06	-	0.61
k9	-	-	-	0.11	-	0.13
k10	-	-	-	0.06	-	0.07
k11	-	-	-	-	-	0.27
k12	-	-	-	-	-	-
k13	-	-	-	-	-	0.07
k14	-	-	-	-	-	0.07
k15-k20	-	-	-	-	-	-
OFF-list	3.58	2.52	2.51	1.91	13.38	4.39

Table 2. Values of the VocabProfile analysis

The k1– k20 levels in Table 2 correspond to the word list frequency levels as set by the British National Corpus: level k1 (1,000-word level) contains basic and frequently used words, whereas level k20 (20,000-word level) contains low frequency words. The Vocabprofile analysis shows that the tapescripts of the three listening subtests mostly contain k1, k2 and k3 lexical items (from 92%-96% overall). Proportionally, the GM has a slightly lower percentage of the k1 items, and the highest percentage of the k3 items. The GM also contains some lexical items belonging to categories k11, k13 and k14, as well as several geographical and proper names which the Vocabprofile listed as off-list (e.g., *Zanzibar, Shirley*). The C&G has the highest number of k1 items (91.91% in the T section); however, contrary to the FCE, which is limited to k1-k8 items, the G&C also contains k9 and k10 items. The vocabulary of the Q section is comparable to that of the T section, and in none of the analysed subtests are the lexical items more difficult in the Q section than in the T section.

Next, the Coh-Metrix analysis of the three subtests (questions and tapescripts separately) was applied, the results of which are presented in Table 3.

	FCE	C&G	GM

	Q	T	Q	T	Q	T
DESCRIPTIVE						
Word count, number of words	588	2461	528	1795	160	1488
LEXICAL DIVERSITY						
Lexical diversity, type-token ratio, all words	0.462	0.322	0.471	0.317	0.648	0.346
Lexical diversity, MTLD, all words	62.835	110.98	53.619	90.714	77.345	66.924
Lexical diversity, VOCD, all words	83.966	128.99	106.806	116.314	89.15	89.8
CONNECTIVES, incidence						
All connectives	49.32	87.769	49.242	88.579	12.50	94.086
Causal connectives	28.912	33.32	20.833	26.741	25.00	18.817
Logical connectives	20.408	44.697	28.409	52.925	6.25	35.618
Adversative and contrastive connectives	1.701	14.222	9.47	21.17	6.25	14.113
Temporal connectives	11.905	18.285	11.364	25.07	0,00	14.785
Expanded temporal connectives	25.51	26.818	26.515	25.07	12.50	14.785
Additive connectives	10.204	38.196	22.727	35.655	0	65.86
SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY						
Left embeddedness, words before main verb, mean	1.176	0.93	0.702	1.564	2.647	2.273
Number of modifiers per noun phrase, mean	0.71	0.516	0.694	0.474	1.116	0.671
SYNTACTIC PATTERN DENSITY, incidence						
Noun phrase density	365.646	386.835	371.212	372.145	350	387.769
Verb phrase density	246.599	239.334	253.788	223.955	156.25	178.091
Adverbial phrase density	11.905	39.821	51.136	69.638	6.25	50.403
Preposition phrase density	129.252	92.239	49.242	75.766	100.00	117.608
Agentless passive voice density	11.905	2.032	1.894	0.557	6.25	4.032
Negation density	5.102	8.939	7.576	9.471	0.00	9.409
WORD INFORMATION, incidence						
Noun	250	223.487	276.515	191.087	368.75	229.166
Verb	153.061	134.905	181.818	134.819	131.25	118.279
Adjective	54.421	67.453	66.288	62.953	93.75	55.107
Adverb	25.511	61.356	66.288	105.849	6.25	76.613
READABILITY						
Flesch Reading Ease	74.182	83.766	85.15	92.149	51.854	80.149
Flesch-Kincaid Grade level	4.631	3.288	2.467	2.242	8.365	4.968
Coh-Metrix L2 Readability	24.92	15.093	29.60	16.795	23.527	15.514

Table 3. Values of the Coh-Metrix analysis

As table 3 shows, most values of the Coh-Metrix analysis are comparable; however, some differences can be observed in individual categories. To start with the length of the tapescripts (columns T), the GM is the shortest and the FCE the longest subtest. In contrast, if we calculate the ratio between the length of the tapescripts and the number of tasks (see Table 1), the situation changes: the GM has approximately 744 words per task, the FCE 615 words per task, and the C&G 448 words per task.

With regard to lexical density, in the subcategory of the type-token ratio, the GM has the highest score, but its values are the lowest in the lexical diversity indices of MTLD (measure of textual lexical diversity) and VOCD (vocabulary diversity). The FCE has the highest values in both these categories, while the C&G displays median scores with regard to lexical diversity.

The GM has the highest incidence in the "all connectives" category, and this relatively high score can be mostly attributed to the high incidence of the simple, additive connectives (e.g., *and, also, moreover*). In the category of the causal and logical connectives, the GM has the lowest score. The highest incidence of the causal connectives can be observed in the FCE, whereas the C&G has the highest incidence score with logical, adversative/contrastive and temporal connectives.

With regard to left-embeddedness, extremely high values can be observed in both categories for the GM subtest. The values of the number of modifiers per noun phrase are more equally distributed in the T sections, but there is again a noticeable difference in the Q section, since the GM again has the highest value of the three.

In terms of syntactic pattern density, the FCE displays average values in most subcategories, whereas the values of the C&G and the GM oscillate from the highest to the lowest. The GM has the highest noun phrase density incidence but at the same time the lowest verb phrase density incidence in the T section. There appears to be a direct correspondence between phrase density incidence and word incidence: the subtest with the highest noun incidence value also has the highest noun phrase density value and vice versa. Agentless passive voice density is the highest in the FCE subtest, and the lowest in the C&G, which in turn has the highest negation incidence value.

In the readability category, the Flesch Reading Ease shows that all three subtests display a higher value in the Q section than in the T section (a high value indicates an easier text, and a low value a more difficult text.). However, while the values of the Q and the T sections of the FCE and the C&G subtests are close together, there is a considerable difference in the case of the GM. The values of the Coh-Metrix L2 Readability are very similar in all three subtests, and in all three cases the values in the Q sections are higher than those of the T section.

5. Discussion

The lexical analysis (Vocabprofile) shows that the GM listening subtest is a relative outlier among the three B2 listening subtests. It has the lowest percentage of the k1 items, and the highest percentage of the k3 items; also, it contains lexical items belonging to categories k11, k13 and k14, as well as several geographical and proper names listed as off-list items (specialised vocabulary not present in the BNC classification). The C&G and the FCE, on the other hand, are similar in this respect. Since frequency and familiarity of the lexis are significant factors affecting the difficulty of the test (see Buck 2001; Kobeleva 2012; and Matthews and Cheng 2015), the results can be interpreted as showing that the GM is lexically the most demanding of the three tests analysed.

Turning to the Coh-Metrix analysis, we can observe some differences in individual categories, even though that in most categories the results of the three subtests are comparable.

With regard to text length, the GM is the shortest and the FCE the longest subtest. However, a closer look at the tapescripts (words/tasks ratio, see section 4 above) reveals that GM test-takers are exposed to two longer texts, whereas the FCE and the C&G contain a series of shorter texts/tasks. The question arises whether this is done intentionally – in other words, do the task writers choose shorter/longer texts in order to measure different discourse

skills and listening strategies (see Buck 2001:123). The issue is especially relevant for the GM since its listening subtest relies on merely two relatively long texts to measure either comprehension of details or overall comprehension. Such an approach to listening comprehension is problematic from more than one point of view. Firstly, there may not be enough focus on the skills and/or strategies that the subtest aims to measure; and secondly, the lack of variety that it entails can exacerbate the problems of the test-takers not familiar with the topic, text-type or task-type. Furthermore, a relatively low number of items in the GM subtest (17 items versus 30 items in the C&G and the FCE subtests, see Table 1) can only add negatively to the overall reliability of the listening subtest.

According to McNamara et al. (2014:51), a high lexical diversity value is indicative of text difficulty, since more lexical items also means more information to be processed and incorporated into the context of the text. On the other hand, low lexical density values can be a result of vocabulary repetitions and redundancies as well as low vocabulary variation, which may lead to higher text cohesion, but at the same times lowers text difficulty. Even though the GM has the highest type-token ratio – the measurement that is reportedly affected by the text length (see McNamara et al. 2014:51) – its values are the lowest in the MTLD and VOCD categories, which are based on the improved type-taken ratio measurement not affected by the text-length (McNamara et al. 2014:51). Based on these results, it can be inferred that the GM contains less information to be processed by the listener. On the other hand, having the highest values in the MLTD and VOCD categories, the FCE seems to be lexically the most diverse subtest, requiring from the listener to process much information. The C&G displays median scores in the category of lexical diversity.

The Coh-Metrix analysis also demonstrates some differences between the subtests with regard to connectives, which, according to McNamara et al. (2014), contribute to better cohesion and text ease. Even though the GM has the highest incidence of the "all connectives", the data reveal that this relatively high score can be mostly attributed to the high incidence of the simple, additive connectives (e.g., *and, also, moreover*). The FCE and the C&G, on the other hand, exhibit highest incidences of causal and logical connectives. These results may indicate that connective-wise, by resorting mostly to simple additive connectives, the GM is the closest to the authentic representation of the oral discourse (see section 3, and Buck 2001). As reported by Shohamy and Inbar (1991:23), this feature bears direct consequences for the test-takers' performance since "different types of texts located at different points on the oral/literate continuum [result] in different test scores, so that the more 'listenable' texts [are] easier." In contrast, the C&G, having the highest incidence in the category of more complex connectives (logical, adversative/contrastive and temporal connectives), resembles more the literate end of the oral/literate continuum. The high occurrence of complex connectives may also require fewer inferences from the test-takers, which may in turn reduce the overall task difficulty.

Moving to the syntactic complexity, the category of left-embeddedness in the Coh-Metrix analysis tool calculates the mean number of words preceding the main verb. Together with the mean number of modifiers per noun phrase, the high mean number implies cognitive complexity, because it requires a storage of lexical material in short term memory before it could be linked with the main verb, the main clause or the noun-head and interpreted together (McNamara et al. 2014:71). The Coh-Metrix analysis shows extremely high values in both discussed categories for the GM subtest. In fact, its left embeddedness value is more than twice higher than that of the FCE in the Q section as well as the T section, and by a half higher than that of the C&G. The values of the number of modifiers per noun phrase are more equal in the T sections, but there is again a noticeable difference in the Q section; the GM has the highest value of the three. Thus, it can be concluded that, from the perspective of syntactic complexity, the GM is by far the most challenging of the three subtests.

There are fewer differences between the three subtests with regard to the category of syntactic pattern density. According to McNamara et al. (2014:72), a high value in any of the syntactic pattern density subcategories can be indicative of a text in which the information is packed in dense syntactic structures, which consequently leads to text difficulty. Since all three subtests display very similar overall syntactic pattern density values, it can also be concluded that they are highly comparable.

The last category examines readability – the indices used are Flesch Reading Ease and the Coh-Metrix L2 Readability. Based on the Flesch Reading Ease measurement, we can observe that the Q sections are slightly more difficult to comprehend than the T sections. This is not a desirable result, since, in theory, accompanying questions should be slightly less difficult to process than the text on which the task is based. While the differences are minor in the case of the FCE and the C&G, the GM has, according to the Flesch Reading Ease measurement, significantly more demanding questions than the tapescript itself. However, examining the Coh-Metrix L2 Readability measurement, which was specially developed to predict the readability of texts for L2 students (McNamara et al. 2014:80), we can observe that the values of the three subtests are very similar, and that in all three cases the values in the Q sections are higher than those of the T sections. The latter result is also partially confirmed by the Vocaprofile analysis (Table 2) which shows that, in all three cases, Q sections feature slightly simpler vocabulary items than the T sections, so at least from the lexical perspective the Q sections are easier than the T sections.

6. Concluding Remarks and Further Research

The paper presents an analysis of syntactic and lexical complexity of three listening comprehension subtests. The study is based on Weir's socio-cognitive validation framework and it shows that, even though the test-providers claim that the tests are at the same CEFR level (B2), the analysis of some aspects of context validity demonstrates that they are not fully equivalent.

Typical of the GM are listening texts that are lexically demanding but still authentic with regard to discourse-type, i.e., they are not overly packed with information and they contain relatively many additive connectives, which is characteristic of spoken language. The GM texts have also been revealed as the most syntactically complex. The observed lexical and syntactic features may be problematic from the perspective of the number of tasks included in the exam and, consequently, the length of each task. Nevertheless, no matter what category of Vocabprofile/Coh-Metrix data is observed, the FCE rarely stands out among the three exams analysed. The sole exception is its characteristic of being informationally packed in the type-token, MTLD and VOCD categories. A similar observation can be made about the C&G – the exam is distinct from the other two only with regard to the relatively high incidence of logical, adversative/contrastive and temporal connectors, which implies that fewer inferences are required from the test-takers, and that the tapescripts are closer to literate than oral texts.

Overall, we can conclude that there is strong evidence that the GM is the most authentic of the three listening tests. The texts included in this exam are taken from live radio shows and their syntax and vocabulary are not simplified in any detectable way. The FCE and the C&G, on the other hand, appear to be scripted and place more emphasis on the variety of the texts, their informational richness and (possible) syntactic simplification

The findings also show the value of Weir's approach to validity analysis. Although the present study is limited to context validity, the results persuasively demonstrate the inadequacy of relying only on the CEFR descriptors when comparing examinations.

The discussion also indicates the need for further research: other aspects of context validity as well as other types of validity should be explored. Pertaining to the former, it

would be valuable to explore speech rates since our preliminary findings indicate significant differences between the three tests: the GM has the highest average speech rate (197 words per minute) and the C&G the lowest (151 words per minute). And with regard to the latter, we believe that it would be beneficial to administer the tests to the same population, analyse the results, review CEFR alignment data, and compare the differences between B2 cut-off scores.

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CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS WITH THE SOURCE DOMAIN OF INSANITY IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

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Abstract: *The paper explores the conceptual metaphors with the source domain of* INSANITY *in English and Serbian, focusing on the features of the source domain that are transferred into target domains. It is shown that the experience that shapes these metaphors relies on the manifestations of mental illness and the common beliefs about mental illness that hold in both languages.*
Keywords: *conceptual metaphors, English, insanity, polysemy, Serbian*.

Introduction

In the majority of societies, insanity is a highly tabooed issue. Although the experience with people who suffer from mental illness is mostly limited, it is still suffused with stereotypes and prejudice, reflecting misconceptions about mental illness (Corrigan and Watson 2002). Bearing in mind the sensitivity of this issue, the lexicon of mental illness has changed throughout the centuries, following the predominant medical views, the social context and, consequently, the issue of appropriateness of these terms and the carefulness with which they should be used. The common words and phrases used in English and Serbian everyday discourse, such as *insane*, *lunatic* or *lud, ludak*, are generally no longer used in public and medical discourse. However, they still persist in everyday language, both in their original and extended meanings.

In the light of the aforesaid, in this paper we have focused on the set of lexemes that originally denote the general concept of mental illness in two languages, English and Serbian, and examined them against the framework of the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) with the aim of exploring and comparing conceptual metaphors that motivate the extension of meaning of these lexemes in both languages. This theoretical framework has proved prolific in exploring meaning extension and the links between cognition and language (e.g. Đurović 2014, Stevanović 2014). Our analysis is based on the examples collected from two representative corpora of English and Serbian.

Theoretical Framework

Meaning in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The theoretical background for the research is provided by the cognitive linguistic approach, more precisely, the CMT, which postulates close links between language and thought (Gibbs 2006). According to this view, linguistic meaning is grounded in experience, which implies that "the nature of our brains, bodies and environments constrains and shapes what and how we understand and reason" (Johnson 2005:16). This is mainly people's experience with their bodies in action, the embodied experience, although other forms of experience may also build onto this (Gibbs 2006). For instance, "bodily experience is situated

in sociocultural environment and social setting is seen as co-determining the corporeal experience" (Geeraerts 2010:250).

One of the key notions of the CMT is that of the conceptual metaphor. Starting from Lakoff and Johnson's seminal book (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), much has been written on metaphor as a conceptual mechanism. Conceptual metaphor can be defined as "a fundamental mental capacity by which people understand themselves and the world through the conceptual mapping of knowledge from one domain onto another" (Gibbs 1994:207). A set of mappings is established between the source and the target domain, with the former being more concrete and directly related to experience and the latter diffuse, more abstract and lacking clear delineation (Kövecses 2002:20). Thus, people "structure the less concrete and inherently vague concepts (like those for emotions) in terms of more concrete concepts, which are more clearly delineated in our experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:112), and the mapping takes the form of a formula TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. Metaphorical mappings carry entailments – additional, sometimes quite detailed knowledge that may not be explicitly stated but is activated when using the metaphor (Evans and Green 2006). When structuring the target in terms of source, some of its aspects are activated, while some others remain hidden, which is known as highlighting and hiding (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

"The cognitive nature of metaphor" implies that it is not purely a "lexical" but "instead a deep-seated conceptual phenomenon that shapes the way we think (and not just the way we speak)" (Geeraerts 2010:204). In other words, the semantic structure encodes the conceptual structure (Evans and Green 2006:191). Metaphoric motivation implies that "sense extensions within a polysemous word are not arbitrary, but are constrained by embodied image-schematic knowledge and by various types of cognitive links relating different senses" (Beitel et al. 2001:243). Hence, by exploring the conceptual metaphors manifested in sets of expressions that illustrate metaphoric patterns, we can arrive at certain conclusions of how abstract concepts are presented and experienced in the mind of language users.

Previous Studies

Previous studies have mostly dealt with insanity-related metaphors in the target domain of EMOTIONS in the English language. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:49) cite a number of linguistic manifestations of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS MADNESS: *I am crazy about her*, *He has gone mad over her*, *She drives me out of my mind*, *He constantly raves about her*, *I'm insane about her*, stating that the dimension of madness highlighted in these metaphors is the ultimate lack of control. Kövecses (2000:21-29) argues that insanity metaphors apply only to very intense emotions (e.g. anger, fear, love) and provides a detailed elaboration of metaphorical mappings based on the concept of insanity, such as ANGER IS INSANITY (*insane with rage*), FEAR IS INSANITY (*insane with fear*), HAPPINESS IS INSANITY (*They were crazy with happiness*), LOVE IS INSANITY (*I am crazy about you*), LUST IS INSANITY (*You're driving me insane*), SADNESS IS INSANITY (*He was insane with grief*). In his words, the metaphor EMOTION IS INSANITY "captures the 'irrational', 'uncontrolled' aspects of passion" (Kövecses 2000:59), suggesting that intense emotion is a state of the ultimate lack of control and that intense emotions bring about irrationality. The metaphors with the source domain of INSANITY can also be related to the PATH schema as in the expression *come to his/her senses*, which illustrates the metaphor SELF-CONTROL IS BEING IN ONE'S NORMAL LOCATION (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:274).

On the other hand, it has been shown that the LOVE IS MADNESS metaphor, which denotes the lack of control in love, can be found as early as in Chaucer's Knight tale (Trim 2010:244). This testifies that images of emotions as irrational states have been present in the conceptual systems of the English language for a long period of time. During the 16th and 17th century, there appeared a number of new words and phrases that described mental illness,

which further diffused the generally held stereotypes of insanity (MacDonald 1981). Bearing this in mind, the general purpose of this study is to check whether the possible stereotypes about the mentally ill held by the speakers of English and Serbian are reflected in the extension of meaning of certain lexemes stemming from the source domain of INSANITY. These will be looked at through the prism of the CMT, since it postulates that only certain features of the source domain are highlighted in meaning extension.

Research Corpus and Methodology

Within the CMT framework, the set of meanings is examined as a radial set whose elements are connected through a simple mechanism of semantic extension, one of them being metaphor (Geeraerts 2010:203). Primary meaning, related to primary experience, branches into other meanings that are connected with the primary, and, in this process, certain features of the source domain experience are transferred into the target domain. As previous research has suggested, the source domain of INSANITY is prolific in structuring abstract domains, but it remains vague which features of the experience with insanity motivate the extension of meaning of the lexemes originally associated with mental illness. People might have experience with common manifestations of mental illness (e.g. rage, irritability) and this can be a universal part of the experience with insanity, but there may be certain features of this experience that are culture-specific and reflect the commonly held stereotypes and myths about the mentally ill. On the other hand, the mentally ill experience a vast array of symptoms, which generally include changes in emotion and motivation, thinking and perception, and behaviour, such as confused thinking, mood swings, delusions, hallucinations, excessive anger or violence, lack of inhibitions, irritability, inappropriate emotions etc., depending on the disorder (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Any of these symptoms may serve as the feature of the source domain of INSANITY that is transferred into the target domain. Additionally, the features may be different across languages and cultures. Nevertheless, as will be shown in our analysis, people seem to hold a generalised notion of a person with mental illness, which is then reflected in language.

Hence, the first research aim of the paper is to explore the presence of the source domain of INSANITY in structuring the abstract concepts in English and Serbian, to formulate the conceptual metaphors relying on this source domain and to determine the types of abstract concepts structured via the source domain of INSANITY in both English and Serbian. Our aim is also to compare the languages with respect to the established conceptual mappings and their manifestations. Based on this, our final aim is to obtain an insight into the dimensions of the source domain highlighted in metaphorical mappings relying on the experience with insanity. This, in turn, can tell us something about the perception of this source domain by language users.

The set of analysed lexemes related to the domain of INSANITY was selected from the list of terms developed in the English language throughout the ages for denoting mental illness (DeFalco 2005). A small set of English lexemes was chosen from the set proposed by DeFalco, more precisely, those denoting mental illness in general. A similar list was then made for Serbian, bearing in mind translation equivalents and the everyday lexicon related to the concept of mental illness.

The lexemes included the adjectives describing the state of insanity: *mad*, *insane* in English and *lud* in Serbian; the nouns denoting the people with mental illness: *madman, lunatic* and *idiot* in English and *ludak, idiot* in Serbian; the nouns describing the state of insanity: *madness*, *insanity*, *lunacy* in English and *ludilo*, *ludost* in Serbian, and the nouns denoting the medical facilities where people with mental illness are treated: *madhouse* in English and *ludnica* in Serbian. Once again, it should be noted that the majority of these terms

are no longer used in public and medical discourse on mental illness, since they are considered inappropriate. However, they still persist in everyday language, both for referring to people with mental illness and in their metaphorical meanings.

Having consulted the relevant dictionaries (*Oxford English Dictionary* for English, *Rečnik srpskoga jezika* for Serbian), we established the original meaning of these lexemes which directly refers to the concept of mental illness. According to dictionaries, all lexemes have a rich network of extended meanings. The dimensions emphasised in meaning extension are similar for English and Serbian and most comprehensive for adjectives. In English, the focus is on being unable to behave reasonably, being extremely silly or stupid, being excited and behaving in a dangerous, strange, uncontrolled way. In Serbian, the dimensions emphasised in extended meanings comprise being incapable of normal reasoning, being out of control, prone to irrational behaviour, acting unreasonably and being full of elation, joy, but also forceful or intensive.

After establishing the primary meaning of the selected lexemes, the examples of their use were collected from the representative English and Serbian corpora (*British National Corpus*, *Corpus of contemporary Serbian language of the Faculty of Mathematics, Belgrade University*). Following the guidelines for metaphor identification established by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), the examples where the meaning did not refer to the original concept were selected for further analysis. The total number of examples analysed included 422 for English and 235 for Serbian. Although there is a difference in the size of the corpora used for English and Serbian, the discrepancy in the number of examples can rather be explained by a smaller number of lexemes available for analysis in Serbian (for example, Serbian adjective *lud* has two English counterparts, *mad* and *insane*), but it did not affect the analysis. The examples were then classified according to the dimensions of abstract entities profiled in a particular case by the features pertaining to the domain of INSANITY. In what follows, we will provide illustrative examples of the conceptual metaphors that motivate the extension of meanings of the lexemes denoting the concept from the domain of INSANITY.

Conceptual Metaphors Relying on the Source Domain of INSANITY in English and Serbian

The analysis has revealed that a variety of abstract entities are conceptualised in terms of insanity in both languages. The entities profiled through these dimensions include people, their actions and behaviour, situations, emotions, states etc. The features of the experience with insanity highlighted in these cases mostly refer to the lack of something normally expected in people, such as rational behaviour, control, obedience to social norms, and only in one case to the excess of such features. We selected several most prominent cases of the use of the source domain of INSANITY in structuring the dimensions of abstract entities for further elaboration. The English translation of the examples from Serbian belongs to us.

CASE 1: LACK OF REASON/RATIONALITY IS INSANITY

In this case, everything is measured against what is considered "normal". Under the supposition that people normally behave rationally, insanity stands for behaving irrationally in various life spheres, for instance, doing unexpected things or acting unreasonably in life, business, driving etc. Using this conceptual metaphor implies a certain evaluation of actions or behaviours, even judgement from the position of the speaker who sets the standards of what is normal and rational in the situation. The metaphoric pattern is realised by a number of expressions analysed, in both English and Serbian, mostly adjectives describing the state of insanity (ex. 1, 2, 5). The conceptual mapping LACK OF REASON/RATIONALITY IS INSANITY first

of all applies to people, who are described as mad or madmen when they are considered to behave or want to behave irrationally or unreasonably, as can be seen in the following examples:

ENGLISH

1) This is one of those sports where the competitors agree secretly among themselves that they must be *mad* to take part in what is cycling's equivalent of marathon dancing.
2) Now that Party Politics has been sold – reportedly for an offer Mr Stoddart would have been *insane* to refuse.
3) "Car got out of control. Some *madman* going too fast..."
4) It was an accident. (…) From what I can remember this *lunatic* just accelerated out from the side of the road.

SERBIAN

5) Gramatiku nisam savladao, pa mi je rekao da sam glupa i nesnošljiva zamlata i da je *lud* što se uopšte zamajava sa mnom.
   I haven't mastered grammar so he told me I was a stupid and insufferable fool and that he had been insane to bother with me in the first place.
6) Treba, dakle, biti potpuni *ludak* pa da se i pored dužeg poznanstva misli o braku za koji ima tek jedna mogućnost, a protiv njega dvadeset hiljada.
   One should be a complete madman, even after longer acquaintance, to contemplate a marriage for which there is only one possibility and twenty thousand against it.

The concepts structured by this mapping include behaviour or actions (ex. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) and situations deemed as irrational (ex. 9), which are labelled as mad, insane or as madness, insanity or lunacy in English and "ludilo" or "ludost" in Serbian.

ENGLISH

7) Is it *mad* to spend 1 million on a folly?
8) Would it be totally *insane* of her to agree to his suggestion?
9) The British Government has acquiesced in an *insane* situation.
10) Cutting down the forest is sheer *madness*.
11) It suddenly occurs to me that it might be pure *insanity* to take this loan.
12) It seemed sheer *lunacy* to share such intimate sleeping arrangements.

SERBIAN

13) Kupovina Kristijana Ronalda bila bi u ovom trenutku *ludilo* (…).
    The purchase of Cristiano Ronaldo would be madness at this point (...).
14) Tadić je izjavio da se još nada da će se pridružiti EU i da bi bila *ludost* za Srbiju ako to ne učini.
    Tadić said he still hoped that we would join the EU and that it would be madness for Serbia not to do so.

CASE 2: COMPLETE LACK OF REASON/ LACK OF COMPETENCE IS INSANITY

This mapping is realised by one particular lexeme in both languages, *idiot*, which denotes a person with impaired mental capacities. The use of this conceptual metaphor entails a negative evaluation of someone doing something very stupid or completely irrational.

ENGLISH

15) They come into the theatre (…) and they sit there saying (...) 'Can you imagine what kind of leadership is in our theatre – who is the *idiot* who gave this lady the role of Aida?'.
16) The 2.5 million mass media campaign had two themes – 'Don't fool yourself, speed kills' and 'If you drink, then drive, you're a bloody *idiot*.'

SERBIAN

17) Neki je *idiot* rimske putnike koje je dr Komarowsky izolovao, pustio u tranzit.
    Some idiot has released into transit the Roma passengers isolated by Dr Komarowsky.
18) Ma onaj Širak je *idiot* što je to sprečio, sve je mostove trebalo srušiti.
    That Chirac is an idiot for preventing this, all the bridges should have been destroyed.

CASE 3: LACK OF CAUTION IS INSANITY

Under the supposition that people are normally cautious and do not take unnecessary risks, those who do so are described as mad or insane. However, in this case, behaving irrationally in the sense of lack of caution can have a positive connotation, e.g. describing as mad someone brave enough to do something that involves a lot of risk.

ENGLISH

19) The people at work think I'm *insane* and when I showed them the video of the bungee jump it just confirmed their opinion that I'm a *lunatic*.

SERBIAN

20) Svojevremeno je devet godina živeo poput Robinzona, bez struje i vode, na jednom trošnom splavu sa "rečne strane" Ade Ciganlije. (…) Svi su me gledali kao nekog *ludaka*, a meni je bilo upravo fantastično.
Once upon a time he had lived like a Robinson, without electricity or water, at a decrepit float on the "river side" of Ada Ciganlija. (…) Everyone thought I was a lunatic, but I was having a fantastic time.

CASE 4: LACK OF SERIOUSNESS IS INSANITY

The supposition is that people are usually serious and, when they do silly things, this is labelled as insanity. In both languages, the non-serious actions are structured as being in the state of insanity (the noun *madness* in English, *ludost* in Serbian).

ENGLISH

21) I was in my forties when I met him – call it middle-aged *madness* if you like – but he was so kind and thoughtful.

SERBIAN

22) Doček Nove godine je idealna prilika da se isprobaju mnoge *ludosti*, da šminka bude smela, ekstravagantna i upadljiva (…).
New Year's Eve is an ideal opportunity to try out many crazy things, for make-up to be bold, extravagant and striking (…).

CASE 5: LACK OF CONTROL IS INSANITY

In general, it is assumed that people normally control themselves, their actions and behaviour, as well as that normal situations are those under control. Our examples have shown that lack of control in people can occur when experiencing intense emotions towards someone or something (e.g. love towards people or strong affection towards certain things, e.g. football). The mapping is realised by prepositional phrases involving the analysed adjectives related to the state of insanity in both languages (in English: *mad with love/insane with worry*, in Serbian: *lud od ljubavi*, when a person is in the state similar to that of insanity and the preposition specifies the emotion or state that caused it; in English: *mad about her/football* and in Serbian: *lud za mnom/vlašću*, which describe lack of control caused by strong affection towards someone or something, when the preposition specifies the object of affection).

ENGLISH

23) I am *mad* with love for you! Don't refuse me now!
24) I just didn't want to talk about our son, to tell how he has driven us almost *insane* with worry.
25) He calls her his Schimpanse: his chimpanzee. I have to say that I'm *mad* about her too.

SERBIAN

26) (…) govorio joj je odvodeći je na mesto, skoro *lud* od ljubavi.
(…) he spoke to her, taking her to her place, almost insane with love.
27) Ja sam znala da me Šraf voli i da je *lud* za mnom.
I knew that Šraf loved me and that he's mad about me.

Lack of control can bring about agitation and total loss of control, which are also conceptualised as insanity. In this case, the mapping is realised either by the nouns denoting the state of insanity (ex. 28, 31) or by phrases *to go mad/insane*, *to drive insane* in English or *dovesti do ludila* in Serbian, which focus on the cause of agitation or loss of control.

ENGLISH

28) "I don't know what kind of *madness* overtook me,' he said, 'but a little time ago I made a contract with somebody to have her killed."
29) And I I did I went completely *mad* and that's the only ever time I've ever hit anybody in my life, honest.
30) A fly, whose buzzing had been driving me *insane*, was struggling for life.

SERBIAN

31) Obuzet trenutnim *ludilom* pojurio je natrag, zgrabio boce sa nekom strašnom kiselinom, i razbio ih nad njihovim nagim, spletenim telima.
    Consumed by temporary madness, he rushed back, grabbed bottles with some terrible acid and broke them over their naked, entwined bodies.
32) Zvezdinog gorostasa doveo je do *ludila* da je hvatajući se za glavu pitao golmana Partizana: "Dokle bre ovako?".
    He has been driving insane the Zvezda giant, who kept asking the Partizan goalkeeper: "How long will this last?".

Lack of control in situations or actions can imply the lack of law or rules, which leads into anarchy. These situations are structured as the state of insanity (ex. 33, 35) or the facility for treating people with mental disorders (ex. 34, 36).

ENGLISH

33) I saw David shovelling more and more, he was getting more tired, more irritable, more run-down and less able to control the *madness* that was going on around him.
34) Warrington South MP Mike Hall has slammed the Government's rail privatisation policy as 'the politics of the *madhouse*'.

SERBIAN

35) Ljudi koji su pokušavali da zaustave to *ludilo*, bili su ućutkivani jedan po jedan.
    People who have tried to stop this madness were silenced one by one.
36) Prema njenim rečima, možda bi posmatrala televizijske izveštaje i samo pomislila kako je tamo potpuna *ludnica*, ali je sasvim drugačija situacija kada se gledaju vesti i kada je njen sin u ambasadi koja je napadnuta.
    In her own words, perhaps she would just watch the television reports and think that it must be a complete madhouse out there (…).

When it comes to situations, lack of control can also be evaluated positively, denoting enthusiasm, excitement, giving in to instincts and doing something without inhibitions (e.g. having good time). Such actions are usually denoted as mad, while situations or atmosphere are denoted either as the state of insanity (ex. 39, 41) or a mental facility (ex. 42).

ENGLISH

37) She just knew she was going to have a *mad*, passionate affair with him.
38) The days of *mad* spending are gone and exhibitors are looking to cover their costs and pay back the bank as soon as possible.
39) Angelica, trying to place her accent but not managing it, said, "You should see it when the season gets going, it's *madness*".

SERBIAN

40) Amsterdam, Berlin i Pariz, osim dočeka na ulicama, obećavaju *lud* klupski provod raznovrsnom ponudom u kojoj su zastupljeni svi elektronski muzički pravci.
    Amsterdam, Berlin and Paris, (…), promise mad club fun by their versatile offer that includes all electronic music genres.
41) Karneval je dostigao vrhunac *ludosti*.

Carneval has reached the height of madness.

42) Čeka nas *ludnica* u Igalu, kad Jadran igra na svom bazenu navijači sigurno daju 30 odsto više snage svakom igraču.
We're up against madness in Igalo, when Jadran plays in their pool, the fans certainly provide 30 per cent more strength to every player.

CASE 6: EXCESS OF INTENSITY IS INSANITY

In this case, the assumption is that the behaviour and actions of people with mental illness are more intensive, more pronounced than usual, and hence excessive strength, vigour, rush or excessive energy are labelled as mad.

ENGLISH

43) If already in hand-to-hand combat then he won't move away, but counts as charging again in the next round (the shaman dashes around with *insane* vigour much to the astonishment of his foes).
44) Gertie Sohl, one of the lucky schoolchildren chosen to appear at Blackpool Children with previous experience not only did the shows at the Pavilion at 2 pm and 7 pm but they also appeared at the Ballroom in between, thoroughly enjoying the *mad* rush.

SERBIAN

45) No, svejedno, danas je pun neke *lude* snage. Grozničavo uzbuđen i beskrajno samouveren.
Still, today he is full of some insane strength. Feverishly excited and infinitely self-confident.
46) Saradnja s njim bila je veoma inspirativna. Poseduje mnogo divlje i *lude* energije.
Cooperation with him inspired me. He has a lot of wild and insane energy.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Our analysis has shown that the domain of INSANITY is used in structuring abstract concepts in both languages, English and Serbian. The dimensions of the source domain highlighted in metaphorical mappings include lack of reason, lack of caution, lack of seriousness, lack of control and excessive intensity. They mostly hold for people, actions and situations in both English and Serbian, with slight differences in linguistic manifestations. The analysis has confirmed previous research findings (Kövecses 2000) that the dimensions emphasised in the mappings relying on INSANITY include lack of control and irrationality, but it has been shown that they hold for a range of abstract concepts.

These metaphors highlight certain dimensions of mental illness, which seem to correspond to a general notion of how a person with mental illness behaves and acts. We could argue that language is somewhat biased in the sense of stigmatising the people with mental illness through the metaphors, since the majority of evaluations in both English and Serbian are negative (people with mental illness are irrational, incompetent, chaotic, uncontrollable etc.). However, there are some positively evaluated mappings (people with mental illness do not obey rational and social norms; hence, they indulge in risky situations and have more fun). The limitation of the paper is that, due to restricted space, we could not include more lexemes into our analysis, which would further confirm the established mappings or maybe testify to some new ones.

Another issue is what brings about these mappings, or, in other words, what kind of source domain experience we are dealing with. First of all, the very domain of INSANITY is not so clearly delineated as many other frequent source domains (e.g. motion, food, animals) and is actually also a target domain, structured by other more concrete concepts. We can argue that the established mappings rely both on actual knowledge of mental illness and the prevailing beliefs about it. For instance, some studies have shown that people hold certain prejudice and stereotypes towards people with mental illness as being excessive, unstable, unpredictable, uncontrolled (Angermeyer and Dietrich 2006, Phelan et al. 2000) and these are the very dimensions most prominent in the established conceptual metaphors in English and

Serbian. This finding can be explained in terms of highlighting, i.e. using only certain features of the source domain in structuring abstract concepts. An additional explanation is the influence of the prevailing image of people with mental illness which has, among other things, been shaped by literature (e.g. the recurring theme in Shakespeare's plays is madness, with a particular portrayal of people with mental illness focusing on certain characteristics only).

According to our analysis, there are no culture-specific suppositions about madness that are manifested in the mappings with the source domain of INSANITY. The conceptual metaphors with this source domain are virtually the same in English and Serbian, which belong to two distant and non-related cultures. Therefore, it can be argued that people hold a general belief about the features of mental illness and that this is reflected in language, although this argument needs further verification in studies of mental illness lexicon in other languages. This proves the role of not only direct or bodily experience, but other forms of experience as well.

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LINGUISTS, ROMGLISH AND "VERBAL HYGIENE"

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Abstract: *Emphasising the importance of language ideological research into the attitudes of linguists (Milroy 2012) and taking as points of reference concepts such as "verbal hygiene" (Cameron 1995), "standard language ideology" (Milroy and Milroy 1999) and "language myths" (Watts 2011), the present paper focuses on two recent interviews given by prominent linguists, where the emphasis falls on "Romglish", a much-discussed label in the contemporary Romanian media. The paper identifies (as central to these linguists' attitudes) myths such as those relating to homogeneity and legitimacy, discussing the pertinence of such myths in the present context of globalisation.*
Keywords*: globalisation, language ideology, Romglish, verbal hygiene*

1. Introduction

Armed with grammars, dictionaries, orthography guides or quoting expert opinions, the media are, as ever, quick to signal and condemn the inability of key social actors to use "proper Romanian", which is envisaged as the pure unadulterated essence that brings all Romanians under the wings of a homogeneous nation-state. Characterised by the myths of homogeneity and legitimacy (Watts 2011), "standard language ideology" (Milroy and Milroy 1999) turns "standard" language into a point of reference, an instance of idealised cultural homogeneity which contributes to the "othering" of certain varieties of language (and of the individuals/groups these represent).

One of the main metaphors used in standardisation processes is that of "verbal hygiene" (Cameron 1995): to standardise a language is to "cleanse" it of impurities. Academicians, educationalists as well as members of the public can act as "verbal hygienists", struggling "to control language by defining its nature" (Cameron 1995:8) and to maintain the vision of purity.

Among the developments associated with globalisation (where "the national scale has lost its taken-for-granted primacy", Fairclough 2006:56) is the use of English in a growing number of institutional domains. A heightening of the Romanians' familiarity with global English has taken place, English loanwords and code-mixing making their way into Romanians' language use (see Crystal 1997, 2004 for the impact of global English and Călărașu 2003 for the impact of global English on Romanian). The new conventions of using Romanian introduced by the new mediated modes of communication have also started challenging the vision of the imagined purity of Romanian (see Park 2010:64, for a previous discussion concerning Korean). The present context, where the heterogeneousness of the global makes its presence felt, is marked by the challenge, acutely felt in the media, of re-formulating the older semiotics of nationalism (Park 2010:65) and of re-interpreting the concept of "verbal hygiene".

2. Linguists on "Romglish"

The label "romgleză", "Romglish", has been frequently employed in the Romanian media (see Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2003 for an exploration of this label). The label is an intuitive one and has been used both by non-specialists and by linguists. It is a label coined in the late 90s by Eugen Simion, a notable member of the Romanian Academy, to refer to what he perceived as the increasing hybridisation in the post-communist discourse of the Romanian media. Simion coined it as a pejorative label, a probable model being the well-known French term "franglais" which belongs to the French purist René Etiemble, the author of the now famous 1964 essay *Parlez-vous franglais*. In a 2001 newspaper article, Simion referred to Romglish as an "intolerable jargon which tends to spread like scabies and to stultify language, to uglify it" (translation of the Romanian "jargon intolerabil care tinde să se împrăștie ca râia și să prostească, să urâțească limba", Simion 2001).

The use of the label in the Romanian media has remained predominantly dismissive. Linguists themselves use the term, (see the chapter title "Our Daily Romglish", translation of "Romgleza noastră cea de toate zilele" in a popular prescriptive book by Adina Dragomirescu and Alexandru Nicolae 2011), as Anglicisms have been a frequent topic of discussion for Romanian linguists. The label has been used mainly to loosely designate those cases which are perceived as "excessive borrowing" (especially for those lexical borrowings from English that do not undergo morphophonological adaptation) or for the adaptation of lexical elements or phrasal constituents from English into Romanian, such as calques, and sometimes for the cases of code-mixing (see media reactions to the debate involving Ioana Petrescu, former Minister of Finance). The phrase "corporate jargon" has been also used as an equivalent for "Romglish", as shown by a recent article from February 2015 in the general-audience newspaper *Adevărul*. The *Adevărul* article quotes as a sample of Romglish a sentence such as the one below:

> Crezi că *face sens* (*calque – make sense*) să *forcastăm* (*lexical borrowing - forecast- Rom infl)* - în continuare pe *pipeline-ul (pipeline –Rom infl)* deja existent, în care *customizăm* (*custom – Rom infl*) produsele de *end-user?* (*end-user*)
> (Nicolaescu 2015) [My emphasis. My explanation]
> (English translation: Do you think it makes sense to continue to forecast the end-user products on the already existing pipeline?)

Infrequently, the term "Romglish" has been used to refer to the English (often hybridised with Romanian) spoken by certain political actors or bureaucrats in international contexts. In this case, the label retains pejorative connotations in the Romanian media, the "improper" use of English by certain key Romanian actors being perceived as undermining their credibility as legitimate representatives of the Romanian nation-state. While the complexities associated with the label "Romglish" in the Romanian media require further discussion and a comparison with widely used labels of the type "Spanglish" should make the object of future research, the present paper proposes to focus on the predominant use of the label "Romglish" in the Romanian media, namely that of "excessive borrowing"/ "corporate jargon".

The label "Romglish" relies on an ideal of linguistic homogeneity (language which is imagined as homogeneous, see Benedict Anderson's well-known "imagined communities", Anderson 1991, see also Park 2010), which is central to the modern nation-state. As this label suggests, the present context, which is one of globalisation, poses important challenges to the idealised integrity of the Romanian language. This analysis proposes to examine the way in which the contemporary media in Romania attempt to maintain this ideal of purity, acting as "verbal hygienists". More particularly, concentrating on language ideology, the paper will

centre on the way in which the media make use of linguists' expert opinions, in their attempt of preserving the homogeneity of the nation-state.

Language ideologies are significant tools in the discursive construction of social identities, reflecting "asymmetric social relations" (Fairclough 2001) and enabling the exclusion of individuals or groups. Language ideology can be envisaged as a set of "representations, whether explicit or implicit that construe the intersection of language and human being in a social world" (Woolard 1998:8). One of the specific contexts where such representations can be identified is the level of metalinguistic discourse, which includes an explicit discussion (by "experts" or people who assume the mantle of experts) and evaluation of the ways in which speakers should employ language (Johnson and Milani 2010).

An examination of the ideological dimension of language representation in the Romanian media becomes particularly relevant in the context of globalisation, a context where language itself – one of the main means of unifying nation-states – is re-conceptualised (Johnson and Milani 2010). The frequent use of labels such as "Romglish" in the media is an indication of the growing tension between the idealised linguistic homogeneousness of the nation-state and the hybridity involved by globalisation (Park 2010:64-65). The importance of language ideological research into the ideological attitudes of linguists has been emphasised by previous researchers (Milroy 2012). In this respect, I have chosen to focus on the interviews of two prominent Romanian linguists, who were asked to comment in the media upon the present state of the Romanian language and on the label "Romglish".

The most recent interview was given by Rodica Zafiu for a general- audience online newspaper in March 2015: "Noua limbă a românilor. Lingvista Rodica Zafiu explică, la Interviurile *Gândul*, cum am ajuns să vorbim şi să înjurăm ROMGLISH" [The new Romanian language. Linguist Rodica Zafiu explains, for *Gândul* interview series, how we came to speak Romglish and swear in it] (Ofițeru 2015). The second interview was given in 2014 for a popular cultural magazine, *Cultura*, in May 2014 by the linguist Marius Sala: "Eşti cool şi dacă vorbeşti corect româneşte" [Speaking proper Romanian doesn't prevent you from being cool] (Crișciu 2014).

Both linguists who were interviewed are often quoted in the Romanian media when the opinion of a language expert is needed. Rodica Zafiu is a professor at the University of Bucharest (currently the head of the Department of Romanian and a vice dean of the Faculty of Letters) and also a linguist who has had regular columns in the cultural press. She is probably the best-known linguist in the contemporary Romanian media and is also affiliated with the Romanian Academy. The other linguist is Marius Sala, for several years the vice-president of the Romanian Academy and also the head of the Academy's Institute of Linguistics. Both Zafiu and Sala are highly respected descriptive linguists, whose works have become points of reference in Romanian and Romance linguistics. At the same time, it is relevant to emphasise, for the purposes of this analysis, these linguists' affiliation with the Romanian Academy, an institution which closely follows the model of prescriptivism established by L'Académie Française. The position of these linguists is an interesting one: they are descriptive linguists, but, at the same time, their connection with the Romanian Academy – the main guardian of the values of linguistic prescriptivism – and their frequent presence in the media as "experts" gives them the symbolic status of "guardians of the language" in the eyes of the Romanian public.

Both linguists were asked to comment on the influx of Anglicisms into Romanian and on the label "Romglish". It is significant to underline from the very beginning that their answers differ from the visceral attitudes often expressed by Romanian cultural personalities in the media. The comments such cultural personalities make usually involve keywords with strong purist overtones such as "mutilare", which would roughly translate as "mangling" – a well-known keyword which was often used in the famous purist controversies of Europe (see

comments such as those made by prominent public figures such as Andrei Pleşu or Gabriel Liiceanu, who openly embrace the position of "guardians of the language").

When asked about the influx of Anglicisms into Romanian, both Sala and Zafiu attempt to avoid the familiar keywords permeating purist comments. Here is my English translation (followed by the Romanian source text) of Rodica Zafiu's answer to a question concerning Anglicisms:

> *There are many words in Romanian that have been borrowed from English, the so-called "Anglicisms". Do contemporary "Anglicisms" bother you?*
> Rodica Zafiu: Of course I am bothered by some. Any new element in a language, especially when it is redundantly employed where an already existing one could have been used, is *bothersome*. Take my case, for example, I am not so much bothered by the *pure English loanwords* – which eventually adapt – but by *calques – imitations of English structures* – which interfere *there where they aren't needed* and *modify the existing structures of that language*, the *word combinations* (…) The problem is not necessarily borrowing English words – Romglish, that is – but using certain expressions which have been *clichéd*. [My emphasis]
> (*Sunt foarte multe cuvinte în limba română care provin din limba engleză, aşa numitele „englezisme". Vă supără „englezismele" astăzi?*
> Rodica Zafiu: Sigur că unele mă supără. Orice element nou în limbă, mai ales când e folosit inutil în locul unuia care exista deja e supărător. Se întâmplă însă că, după o vreme, ne mai obişnuim cu unele dintre ele. Pe mine, de pildă, nu mă supără atât de mult purele împrumuturi din engleză – care se adaptează până la urmă –, cât acele calcuri - imitări de structuri din engleză – care intervin chiar acolo unde n-ar fi nevoie de ele şi care modifică structurile existente ale limbii, combinaţiile de cuvinte. (…) Nu atât împrumutul cuvintelor englezeşti – limba „romglish" – e un lucru grav, ci clişeizarea anumitor formulări.) (Ofițeru 2015)

Zafiu's answer to the question involving the influx of Anglicisms into Romanian is that she does not find borrowing itself distressing, but the presence of calque. The linguist uses phrases such as "modify existing structures", where the stress falls on structure, which is seen as the core of language. In her view, calque is offensive due to the element of hybridity which accompanies it, as a disruption of the homogeneousness represented by the existing structures of Romanian. Covertly, the linguist relies on the myths of homogeneity and of purity (Watts 2011), which are part of the discourse archive underlying language ideology (Watts 2011). The use of the phrase "pure English loanwords" (a literal translation from Romanian of a phrase that could be rendered as "the loanwords themselves") in contrast with "calques" is an indication of the reliance on purity as a guarantee of the linguistic independence of the nation-state, which does not rely on "imitations" of foreign linguistic structures.

Zafiu is well aware of the tension between the imagined homogeneity of the nation-state and the heterogeneousness brought about by the present context, actually underlining later in the interview that the present context is one of noise that disrupts communication, of "annoying polyphony". She states that the present polyphonic context makes the contrast between homogeneity and heterogeneousness appear more prominent.

If we examine the interview in *Cultura*, we can see that Marius Sala's interviewer asks a question which is different to a certain extent from the one asked by Zafiu's interviewer. The interviewer's question does not start from the negative assumption that Anglicisms can be "bothersome", but rather relies on a positive image of "rejuvenation":

> *In view of the invasion of Anglicisms and of other "isms"", do you think that a "rejuvenation of our language" (lit. Romanian - refreshing) is possible, the way it happened before, for example in the 19th century?*
> Marius Sala: The massive borrowing from American English is, as I've already underlined, just *a passing fashion* (practised especially by *snobbish semiliterate people*); many of these borrowings will disappear, *because language has a wisdom of its own*, it keeps only the words and phrases *it really needs*. Think, for example, about the fate of 19th century French loanwords. On the other hand, of

course *language changes in time, without however modifying its essence*. I can assure you *Romanian won't ever become an Anglo-Saxon language, but will remain a Romance language!* [My emphasis]
(*Având în vedere invazia de anglicisme şi alte -isme, consideraţi că e posibilă o împrospătare a limbii noastre, cum a fost de pildă în secolul al XIX-lea?*
Marius Sala.: Împrumutul masiv de cuvinte din engleza americană este, cum am spus deja, o modă (practicată mai ales de semidocţi snobi) care va trece; multe împrumuturi inutile vor dispărea, pentru că limba are o înţelepciune a ei, păstrează numai vorbele şi expresiile de care are realmente nevoie. Gândiţi-vă, de pildă, la soarta franţuzismelor din secolul pe care l-aţi evocat. Pe de altă parte, sigur că limba se schimbă în timp, fără însă să-şi modifice esenţa. Vă asigur că româna nu va deveni o limbă anglo-saxonă, ci va rămâne o limbă romanică!) (Crișciu 2014)

Marius Sala's answer has clearer purist overtones than Rodica Zafiu's answer. As can be seen, there are old topoi in the purist tradition on which the linguist relies, namely "fashion", "snobbery", "useless loans", which are quite reminiscent of well-known purist comments in the European tradition (the British inkhorn controversy, *les précieuses ridicules* of France, nineteenth-century Romanian authors ridiculing affectation). What is important to underline here is that the central anthropomorphic metaphor (<a language is a human being>, see Watts 2011) is made very prominent by the linguist's answer. A language is a human being and therefore language is "wise" and will make decisions for itself (by keeping only those loanwords that it really needs). The Enlightenment view, that according to which the linguist should actively cultivate or polish language is replaced here with the Romantic one: it is language that makes its own wise decisions. The linguist does not take the active domineering position of the verbal hygienist, but assures the public that language will be taking care of its own hygiene.

While the academician's position is no longer one of extreme authority, he nevertheless has to fulfil his role as a guardian of the language – as a defender of homogeneity – reassuring the public that Romanian will not change its essence, the myth of homogeneity (Watts 2011) meeting the myth of legitimacy (Watts 2011): legitimate Romanian (the Romanian language whose legitimacy and prestige come from its being Romance, since the Romanian state is symbolically a descendant of Rome) will not alter its true nature by becoming Anglo-Saxon. Here, the descriptive linguistics terms "Anglo-Saxon" and "Romance" are employed in order to support the myths of legitimacy and of homogeneity: the guardian of the language assures us that what defines Romanian (giving it legitimacy/homogeneity) is not bound to alter in the present context (one of contact with an Anglo-Saxon language).

Both interviews focussing on the present state of Romanian also include questions centring on the people who contribute to the "ruin of language", referred to by the term "language ruiners" (a literal translation of the Romanian "stricătorii de limba" – a phrase that has been often used by extreme purists in the contemporary media). Marius Sala's answer has been listed here first, followed by Rodica Zafiu's answer to a similar question (target texts being followed by their source texts):

It has been often said that those who ruin language are those who make excessive use of neologisms. In the end, those neologisms turned out to be useful and were integrated. Who are today's "language ruiners"?
Marius Sala: To use a cliché, *every excess is harmful*. Regarding language, the "*ruiners*" are, first and foremost, those *who make serious grammatical errors* (and their numbers are considerable). It is only in second place that I'd mention *Romglish speakers* – it's *a fad, something they'll get over.* [My emphasis]
(*De-a lungul anilor s-a spus că stricătorii de limbă sunt cei care întrebuinţează excesiv neologismele. Până la urmă unele neologisme s-au dovedit utile şi au fost integrate. Azi, cine sunt stricătorii de limbă?*
Marius Sala: Orice exces este dăunător, ca să mă exprim în truisme. În ceea ce priveşte limba, „stricători" sunt, mai întâi, cei care fac greşeli gramaticale grave (şi, din păcate, nu sunt puţini). Abia pe

locul doi i-aş menţiona pe cei care vorbesc romgleza, pentru că sunt convins că le va trece!) (Crișciu 2014)

Many people employ the phrase "the ruin of language". What does ruining language mean? Is it possible for someone to ruin Romanian?
Rodica Zafiu: The possibility is very remote. The concept of "ruin" *is evaluative and questionable.* Scientifically speaking, we say that a *language develops, it's permanently subject to change.* When somebody calls this "ruin", this is, most of the times, a subjective view, an expression of someone's feelings. Of course we can say that *a language risks disappearing, shifting* **(**literal translation: runs the risk of degradation - lit. for Rom *degradare*), when – under the influence of another language – it gets to *a creole stage, where its grammar is simplified and its words are totally mixed.* But *this stage is very hard to imagine for a language of culture such as Romanian*, which has a *literature* of its own, *dictionaries*, *cultural institutions.* To say that Romanian "is ruined" is an exaggeration. Some of the changes which scare people will disappear, others will however become part of the language. [My emphasis]
(*Sunt mulţi cei care folosesc sintagma „ stricarea limbii". Ce înseamnă a se strica limba? E posibil să se strice limba română?*
Rodica Zafiu: E o posibilitate extrem de redusă. Conceptul de „stricat" este unul evaluativ şi discutabil. Din punct de vedere ştiinţific, considerăm doar că limba se modifică, este într-o schimbare permanentă. Când cineva numeşte schimbarea „stricare", e vorba, de cele mai multe ori, de o apreciere subiectivă, de exprimarea unui sentiment. Sigur că putem spune că o limbă riscă să se piardă, să se degradeze, când – sub influenţa altei limbi - ajunge la stadiul de creolă, în care gramatica se simplifică iar cuvintele sunt total amestecate. Dar stadiul acesta este foarte greu de imaginat pentru o limbă de cultură ca româna, care are o literatură, dicţionare, instituţii culturale. A spune că limba română „se strică" este complet exagerat. Unele dintre schimbările care acum îi sperie pe unii au să dispară, altele au să se integreze.) (Ofițeru 2015)

As can be seen, Marius Sala takes a stronger guardian position than Rodica Zafiu: he does not dispute the phrase "the ruin of language" and he identifies those who ruin language as those who make grammatical errors, employing (unprompted) the label "Romglish" in order to dismissively refer to a group of speakers whom he had earlier designated as a class of semiliterate snobs. In this manner, the linguist fulfils his "language guardian" function, further reassuring the public that Romglish is no threat to the integrity of Romanian.

Unlike Sala's answer, Rodica Zafiu's answer does not embrace an overtly prescriptive position. As a linguist familiar with the concept of language ideology, she draws attention to the danger of using evaluative labels. However, her use of the term "creolization" is interesting for our discussion; Zafiu defines "creole" by employing a definition easy to understand for the general public – "simplified grammar", "totally mixed words". It is interesting to see that she herself steps into her position as a guardian of the language, as she reassures the public that Romanian will not undergo "creolization", due to the fact that the language is supported by literature/dictionaries/cultural institutions, namely by guardian institutions defending the imagined homogeneity of Romanian. The implication here is that a "creole" is not a "language of culture" and that, as a language which is defended by guardian cultural institutions, Romanian does not run the risk of becoming a "creole" (the Romanian linguistic term "degradation" is used here). As in the case of Marius Sala's use of the Anglo-Saxon/Romance opposition, Zafiu's use of the term "creolization" points to the use of a descriptive conceptual framework in order to support a (covertly) prescriptive position – that of the guardian of the language reassuring the public that the imagined homogeneity of the Romanian nation-state is in no way under threat, since the nation-state is defended by appropriate cultural institutions.

3. Conclusion

The paper has focused on the language-ideological component underlying the attitudes expressed by two prominent linguists who are featured as authorities in the Romanian media.

The interviews are embedded in standard language ideology, a fact which is made manifest by their chosen titles, which rely on keywords such as "Romglish" and "correctly". As such keywords indicate, the underlying premise is one of linguistic homogeneity, and the linguists who are interviewed are automatically placed in the position of "guardians of the Romanian language". The paper has examined the way in which the linguists themselves define (or redefine) this position in the present context, which is one of globalisation.

While neither of the two experts interviewed takes an extreme purist position, both linguists however fulfil their obligations as "guardians of the language". Marius Sala employs evaluative labels with moderately purist overtones (which Zafiu avoids), while both linguists employ concepts belonging to a descriptive framework (Anglo-Saxon/Romance; creole/language of culture) in order to legitimate "proper Romanian". Here, the position of the language expert is not that of the overtly professed "verbal hygienist", as both these linguists profess themselves unable to control language, none of them making an overt "language complaint" or attempting to make "prescriptions". The position taken by Sala and Zafiu differs considerably from that of other Romanian cultural personalities, whose comments in the media bear strongly puristic overtones, often taking the form of visceral language laments. Nevertheless, the linguists remain committed to the myths of homogeneity and legitimacy underlying a discourse archive that has functioned in Romania since the nineteenth century (see Watts 2011 for the concept of "language myths" and the Foucauldian concept "discourse archive"). In both cases, descriptive concepts (such as "Romance language" or "creolization") are used to support a discourse archive where the nation-state is still imagined as homogeneous. The role that these experts assume is one of reassuring the Romanian public that, in spite of the hybridity and transculturation of the present age, the imagined integrity of Romanian is not under threat. This takes place in a present context where the role of "guardian of the language" becomes increasingly problematic, since the imagined homogeneity of the nation-state (relying on the "pure language myth", Watts 2011) is, as previous analyses have shown, increasingly challenged by the growing heterogeneousness involved by globalisation.

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THE ROLE OF PERSONIFYING METAPHORS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN LEGAL TEXTS

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Abstract: *This paper attempts to carry out an analysis of metaphors in a corpus of legal documents, within the theoretical framework of the cognitive metaphor theory as conceived by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). There is a notable use of conceptual metaphors and framings in the law we live by which, undoubtedly, have a major impact on the way millions of people in the world act and react in their attempt of decoding legal messages. Since metaphors are basically cognitive constructs, their meaning can be grasped only through a process of transfer of significance from a source domain to a target one, leading thus, to an interpretation of the legal discourse.*
Keywords: *legal discourse, cognitive metaphors.*

1. Introduction

Legal language studies have not developed a specific interest in this domain, partly because legal language is conceived as highly normative, prescriptive, directive and imperative, and partly because of its recognized formalism and obscurity. The presence of metaphors in legal English, although unexpected, represents, though, a significant characteristic: there is no such a thing as non-metaphorical legal language, at least in the line set by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

2. Main aim and objectives

The present study is part of a more extensive research and includes elements of my doctoral project. The study is comparatively applied to the English and Romanian legal discourse.

Its main purpose is to analyze conceptual metaphors across various subgenres of the legal discourse and to identify the extent to which they might influence the correct understanding of the legal content.

My endeavor is meant to contribute to the study of the vast area of legal discourse, by focusing on metaphors occurring in documents such as bylaws, agreements/contracts, indictments and wills. Fully aware of the complexity of legal discourse, I have decided to limit the study to written discourse genres considering them illustrative for three distinct branches of the English law, namely Civil, Commercial and Criminal Law.

3. Methodological remarks

My direct investigative objectives are:

- to design a corpus of representative sets of documents collected from online archives and private lawyers' data bases;
- to create a system of categories to be investigated;
- to analyze and compare the features established within the category system;
- to establish if correlation points exist between the major characteristic features within the data from both sets, English and Romanian.

To this end I have used qualitative methods such as content analysis and discourse analysis, despite their limitations formulated by Bryman (2012, 405-406) as subjectivity, difficulty to replicate and generalize.

3.1 The Corpus

The corpus I have made use of in this paper includes a collection of sample texts and authentic documents from online archives and lawyers' databases. The types of legal documents I have selected belong to the Civil, Commercial and Criminal Law

3.1.1 Corpus description

The corpus analyzed in the present study is divided into two sections: the English corpus and the Romanian one. Nine of the eighteen documents included belong to the English corpus, namely one bylaw, two agreements/contracts, three indictments and three wills, and nine to the Romanian corpus. The genres selected for discussion are representative for the categories we intend to analyze in connection with the three different legal branches.

The choice of *bylaws, contracts/agreements, indictments* and *wills* is due to their frequency among legal documents.

A *bylaw* contains "the written rules for conduct of a corporation, association, partnership or any organization." (http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/bylaws)

A *contract*/*agreement* represents "a concord between two or more parties, with respect to the effect upon their relative rights and duties, of certain past or future facts or performances; a mutual assent to do a thing." (http://thelawdictionary.org/agreement/#ixzz2aubTAVrX).

A *living will* is "a legal document that allows individuals to express their wishes regarding their property or their future medical treatment they do or do not want, in case of a terminal illness." (http://living wills.uslegal.com/).

An *indictment* is "a formal accusation that a person has committed a crime and is issued by the public prosecutor on behalf of the Crown or the State. The purpose of an indictment is to "inform an accused individual of the charge against him or her so that the person will be able to prepare a defense." (http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/indictment).

The samples selected and belonging to these genres are illustrative of the occurrence of legal conceptualizations and framings.

The analyzed corpus consists of a total of 187 pages, 67 pages of which for the English corpus containing 24,825 words and 120 pages for the Romanian one containing 59,963 words.

The table below contains the length of the above mentioned documents:

Table 1. The length of the documents in the corpus

ENGLISH CORPUS	NO. OF WORDS	ROMANIAN CORPUS	NO OF WORDS
Item 1 By Law	2,351	Item 1.1 Act constitutiv	2,672
Item 2 Agreement	7,762	Item 2.1 Contract	1,062
Item 3 Agreement	1,018	Item 3.1 Contract	2,031
Item 4 Indictment	2,582	Item 4.1 Rechizitoriu	28,269
Item 5 Indictment	3,180	Item 5.1 Rechizitoriu	23,101

Item 6 Indictment	3,642	Item 6.1 Rechizitoriu	2,259
Item 7 Will	1,780	Item 7.1 Testament	202
Item 8 Will	1,906	Item 8.1 Testament	154
Item 9 Will	604	Item 9.1 Testament	213
Total	24,825	Total	59,963

3.1.2 Corpus selection

In pursuing the goal of finding out to what extent particular legal genres and subgenres contain conceptual metaphors and how they contribute to the understanding of the content, I examined samples from each legal branch: Commercial, Criminal and Civil (Family).

3.2 Terminological clarifications and categories to be investigated

In order to define the categories of analysis I will approach first the theoretical framework which underlies the present study, namely the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Therefore we will use terms such as:

> „**Conceptual metaphor.** When one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain, we have a conceptual metaphor. This understanding is achieved by seeing a set of systematic correspondences, or mappings, between the two domains. Conceptual metaphors can be given by means of the formula A IS B or A AS B, where A and B indicate different conceptual domains.
>
> **Conceptual domain.** This is our conceptual representation, or knowledge, of any coherent segment of experience. We often call such representations concepts, such as the concepts of BUILDING or MOTION. This knowledge involves both the knowledge of basic elements that constitute a domain and knowledge that is rich in detail. This detailed rich knowledge about a domain is often made use of in metaphorical entailments. *See also* Entailments, metaphorical.
>
> **Mappings.** Conceptual metaphors are characterized by a set of conceptual correspondences between elements of the source and target domains. These correspondences are technically called "mappings."
>
> **Source domain.** This is a conceptual domain that we use to understand another conceptual domain (the target domain). Source domains are typically less abstract or less complex than target domains. For example, in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the conceptual domain of journey is typically viewed as being less abstract or less complex than that of life.
>
> **Target domain.** This is a conceptual domain that we try to understand with the help of another conceptual domain (the source domain). Target domains are typically more abstract and subjective than source domains. For example, in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the conceptual domain of life is typically viewed as being more abstract (and more complex) than that of journey." (Kövecses 2002, 253)

The categories to which we applied the qualitative analysis of cognitive metaphors in the corpora is restricted to the following groups and subgroups:

- Personifying metaphors
  - Metaphors containing parts of the body and bodily functions;
  - Metaphors containing moral values;
  - Metaphors containing human actions.
- Reifying metaphors
  - Metaphors referring to building;
  - Metaphors referring to container.
- Process metaphors
  - The war/confrontation metaphor.

4. Conceptual Metaphor Framework and the legal reasoning

Unlikely as it may seem, non-obvious traces of figurative mechanisms appear quite

frequently in instances of language used in legal contexts. In order to have a closer look to their functioning we start from the classical works of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kovecses' (2002) which are part of the core literature on the topic and create an ideal frame for our analysis.

George Lakoff, an American linguist, and Mark Johnson, a philosopher, with the publication of their book, *Metaphors We Live By*, introduced a completely new way of studying the interrelation of thought and speech. They write:

> "The concepts that govern our thoughts are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people…If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor". (Lakoff, Johnson 1980, 3)

We use this cognitive approach to metaphor in the analysis of legal documents. Although at first they may appear to be clever inventions for the convenience of the law, the metaphors actually have their origins in conceptualizations that have long been a part of normal language and thought. *Conceptual metaphor theory* has been developed and elaborated on by various other linguists. Numerous researchers in the field have pointed out that ordinary speakers regularly use linguistic metaphors in everyday speech and those metaphors reveal underlying thought processes, that is conceptual metaphors (cf. Kövecses 2010, Steen 2009, and others). In fact, metaphor is claimed to be omnipresent, rather than peripheral or marginal, and our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature.

Research into metaphor has largely concentrated on general language, on "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" (Kovecses 2002, 4).

Although not many in number, there have been also studies in the legal metaphor. Several authors have proved that metaphor is indeed an inherent part of legal language. According to Twardzisz (2013) Hibbitts (1994) examines the contemporary shift from visually-oriented to aurally-oriented figures of speech in American legal language. We frequently use the following expressions: *we observe the law*, *in the eyes of the law*, *high courts review the decisions of inferior tribunals*, etc., as though we considered law as a matter of looking. Also, we often talk of law as if it were something to look at, for instance, a text, a body or a structure. Visual metaphors can be detected by giving law the visual quality of hue, when one makes a property claim under *colour of title*, discourages *yellow dog* contracts, adheres to *black letter* rules or makes securities trading subject to *blue sky* laws (also, see, for example, Winter 2008).

Shane (2006) acknowledges the need for a different treatment of the legal metaphor, namely as "legal fiction."

The linguistic and cultural features of the law have a managing role within the legal discourse in an institutional framework. This framework comprises the legal language by means of which concepts are uttered in a specific manner and in relation with a well defined aim and intention. Once we can identify the intention we can speak of a legal discourse. The legal text operating within the legal discourse has to obey specific constraints in order to be efficient as far as norms and jurisprudence are concerned. The use of legal metaphors is part of the process of encoding and decoding legal messages and their integration in this framework is of utmost importance. "In all societies, law is formulated, interpreted and enforced: there are codes, courts and constables. And the greater part of these legal processes is realized primarily through language. Language is medium, process and product in the various arenas of the law where legal texts, spoken or written, are generated in the service of regulating social behaviour. Particularly in literate cultures, once norms and proceedings are

recorded, standardised and institutionalised, a special language develops, representing predictable process and pattern of functional specialisation." (Gibbons 1994, 11)

5. Findings

5.1 A qualitative analysis of metaphors in English legal texts

As demonstrated by the figures in the quantitative analysis conducted in a another section of my research, personifying metaphors are the most frequently used in all three types of the English documents considered. Of them, the most numerous subgroup is represented by that referring to human actions.

In what follows, the qualitative analysis will focus on some examples from the personifying group of metaphors, special attention being paid to the human action subgroup of the English legal metaphors.

Metaphors used in reference to the body (*Personifying metaphors* - Metaphors referring to human actions) represent a collective human experience of the body, or better stated, body *metaphors* illustrate the body-mind connection. The metaphor of the human body has been broadly exploited in different types of discourse. The human body represents knowledge, plurality, it is easy understandable at a first glance. Thus, legal discourse applies to the use of *body metaphors* so as to be more connected to reality, to be more *human*. The law itself, legal entities and legal documents are frequently portrayed as either possessing parts similar to those of the human body, its corresponding vital functions, or experiencing human feelings and having human attitudes. Abstract concepts are largely metaphorical. One of the most common forms of economic activities, namely a company or a corporation, is frequently thought of as a person. This issue is present in many legal documents, including bylaws and contracts:

> "neither the *Company nor its Subsidiaries have entered or will enter into* any transaction or agreement" (*Item 2, lines 306-307*)

The drafter views the company as a human being, a person supposed to know or be familiar with certain legal or economic issues, able to negotiate if the case be, or even to cause problems. Inanimate entities perform human actions as illustrated in the following examples:

- ❖ give authorization:
  - …large numbers of persons would march to the International Amphitheatre, Chicago, Illinois, even if *permits authorizing such marches* were denied. (*Item 4, lines 69- 70)*
  - at no time *did N[redacted] authorize defendant D[redacted] to possess classified documents* or information at home (*Item 5, lines 108-109*)
- ❖ cause damage (this may be considered a mixed personifying-war/confrontation metaphor):
  - The designation "Confidential" applied to *information that*, if disclosed without proper authorization, *reasonably could be expected to cause damage to national security.* (*Item 5, lines 207-208*)

Personifying metaphors trigger inferences related to various human actions in the interpreters' mind, they depend on the interpreters' knowledge and skills, as well as their subjective judgments. Consider the example:

- "large numbers of persons would march to the International Amphitheatre, Chicago,

Illinois, even if *permits authorizing such marches* were denied" *(Item 4, line 69-70)*

It is common knowledge that marches must be accepted and authorized by police or other competent institutions; the metaphor *permits authorizing such marches* works behind the actual lexical formulation of the content, it implies that both producers and interpreters are familiar with the strict requirements of organizing a march, the permits replace the human decision, they become human and authorize various human actions.

The security agency in *Item 5* stands for a government security agency; it represents a decisive factor in a political and social environment, it is identified with intelligence, national security and defense. The metaphorical framing identified is SECURITY IS A PERSON (which is responsible for, takes actions).

- *"The NSA was responsible for,* among other things, *providing Signals Intelligence to United States policy-makers and military forces"* (*Item 5, lines 28-29*)

There is a distinction between the source and the target domains and an intricate mapping of the relations between them as we have previously noticed. The abstract concept of security implies authorization, knowledge, information and responsibility.

Humans interact with entities like companies/corporations or national agencies. Human beings work for companies/corporations or national agencies and, similarly to people, companies/corporations and agencies operate, appoint people, furnish information and deal with legal or economic documents:

- *The Company will furnish* to M[redacted], for use by M[redacted], copies of the prospectus (*Item 2, line 37*)
- *at no time did NSA authorize defendant* DRAKE to possess classified documents or information at home (*Item 5*, *lines 108-109*)
- this Will, which Declaration of Trust *provides for the payment of such excess* (*Item 8, line 31*)
- *This declaration reflects my firm, informed*, and settled commitment (*Item 9, line 8*)

5.2 A qualitative analysis of metaphors in Romanian legal texts

The figures in the Romanian metaphor quantitative analysis have shown that the group of personifying metaphors is the richest source of metaphors within all three types of the Romanian legal documents from my corpus. Inanimate entities can perform actions as the following:

❖ setting up company branches:

- *Societatea va putea înființa* prin hotărârea AGA sucursale, filiale, agenţii, reprezentanțe… (*Item 1.1., line 48*)

❖ issue and handle certificates:

- *Societatea poate emite şi înmâna asociaţilor certificate* constatatoare a drepturilor asupra parţilor sociale. (*Item 1.1., line 98*)

❖ take decisions:

- *A.G.A. poate hotărî mărirea capitalului.* (*Item 1.1., line 80*)
- *Marfa va intra in proprietatea comitentului* din momentul semnării procesului-verbal de predare-primire, (*Item 3.1, lines 78-79*)

❖ employ people:

- *S*.C. ... *angajează pe...*începând cu….pe o perioada nedeterminata. (*Item 2.1, line 14*)

Examples included in the subclasses of personifying metaphors such as moral values or body sensations are much less numerous than those linking inanimate with human actions.

❖ a company is a (corporate) body, in other words, a living organism similar to humans:

- *Societatea este persoana juridica romana având forma juridica [...] si îşi desfăşoară activitatea in conformitate cu legile române. (Item 1.1, line 27*)

❖ shares have the ability to grant rights to their holders (this metaphorical association is closer to the area of moral values than to that of human actions):

- *Fiecare parte sociala subscrisa si vărsata de asociaţi conferă acestora dreptul la un vot* in AGA. (*Item 1.1, line 115*)

❖ like a human being, a company might have rights, but it also has obligations:

- *Societatea comerciala [...] poate sa dobândească drepturi de proprietate* si alte drepturi. (*Item 1.1, line 30*)
- *Unitatea are obligaţia să acorde un preaviz* de 15 zile lucrătoare. (*Item 2.1, line 68*)

When analyzing Romanian personifying metaphors with special attention to the human action subcategory, the common important knowledge individuals have about various legal actions helps them define and better understand more abstract concepts.

Approaching the concept of *company/corporation* both in Romanian, the first association one makes is with human beings capable of feelings and emotions, but who do not neglect the reason or the intellect.

There are several metaphorical images identified in the Romanian legal documents. One metaphorical image as reflected in the documents belonging to the first and second subgenres, the agreements/contracts and indictments, is BOARD IS DECISION:

- *"Adunarea generala extraordinara care a hotărât aceasta va numi o comisie* de experţi" (*Item 1.1., lines 77-78*)
- *"A.G.A. care va vota*" (*Item 1.1, line 18*)
- "*Direcţia Generala Anticorupţie a întocmit procesul verbal de sesizare" (Item 5, 158)*

Another metaphorical image stands for COMPANY IS DECISION; in the first instance, *Board dis decison*, the management of the corporation acts and reacts as human beings do; the members of the board are individuals required to come with solutions and take decisions on behalf of all shareholders.

In the following examples, *the company*, which represent the inanimate entity, is endowed with human powers and is responsible for the future courses of action that might affect all discourse participants:

- "*Societatea va ţine evidenţa părţilor sociale*" (*Item 1.1., line 107*)
- "*Societatea întocmeşte inventarul diverselor elemente ale activului si pasivului*, existente la data respectiva" (*Item 1.1., 252-253*)
- *"S.C. ..... este de acord sa ramburseze angajatului, cheltuielile pe care le face" (Item 2, line 33)*

When discussing contracts and even indictments, if the offence concerns a business issue, the agreements that have been signed or breached, are also seen performing actions that are linked to human behavior, as illustrated below:

- ”*contractul individual de munca poate inceta* si prin acordul partilor” (*Item 2, line 72*)
- “*aceste contracte au avut rolul de a da o aparenţă de legalitate sumelor încasate* de la părţile vătămate prin şantaj” (*Item 4, 355-356*)

6. Conclusion

All subclasses of the *Personifying metaphor* category are represented in both English and Romanian documents in our corpus, human actions being the richest source domain for the examples that could have been identified. Inanimate entities are performers of human-specific activities or engage into human-like behavior.

A closer look at the metaphors quoted above indicates that, although the English and Romanian legal documents analyzed are of the same type, the personifying metaphors bringing together inanimates and human actions differ in the two corpora.

Instances when inanimates are viewed as if they had a human body and could be associated with moral values have also been isolated from the documents analyzed. However, examples included in these subclasses of personifying metaphors are much less numerous than those linking inanimates with human actions.

Conventional and common knowledge is also involved in the explanation and motivation of this type of metaphors. It is generally known that humans interact socially and economically when signing a contract or gathering at the hearing of a will.

The usefulness of personifying metaphors in the discourse of law has been pointed out repeatedly in the previous section. Cognitively, they definitely facilitate the understanding of what people know less in terms of what they are more familiar with (their own body, the actions they perform and the moral values they possess). Thus functioning, they have the potential to “soften” the pretty rigid language of law. Once this language becomes more accessible to the non-professionals, their attitude towards it might change from fear of not being able to make sense of it to perceiving it as not completely meaningless for somebody who has not attended a law school.

The preference for personifying metaphors reflected by human actions can be easily explained by the fact that, human-specific actions are very familiar to all of us, and thus, implicit comparisons with them facilitate the understanding of the obscure, less known or even unknown facts in the context of legal decisions that might affect the discourse participants.

Unlike action-related personifying metaphors, which proved to be different in the two corpora, some of those related to the human body and moral values are shared (as, for example, the metaphor referring to a company as having rights).

If the cognitive value of the metaphors discussed can hardly be denied, it is obvious that they have no stylistic contribution to the discourse. They do not fall in the category of rhetorical instruments used by creative writers to consciously adorn their works. In the documents under consideration, they are employed rather as “natural and inherent components of human language” (Smith 2006-2007, 942) in a particular specialized environment.

The analysis of the English and Romanian legal documents brings us to the conclusion that at least agreements and indictments are pretty similar as far as the tendency in the use of metaphors is concerned. Both show an obvious preference of the writers for personifying metaphors, while reifying and process metaphors rank second and third, respectively. The major dissimilarity lies between English and Romanian wills – the latter, as already pointed out, contain no metaphors at all.

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THE INFLUENCE OF CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT QUALITY ON THE STUDENTS' BEHAVIOUR

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Abstract: *The value of a teacher depends, among others, on their ability to transfer information from the scientific level to that of the efficient reception and understanding of each beneficiary of education, depending on individual features and age.*
The present study investigates the teachers' and students' beliefs and visions about student behaviour management.
Starting from the assumption that the identification of the line between formative supervision vs punitive supervision or between formative supervision vs the absence of supervision is a sensitive issue, the present study analyses these forms of supervision in order to provide support for high quality professional development and training.
Keywords: *Behaviour, Beliefs, Classroom Management, Formative/Punitive Supervision, Training Quality*

1. Introduction

The semantic extension of the concept of management has created a wealth of ways for humanities, expanding the field of education. The manager is the person exercising functions under management objectives, tasks, powers and responsibilities of the office he holds. Managers have a well-defined social status, which provides a range of rights and obligations, which distinguishes them from other categories of professionals.

Classroom management is a challenge for both beginning teachers who are in their early career, but also for experienced teachers as educational context can change. Teachers need to adapt to the realities of each group of students, to the changes of the organizational culture of the school/class relations and interactions or educational crises that may arise in the classroom or the school climate, to the changes in society and to the progress of the school.

The concept of classroom management can be interpreted as a restatement of the teaching - learning process achieved in the classroom, in the context of the new psychosocial realities of the youth. Both teachers and students can improve the process, can rediscover the pleasure of teaching, and students can find sense in the classroom learning and learning motivation.

Classroom management is the process by which teachers and schools create and maintain an appropriate behavior of students in classroom settings. The purpose of implementing classroom management strategies is to enhance prosocial behavior and increase student academic engagement (Emmer & Sabornie 2015:15-39; Everston & Weinstein 2006: 17-43). Effective classroom management principles work across almost all subject areas and grade levels.

In the social system of education teachers should relate to those we educate, establish cooperative relationships with students and their parents and other education stakeholders in

the community. They not only educate in class, but, by every business relationship with students and parents, develop a work of growth and development, management/coordination and streamlining. Teachers work with human individualities in the field of mental training. Hence the need for maximum responsibility of all social actors involved in the educational process including teachers.

2. Research objectives

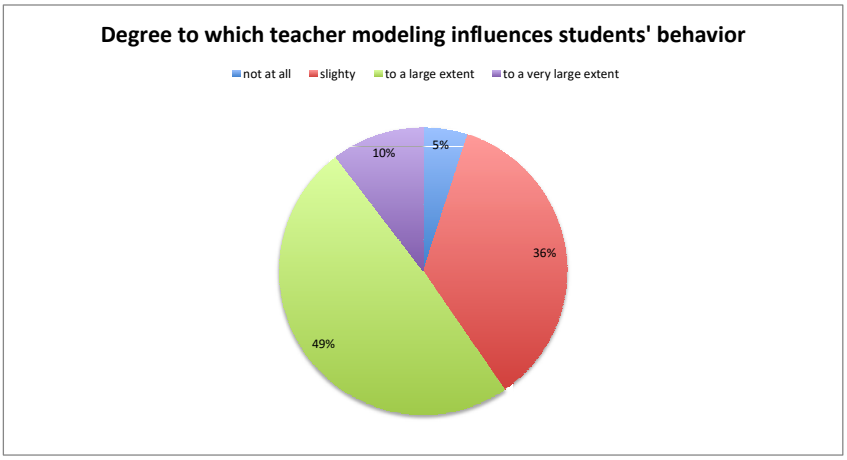
- Establishing the degree of influence teachers have on their students' behavior;
- Identifying the teaching style students prefer;
- Finding the relevant factors that influence behavior change in students;
- Identification of teacher behaviors that students would change.

3. Description of the Sample

240 high-school students took part in the study, sophomores and juniors (10th and 11th grade). Of these, 105 were male, 135 were female, 179 were enrolled in a science-oriented curriculum and 61 in a humanistic-oriented curriculum.

3.1.Results and Interpretation

Analyzing the students' responses regarding the degree to which the teacher's model influences their behavior (ITEM 1) we observed that 5 % chose the answer *„not at all"*, 35.4 % chose the answer *„slightly"*, 49.2 % *„to a large extent"* and 10.4 % *„to a very large extent"*. Cumulating the answers *„not at all or slightly"* and *„to a large or very large extent"*, we observed that 40.4 % consider that the teacher's model can influence their behavior *„not at all or slightly"*, whereas 59.6 % *„to a large or very large extent"*, the latter category of answers being more frequent [λ^2 (2) = 8.817, $p \leq 0.01$].



Analyzing whether there are significant differences regarding students' preference for a teaching style (ITEM 3), results from a Chi Square test suggest that the democratic style is preferred more than the authoritarian or indifferent styles [λ^2 (2) = 355.213, $p \leq 0.001$]. We also analyzed whether this preference differs in those students with a science vs. humanistic curriculum. The Chi Square results show that there are significant differences, namely science students have a larger preference than humanities students for the authoritarian style, and

humanities students have a larger preference than science students for the indifferent style. There were no significant differences in humanities and science students' preference for the democratic style.

Analyzing which of the aspects enumerated in ITEM 6 are more important for the students' behavior improvement, Friedman test results suggest that there are significant differences overall [λ^2 (3) = 33.730, $p \leq 0.001$], the most important being the relationships with teachers, followed by non-formal education, and relationships with friends, and formal education, respectively.

We also analyzed whether there are significant differences in students' responses as to what they would rather see changed in their teachers (ITEM 7) and the Chi Square results suggest that students' options are to a greater extent oriented towards communication aspects rather than the way teachers intervene in conflict resolution [λ^2 (2) = 22.225, $p \leq 0.001$].

3.2. Overall we can conclude that, from the students' perspective, the way their teachers behave acts as a model and has some kind of influence on their own behavior in 95% of the cases. Students by-and-large prefer a democratic to an authoritarian or indifferent teaching style, although there are relative differences in the students' preferences for the latter two styles depending on whether they are following a science-oriented curriculum or a humanity one.

Students' behaviors change, by their own admission, depending a great deal on their relationship with teachers, an aspect that we find very important to notice, particularly in conjunction with the fact that those aspects of the teachers' behavior that students would change are to a large extent communicative.

4. Conclusions

The role of the teaching staff in shaping the personality of the students is very high. Regardless of the role that the teachers have in school, they can influence decisively, depending on the direction in which they guide the personality of the students.

In support of the findings of our research we mention relevant contributions of famous researchers.

Chen (2005: 77-127), based on studies undertaken considers that in the schools environment, development and support in development is due to resources of the following type: interpersonal (the quality of interactions), emotional (encouragement) cognitive (field objectives in results) behavioral (control) and instrumental (help with school tasks). In all of these resources the teacher is involved.

Teachers can create positive dynamics in the classroom by using educational strategies based on sound pedagogical research that combines adequate levels of dominance and cooperation and an awareness of the needs of the students.

Marzano, Marzano and Picketing found that the quality of teacher-student relationships is the keystone for all other aspects of classroom management. They described effective teacher-student relationships as having nothing to do with the teacher's personality or even whether the students view the teacher as a friend. Rather, the most effective teacher-student relationships are characterized by specific teacher behaviors: exhibiting appropriate levels of dominance; exhibiting appropriate levels of cooperation; and being aware of high-needs students (Marzano, R. J., Marzano, J. S., & Pickering, D. J.2003:pp.6-13).

Teachers play various roles in a typical classroom, but surely one of the most important is that of a classroom manager. Effective teaching and learning cannot take place in a poorly managed classroom. If students are disorderly and disrespectful, and no apparent

rules and procedures guide behavior, chaos becomes the norm. In these situations, both teachers and students suffer. Teachers struggle to teach, and students most likely learn much less than they should. In contrast, well-managed classrooms provide an environment in which teaching and learning can flourish. But a well-managed classroom doesn't just appear out of nowhere. It takes a good deal of effort to create and the person who is most responsible for creating it is the teacher.

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THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A TOTALITARIAN NIGHTMARE: DYSTOPIAN VISIONS IN THE DISCOURSE OF THE UK INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UKIP)

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Abstract: *Based on an analysis of UKIP's discourse on the EU, particularly that of leader Nigel Farage, this paper argues that the party depicts the EU in dystopian terms; in particular it compares it to dystopian narratives such as Orwell's 1984, totalitarian communist regimes, Nazi Germany and 'failed states' such as North Korea.*
Keywords: *UKIP, EU, discourse, dystopia, utopia*

1. Introduction

While the term "Utopia" is normally used to refer to fictional societies possessing qualities percieved as highly desirable or perfect, states or political entities such as the European Union (EU) may be constructed as utopian in political discourse. As Nicolaidis and Howse have argued, Europe has long projected a utopian view of itself onto the outside world. This utopian vision has, over the centuries "had a long history and many labels, from enlightenment to colonialism, civic imperialism, or "civilian power" (2002:767).

In this context, it can be argued that the EU's official self-image is utopian, or *EUtopian* (Nicolaidis and Howse, 2002). In Zielonka's view for instance, the EU understands itself as a normative power which "civilises" its external environment (2013:36). However, as Nicolaidis and Howse argue, the picture which the EU presents in the international arena is idealised rather than representing what Europe actually is (2002).

The concept of the EU as a utopian visison has also been severely challenged in public opinion, reflected in the unprecedented success of Eurosceptic parties in the 2014 European Parliament elections (BBC, 2014) and the increased participation of Eurosceptic parties in government (Taggart and Szczerbiak, 2013). In this sense, the rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) can be partly, and ironically, explained in terms of political Europeanisation, not only because the EU is the main issue on its agenda but because it can be seen as part of a Europe-wide rise of populist, Eurosceptic parties (Ford, 2013), and has been open to transnational alliances with other such parties (Gifford, 2014:522).

In this context, in contrast to the official "EUtopian" vision of the EU, an analysis of UKIP discourse reveals that it constructs the EU as a dystopian, totalitarian society resembling the Communist totalitarian states of Eastern Europe, Nazi Germany or even Orwell's *1984.*

2. UKIP's Eurosceptic Discourse: EU as Dystopia

2.1 Euroscepticism in Britain

Despite the success of Eurosceptic parties across the EU, the rise of UKIP also has to be understood in the national context. Euroscepticism in Britain is nothing new; regarding European integration Britain has famously been a reluctant European, the "awkward partner", from the start, often appearing "semi-detatched" from Europe. As Schmidt argues, for instance, the British political elite has, from the very beginning, "defined EU identity in opposition to national identity" (2012:174).

This can, at least partly, be understood in terms of the importance of the sovereignty of the British Parliament in national discourse. In particular, there has been a persistent fear of the development of a European superstate which would threaten the sovereignty of the British Parliament, while European economic policies, it is feared, reduce flexibility thereby threatening British competitiveness (Schmidt 2006:18). Margaret Thatcher, for instance, warned in her 1988 Bruges speech of "a new superstate exercising new dominance from Brussels" (Schmidt 2012:174-175).

Such discourse is still evident among Conservative politicians today. Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron, for example, argued that the Conservative Party would seek to limit what it views as future federalist damage by implementing laws to "protect Britain"s sovereignty" (Cameron 2009) which culminated in the passage of the European Union Act in 2011. More recently, under pressure from Eurosceptics in his own party and by the rise of UKIP, Cameron promised to hold an "in/out" referendum on continued EU membership in 2017 if the Conservatives were re-elected in 2015 (Fox 2014).

While the Labour Party in recent years has been more pro-European than the Conservatives, it also continues to insist on a primarily intergovernmental EU (Watts and Pilkington 2005:232-233). Gordon Brown, for instance, focused on the importance of "British values … in persuading a global Europe that the only way forward is inter-governmental, not federal; mutual recognition, not one-size-fits-all central rules with proper political accountability … subsidiarity, not a superstate" (Gifford 2010:39). Meanwhile, Miliband argued that Labour would also, if elected, carry out an in/out referendum in the event of a proposed treaty change which involved a significant transfer of powers from Britain to the EU (Miliband 2014).

2.2 UKIP Discourse on the EU: EU Dystopia versus British Utopia

In recent years, UKIP has recently seen its popularity rise to the extent where it captured 27.5% of the vote and 24 seats in the 2014 European Parliament elections, more than either the Labour or Conservative parties (BBC 2014). While this success was not reflected in the 2015 General Elections, this can be partly explained by the first-past-the-post electoral system.

While operating within the party system, UKIP has generally exploited its outsider status, appealing to voters disillusioned with the mainstream parties (Gifford, 2014: 521) on questions such as immigration and the economy as well as European integration (Ford 2013).

Euroscepticism was, however, originally UKIP's only *raison d'etre.* It was founded in 1993, having emerged from the Anti-Federalist League which had been set up in 1991 with the aim to oppose the Maastricht Treaty, which, it argued, transferred significant powers to the EU without consulting the British people via referendum (Pârau 2014: 2). On this basis, UKIP declared that its aim was to campaign for the UK's withdrawal from the EU "because it is undemocratic, expensive, bossy – and we still haven't been asked whether we want to be in it" (UKIP 1993). Regarding the EU, UKIP discourse, like that of the Eurosceptic media, constructs a radical difference between Britain and the EU, which it sees as an elitist project undermining the national interest (Hawkins 2014:3). In this sense, it is represented as a fantasy object which poses a direct threat to Britain; here, the nation state is seen as an

organic form of political community while the EU is seen as an artificial invention, as running counter to the natural order (Hawkins 2014:8).

In particular, the EU is described as a (potential) superstate, and thus a threat to the sovereignty of the British Parliament which, for UKIP leader Nigel Farage, has been "reduced to the level of a large council" (2013). As noted above, such a depiction of the EU is not limited to UKIP; in fact it has been widespread in mainstream British political discourse (Schmidt 2012: 174-175) (Gifford 2010:39).

As Stavrakakis notes, however, Eurosceptic discourses exhibit "obscene" components which are not expressed in official or government discourses, however critical the latter may be of European integration (2005). In this sense, UKIP discourse has much in common with Eurosceptic discourse in the British media, which presents the EU as an "imperial" power which aims to undermine the UK's independence and to turn it into a mere province of a trans-European state, under centralised control from Brussels. British Eurosceptic discourse can, thus, be understood as the "horrific" dimension of the fantasmatic narrative, which is structured around ideas of repression and victimhood (Hawkins 2014: 11).

In particular, UKIP discourse depicts the EU as a *dystopian* state. A dystopia, which derives from the Greek for "bad place", such as those depicted in Orwell's *1984* or Huxley's *Brave New World* can be described as a society which is in some way undesirable or even frightening. However, a dystopia is not simply the opposite of a utopia; rather it is a utopian society with at least one fatal flaw; a utopia that has gone wrong, or functions for only a part of society (Gordin 2010:1-2). In this sense, according to Frye's theory of archetypal meaning, the dystopia may be characterised by demonic imagery, which is "the presentation of the world that desire totally rejects: the world of the scapegoat, of bondage and pain and confusion" (1990:147). For Frye, the demonic human world is "a society held together by a kind of molecular tension of egos, a loyalty to the group or the leader which diminishes the individual, or, at best, contrasts his pleasure with his duty or honour" (Frye 1990: 147).

A dystopia is also based on lived experience; indeed, as Gordin *et al* argue, many people perceive their lived environment as dystopian (2010:1-2). In this sense, a dystopian narrative can be read as a *warning* on the part of the author who "depicts a dark future building on the systematic amplification of current trends and features" (Claisse and Delvenne 2015: 155). In particular, dystopian narratives depict an oppressive society characterised by a lack of individual freedom due to excessive social control. This control may be exerted using a variety of measures, which may include propaganda, constant surveillance, terror, restriction of information, the discouragement of independent thought and the worship of a figurehead or concept. While control may be weilded by a totalitarian government it may also be exerted, for instance, by a mindless bureaucracy or by large corporations (Purkar 2013: 1-4).

Many of these features can be found in UKIP discourse on the EU. According to UKIP, then, in contrast to the "EUtopian" ideal of democracy, human rights, peace and prosperity, the EU is not merely a superstate but a dystopian society characterised by totalitarianism and a lack of freedom and individuality. Moreover, for UKIP, this system is backed up by a mindless bureacracy, and is characterised by increased impoverishment as a result of misguided, quasi-Socialist economic dictatorship.

Notably, Farage has made several direct comparisons between the EU and Orwell's *1984*. In the context of EU plans to attach a "remote stopping" device to cars which would enable police to disable vehicles, Farage, referring to *1984,* commented that; "It is appalling they are even thinking of it. People must protest against this attack on their liberty and vote against an EU Big Brother state during the Euro election in May" (Waterfield and Day 2014). In another allusion to Orwell's dystopia, Farage compared EU plans to set up media councils to "Orwell's *1984"* adding that "This is a flagrant attack on press freedom. To hear that unelected bureaucrats in Brussels want the power to fine and suspend journalists is just

outrageous" (Waterfield 2013). Similarly, regarding the EPP's plan to introduce EU education in schools, Farage, again alluding to *1984*, argued that "After destroying national economies and losing the political argument the EU Thought Police now want to brainwash your children…Propaganda should have no place in the classroom" (UKIP MEPs 2014).

The European Commission, in particular, has been described as the undemocratic, big-business dominated heart of the totalitarian EU government in the following speech by Farage to Commission President Juncker;

> The means by which the European Commission makes law and holds law is actually the very enemy of the concept of democracy itself, because it means in any member state there is nothing the electorate can do to change a single piece of European law (UKIP 2014) .

Regarding Juncker's appointment, Farage argued that "Not only will the ballot be conducted entirely in secret, but there is also only one candidate for the job. It's the sort of process that would not be out of place in North Korea" (Farage 2014) . In fact, Farage has frequently compared the EU to a totalitarian communist system. He argued, for instance, that "the EU resurrected the evil system that the people of Eastern Europe had lived under before" (Farage 2010), and, in a later speech, that "This European Union is the new communism. It is power without limits. It is creating a tide of human misery and the sooner it is swept away the better" (Farage 2013).

UKIP thus suggests that Britain has become a "puppet state" of a multinational totalitarian monster which stifles British initiative and originality by the endless imposition of mindless directives from Brussels;

> When we signed up to government from the Continent, most Britons didn't know what they were letting themselves in for. Our laws have come from Brussels – and what laws. What directives. What a list of instructions. How this shall be done. How that shall be regulated. Process and compliance and inspection and regulation are taking over from production and leadership and enterprise … Parliament is reduced to the level of a large council. No one knows for sure exactly how much of our law comes from Brussels. Could be 70 or 80 per cent (Farage 2013).

The economic situation of the EU, in the context of the global crisis of 2008/9 and the ensuing Eurozone crisis, has also been described in dystopian terms. As Farage argued in 2012, for instance;

> The EU tank has now hit the iceberg. It is a European Union of economic failure, of mass unemployment … We face the prospect of mass civil unrest, possibly even revolution in some countries that are being pushed into total and utter desperation (Farage 2012).

In particular, the EU has been described as dictatorial in the context of the crisis; in this sense, the crisis-hit countries of the Eurozone periphery, Greece in particular, have been described as becoming "protectorates" of the EU and losing their status as free, democratic countries completely. Farage, for instance, remarked to former Commission President Barroso during a European Parliament debate on the eurozone crisis that;

> You have killed democracy in Greece. You have three part-time overseas dictators that now tell the Greek people what they can and cannot do. It is totally unacceptable. Is it any wonder the Greek people are now burning flags and drawing swastikas across them? Frankly, unless Greece is allowed out of this economic and political prison you may well spark a revolution in that country (Farage 2011a).

Similarly, Farage argued that the EU had replaced Papandreou and Berlusconi in Greece and Italy with puppet governments more willing to adhere to the austerity measures imposed by the EU;

> None of you has been elected. None of you has any democratic legitimacy. When Mr. Papandreou used the word 'referendum,'you and your friends got together like a pack of hyenas, [surrounded] Papandreou, then had him removed and replaced by a puppet government. Not satisfied with that, you decided that Berlusconi had to go. So, he was removed and replaced by Mr Monti, a former EU commissioner, a fellow architect of this Euro-disaster, and a man who wasn't even a Parliament member (Farage 2011b).

In this context, the EU's economic policies are seen as German-dominated, thus encouraging allusions to the Nazis. Farage, for instance, argued that "We are now living in a German-dominated Europe, something that the European project was actually supposed to stop" (Keating 2011). Thus, in Farage's view, this is bound to end in disaster; "If you rob people of their democracy, if you rob them of their identity then all that is left is violence" (Farage 2011b).

As Hawkins notes, in Eurosceptic discourse, "the claim is made repeatedly that the UK could prosper if it were able to cast off the shackles of EU membership, freeing it from burdensome regulation" (2014:11). However, in common with the dominant discourses exemplified by Labour and the Conservatives, the UKIP also recognises that it is unrealistic to "go it alone" in economic terms in an increasingly competitive, globalising world. However, the UKIP argues that this problem can be overcome with the creation of a Commonwealth Free Trade Area, which would, in the UKIP's view, be a much more culturally compatible and economically and demographically dynamic group than the EU, and without the political contstraints of the latter. According to its 2010 Manifesto, then,

> UKIP will seek to establish a Commonwealth Free Trade Area (CFTA) with the 53 other Commonwealth countries … Commonwealth nations share a common language, legal and democratic systems, account for a third of the world's population and a quarter of its trade, with the average age of a citizen just 25 years. India, for example, will soon become the second largest world economy and Britain should not be tied to the dead political weight of the European Union, but retain its own friendly trading and cultural links (UKIP 2010)

While, in dystopian narratives, the citizens of the dystopia generally live in a dehumanised state, the dystopian hero often questions and rebels against the existing society; feeling trapped he/she struggles to escape from the confines of the stifling regime. In this sense, it can be argued that leaders of British hard Eurosceptic parties depict themselves and their parties as dystopian heroes, willing to rebel against the "totalitarian" EU and thus to lead Britain to a future of freedom and prosperity.

Farage, for instance, suggests that UKIP can provide an almost "Utopian" future for the UK by freeing it from the EU. This can be understood as the "beatific" dimension of the fantasmatic narrative which promises a mythical "fullness to come" if the obstacle of EU membership is overcome (Hawkins, 2014: 11). In Farage's view, the British people can only regain their freedom, rights and prosperity through a UKIP-led exit from the EU;

> UKIP is dedicated to liberty, opportunity, equality under the law and the aspirations of the British people. We will always act in the interests of Britain. Especially on immigration, employment, energy supply and fisheries. We know that only by leaving the union can we regain contol of our borders, our parliament, democracy and our ability to trade freely with the fastest-growing economies in the world (Farage 2013).

Similarly, UKIP's 2010 manifesto argues that UKIP will deliver Britain from a stifling, autocratic EU towards a brighter, freer future;

> We will no longer be governed by an undemocratic and autocratic European Union or ruled by its unelected bureaucrats, commissioners, multiple presidents and judges. UKIP will give power back to

> Westminster and to the people through binding national and local referenda and more effective, locally elected representatives. Britain will be free to choose a new positive vision away from the EU straitjacket (UKIP 2010).

In UKIP discourse, then, the view of a utopian future for Britain outside the EU is contextualised in an English past also described in utopian terms as a haven of freedom, democracy and human rights, in contrast to a Europe characterised by a history of tyranny, despotism and oppression. As Farage argues;

> The roots go back seven, eight, nine hundred years with the Common Law. Civil rights. Habeas corpus. The presumption of innocence. The right to a trial by jury … The idea of free speech was a reality in England when Europe was run by princes with tyrannical powers. Throughout Europe, England was known as the land of liberty. Here you had the possibility of dissent. Of free thinking, independent minds and actions. That's us. UKIP belongs in the mainstream of British political life throughout the centuries (Farage 2013).

3. Conclusion

While the rise of UKIP can be partly understood in terms of a rise in Eurosceptic and/or populist parties across the EU since the onset of the recent economic crisis, it can also be argued that such discourse has its roots in traditional British Eurosceptic distrust of a supposed EU "superstate", which is frequently portrayed, on both left and right, as a potential threat to the sovereignty of the British Parliament.

However, UKIP's discourse, like that of much of the Eurosceptic British media, uses a notably more extreme language than that of the mainstream parties. As this paper has aimed to show, UKIP discourse, particularly that of leader Nigel Farage, tends to frame the EU in dystopian terms as an undemocratic, authoritarian, totalitarian regime comparable, for instance, to Orwell's *1984,* Nazi Germany, the Cold-War era Communist regimes of Central and Eastern Europe or contemporary "failed states" such as North Korea. In contrast, UKIP depicts itself as the dystopian hero, a rebel against the system, ready to "deliver" the British people to a better, almost utopian, future outside the EU.

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BOOK REVIEW: PUNGĂ, LOREDANA (EDITOR). *LANGUAGE IN USE: METAPHORS IN NON-LITERARY CONTEXTS,* NEWCASTLE: CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING, 2016, 259 P.

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Metaphor has been extensively talked about so far. In time, the approaches have been various – within the area of humanities, they have ranged from purely linguistic, to cognitive, philosophical, stylistic, and sociological, to name just a few perspectives. *Language in Use: Metaphors in Non-Literary Contexts*, edited by Loredana Pungă and published by Cambridge Scholars in 2016, adds a number of points of view to the multitude of studies already dedicated to metaphor.

Born from the editor's declared belief "that there is always something more to say about metaphor" (2016: XV), the volume is a collection of sixteen articles relying, in their great majority, on Conceptual Metaphor theory. The contributions (mostly by Romanian scholars, but also by researchers from Hungary, Germany and Serbia) are grouped in two parts, preceded by a pretty lengthy Preface – a useful synopsis for anybody interested in a brief overview of the development of the matter under consideration. Here, the editor succinctly, yet relevantly, pinpoints the landmarks in the evolution of theories on metaphor, from the Antiquity thinkers Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian on to the 18th century Romantic poets' view, Black's interaction view, Ortony's formulaic approach, Weinreich or Levin's componential analysis-based investigations, Searle's pragmatic ones, etc. to the late XXth century Conceptual Metaphor and blending theory. Part I. *Metaphors at Play and Work* comprises chapters focusing on metaphors employed either in everyday, non-specialized areas or in specific ones (sports, wine making and food and cooking), while Part II. *Living with Metaphors* brings together chapters on metaphors used in rather personal, intimate contexts (diary-writing and career interviews) as well as public ones (the classroom environment, the political arena, the advertising and the film industry, media campaigns).

Part I opens with *Metaphors of/ in Translation*, in which Éva Antal analyses the metaphors of *truth, purity, integrity* and *fragmentation* using Hans-Georg Gadamer's, Jacques Derrida's and Walter Benjamin's perspectives on translation as a starting point.

The next four chapters are comparative English – Serbian studies. *Literal and Transferred Meanings of "Green" in English and Serbian: A Contrastive Analysis* by Sonja Rodić brings the metaphorical meanings of the term *green* and of its corresponding Serbian equivalent – *zelena* into the limelight and suggests grouping them into three categories: similar meanings in both languages, partially overlapping meanings and meanings identified in only one of the two languages. The author shows that the literal meaning of *green – zelena* is illustrated by the first category, while the metaphorical meanings are specific to the latter two categories, the explanation for this distribution being found in the cultural difference between the two languages and, simultaneously, in the specificity of each of these.

In *Metaphorical Ways of Expressing the Concepts "Good" and "Bad" in English and Serbian,* Aleksandra Kardoš relies on prototype and Conceptual Metaphor theories and analyses various metaphorical linguistic embodiments of the concepts *right* and *wrong*, in English and Serbian. The conclusion the author arrives at is that adjectives carrying the positive connotation of "moral purity", "happiness", "intelligence", "sound clarity" co-exist with those at the opposite end of the "good-bad" spectrum – the ones that suggest "moral impurity", "sadness", "incomprehensibility" and "secrecy". The author considers collocations, idioms and free word combinations of which such adjectives are part and she compares and contrasts them in the two languages.

The Devil has no Shades of Grey: A Contrastive View of English and Serbian Metaphors for the Color "Black" by Sanja Krimer-Gaborović discusses the black colour-based metaphors in English and Serbian. She argues that there are more similarities than differences between the two languages in how these metaphors convey either a positive or a negative meaning (though there is not always perfect linguistic equivalence between them), due, as she points out, to shared European ancestry of the languages concerned and more recently, to globalization, or rather overwhelming anglicization.

Mira Milić, in *Metaphor in Sports Terminology in English and Serbian*, places English and Serbian side by side from a different angle – that of sports terminology, as the title indicates (more exactly, that of ball games and gymnastics specialized vocabulary). Her main findings indicate that, in both languages, the metaphorical terms specific of ball games are usually based on the source domains of objects and war, while gymnastics metaphorical terminology draws more heavily on the domains of objects and animals. On the other hand, metaphorical association has proved to be slightly more productive in English than in Serbian, formal correspondence being quite high in the case of the war-related metaphorical terms in ball-games and the animal-related ones in gymnastics.

Daniela Gheltofan also takes a contrastive perspective on metaphors, this time the languages involved being Romanian and Russian and the domain considered – food and cooking. In her chapter – *Food for Thought – Thought for Food: A Romanian-Russian Corpus of Metaphors Based on Culinary Terms*, she focuses on the most frequent frames culinary metaphors build on and pays attention to the situations in which both the frames and their linguistic manifestations coincide in the two languages as well as to those in which they are different. Particular emphasis is placed on the cultural dimension of (some of) the phrases under scrutiny and on their humorous, ironic or even sarcastic connotations.

Loredana Pungă writes a chapter in a related area – that of wine tasting. In *Anthropomorphic Metaphors in Wine Speak: A Conceptual and Context-Based Analysis*, she proposes an interesting analysis of the anthropomorphic wine metaphors she identified in one hundred wine tasting notes produced in English. The approach is two-fold: on the one hand, the author analyses the metaphors along the now traditional lines of Conceptual Metaphor theory, on the other, she brings into discussion the role of contextual factors in the creation of these metaphors, building her arguments on the scaffolding represented by a theory very recently suggested by Kövecses.

Codruta Goșa's *Metaphors in Diary Studies: A Glimpse "Inside the Black Box"* paves the way for the other chapters in the second part of the volume. It is an analysis of the conceptual metaphors used by fourteen students in their diaries kept for a week, either on their reading or on their writing of their graduation papers. As the author demonstrates in her chapter, the study of diaries, along that of other genres, may play a role in shedding light on various aspects of metaphorical thinking.

The Road of Life and the Ladder of Career: A Case Study of Romanian Life and Career Metaphors by Andreea Ioana Șerban highlights the conceptual metaphors used in the interviews taken of six Romanian women of different ages on their lives, education and

careers. Particular prominence is given to the image schemas revealing the interviewees' choices in these respects, with the purpose of identifying variations in the subjects' attitudes and perceptions on the one hand, and of comparing these schemas (and their corresponding metaphors) with those identified by scholars and career specialists in English discourses.

Luminița Frențiu switches the focus to the public arena. In *Politics-Words at War? A Metaphor Analysis of Presidential Election Speeches in Post-Communist Romania*, she takes a close look at the conceptual metaphors employed by the Romanian presidential candidates during the 2014 campaign and compares them to those she talked about in an earlier study, focusing on the 2004 similar campaign, in an attempt to see whether changes occurred or the metaphorical conceptualization remained pretty much the same.

Another frequently tackled public domain is that of advertising. Annamaria Kilyeni dedicates her chapter – *Body Matters: Metaphors of the Feminine Body in Print Advertisements* to this domain, by choosing to describe the way metaphor is used to conceptualize women's body in advertising, in the particular case of three glossy magazines published in the United States and England. More attention is given to the anthropomorphising metaphors that picture the feminine body as if it were a socially active and sentient human being. Besides identifying and exemplifying these metaphors, the author speaks about their discursive role, insisting, at the same time, on that of promoting gender ideology.

In *Metaphors and Calls for Action in Media Advocacy Campaigns on Social Issues*, Irina Diana Mădroane brings Conceptual Metaphor theory close to the dialectical and rhetorical dimensions of argumentation in advocacy contexts. She echoes the Faircloughs' approach to political discourse as practical argumentation, in suggesting that metaphors are framing devices that may manipulate the audience's behaviour in taking particular decisions and supports this opinion with examples taken from a Romanian TV campaign geared on presenting the unacceptable circumstances the country's elderly live in. Implicitly, designed as it is, the campaign is also meant to suggest that the state is responsible for the disastrous and morally unacceptable situation and, consequently, to stir the public's indignation and move it into action.

Metaphors in Oral Classroom Discourse: The Case of the "Soc[k]" Dictionary by Valentina Carina Mureşan analyses the conceptual metaphors used by two teachers and their students, during eight English lessons, in the context of developing communicative and metaphoric competence in addition to the main, linguistic one.

The volume rounds off with three chapters dedicated to films. In the first – *Multimodal Metaphors in "The Romanian New Wave",* Gabriela Tucan presents the way in which multi-modal, audio-visual metaphors are chosen by the directors to create socio-cultural models which are well-known to the viewers, which they can therefore recognize and to which they are expected to react emotionally. The examples are selected from three "New Wave" Romanian productions.

In the second, *Multimodal Metaphors in Films: "People are Animals" as a Gendered Conceptualization across Englishes*, Anna Finzel discusses the gendered and, at the same time, culture-bound conceptualizations of the zoomorphic metaphor in four recent films produced in England, India and Nigeria. Details are provided on how this metaphor manifests linguistically, in images and sounds, in a context characterised by multimodality.

In the last chapter, *Baking Layers of Meaning: The Grand Budapest Hotel (2014)*, Eliza Claudia Filimon constructs her analysis on Wittock's theory of rule disruption and highlights some multi-modal metaphorical elements used in the film indicated in the title and their role in engaging the audience in the meaning-making process.

As announced by the editor in the Preface, bringing together articles that propose different points of view on metaphor represents an insight into the intricacies of the human

way of thinking. Conceptual Metaphor theory is not new in itself and there has been quite substantial research that has been done based on it. So, it is not in the approach that the novelty of this volume resides. It is rather in its potential of offering a kaleidoscopic view on the inexhaustible topic of metaphor (as the editor's declared intention was for it to do) and thus, of opening doors to further multi-faceted investigations in its area.

Well-conceived, this carefully-made selection of contributions to the study of metaphors may be of interest to a heterogeneous readership – descriptive, cognitive and comparative linguists, translators, teachers of foreign languages, politicians, advertisers or film makers. The accessible, yet professional language used turns it into a not very demanding reading experience for those who (however) possess knowledge of metaphor theory beyond the introductory level.