

11/2014

Romanian Journal of English Studies

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ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF ENGLISH
STUDIES

2014

A journal of *The Romanian Society of English and American Studies*

This journal is published with the support of

Universitatea de Vest, Timișoara

© **Romanian Journal of English Studies, vol.11, 2014**
ISSN 1584 – 3734

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0001

DOUBLING THE PAST HYPOTHESIS: OBSERVATIONS ON TWO NONSTANDARD THIRD CONDITIONALS

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Abstract: *The paper briefly looks at two nonstandard conditional constructions, *if [Su] had have [pp]* and *if [Su] would have [pp]*, which present anomalous components. Various works mentioning them have been analysed, leading to the conclusion that the forms have not been treated seriously or exhaustively. Following a small study which tries to establish their spread in the language, the paper concludes that some questions remain unanswered, such as whether the constructions can be characterised according to their geographical spread, their exact vernacular status, and to what extent they may coexist alongside the standard form in a person’s idiolect.*

Keywords: *conditional constructions, corpus studies, counterfactuals, nonstandard, plupluperfect*

1. Introduction

Conditionals encode people’s experience of the world in a special way. Much ink has been spilt over the logical and philosophical implications and attributes of conditional sentences. Traditionally, they are analyzed as being made up of two parts which have been given many names: protasis and apodosis, antecedent and consequent, *if*-clause and main clause. But what the conditional relationship creates between the two, or how this can be abstracted, seems to have remained unsettled. Linguistically, conditionals are interesting due to their diverse and numerous means of expression. In English, *if* is the main candidate, and a conditional relationship can sometimes be identified between elements linked by *and*, or introduced by *wish*.

The temporal locations of the situations described in conditionals can complicate matters even more as, although English conditionals are often classed into three main types, many combinations are possible. Moreover, several nonstandard conditional constructions are known which involve the verb phrase of the *if*-clause. It is these constructions that the present paper focuses on. In addition to a somewhat rigid classification passed down to learners of English, conditionals are subject to a few strict rules, the best known being that of “no *will* after *if*”. Actual usage, however, flaunts these constraints.

The nonstandard constructions under consideration here will be consistently referred to as *if [Su] had have [pp]* and *if [Su] would have [pp]*. *[Su]* stands for the syntactic subject position while *[pp]* is the slot for the past participle of the verb. These constructions evince structures which are usually proscribed in standard English, as usage guides show. While they are relatively rare and not widely discussed in the literature, their age and persistence over centuries may indicate that the English language system allows them to be generated by speakers. This alone poses difficulties for anyone attempting to describe and explain the structures.

2. Various Treatments

The constructions under consideration have been mentioned by several authors before. A brief survey of their different approaches will serve to show the problems which these language variations pose. The texts can be roughly divided into those that deal with prescriptive usage rules, the so-called grammars of the English language which try to provide the reader with a detailed and comprehensive description, and broad or small linguistic studies usually focusing on conditionals, the English tense system or the particular forms in question. Some of the latter attempt to explain at least one of the nonstandard forms.

Fowler's *Modern English Usage*, second edition, mentions under the entry for *had* the "illiterate blunder" (Fowler 1965:35) of using the inverted *had [Su] have [pp]* in conditional protases. His argument that "no one would defend *If she had have done*, nor *if I had have been*" (*ibidem*) is not sustained, but is rather arbitrary, in line with a long tradition of complaint and prescriptivism (cf. Chapman 2010:146 ff.). Moreover, the other nonstandard *if [Su] would have [pp]* is not mentioned at all, and, perhaps importantly, neither is the well known rule of 'no *will* after *if*'.

Huddleston and Pullum's reference work, *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (2002), notes the following when discussing 'remote conditionals':

A variant form of the protasis has *had've*: *If I had've followed your advice, I would be rich now*; we also find *I'd've*, etc., where it is debatable whether the '*d*' might also be construed as a cliticised form of *would*. These variants are increasingly common in informal speech, but are still generally regarded as non-standard. (2002:752)

Some observations are in order here. First, according to the authors, the nonstandard with *had have* is confined to speech, hence the focus on contracted forms. One might assume that full forms, as evinced by Fowler, are either extremely rare or altogether inexistent. Second, the nonstandard with *would have* after *if* is deemed a possibility only. It would be interesting to know on what basis the authors formed their judgment of the 'variants'.

A more recent book, the *Cambridge Grammar of English* by Carter and McCarthy (2006) gives the following examples and explanations under the entry 'Modal Verbs in Conditional Clauses':

Modal verbs (most typically *will* or *would*) may occur in conditional clauses if they have a meaning of willingness or prediction, or where it is important to mark politeness:

If you'll wait a minute, I'll fetch the porter to help you.

If you would all follow me, I'll show you to your rooms.

If you would have allowed them more time, I still think they would have done better. (if you had been willing to allow them more time)

I'll take care of the tea and coffee, if it'll help to get things done quicker. (if the assumption is true/valid that things will get done quicker)

I'll do it for you, if you could just wait a minute. (Carter and McCarthy 2006:750)

What seems striking here is using the 'willingness meaning' of *will* and *would* to explain away their presence in *if*-clauses. It can be easily shown that although 'willingness *will*' has a long history and tradition in grammars of all kinds, it does not in fact exist. 'Willingness' is an overtone which is deciphered at the level of the sentence and always depends on the nature of the subject in combination with that of the predicate. As exemplification, compare *If you would have*

allowed them more time, I still think they would have done better, from above, with *If he would have championed gay rights today, he would have done it while he was here* (WebCorp). It is the combination of the second person personal pronoun *you* with the verb *allow* which implies strong involvement and control on the part of the subject, which together create the impression of ‘willingness’. In the second sentence, the third person pronoun *he* suggests enough distance from the speaker and reader alike so that the ‘willingness’ interpretation is lost completely. A verb phrase converted to passive voice has the same effect of ‘bleaching’ the willingness. Thus, what is left is a *would* apparently devoid of meaning and function and the explanation does not hold.

One major study is Declerck and Reed’s *Conditionals* (2001) where both nonstandard forms are noted. Each is given a short section towards the end of the larger discussion on “The use of tenses in counterfactual-P conditionals”. The *if [Su] had have [pp]* construction is referred to as the “double perfect”. The authors mention that it “may be considered substandard by educated speakers of southern British English, but is not uncommon in some regional and social varieties of English” (Declerck and Reed 2001:193). However, the specific varieties to which this nonstandard conditional belongs are not named. Fifteen examples from the Cobuild Spoken and one from the Cobuild Written corpora are given, leading to the conclusion that the nonstandard is characteristic of spoken language. Thirteen of these examples evince contraction in different forms: *‘d have*, *had’ve* and *‘d’ve*. That *‘d* may also stand for *would* in British English does not seem to be considered a possibility. The *if [Su] would have [pp]* nonstandard may only have a “volitional interpretation” in British English, while it is common in informal American English (cf. Declerck and Reed:194-195). *If [Su] had have [pp]* is also said to be a much older form, present in the language as far back as the 15th and 16th centuries, while nonvolitional *would* is a more recent development. The authors note that *if [Su] had have [pp]* is sometimes used possibly due to a “need felt by the speaker to express not only counterfactuality but also anteriority” (Declerck and Reed:194). *If [Su] would have [pp]* is not given a similar explanation.

Approximately three pages are dedicated to nonstandard counterfactuals in Dancygier and Sweetser’s *Mental Spaces in Grammar: Conditional Constructions* (2005). Their general approach is very different from the previous ones quoted here due to the cognitive theoretical framework to which the authors adhere. Their stance is that both the *had-* and the *would-*nonstandards are mainly written “unpacked” versions of the contracted auxiliaries *‘da/ ‘d’ve/ ‘d of*. In the beginning, however, there were only forms of the *woulda* type in the apodosis, from which by analogy the *hadda* form came into being and was later transferred to the protasis as well due to the fact that both clauses of the counterfactual conditional express a false alternative of the past. It is also proposed that there must be a separate morphological category *-a* which functions in the third type conditional construction alongside the standard construction. The authors quote Fillmore as the proponent of the theory. The forms are initially presented as being colloquial American, but some examples from British English are also given, all from the same source. Interestingly, the nonstandards are regarded by the authors as “the only true ‘counterfactuals’ in modern English” (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005:63) because they “seem necessarily to convey the speaker’s belief that the described situation does not hold in the reality space” (2005:63).

The treatment of the nonstandard conditionals found in Dancygier and Sweetser’s book truly attempts to explain the phenomena. Unfortunately, the explanation seems to be suffering from a chicken or egg syndrome. A nonstandard conditional of the form *?If I had of known, I would have told you* is also known to exist in writing. Was the contracted form of *have*, pronounced /ə/ or /əv/, reinterpreted as *-a* in writing *woulda* and *hadda* or as *of* in *had of*? Or was it that a separate morphological category was subsequently interpreted as *have* due to

pronunciation similarities? The latter hypothesis appears less likely. Moreover, the appearance of an additional *had* after *if* still requires clarification. While it may be the case that *hadda* was produced analogically on the model of *woulda*, *shoulda* etc., it still remains to be explained why or how a non-modal auxiliary gets to be used in the same fashion as modals.

Another interesting article on the subject is Ishihara's "I Wish I Would Have Known!": The Usage of *Would Have* in Past Counterfactual *If*- and *Wish*- Clauses" (2003). As the title indicates, only the *if [Su] would have [pp]* nonstandard is thoroughly discussed. Amid an astute survey of grammars, usage guides and historical articles, an example of the full construction from 1594 is quoted, as well as another revealing a *would not a [pp]* form from c1479 (pages 24 and 27). The weight of the article lies in the recorded spoken data which revealed a 41% usage of the *if [Su] would have [pp]* construction in counterfactual conditionals of the third type. Moreover, the nonstandard was used in 52% of the produced *wish*-clauses. Ishihara concludes that "[t]hese results are clear evidence that *would have* in the past counterfactual *if*- and *wish*-clause is indeed quite common among these English speaking participants in the midwest [USA]" (Ishihara 2003:33). Furthermore, Ishihara presents the results of a judgment activity in which participants were asked to identify language errors. The outcome indicated that the nonstandard had a very high "acceptance rate" (Ishihara 2003:34). Perhaps the most interesting fact was that "[o]nly one non-ESL professional (out of 100) and five ESL professionals (out of 20) consistently indicated and corrected every *would have* according to prescriptive grammar rules" (Ishihara 2003:35). The inconsistencies observed in the participants correcting the nonstandard may be pointing to a deeper issue.

The dialectal status of both *if [Su] had have [pp]* and *if [Su] would have [pp]* remains uncertain. There does not seem to be any proof or agreement that either of the nonstandards belongs to any one region or social group. Moreover, and directly related to Ishihara's findings on the construction often remaining unnoticed, scholars themselves seem to ignore it. In presenting the particularities of Channel Island English, Mari C. Jones notes that in this particular dialect conditional clauses are often formed without *if* and gives the following example:

You'd have seen that, you'd never have thought there was any news in it. (Jones 2009:47)

The *'d have [pp]* is not commented upon, inviting reflection. Two possibilities present themselves. It may be that the nonstandard was overlooked by chance. Or, it may be that it is not particular to Channel Island English, but fairly commonplace in the native English speaking world and impossible to pinpoint, which means that the nonstandard was overlooked by choice.

3. Corpus Data

In light of the above, the two nonstandard forms under scrutiny appear to be fairly common, but it is by no means clear to what extent. An obvious strategy is to use corpus linguistics methods in order to ascertain how frequently they appear in the language. This approach, however, is not as straightforward or reliable as it would seem. Conditional clauses are very rare in comparison with other structures. Biber (1993:249) shows them to be even rarer than *wh*-relative clauses in 1000-word long text samples. We can confidently expect past counterfactual conditionals to be even less frequent. In addition, published texts are more often than not purged of nonstandard, 'incorrect' constructions, meaning that most conventional corpora may prove inadequate. Thus, one option is to start using the Web as a huge text-archive, since a large part of Web language is self-published and not proof-read.

WebCorp (www.webcorp.org.uk) is an online tool for linguistic research which retrieves texts from the Web similarly to a traditional concordancer. In order to investigate the two nonstandards, a series of inquiries were made with the following settings: case insensitive, 100-character span, Google search API and English language. Each search involved typing in the *if [Su] had have* or *if [Su] would have* key words, where the *[Su]* position was filled in by *I, you, he, she, we, they, it* and *** (wildcard). The results are shown in *Figure 1* below:

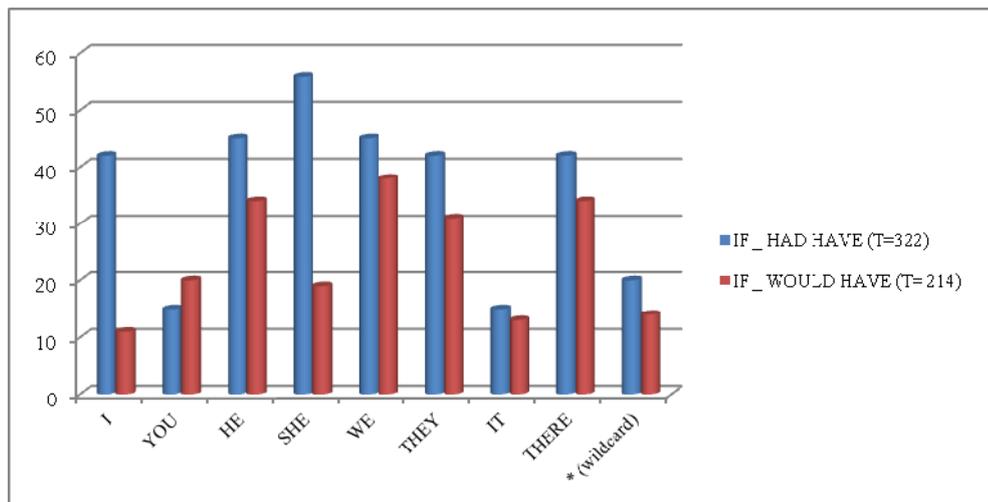


Figure 1. The number of sentences found with WebCorp which contain the two nonstandard conditional constructions for each specified subject, and the overall totals for each

The totals were computed after heavy elimination of irrelevant search results. For instance, if the constructions appeared in lyrics or on sites which discussed English grammar and usage, they were not included. Furthermore, care was taken to include those instances that were very likely written by native speakers, which meant that texts which had several or more spelling or grammar mistakes or those which did not make sense overall were not taken into account. This required careful examination of each website where the constructions were found.

The above totals seem to indicate that the *if [Su] had have [pp]* nonstandard is more frequent than *if [Su] would have [pp]*. However, many instances of the latter had to be removed because they were not conditionals. For instance, in:

Like I said, he does not take the time to consider if there would have been more “leaks” after the war logs were published by the Times. (WebCorp)

if introduces a subordinate object clause. No such cases involving *if [Su] had have [pp]* were recorded, although it may be argued that examples such as the following are borderline cases, as the *if*-clauses can be interpreted as the objects of *surprise* and *be nice*, respectively:

It would have surprised me if he had have lived on. (WebCorp)

And in a perfect world it would have been nice if he had have just gotten out of the way and kind of slowed down in the mechanics area there. (WebCorp)

In addition, one must note that WebCorp does not retrieve the totality of instances where the search items are found. It is dependent on the relevance algorithms of the search engine it uses, in this case Google, and it further cuts down on the results shown. Thus, it is impossible to say which nonstandard form is more frequent.

Some of the data retrieved supports Ishihara's observation that speakers are inconsistent in noticing the nonstandards, as they appear to be mercurial when forming past counterfactuals as well, as in the following example:

"Oh! Mary," said she, "I wish you had gone with us, for we had such fun! as we went along, Kitty and me drew up all the blinds, and pretended there was nobody in the coach; and I should have gone so all the way, if Kitty had not been sick; and when we got to the George, I do think we behaved very handsomely, for we treated the other three with the nicest cold luncheon in the world, and if you would have gone, we would have treated you too." (WebCorp)

If he had have driven into our street, parked and gone to sleep in his car I doubt anyone would have noticed, or if they had [noticed] they would not have worried. (WebCorp)

4. The Questions We Are Left With

Problems with the nonstandard conditionals *if [Su] had have [pp]* and *if [Su] would have [pp]* regard both their description and their explanation. Description-wise, it is a matter of clarifying their geographic spread and their relative frequency in the language. Regarding the latter point, a detailed study comparing the number of standard versus nonstandard past counterfactual conditionals in different types of texts would be needed. In other words, the level of informality of each of the nonstandards needs to be clarified. Furthermore, a better description of the combinatorial possibilities of each of the nonstandards would be desirable. For instance, it would be worth finding out whether *had have [pp]* occurs in *wish*-clauses as well, or whether either of the nonstandards appears in conditionals introduced in other ways, such as by *suppose* or *supposing*.

Finally, one wonders to what extent the several possible past counterfactual conditional constructions are used interchangeably by speakers. How many variants can an idiolect accommodate? There has been proof that it is possible to fluctuate between two, but could there be more? Specifically, could a person have assimilated the standard, the two nonstandards presented here and possibly a third one where only the past tense form of the verb is used in the protasis? Can and does anyone produce a combination of all of the following:

?If I had known, I would have told you.
?If I had have known, I would have told you.
?If I would have known, I would have told you.
?If I knew, I would have told you.

in one's lifetime or in one extensive stretch of language?

Explanation-wise, the difficulties begin with establishing how the nonstandards developed. Suppose they originate from a series of analogically similar forms which includes *woulda* and *hadda*, where *a* is a separate morphological category later re-interpreted as *have* and not a written expression of how the contracted *have* sometimes sounds. Then, it remains to be explained where *a* came from, and when. It also begs the question of how and why *hadda* was formed, since *had* has so far been analysed as being very different from modal auxiliaries. Even if the contracted 'd allows for both *had* and *would* to be 'unpacked', how does a non-modal become to be used like a modal?

Due to the semantics of *had* as an auxiliary, or rather considering the contexts in which it can appear, convincingly explaining why a conditional nonstandard construction with a double perfect is possible is no easy feat. It is easier with *would* since its use in the protasis creates a perfect balance with the apodosis. There is no conceptual difference between what is expressed

by the antecedent and what is conveyed by the consequent. Both situations are in a sense alternative past worlds connected by an *if-then* relationship. For instance, in:

If he would have been franchised as a defensive end, he would have been guaranteed about \$11.2 million.
(WebCorp)

the reader understands that the past did not play out in the manner described by the conditional. One could argue that the symmetry of using *would* in both clauses allows them to be on the same level of past falsity, emphasizing the status of the whole.

However, an instance such as:

If he had have known of Murphy's Law, he might have decided to put a cover over it instead. (WebCorp)

seems a lot more difficult to explain. It is not so much our lack of imagination that hinders us from proceeding, but rather the lack of a proper theoretical framework which should allow for language items to move more freely within the system according to principled rules. For in truth *had* and *would* have a lot in common. As auxiliaries, their syntactic behaviour is identical and they both have a heavy 'past' load in their meanings. To this, one may add that there is another construction, hardly ever mentioned, which also fluctuates between having *had* and *would* in its formation: '*d rather*. A few swift inquiries with WebCorp will show that both *had rather* and *would rather* are possible. Which alternative is presented in grammars or usage books seems to be a matter of personal choice on the part of the author(s). Moreover, such a theoretical framework would also need to allow for competing structures to co-exist in a person's idiolect without resorting to the idea of 'error' or to that of 'slip of the tongue' for explanation.

Finally, the issue of the nonstandard conditionals reveals some of the inconsistencies and limitations of descriptive grammars. Specifically, while one would expect usage guides to endorse standard forms only, descriptive grammars still seem to be unable to provide a faithful image of actual usage. This in turn has consequences in the world of those teaching and learning English. While learners may be asked to notice and correct the nonstandard conditional constructions in exercises or texts, they may have encountered them in online texts or while conversing with native speakers. This may lead to confusion. The true status of these constructions may also prove important for designers of international exams, such as TOEFL or IELTS.

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THE DYNAMICS OF ENGLISH TERMINOLOGICAL COMPOUND LEXEMES AND THEIR SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS

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Abstract: This paper discusses the conceptual dynamicity of English compound lexemes and their Serbian equivalents as reflected in compound lexemes in traffic engineering. The morphological structure and semantics of compound lexemes are considered, as well as strategies for translating English metaphorical compound lexemes into Serbian. The analysis reveals that Serbian cannot cope with the dynamic nature of traffic engineering terminology in English, and that Anglicisms, synonyms of different polysemous terms and vague conceptual determinations are characteristic of Serbian terminological equivalents.

Keywords: English metaphorical compound lexemes, Serbian equivalents, traffic engineering, translation patterns and strategies

1. Introduction

Rapid developments in various professions and sciences are one of the key characteristics of the 21st century. Novel special terms are created to express new concepts. Scientific and technical writing tends to be precise and concise. Conciseness can be achieved by using compound lexemes. Sag et al. (2002), for instance, suggest the term multiword expressions. In the *Online Dictionary of Language Terminology (ODLT)*, compound nouns are determined as phrases regarded as nouns. English has the capacity for forming compounds, i.e., compound lexemes. They can be defined as lexemes which are felt to be single terms, though made up of two or more parts (see Jespersen 1942:134; Marchand 1969:11). Almost all parts of speech can be combined to compose a compound lexeme. Eckersley and Eckersley (1970:21) claim that the most frequent patterns in English compound nouns are NOUN + NOUN or GERUND + NOUN. The following compound lexemes, employed in different fields of traffic engineering, illustrate such combinations: *transmission link* (“prenosna veza”), *bullet train* (“brzi voz”), *petrol engine* (“benzinski motor”), *information centre* (“informacioni centar”), *traffic volume* (“intenzitet saobraćaja”), *trunk call* (“međumesni razgovor”), and *cycling-club* (“biciklistički klub”), *interlocking system* (“signalno-sigurnosni sistem”), *loading rates* (“utovarni kapacitet”), *reciprocating engine* (“klipni motor”), *advertising mail* (“reklamna pošta”), etc. A compound lexeme can be written as separate words, one word or a hyphenated word, as shown in *electric starter* (“elektro-pokretač”, “anlaser”), *hovercraft* (“lebdeće plovilo”) and *take-off* (“poletanje”). Compound lexemes may have a meaning that is different from the separate word meanings (e.g. *honey-combing* = “prazan skladišni prostor”), or a meaning that is the same as the sum of meanings of its components (e.g. *high-speed trains* = “vozovi velikih brzina”).

The aim of this paper is to show the conceptual dynamicity of English compound lexemes and their Serbian equivalents as reflected in compound lexemes in traffic engineering, to discuss their morphological structure and meanings, and to formulate strategies for translating English metaphorical compound lexemes into Serbian specialised terms. To achieve this, we analyse compound lexemes used in relevant British and American sources.

2. The Rationale and Corpus

This paper aims to examine morphological structure of compound lexemes as used in traffic engineering and to reveal their meanings in both English and Serbian. The second objective of this investigation is to develop strategies which may help us translate English compound lexemes into their Serbian equivalents as special terms more easily and more precisely. The study is intended as a potential contribution to the standardisation of metaphorical compound lexemes in Serbian.

The corpus is built from 170 compound lexemes that are in use in different fields of traffic engineering, such as telecommunications and postal traffic, air and road traffic, waterways and railways traffic engineering, and logistics (combined transport / intermodal transport). The compound lexemes considered here have been randomly chosen from authentic texts and the examples have been taken from three textbooks written by the author of this article (see References below), as well as from a dictionary contained in *English in Transport and Traffic Engineering* (Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:369-411).

3. Analysis, Results and Discussion

This study incorporates two phases. In the first phase, we examine the morphological structure and semantics of the compound lexemes under scrutiny, whereas in the second phase translation patterns characteristic of terminological compound lexemes are considered.

3.1. The Morphological Structure and Semantics of Compound Lexemes

This section opens with an analysis of some binominal compound lexemes used in traffic engineering and continues with the exploration of structures containing more than two components. To understand the meanings of compound lexemes, one may begin at the end (from the head word) and then work backwards (to the modifier word(s)). The following examples, taken from Dimković-Telebaković (2012:38), demonstrate this:

a foot brake = a brake which is operated by foot = nožna kočnica
a transmission link = a link used for transmission = veza koja se koristi za prenos,
prenosna veza
a satellite communication = communication via a satellite = komunikacija preko
satelita
a communication satellite = a satellite used for communication = satelit koji se
koristi za komunikaciju
a car battery = a battery for a car = akumulator za kola
a battery car = a car driven by batteries = kola koja pokreće akumulator
a gas turbine = a turbine which works by gas = turbina koju pokreće gas
turbine gas = gas found in or produced by a turbine = gas koji proizvodi turbina
a car radio = a radio for a car = radio za kola
a radio car = a car with a radio = kola s radijom

Based on these examples, one may conclude that English binominals, i.e., compound nouns N + N are morphologically transformed in Serbian into: ADJ + N (the head word), or N (the head word) + Relative Clause, or N (the head word) + PP. It is significant to point out here that the use of relative clauses in Serbian equivalents is a characteristic of Slavic languages. We introduce in this paper the term *descriptive semantisation* to denote that the meaning of a Serbian equivalent is expressed by a relative clause. Descriptive semantisation is typical of Serbian but not of English.

Table 1 shows that, apart from the above mentioned patterns, the English pattern of N + N may result in N, or in N + N, or in N + ADJ + N, or in ADJ + N + N, or in ADJ + N + PP in Serbian, as demonstrated in the following examples: *purchase order* → “narudžbenica”, *call transfer* → “preusmeravanje poziva”, *traffic density* → “gustina saobraćajnog toka”, *approach control* → “prilazna kontrola letenja”, and *conveyor belt* → “pokretna traka za prevoz materijala ili ljudi”. The ideal translation of an English compound lexeme is one word.

As to the English pattern of Gerund + N, it may have N, or N + PP, or N + N, or N + N + N, or N + N + PP, or ADJ + N structures in Serbian, as in *forwarding agent* → “špediter”, *running track* → “pruga za saobraćaj vozova”, *running seed* → “brzina kretanja”, *stalling speed* → “brzina gubitka uzgona”, *bleeping sound* → “zvuk obaveštenja o zelenom svetlu”, *reciprocating engine* → “klipni motor”, respectively. The pattern of N + Gerund in English results in N + N, or in N + PP, or in N + N + PP, or in ADJ + N, or in ADJ + ADJ + N in Serbian, as illustrated in Table 1. Table 1 also comprises combinations of ADJ + N, V + N, Particle + N, V + Particle, Particle + V, Particle + Gerund and Gerund + Particle in English and their corresponding Serbian patterns.

Examples in Table 1 show that English compound lexemes can contain nouns, gerunds, adjectives, verbs and particles as their constituents. Serbian equivalents, on the other hand, reveal that they are often made up of nouns, adjectives, prepositional phrases and relative clauses, but do not contain verbs. Identical structures occur only with N + N and ADJ + N patterns. Table 1 also illustrates that nouns in English compound lexemes can be translated as adjectives in Serbian (e.g. *buffer coating* = “zaštitni sloj”), and that there are Anglicisms used in Serbian, such as “input” (*input*), “output” (*output*), “overdrav” (*overdrive*) and “daunlo(u)dovanje” (*downloading*). One can notice that, along with these Anglicisms, synonymous words such as “ulaz”, “izlaz”, “štedna brzina” and “preuzimanje podataka sa Interneta” also occur in Table 1, as well as the synonymous terms “pista” and “poletno-sletna staza - PSS” (*runway*), the polysemous words “prekid” and “ventil” (*cut-off*) and a Serbian term with vague meaning “komutacioni centar” (*switching centre*). They all cause terminological uncertainty and inaccuracy, and make the standardisation of Serbian terms under discussion difficult.

Table 1. English compound lexemes containing two components and their Serbian equivalents

ENGLISH COMPOUND LEXEMES		SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS	
<i>Structure</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Structure</i>	<i>Examples</i>
N + N	aircraft	N	letilica
	purchase order		Narudžbenica
	automobile show	N + N	izložba automobile
	call transfer		preusmeravanje poziva
	transmission losses	N + PP	gubici pri prenosu

	fuel tank		rezervoar za gorivo
	turbine gas	N + Relative Clause	gas koji proizvodi Turbina
	traffic density	N + ADJ + N	gustina saobraćajnog toka
	airliner	ADJ + N	linijski avion
	berth line		operativna obala
	approach control	ADJ + N + N	prilazna kontrola Letenja
	conveyor belt	ADJ + N + PP	pokretna traka za prevoz materijala ili ljudi
Gerund + N	forwarding agent	N	špediter
	steering wheel		volan
	running track	N + PP	pruga za saobraćaj Vozova
	running speed	N + N	brzina kretanja
	stalling speed	N + N + N	brzina gubitka uzgona
	bleeping sound	N + N + PP	zvuk obaveštenja o zelenom svetlu
	landing gear	ADJ + N	stajni trap
	leading edge		napadna ivica
	switching centre		komutacioni centar
N + Gerund	fuel savings	N + N	ušteta goriva
	weight saving	N + PP	ušteta u težini
	data broadcasting	N + N + PP	prenos podataka u digitalnom obliku
	buffer coating	ADJ + N	zaštitni sloj
	copper wiring		bakarni vodovi
	honey-combing	ADJ + ADJ + N	prazan skladišni Proctor
ADJ + N	residential street	N + PP	ulica sa stambenim zgradama
	cancelled flight	ADJ + N	otkazan let
	optical fibre		optičko vlakno
	automated storage		automatsko skladištenje
(AmE)	central office		telefonska centrala
	staggered crossing	ADJ + N + PP	pešački prelaz sa središnjim razdelnim ostrvom
V + N	breakwater	N	lukobran
	runway		pista, PSS
	tow-boat		Potiskivač
Particle + N	bypass	N	obilaznica
	down-link	N + PP	veza prema dole
	up-link		veza prema gore / ka satelitu
V + Particle	take-off	N	poletanje
	slow-down		smanjenje (brzine)
	dropoff		Smanjenje
	breakup		Prekid
	cut-off		prekid; ventil

	cut-out	ADJ + N	automatski prekidač
Particle + V	input	N	ulaz, input
	output		izlaz, autput
	throughput		Pretovar
	overhaul	ADJ + N	generalna opravka
	overdrive		štedna brzina, overdrajv
Particle + Gerund	offloading	N	istovarivanje
	overtaking		Preticanje
	downloading	N + N + PP	preuzimanje podataka sa Interneta, daunlo(u)dovanje
	undercoating	N + PP + PP	premaz za zaštitu vozila od korozije
Gerund + Particle	taking off	N	poletanje
	taxiing up		Rulanje

If there are more than two components making up an English compound lexeme, such as N + N + N or N + GERUND + N, the corresponding Serbian equivalents may have the pattern of N (the head word) + PP, as shown in:

a freight transport system = a system for transporting freight = sistem za prevoz tereta
a material handling device = a device used for handling materials = uređaj za
rukovanje materijalom

The pattern of N + N + N in English may have ADJ + (ADJ) + N + N structure in Serbian, whereas English ADJ + N + N structure may remain the same in Serbian, as illustrated by examples below:

ground transmission system = kopneni (pružni) sistem prenosa
electronic data interchange = elektronska razmena podataka

Table 2 contains examples which demonstrate these patterns, as well as some other structures. Thus, the pattern of ADJ + N + N in English may also result in N + PP in Serbian, as in *widescreen monitor* = “monitor sa širokim ekranom”, or in N + ADJ + N (e.g. “elektronika visokih učestalosti”) or in ADJ + N (e.g. “mikrotalasna tehnika”), or in ADJ + ADJ + N (e.g. “laki šinski prevoz”). The pattern of N + N + N (e.g. *air humidity levels* = “nivoi vlažnosti vazduha”) has the same pattern in Serbian, or N + ADJ + N and N + ADJ + N + PP, as in “tehnika optičkih vlakana“ and “skladištenje rasutog tereta po nivoima”. Table 2 also reveals that the English N + ADJ + N structure may become Serbian ADJ + N + PP pattern, or N + Gerund + N → N + N + PP or N + PP, or ADJ + Gerund + N → N + ADJ + N + N, or ADJ + N + Gerund → N + ADJ + N, or Number + ADJ + N and Number + N + N → N + Prep + Number + N, or Number + N + N → ADJ + N, and V + V + N → ADJ + N. In order to clarify the meaning of a compound lexeme, an element can be inserted into a Serbian equivalent. Such an example is “kopneni (pružni) sistem prenosa” or “skladištenje rasutog tereta po nivoima”. Although it is not often the case, we can come across identical morphological structures in the two languages, as in N + N + N, N + Prep + N and ADJ + N + N patterns. Examples such as “elektronika visokih učestalosti” and “mikrotalasna tehnika” illustrate the existence of synonymy in the language of telecommunications traffic.

Table 2. Three-element English compound lexemes and their equivalents in Serbian

ENGLISH COMPOUND LEXEMES		SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS	
<i>Structure</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Structure</i>	<i>Examples</i>
N + N + N	air humidity levels	N + N + N	nivoi vlažnosti vazduha
	fibre optics technology	N + ADJ + N	tehnika optičkih vlakana
	bulk floor storage	N + ADJ + N + PP	skladištenje rasutog tereta po nivoima
	cab display equipment	N + PP	pokazivač u kabini Mašinovođe
	ground transmission system	ADJ + (ADJ) + system N + N	kopneni (pružni) prenos
N + ADJ + N	bucket continuous unloader	ADJ + N + PP	vedrični istovarivač neprekidnim dejstvom
N + Gerund + N	conveyor handling system	N + N + PP	sistem transportera za prenošenje robe
	data processing system	N + PP	sistem za obradu podataka
N + Prep + N	kilometres per hour	N + Prep + N	kilometara na čas
ADJ + Gerund + N	fast handling system	N + ADJ + N + N	sistem brzog rukovanja robom
ADJ + N + N	heavy volume traffic	N + PP	saobraćaj s velikim opterećenjem
	widescreen monitor		monitor sa širokim ekranom
	long-range flights		letovi s velikim doletom
	high-frequency electronics	N + ADJ + N ADJ + N	elektronika visokih učestalosti, mikrotalasna tehnika
	deadweight tonnage	ADJ + N + N	puna nosivost broda
	electronic data interchange		elektronska razmena podataka
	electronic navigation aids	ADJ+ADJ+N navigaciona	elektronska Sredstva
	light rail transit		laki šinski prevoz
ADJ + N + Gerund	local loop unbundling	N + ADJ + N	rasnopljanje bakarnih petlji
Number + ADJ + N	four-engined aircraft	N + Prep + Number + N	avion s četiri motora
Number +N+N	two-engine airplane		avion s dva motora
Number + N + N	two-way traffic	ADJ + N	dvosmerni saobraćaj
V + V + N	would-be aviator	ADJ + N	budući avijatičar

Table 3 presents more complex compound structures. Patterns with numbers in English usually contain PP in Serbian, as shown in Number + N + N + N + N and Number + N + N + ADJ + ADJ + N structures, as well as in Number + Number + N + N + ADJ + N pattern. Examples given in Table 3 confirm that English compound lexemes can take nouns, adjectives,

gerunds, numbers, particles and prepositions. Table 3 also illustrates that English compound lexemes, having four and more elements, do not have identical morphological structures in the two languages, and that the synonymous terms “ravni vagon” and “plato-vagon”, as well as “redundovanje/dupliranje pojedinih sistema” are used in Serbian.

Table 3. English compound lexemes containing four and more components and their Serbian equivalents

ENGLISH COMPOUND LEXEMES		SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS	
<i>Structure</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Structure</i>	<i>Examples</i>
N+ADJ+N+N	fibre optic transmission systems	N+N+ADJ+N	sistemi prenosa optičkim vlaknima
ADJ+N+N+N	high-rack storage system	ADJ+ADJ+N	visokoregalni skladišni System
ADJ+N+Gerund +N	conveyorised barge loading system	N+PP	potisnica sa sopstvenim utovarnim sistemom
ADJ+ADJ+N+N	covered dry cargo barge	ADJ+N+PP	pokrivena potisnica za suvi rasuti teret
Number+N+ADJ + N	one-way circular intersection	ADJ+ADJ+N	jednosmerna kružna Raskrsnica
Gerund+Particle+ADJ+N	doubling-up partial systems	N+ADJ+N	redundovanje/dupliranje pojedinih sistema
N+N+ADJ+N+N	railroad flat bed car	ADJ+N	ravni vagon, plato-vagon
ADJ+ADJ+N	streamlined low-drag vehicle	ADJ+N +PP +N	aerodinamično vozilo s malim čeonim otporom
ADJ+Number +N +N	four three-ton lorries	Number+N+N	četiri kamiona trotonca
Number+N+N +N+N	thousand horse-power unit power	ADJ+N+PP	pogonska jedinica od hiljadu konjskih snaga
Number+N+N +ADJ+ADJ+N	160 km/h maximum average speed	ADJ+ADJ+N +PP	maksimalna prosečna brzina od 160 km na čas
ADJ+N+N+N +N	peak-hour city traffic congestion	N+PP+PP	zakrčenost u gradskom saobraćaju u vršno vreme
Number+Number +N+N+ADJ+N	two 60-passenger fire-resistant lifeboats	Number+N+PP+ADJ+PP +N+PP	dva čamca za spasavanje otporna na vatru kapaciteta po 60 putnika
Prep+N+Number +N+N	cross-country thousand mile motorways	N+N+Prep+ +Number+ N+Rel. Clause	mreža autoputeva od 1000 milja koja povezuje različite delove zemlje

The English phrase compound lexemes presented in Table 4 contain verbs and conjunctions, apart from nouns, prepositions and adjectives, whereas their Serbian equivalents are not made up of verbs and conjunctions, but contain PPs. Serbian equivalents can have elements which are not part of English compound lexemes, as shown by “ustupanje prvenstva na ulazu u raskrsnicu” and “preslušavanje između dva vlakna”, where “prvenstvo” and “dva” are such components.

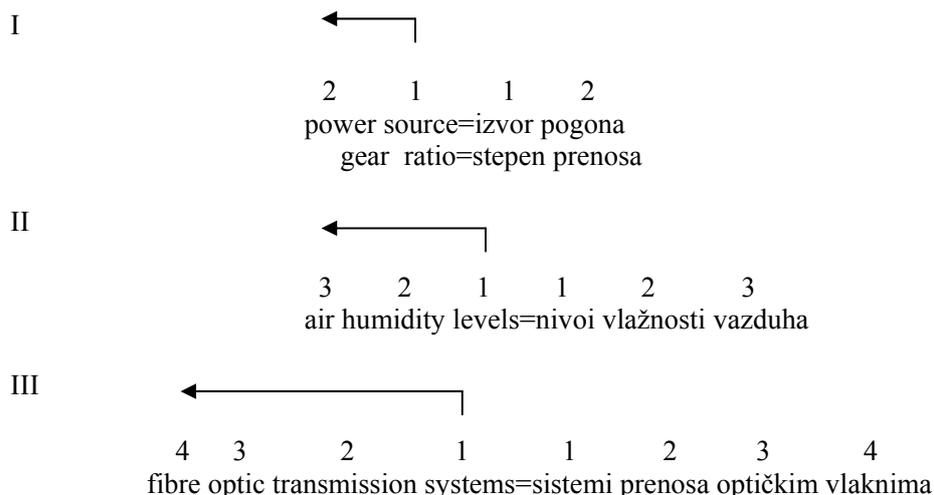
Table 4. English phrase compound lexemes and their corresponding forms in Serbian

ENGLISH PHRASE COMPOUND LEXEMES		SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS	
<i>Structure</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Structure</i>	<i>Examples</i>
N+Prep+N	yield-at-entry	N+N+PP+PP	ustupanje prvenstva na ulazu u raskrsnicu

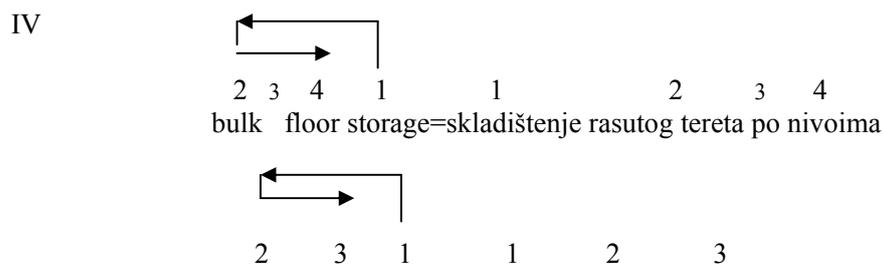
N+Prep+N+N	door-to-door service	N+Prep+N+Prep+N	usluga od vrata do vrata
	point-to-point rates	N+N+PP	cena karata za kretanje s usputnim stajanjem
N+Prep+N+Prep+N	fibre-to-fibre cross talk	N+Prep+Number+N	preslušavanje između dva vlakna
ADJ+N+Prep+N	mean-time-to-repair	ADJ+N+N	srednje vreme opravke
V + Conj + V	cut and fill	N	zasek

3.2. Some Strategies for Translating Specialised Terms and Possible Translation Patterns

The aim of the second phase of this analysis was to set translation patterns and strategies for translating specific terms in the field of traffic engineering. (Some of the examples below are from Dimković-Telebaković 2009b). Taking into consideration the meanings of compound lexemes, we have established the following patterns:

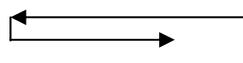


The examples in I, II and III show that the components of compound lexemes are mirrored in the two languages. We start at the end and then work backwards. In other words, 21 → 12, 321 → 123, 4321 → 1234.



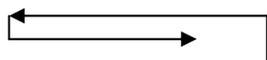
shipping line colours=amblem brodske kompanije

V



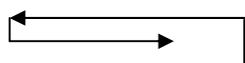
2 3 4 5 1 1 2 3 4 5
floor-to-ceiling height = visina od poda do tavanice

VI



2 3 o(mitted) 4 1 1 2 3 o 4
Low-Earth-Orbit Satellite=satelit s malim orbitama

VII



2 3 4 5 6 1 1 2 3 4 5 6
250-to-350 seat airliner=avion linijske plovidbe sa 250 do 350 sedišta

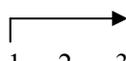
VIII



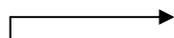
3 4 5 6 7 2 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
17 t axle weight limits=ograničenja težine od 17 tona po osovini

In Serbian, patterns IV, V, VI, VII and VIII have inserted elements, prepositions, and pattern VI contains an omitted component, a noun. To create Serbian equivalents, we begin at the end of the English compound lexemes, work backwards and move on to the last element. Therefore, we obtain the following patterning: 2341 → 1234, 231 → 123, 23451 → 12345, 23o41 → 123o4, 234561 → 123456, and 3456721 → 1234567.

IX

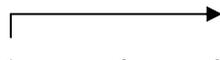


1 2 3 1 2
two-way traffic=dvosmerni saobraćaj



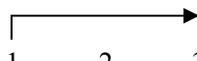
1 2 1 2
semiconductor technology=poluprovodnička tehnika

X



1 2 3 1 2 3
transverse propulsion unit=poprečna pogonska jedinica

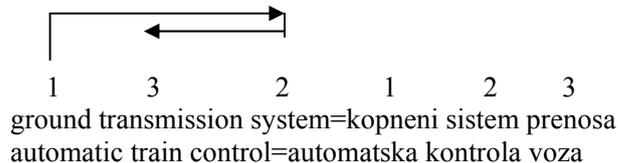
XI



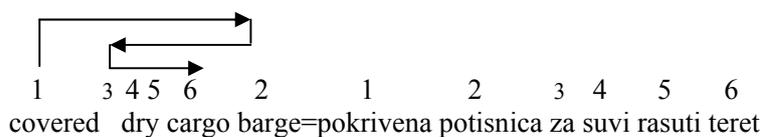
1 2 3 1 2 3
high-rack storage system=visokoregalni skladišni sistem

Patterns IX, X and XI keep the same order of compound components, starting from the fore end of compound lexemes, which can be represented as 123 → 12, 12 → 12, 123 → 123, and 123 → 123.

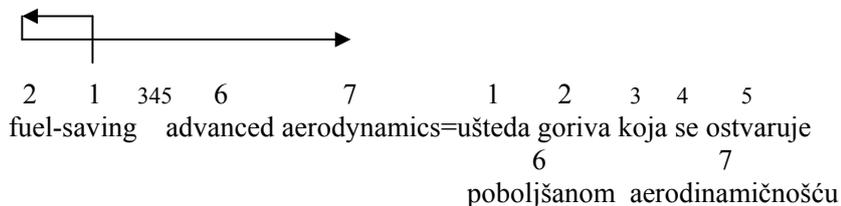
XII



XIII

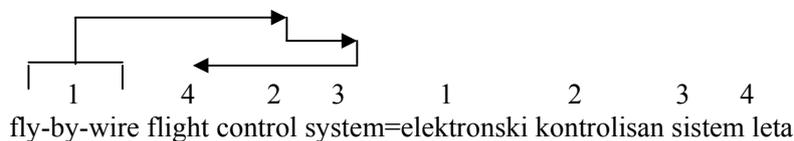


XIV

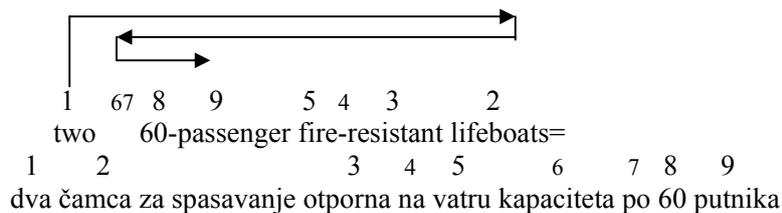


Patterns XIII and XIV in English do not contain all the elements which occur in Serbian with 13452 → 123456 and 2134567 → 1234567 patterns. XII has 132 → 123 pattern.

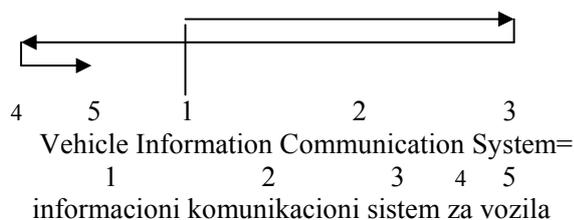
XV



XVI



XVII



The English patterns XV, XVI and XVII are even more complicated. XV consists of 1423 patterns, and XVI and XVII have 167895432 and 45123 patterns, respectively. Their Serbian translation patterns show that certain elements are added, such as “na” and “kapacitet po” in XVI, and “za” in XVII. It is essential to point out that the patterns are set based on compound lexeme meanings.

4. Conclusion

This paper points to the fact that a great number of special terms are constantly being invented in the 21st century. To meet the requirements of language economy, specialised terms should be precise and concise. Precise terms express the exact meaning of concepts, and conciseness is achieved in the best way if one concept is represented by one word. One of the characteristics of English is the formation of compound lexemes. They have the capacity for conveying meanings precisely and concisely. To reveal the meanings of 170 compound lexemes employed in traffic engineering fields, we analysed their morphological structure in both English and Serbian. Phrase compound lexemes are found to be typical of English.

The results of this study show that the two languages do not share the same morphological patterns in most cases. English binominals are, for instance, morphologically represented in Serbian equivalents in the following way: the head word is followed by a genitive or a prepositional phrase, or a relative clause, or it is preceded by an adjective. Compositional differences between the two languages and the conceptual dynamicity of English compound lexemes cause the occurrence of descriptive semantisation, terminological synonymy, as well as vague terms in Serbian.

In order to establish strategies for translating English compound lexemes into Serbian equivalents, we looked at English compound lexemes made up of two and more than two elements in particular. It has been shown that one may start at the end of a compound lexeme and then work backwards, or may begin at the end, work backwards and then towards the end of a compound lexeme, or may start from the beginning of a compound lexeme and work forwards, or begin from the fore end of a compound lexeme, move forward, and then work towards the beginning of a compound lexeme. The examples in XIV and XVII illustrate that it is possible to start from the second element in an English compound lexeme and work either to the left or to the right to create the corresponding Serbian translations. The patterns established also demonstrate that some Serbian equivalents have elements (mostly prepositions) that do not appear in the corresponding English compound lexemes (normally nouns), or that sometimes elements contained in English compound lexemes are omitted in Serbian. The analysis concludes that, when translating specialised compound lexemes, one should take into consideration their meanings as the most prominent feature.

Acknowledgements

This paper is based on a research, conducted within project *Description and Standardization of Contemporary Serbian Language*, Grant No. 178021, funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

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FISCAL CLIFF AND OTHER TOPOGRAPHICAL METAPHORS

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***Abstract:** Within the broad theoretical framework of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, in this paper we explore the figurativeness of a number of expressions (fiscal cliff, fiscal gorge, fiscal slope, etc.) pertaining to the most recent U.S. fiscal situation. We analyse the context-dependent use of the metaphorical linguistic expressions gathered via an Internet search and discuss to what extent they are motivated, that is, well-grounded.*

***Keywords:** cognitive linguistics, fiscal cliff, topographical metaphors*

1. Introduction

Within the broad theoretical framework of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, in this paper we explore how metaphors are utilised to conceive of a highly abstract concept, that of fiscal policy, via considering the figurativeness of a number of expressions pertaining to the most recent fiscal situation, specifically in the United States. Our interest in this topic has been triggered by the use of the pervasive and persuasive metaphorical linguistic expression *fiscal cliff*, which was made particularly popular by the Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve System Ben Bernanke in the late 2012. The “fiscal cliff” describes the automatic tax increases and spending cuts which were due to take effect on 1 January 2013 in America. The predicted outcome of the “fiscal cliff” scenario was the shrinkage of economic growth during the first quarter of 2013, with a spending pullback, possibly sending the U.S. economy into a new recession during the first half of the year, and a resultant rise in unemployment. According to Lakoff, “[w]hen Ben Bernanke spoke of the “fiscal cliff”, he undoubtedly had in mind a graph of the economy moving along, left to right, on a slight incline and then suddenly dropping way down, which looks like a line drawing of a cliff from the side view.” (Lakoff 2012). Moving back “from the edge of the fiscal cliff”, on the other hand, would significantly reduce the U.S. federal budget deficit. The nationwide agreement was reached on 31 December 2012, which led to the slight modification of figures regarding a tax hike and delays in spending cuts for another couple of months. However, many economists and analysts think that the deal would only postpone solving fiscal issues until later and that some new “fiscal cliffs” would be looming, which suggests that this (*fiscal cliff*) and other related expressions would continue to be exploited to help understand complex fiscal concepts. Hence our main concern here is, by applying the basic tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and Image Schema Theory (Johnson 1987), to investigate what makes fiscal metaphors so prevalent, i.e. to what extent they are motivated or well-grounded.

2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Metaphor, or rather conceptual metaphor, is a ubiquitous cognitive vehicle which “provides rich evidence about the ways in which some aspects of our lived experience are associated with others, for reasons that reflect basic aspects of perception, thought, and possibly neurological organization” (Grady 2007:188). One of the most important features of conceptual metaphors is establishing correlations or mappings between seemingly uncorrelated concepts, when the perceptual, tangible source concept—“the *donor* domain” (see Velasco Sacristán 2004:117) is mapped onto the non-perceptual, intangible target concept—“the *recipient* domain” (see Velasco Sacristán 2004:117). It all stems from Lakoff and Johnson’s idea that “[t]he essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5), which enables the structuring of many abstract and hard-to-understand concepts. Mappings between conceptual domains, the source and the target, are instantiated in a verbal, linguistic way via metaphorical expressions or linguistic metaphors (though metaphor is not an inherently linguistic phenomenon, but can be expressed in some non-verbal ways as well, such as pictures or gestures). It is the metaphorical linguistic expressions, according to Kövecses, that reveal the existence of the conceptual metaphors, as “the linguistic expressions (i.e., ways of talking) make explicit, or are manifestations of, the conceptual metaphors (i.e., ways of thinking)” (Kövecses 2010:7). Hence Grady concludes “[i]f cognitive linguistics is a study of ways in which features of language reflect other aspects of human cognition, then metaphors provide one of the clearest illustrations of this relationship” (Grady 2007:188).

The metaphor we analyse in this paper may be termed FISCAL POLICY AS TOPOGRAPHY/TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION, where fiscal issues are explained by recourse to various topographical terms, such as cliffs, hills, slopes, mountains, gorges, etc., by drawing on the main characteristic of metaphor—conceiving of less familiar concepts by way of more familiar ones, deeply entrenched in our reality and everyday experience. Thus, if we want to fully understand an abstract concept, which is here fiscal policy, “we are better off using another concept that is more concrete, physical, or tangible than the abstract target concept for this purpose” (Kövecses 2010:7). However, on closer inspection, the selected metaphorical expressions are underpinned by one of the most prevalent image schemas—VERTICALITY or UP-DOWN schema, coupled with that of MOTION.

A theory of image schema was developed by Johnson (1987), who defined an image schema as a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of our actions, perceptions, and conceptions. “These patterns emerge primarily as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions” (Johnson 1987:29). Johnson proposed that embodied experience gives rise to image schemas within the conceptual system. Consequently, image schemas derive from our sensory and perceptual experience as we interact with and move about in the world. Oakley, for example, defines an image schema as “a condensed redescription of perceptual experience for the purpose of mapping spatial structure onto conceptual structure”, and calls it a “distiller” of spatial and temporal experiences which in turn form “the basis for organizing knowledge and reasoning about the world” (Oakley 2007:215).

Pertinent to our analysis of the fiscal topographical metaphors is Johnson’s explanation of the VERTICALITY schema which “emerges from our tendency to employ an UP-DOWN orientation in picking out meaningful structures of our experience”, such as “perceiving a tree, our felt sense of standing upright, the activity of climbing stairs, forming a mental image of the flagpole, measuring our children’s heights, and experiencing the level of water rising in the bathtub” (Johnson 1987:xiv). Thus the VERTICALITY schema is based on an underlying dichotomy, with the positive pole perceived as UP and the negative pole perceived

as DOWN. More importantly, Rohrer cites Johnson who argues that image schemas “can then be metaphorically extended to structure nonphysical, nontactile, and nonvisual experiences” (Rohrer 2007:35-36), such as, in our case, fiscal policy. More precisely, we can extend—by means of metaphor—directly emergent experiences, i.e. image schemas, to characterise nonspatial experiences (see Rohrer 2007:35-36), abstract and nonphysical objects, such as taxes, spending, recession. The foundation for the comprehension of such an abstract domain as fiscal policy is orientational metaphor based on spatial orientation, MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN where the image schema of VERTICALITY is conflated with the concept of QUANTITY. This metaphor is coherent with other orientational metaphors, like GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN, SUCCESS IS UP/FAILURE IS DOWN, etc. This is why Kövecses calls these metaphors *coherence metaphors* because certain target concepts are conceptualised in a uniform way, e.g. the concepts MORE, GOOD, and SUCCESS characterised by an “upward” orientation tend to go together with positive evaluation, while LESS, BAD, and FAILURE characterised by a “downward” orientation are linked with a negative evaluation (see Kövecses 2010:40).

The data collection for the analysis that follows has been gathered by means of an Internet search. It has been predominantly compiled from the CNBC’s website, an American satellite and cable television business news channel; some examples have been excerpted from some other online sources, as well as from readers’ comments on the news posted on the selected web sites. Metaphorical examples date from the late 2012 and the beginning of 2013 when the “fiscal cliff” scenario was at its “peak” and heavily backed by the media reporting. Various texts pertaining to the recent fiscal situation in America have been extracted and compiled in one Word file, totalling around 40,000 words. The metaphoricity of the expressions linguistically realising the TOPOGRAPHY metaphor has been checked and then established by using the method for *metaphor identification procedure* (MIP) proposed by a group of researchers called the Praggeljaz Group (2007). Some of the parts containing metaphorical linguistic expressions—the whole sentences or titles of newspaper articles—extracted from the selected texts will be used to illustrate our point in the analysis that follows.

3. The FISCAL POLICY AS TOPOGRAPHY Metaphor

The most prominent metaphorical expression of the FISCAL POLICY AS TOPOGRAPHY/TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION metaphor is the evaluative *fiscal cliff*, based on the orientational MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN metaphor to indicate the devastating effects that might occur if some previously enacted U.S. fiscal laws were not averted before 1 January 2013, thus materialising the FISCAL POLICY IS CLIFF (DIVING) conceptual metaphor. Our common knowledge tells us that the cliff is a steep side or face of high land or rock, especially at the edge of the sea, so that falling off the cliff in real life is usually fatal. Thus, this aspect of meaning is selected as relevant or salient, and most compatible with the impact that some of the previously scheduled fiscal measures could have on the overall U.S. and potentially global economic situation, with such a grim prediction as the further contraction of the U.S. economy and a considerable rise in unemployment in 2013. In addition, as already mentioned, the presupposed direction in the *fiscal cliff* expression, that of top-bottom, i.e., up-down comprising the notion of VERTICALITY image schema, is related to our ingrained experience where the upward orientation normally correlates with positive evaluation, i.e. “vantage positions and bigger quantities” (Pérez Hernández 2011:376)—or GOOD IS UP/SUCCESS IS UP via MORE IS UP, while the downward orientation activates negative evaluation linked with smaller quantities, i.e. a fall in (the U.S.) economic growth pertaining to fiscal tightening pending, which in turn gives rise to orientational metaphors BAD IS DOWN/FAILURE IS DOWN via LESS IS DOWN. We illustrate the FISCAL CLIFF topographical metaphor with the following examples:

- (1) *Falling off the “fiscal cliff” is a bad thing, right?* (CNBC, 26 Dec 2012)
- (2) In a cruel epilogue to 2012, roughly 28 million families would owe the IRS \$86 billion more than they anticipated for this year should the country *plunge off the cliff*. (CNBC, 28 Dec 2012)
- (3) U.S. economy is getting used to life *on the edge of the fiscal cliff*. (Reuters, 13 Jan 2013)
- (4) The United States averted economic calamity on Tuesday when lawmakers approved a deal to prevent huge tax hikes and spending cuts that *would have pushed the world’s largest economy off a “fiscal cliff”* and into recession. (CNBC, 2 Jan 2013)
- (5) Shoppers Are *Left Dangling on the ‘Fiscal Cliff’* (CNBC, 27 Dec 2012)
- (6) Middle Class Gets *‘Cliffed’* by Huge Tax If No Deal Reached (CNBC, 28 Dec 2012)

A highly evocative and memorable image of the *fiscal cliff* metaphorical expression is provided by its collocational settings (linked with another image schema, that of MOTION or MOVEMENT that we will refer to later), e.g.–*falling off the fiscal cliff, plunging off the cliff, sitting on the edge of the fiscal cliff, being pushed off the fiscal cliff, left dangling on the fiscal cliff, even getting cliffed*–which additionally reinforce the already marked metaphorical content of this linguistic metaphor and its spatialisation character.

3.1. *Fiscal gorge, fiscal abyss, fiscal mountain*

In order to depict the seriousness of the U.S. budget issue, metaphor creators resort to varying the “cliff” theme with other topographical linguistic metaphors, which preserve the essential UP/DOWN bipolarity and negative evaluation of the downward orientation. Thus, as the examples below show, the *fiscal cliff* becomes the *fiscal gorge, fiscal abyss, or fiscal mountain*, which may be labelled as *extension* or “extended” metaphor in Semino’s terms “where several metaphorical expressions belonging to the same semantic field or evoking the same source domain are used in close proximity to one another in relation to the same topic, or to elements of the same target domain” (Semino 2008:25). Let us illustrate alternative metaphorical expressions by the following examples from our data collection:

- (7) Bank of America Merrill Lynch describes the challenges the United States faces in coming months rather as three *fiscal gorges it must leap over*. (Reuters, 13 Jan 2013)
- (8) China’s state news agency Xinhua took a more severe view, warning the United States must get to grips with a budget deficit that threatened not a “*fiscal cliff*” but a “*fiscal abyss*”. (CNBC, 2 Jan 2013)
- (9) *Fiscal Cliff? France Has ‘Fiscal Mountain’* (CNBC, 7 Dec 2012)
- (10) When we talk about the *fiscal cliff* in France it’s *a mountain, it’s much higher than a cliff*. (CNBC, 7 Dec 2012)

Thus, *fiscal gorge, fiscal abyss, or fiscal mountain*, similarly to the most general *fiscal cliff* expression, aim to represent particular aspects of, in this case, economic reality. Likening the fiscal situation in America to a metaphorical abyss or gorge serves to reinforce the already prominent dramatic effect of the possible financial disaster, should the policy makers default on reaching a consensus on fiscal matters. Hence the role of the metaphorical expressions, such as *fiscal gorge, fiscal abyss or fiscal mountain* is to amplify persuasiveness and evaluation of the pervasive FISCAL CLIFF metaphor.

Among the most important features of conceptual metaphors is the partial nature of the metaphorical mappings. One conceptual domain is partially mapped onto another conceptual domain, i.e. the second domain is only partially understood in terms of the first one. In other words, falling off the fiscal cliff is not and cannot be entirely equated with literal falling off the cliff and the potential life-or-death scenarios. Besides, economic experts say that even if no deal had been reached by 1 January 2013, retroactive fixes, roll back and other deal-making could have prevented the most harmful effects of the *fiscal cliff*. If any fall would result then it would be a more gradual fall if we looked at the deficit on a week-to-week basis.

Therefore, besides the cognitive role of the *fiscal cliff* metaphor (along with *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal abyss*, etc.) in developing our understanding on the basis of analogy, there is a prominent pragmatic one arising from “the underlying purpose of [metaphor] influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion” (Charteris-Black 2004:21), since metaphors are often used “persuasively to convey evaluations and therefore constitute part of the ideology of texts” (Charteris-Black 2004:28). *Fiscal cliff*, *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal abyss* or *fiscal mountain* have a highly rhetorical impact, their “loadedness” acts as a signal of instilling fear and posing threat to ordinary people, stemming from their deeply embodied character and the correlations we make between the downward orientation and failing along the UP-DOWN scale. Their evaluative nature is even more striking with the benefit of hindsight in that nothing so dramatic as irreversible abruptness of falling off the cliff or leaping over the gorge would ever result. In addition, the fiscal topographical metaphors underlie the dual role of economic experts and policy makers, as the ones who can “push the country off the cliff” on the one hand, but also as those who are solely in control of averting the whole *fiscal cliff* scenario, on the other.

3.2. *Fiscal hill, fiscal slope, fiscal hump*

In order to soften a very disconcerting impact of the *fiscal cliff* and other related expressions mentioned above and in an effort “to adjust” the figurativeness of the expressions to the current fiscal situation, metaphor creators opt for no less visually and mentally suggestive topographical metaphors, superseding *fiscal cliffs*, *mountains*, and *gorges* by *fiscal hills*, *fiscal molehills*, *fiscal slopes*, and *fiscal humps*. Here are some examples of other fiscal topographical metaphors:

- (11) “I just think there’s very high odds that they’ll eventually come to an agreement ... some small tax hikes, some small spending cuts, and a lot of it will be put off for another day,” Paulsen said. “The *fiscal cliff* is going to turn into a *fiscal molehill*.” (CNBC, 28 Nov 2012)
- (12) It’s why the nation is *heading over a fiscal cliff* that may begin to look more like a *hill* whose slope remains uncertain but will almost surely be gradual. (CNBC, 12 Oct 2012)
- (13) ‘Fiscal cliff’ is just a *hill we can jump off*. (Daily Kos, 18 Nov 2012)
- (14) In short, what has been dubbed a cliff is more like a *fiscal slope* that gets steeper as time goes on. (Daily Kos, 18 Nov 2012)
- (15) Same with the *Fiscal Hump*. Let’s make the R’s look like they are crying wolf about a cliff that is really just a *little hump to get over*. (Daily Kos, 17 Nov 2012)
- (16) In truth, we’ve averted *falling off the Fiscal Cliff* only to continue *rolling down the Fiscal Hill*, the gradual and predictable decline into economic catastrophe. (Project Primetime, 7 Jan 2013)
- (17) Without a budget deal, higher taxes will crimp consumers’ spending power — but only gradually. That’s why many economists believe *the fiscal cliff* is really more a like a *slope*. (CNBC, 27 Dec 2012)
- (18) The cliff’s recipe of major tax hikes and spending cuts can actually be a *gentle slope*, because the policy changes would be phased in over time. (CNBC, 10 Dec 2012)

Reduced steepness and height of (literal) hills, molehills, slopes, and humps, thus presupposed soft landing in case of fall in contrast to the one off cliffs, is utilised here as a salient feature which in cognitive terms should convey the aspect of a more favourable economic outlook, i.e. less anxiety and uncertainty in the lives of the populace. Yet, these metaphors, similarly to the previous ones, are not likely to accurately relate the complexity of the fiscal issue, but what matters is how the given issue is framed.

3.3. The MOTION Image Schema in Fiscal Metaphors

As we have already said and can be noticed in the majority of the previous examples ((1)-(18)), the VERTICALITY image schema is intertwined with the MOVEMENT/MOTION image

schema giving rise to the UNCOORDINATED FISCAL POLICY IS FALLING OFF THE CLIFF metaphor. The MOVEMENT metaphors make up the EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR (see Lakoff 1993), one of the mappings of which is CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS. This, in turn, is frequently utilised as the source domain that provides a rich knowledge structure for understanding complex economic phenomena. Specifically, economic activities and changes can be understood via the motion of a company, economic society or the country in general. The movement can take different forms: forward, backward, upward or downward, zig-zag. These properties of the movement have consequently different implications when mapped onto economic changes and activities. Thus, economic progress and development are normally viewed as a forward and upward movement, while economic recession and crisis are comprehended as a backward and downward movement. According to Lakoff, economic activity is conceptualised as motion because a common conceptual metaphor is being used—ACTIVITY IS MOTION, while the metaphor THE FUTURE IS AHEAD accounts for why the motion is “forward.” (see Lakoff 2012). Thus, from a cognitive linguistics perspective, *fiscal cliff* and other fiscal topographical metaphors are not simple metaphors that combine “fiscal” together with “cliff”, “mountain”, “hill”, “slope”, etc., but they are metaphors understood “via a highly integrated cascade of other deeper and more general conceptual metaphors” (Lakoff 2012). What follows are some examples of the MOTION metaphors linked with the UP/DOWN schema.

- (19) *Bungee jump off cliff* should please Wall Street. (CNBC, 2 Jan 2013)
- (20) So, a quick resolution makes it more like “*bungee jumping*” — *falling over the cliff and then bouncing back above it*. (CNBC, 2 Jan 2013)
- (21) *Falling off the “fiscal cliff”* is a bad thing, right? (CNBC, 26 Dec 2012)
- (22) In truth, we’ve averted falling off the Fiscal Cliff only to continue *rolling down the Fiscal Hill*, the gradual and predictable decline into economic catastrophe. (*Project Primetime*, 7 Jan 2013)
- (23) “Our bet is that politicians will allow us *to go over the cliff and then drag us out before we drown...*” (CNBC, 17 Dec 2012)
- (24) Cliff deal could *slingshot* economy higher (CNBC, 5 Dec 2012)

Let us point out here the *bungee jump* expression and its role in conceiving of fiscal matters. Literally speaking, bungee jumping is the sport of jumping off a high structure to which one is attached by a piece of rubber band called bungee cord, so that the body springs back just short of kicking the ground or water. Although it implies inherent danger, *bungee jumping off the cliff*, metaphorically speaking, does not convey the same sense of potentially lethal activity when compared to *plunging off the cliff*, as attested by the reasons that lie behind the usage of this alternative metaphor by its creators. In fiscal terms, bungee jumping refers to delaying all or some of the scheduled tax hikes, thus preventing, hopefully, an abrupt plunge into recession. More precisely, if *fiscal hills* or *fiscal slopes* are used to mitigate the precipitous fall in economic activity in its VERTICALITY aspect, then, as examples (19) and (20) show, *bungee jumping* has a similar rhetorical function in terms of MOTION, suggesting at least temporary rebounding, stemming from the implied meaning of constant up and down movement.

4. Conclusion

Setting the analysis of fiscal topographical metaphors within the theoretical frameworks of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Image Schema Theory, we have attempted to show how these metaphors are motivated and why they are so rife not only in journalistic reporting but in the language of economic experts and policy makers as well. Metaphors are never a total representation of the concept they structure, as they foreground only some aspects of the concept, leaving other aspects in the dark, which in turn often signals some covert intentions of the metaphor creators within particular contexts of use, e.g. here

generating fear and uncertainty of the general public. However, the widespread use of the *fiscal cliff*, *fiscal gorge*, *fiscal slope* or *falling off the fiscal cliff*, *plunging off the cliff*, *rolling down the fiscal hill* and other metaphorical expressions accounts for one of the main tenets of Cognitive Linguistics, that of embodiment. As Lakoff and Johnson (1999:12) argue, “human concepts are not just reflections of an external reality, but [that] they are crucially shaped by our bodies and brains, especially by our sensimotor system.” We are not able to talk about the body and the mind as distinct entities; the mind is embodied and embodied image schematic experience provides much of the structure of what we call the mind (see Lakoff and Johnson 1999), or as Johnson put it, “the body is in the mind” (Johnson 1987:xxxviii). Embodiment, therefore, may be the crucial reason why the TOPOGRAPHY metaphor integrating VERTICALITY and MOTION image schemas is so pervasive for the cognitive structuring of (American) fiscal policy. “Because the conceptual metaphors constituting the *fiscal cliff* fit together so well and so naturally, it is hard to just jettison it and replace it with an even better integrated metaphor.” (Lakoff 2012). So, to put it in Lakoffian terms, we may have to live by these topographical metaphors mapped onto fiscal policy, no matter how misleading and partial they may be.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0004

DERIVATIONAL VERSUS PHRASAL ADVERBIALS OF MANNER

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Abstract: *This paper compares the usage of derivational and phrasal adverbial expressions of manner in English and Romanian. It also points to possible translational and learning problems due to selection peculiarities in the two languages. Both English as well as some of the Romance languages (among others French, Italian, Spanish), use both simple adverbs of manner (e.g. well) and derivational adverbs formed by adding a suffix to an adjective (e.g. poorly vs –mente adverbs in Romance).*

Keywords: *manner adverbs, phrasal adverbials of manner, derivational adverbials of manner*

1. Introduction

Huddleston and Pullum (2002:612) assume adverbs to be elements that modify verbs among other parts of speech, and as such they are part of the adjunct category. Prepositions occurring as heads of PPs may also be considered to be part of the same category. In fact, almost every semantic type of adjunct can be realized by a phrase with either an adverb or a preposition as its head. Our paper discusses the instances of (derivational) manner adverbs and PPs functioning as adverbials of manner as in (1):

- (1) a. She did it *carefully*. (derivational manner adverb)
 b. She did it *with great care*. (adverbial of manner PP)

Languages derive their adverbs in different ways allowing for a classification as proposed in Swan (1988, 1997) and Protopopescu (2012: 77). This classification triggers a clear split within the Romance family, where French, Italian and Spanish pattern along the lines of English as adverbial languages, with rich and productive adverbial suffixes, while Romanian has evolved more towards a partly adverbial language, similar in a way to German which uses the same form for both adjective and adverb. All languages mentioned allow for adverbial expressions of manner consisting of a preposition plus a noun phrase (e.g. *with pleasure*), but Romanian shows a propensity towards using the PP rather than the adverb variant.

Table 1

Adverbial languages: English, French, Italian, Spanish	Non-adverbial languages: German	Partly adverbial languages: Romanian
a. Present and past participles are used as verbal forms as well as having adjectival uses. Suffixation normal for	a. Present and past participles have adjectival and adverbial functions.	a. Past participles have adjectival and adverbial functions.

adverbial uses.		
b. There are few zero forms; adverbs and adjectives are normally strictly distinguished.	b. There are numerous adjective-adverbs, i.e. zero forms which may be used both as adjectives and adverbs	b. i. There are numerous adjective-adverbs. ii. The masculine singular form of the adjective is used as an adverb.
c. There is one dominant adverb suffix.	c. There is no dominant adverb suffix.	c. There are several adverb suffixes: <i>-(ic)eşte</i> , <i>-mente</i> , <i>-iş (iş)</i> , but they are less productive in the language.

However, if morphological rules for manner adverb formation are more or less available in all languages, the rules for selecting either derivational or phrasal adverbials of manner are hard to come by to say the least. There are most certainly language-specific constraints, and although there may be a large degree of one-to-one correspondence, the translation of a construction with an adverbial of manner into another language by using the same adverbial type can often lead to either ungrammatical (2b) or unnatural results (3a).

- (2) a. John waited calmly.
b. *Juan esperó calmamente.
- (3) a. ?John waited with calm.
b. Juan esperó con calma.

Therefore, one may be entitled to expect differences as far as either interpretation or grammaticality in what concerns the placement of derivational versus phrasal adverbials in English versus Romance languages. In what follows, we endeavour to discuss these differences and offer a pertinent analysis of the data.

2. Contexts of Occurrence for Derivational and Phrasal Adverbials of Manner

In order to better understand why we need to draw a line between derivational and phrasal adverbials, we need to take a closer look at their context of occurrence and the situations resulting thereof.

There are cases in which both the manner adverb and the [+ manner] PP seem to occur freely, the meaning remaining constant and both being grammatical as in (4) and (5), below.

- (4) a. John drives carefully.
b. John drives with care.
- (5) a. John acted justly.
b. John acted with justice.

In other contexts, however, there are possible significant meaning differences between the two, as in the set of examples under (6)–(8).

- (6) a. John confessed his sins openly.
b. John confessed his sins with openness.
- (7) a. John told the truth freely.
b. John told the truth with freedom.

- (8) a. John told the story a second time forgetfully.
 b. John told the story a second time with forgetfulness.

If John confessed his sins *openly*, he might have confessed them to anyone who would listen, but if he confessed them *with openness*, he may have been alone with his priest. Similarly, if John told the truth *freely*, he did so willingly and without hesitation, but if he told the truth *with freedom*, there was no danger or reprisal. Finally, if John told the story a second time *forgetfully*, he may have told the story again without a flaw or hesitation but failed to recall that he had already entertained his listeners. If John told the story a second time *with forgetfulness*, it may have been to a second audience and he forgot essential parts.

Looking further into the matter, we notice that there are contexts where both derivational and phrasal types are possible, but one seems to be preferred:

- (9) a. John treated the matter laughingly.
 b. John treated the matter with laughter.
 (10) a. John performs ably.
 b. John performs with ability.

In (9) and (10) the examples with the derivational adverb appear to be preferred by native speakers, whereas in (11) and (12) below, the examples with the phrasal adverbials are preferred ones.

- (11) a. John looked at me questioningly.
 b. John looked at me with question.
 (12) a. John behaved reasonably.
 b. John behaved with reason.

In English, the phrasal adverbial may not precede the verb. Therefore, examples such as (13) are ruled out, unless they occur parenthetically as in (14).

- (13) a. * John with desire looked at the girl.
 b. *John with perfection played the piano.
 (14) a. John, with desire, looked at the girl.
 b. John, with perfection, played the piano.

Similarly, no phrasal adverbial may intervene in the sequence transitive verb-direct object. This, however, has to do with the Adjacency Constraint, a parameter of the English language that with a few exceptions does not allow for any material to intervene and break this sequence.

- (15) *John played with perfection the piano.

It is important to mention the existence of this parameter for English, since Romanian does allow for adverbials to intervene between the transitive verb and its direct object, as will be shown in the following section.

To sum up, so far we can make the following generalization, mapping syntactic positions to semantic interpretations:

Table 2

Syntactic Position	Derivational Manner Adverbs	Phrasal Manner Adverbials
VP-external (Clausal reading)	Derived reading YES	Derived reading NO

VP-internal (VP reading)		Primary reading YES	Primary / Derived reading NO	Primary reading YES	Primary / Derived reading NO
Final position	Verb-ADV- DO (for transitive verbs)				

3. The View from Romanian

In what follows, we attempt a similar view for Romanian derivational adverbs and phrasal adverbials. As seen in Table 1 in section 1, Romanian makes extensive use of zero derivation as far as adverb formation is concerned, more often than not the masculine singular form of the adjective is also the form used for the adverb. Although this obviously lends itself to a lot of ambiguity, this is not the subject of this paper. The focus here is on the use of the derivational adverbs which mostly overlap adjectival forms.

- (16) Maria mi-a vorbit *ferm*.
Maria spoke to me determinedly.
- (17) Razele soarelui băteau *delicat* în geam.
The rays of the sun pounded delicately in the window.
- (18) Studenții răspundeau *inteligent*.
The students were answering intelligently.
- (19) Câinii mârâiau *amenințător*.
The dogs were growling menacingly.
- (20) a. Ion aude *clar* vocea Mariei.
Ion hears Maria's voice clearly.
but b. Ion aude (*clar*) vocea nedistinctă a Mariei.
Ion hears clearly Mary's indistinct voice.
- (21) Crainicul TV pronunță *greșit* numele străine.
The TV anchor pronounces foreign names mistakenly.

(examples from Mârzea 2010)

The same wrong predictions could be made, as in (Mârzea 2010), where the reading of the manner adverb in (22) is related to the verb, the subject and the direct object. Thus, the *director may be violent in formulating his demand, the demand itself may be violent or the manner in which the demand is formulated is violent*.

- (22) Directorul formulează *violent* cererea.
The manager formulates the request violently.

(examples from Mârzea 2012)

Here we explore the diagnostics available in order to properly interpret the manner adverbs discussed in the previous section. The expectation that the different classes in Ernst (2002) correspond to different interpretations is borne out by the fact that we can distinguish them by means of the different paraphrases available to them as indicated below.

- (16') Maria mi-a vorbit *ferm/în mod ferm/cu fermitate*.
Maria spoke to me determinedly / in a determined manner / with firmness.
- (17') Razele soarelui băteau *delicat/în mod delicat/cu delicatețe* în geam.
The rays of the sun pounded delicately/in a delicate manner /with delicacy in the window.
- (18') Studenții răspundeau *inteligent/în mod inteligent/cu inteligență*.
The students were answering intelligently/in an intelligent manner.
- (19') Câinii mârâiau *amenințător/în chip amenințător/*cu amenințare*.
The dogs were growling menacingly/in a menacing way / *with a menace.
- (20') Ion aude *clar/în mod clar/cu claritate* vocea Mariei.

- Ion hears Maria's voice clearly/in a clear manner / with clarity.
 (21') Crainicul TV pronunță *greșit/în mod greșit/cu greșeli* numele străine.
 The TV anchor pronounces foreign names wrongly/in a wrong way / with mistakes.
 (22') Directorul formulează *violent/în mod violent/cu violență* cererea.
 The manager formulates the request violently/in a violent manner / with violence.

Certain manner adverbs whose interpretation is linked to the direct object cannot be paraphrased with *în mod* as the ones above, but they do allow for other adverbial PPs.

- (23) Ana vinde *ieftin/*în mod ieftin/cu bani puțini* apartamentul.
 Ana sells the apartment cheaply / *in a cheap manner / with little money.

Manner adverbs referring to the result of a process cannot be paraphrased by *în mod*:

- (24) Mama frământă aluatul *tare/*în mod tare*.
 Mother kneads the dough hard / *in a hard manner.
 (25) Ion închide borcanele *strâns/*în mod strâns*.
 Ion closes the jars tightly / *in a tight manner.
 (26) Minerul dormea *adânc/*în mod adânc*.
 The miner was sleeping sound / *in a sound manner.

They do allow other adverbial PPs which, however, trigger a change in meaning from resultative to manner:

- (24') Mama frământă aluatul *tare / cu tărie*.
 Mother kneads the dough hard / with firmness.
 (25') Ion închide borcanele *strâns / cu fermitate*.
 Ion closes the jars tightly / with firmness.
 (26') Minerul dormea *adânc / în adâncime*.
 The miner was sleeping sound / in depth (in the underground).

In (24'), the PP adverbial *cu tărie* does not have the same resultative meaning as the derivational adverb *tare*, that is, the result of kneading the dough is not hard dough, but rather the manner in which the dough was kneaded was with firmness.

Table 3

Syntactic Position		Derivational Manner Adverbs		Phrasal Manner Adverbials	
VP-external (Clausal reading)		Derived reading YES		Derived reading NO	
VP-internal (VP reading)					
Final position	Verb-ADV-DO (for transitive verbs)	Primary reading YES	Primary / Derived reading NO	Primary reading YES	Primary / Derived reading YES

4. A Further Refinement

While phrasal manner adverbials are clearly restricted to final position with VP-internal/ manner reading due to heaviness and prosody, but also interpretation, derivational manner adverbs seem to behave distinctly allowing both VP-external and VP-internal readings at times. In order to disambiguate this apparent lack of consistency/homogeneity within the class of derivational manner adverbs, we propose the following further refinement of mapping their syntactic positions to their semantic interpretations along the lines of

(Schäfer 2002, Ernst 2002, 2004, 2006 and Protopopescu 2012), by proposing a split within the larger class of derivational manner adverbs. Thus, there are at least two subtypes: quality adverbs, whose primary reading is the clausal/VP-external interpretation, while the VP internal/manner interpretation is derived, and pure manner adverbs whose primary reading is generated in the lower position, adjacent to the VP, which triggers the manner interpretation, with the option of occurring higher in the clause VP-externally, where their interpretation changes to a clausal one.

Table 4

Syntactic Position	Derivational Manner Adverbs		Phrasal Manner Adverbials
	Quality Adverbs	Pure Manner Adverbs	
VP-external (Clausal reading)	Primary reading YES	Derived reading YES	Derived reading NO
VP-internal (VP reading)*	Derived reading YES	Primary reading YES	Primary reading YES

*Given the Adjacency Constraint for English, the preferred position of the adverb/adverbial in case of transitive verbs is the final position.

5. Conclusions

The comparison between the two classes that perform the same function yielded some unexpected results to the extent that the class of phrasal adverbials of manner is restricted to occur in the lower part of the clause, be it sentence final position in English or following the verb or sentence final position in Romanian. Derived manner adverbs, on the other hand, may also occur higher in the clause, which triggers a change in interpretation. In this case, derived manner adverbs acquire a clausal interpretation (the subject-oriented reading more often than not), i.e. a derived interpretation, something that is not available for phrasal adverbials of manner which are restricted to their VP-internal/manner interpretation, and thus to the lower syntactic position.

This is an additional argument in favour of those theories that regard the study of syntactic positions of adverbs in close relation to their semantic interpretations.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNDI – UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-IN-CI-2012-1-0366.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0005

THE METATEXTUAL ROLE OF INTRODUCTIONS TO BA PAPERS

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***Abstract:** This article builds on a comparative analysis based on a corpus of literature and linguistics BA papers submitted by students majoring in English and Romanian, at the University of Timișoara. The authors highlight the metatextual function of introductions, focusing on identifying, classifying, and commenting upon deictic and non-deictic linguistic elements through which this function is fulfilled, in an attempt to see how consistently they are used by the student writers and to raise awareness of their use and usefulness.*

***Keywords:** deictic linguistic elements, non-deictic linguistic elements, introductions, metatextual function*

1. Introduction

Over the past twenty years, general interest in academic writing has undeniably increased so that research in the area has covered not only more and more diverse topics, but also new geographical (and, consequently, linguistic) territories. Special attention seems to have been devoted to contrasting various aspects of academic genres in L1 and English as L2, the latter having been constantly regarded as the model. Swales and Feak (2012:16) clearly point at this pervasive kind of approach:

Because of the dominating position of academic English prose and because of the wish of many people to acquire this variety of the language, the great majority of studies to date have compared some other academic languages with English academic prose. These languages include Arabic, Chinese, Finnish, French, German, Japanese, Korean, Malay, Polish, Spanish and Swedish. Simplifying somewhat, the overall conclusions point in one basic direction: academic English, especially US academic English, has several features that place it toward one end of a number of continua.

One can notice that Romanian is not mentioned among the languages enumerated by Swales and Feak (2012). And neither are other Eastern European languages. This might be the consequence of the fact that, to our knowledge, the interest in academic writing in this part of the Old continent has most often taken forms other than comparative research—at university level, courses and seminars addressed mainly to students of foreign languages (especially English) and much less often to students majoring in other domains; at high school level, writing assignments for high school pupils, as part of Romanian or foreign language classes (again, especially English), usually, with no particular emphasis being placed on them and with little support being offered by teachers.

However, this is not to say that the trend Swales and Feak (2012) noticed has not generated insights into academic writing in Eastern Europe at all. Arvay and Tanko (2006) for

example, dealt contrastively with introductions to research articles in English and Hungarian, while Băniceru et al. (2012) compared introductions to BA theses written in English and Romanian. Articles like these paved the way to growing interest in another area—features of introductions to academic papers—that has not been much tackled so far by Eastern European researchers, though, in other parts of the world, it has been food for thought for many.

Among those who have explored them, Swales (1990) may be the most widely quoted. Other contributions in the area belong, for example, to Samraj (2005), Ozturk (2007), Johns (2008), Hirano (2009), Loi (2010), Soler-Monreal (2011) and Sheldon (2011) and focus either on introductions in general or, following the contrastive trend already mentioned, on similarities or/and differences between introductions written in English and those written in other languages (such as Portuguese, Chinese, Spanish, etc.). Authors point at cultural overlapping or variation, either motivated by writing introductions intuitively or by following models other than the prevailing Anglo-Saxon one, as the case may be. No matter whether the analysis is comparative or not, most of these contributions build on mapping the corpus analyzed to the CARS model suggested by Swales (1990).

According to him, “just as plants compete for light and space, so writers of RP [research papers] Introductions compete for acceptance and recognition. In order to obtain this acceptance and recognition, many writers will employ a widely used organizational pattern... This rhetorical pattern has become known as the create-a-research-space (or CARS) model” (Swales 1990:328, 331). Three “moves” are characteristic of this model: Move 1—Establishing a research territory; Move 2—Establishing a niche and Move 3—Occupying a niche.

2. Metatextual Elements in Introductions to BA Papers

2.1. Research Preliminaries

The CARS mode-related aspects aside, little attention has been paid to other features of introductions. To fill this gap, in this article, we set out to add to the previous rather discourse-oriented research, an analysis of the linguistic elements by which introductions fulfil their metatextual (metadiscursive) role of maps to the texts they open, starting from our strong belief that a successfully written introduction ensures a smooth reading and understanding of what follows. Our approach is thus restricted to those linguistic “elements which refer to the text itself, looking inward to those aspects of a discourse which help organize the text as text” (Hyland 2009:125). It does not take into consideration the elements whose metadiscursive function Hyland (2005) identifies as being that of engaging the readers and signalling the writers’ attitudes towards their own work and their audience (although it is true that giving indications about the text as text presupposes a certain kind of engagement of the reader even if not at the level of their attitudes and emotions).

The corpus from which these elements have been selected is made up of 15 introductions to BA papers written in English by Romanian students majoring in English language and literature (L2), at the Faculty of Letters, West University of Timișoara (graduation in 2011) and 15 introductions to BA papers written in Romanian by Romanian students majoring in Romanian language and literature (L1), at the same faculty and at the same time.

The aim of our small scale research whose results are presented here is twofold: on the one hand, highlighting the use and usefulness of the linguistic elements we focus on, on the other, answering two questions prompted by our direct experience with supervising BA papers and with our students’ frequent complaint that writing introductions is sometimes more difficult than writing the actual body of their graduation papers. These questions are: Do students prove that they are aware of the metatextual role of introductions to BA papers? In

the introductions, do they use linguistic phrases with a metatextual function consistently or not?

The metatextual linguistic elements that we have identified in the corpus analyzed may be grouped in three main categories:

- a) elements related to the content/topic/purpose of the text introduced;
- b) elements related to the structure of the paper as a whole or the structure of a particular chapter;
- c) elements related to the logical relationships between certain parts of the text introduced.

We shall detail upon each of these categories in the following sections (the papers in our corpus have been numbered—the numbers in brackets following quotations represent the numbers the papers have been given in the corpus).

2.2. Elements Related to the Content/Topic/Purpose of the Text Introduced

A pretty frequent metatextual element mentioned in introductions is the title of the whole paper or of a particular chapter. It is introduced either directly or as an apposition, both in English and in Romanian texts.

English	Romanian
I have chosen <i>Characteristics of phrasal verbs</i> as the theme of my research... (E1)	Lucrarea mea de licență se intitulează <i>Literatură și film. Ecranizări postmoderne</i> . (R3) (My BA paper is entitled <i>Literatură și film. Ecranizări postmoderne</i> .)
Because this diploma paper is entitled <i>Verbal Aggression</i> ... (E3)	Acest punct de rezistență este însuși titlul lucrării: <i>Daimonul eminescian</i> . (R7) (This focal point is the very title of the paper: <i>Daimonul eminescian</i> .)
Structurally, <i>Sexual Expression and Repression in Victorian Literature</i> will be divided in three main chapters. (E8)	Capitolul se numește <i>Biografii spirituale încrucișate</i> și este împărțit în două subcapitole: <i>Emil Cioran, un eremit melancolic</i> și <i>Octavian Paler – radiografia unui moralist solitar</i> (R12) (The chapter is entitled <i>Biografii spirituale încrucișate</i> and it is divided in two subchapters: <i>Emil Cioran, un eremit melancolic</i> and <i>Octavian Paler – radiografia unui moralist solitar</i>)
In chapter one, entitled <i>A Brief Insight in the Theory of Narratives</i> ... (E2)	Capitolul I, intitulat <i>India – Occident. Întâlniri (im)posibile</i> ... (R14) (Chapter I, entitled <i>India – Occident. Întâlniri (im)posibile</i> ...)
In chapter two – <i>Reading the Legacies of the Modernist Novel</i> ... (E2)	
The third chapter, <i>Gender Issues in 'The Hours'</i> is symmetrically constructed... (E7)	

Besides the title, as the clearest and most direct way of pointing at the focus of the text, there are also morphological means of fulfilling the function of announcing the content, topic or purpose of the whole paper or of a particular chapter: the use of specific nouns and verbs and of the construction “subject clause+to be+predicative clause”. They are illustrated and briefly commented on below.

Nouns such as *aim*, *analysis*, *purpose*, *topic*, in English; *analiză (analysis)*, *explorare (exploration)*, *obiectiv (objective)*, in Romanian are all correlated with strings of text with an explanatory or descriptive content.

English	Romanian
<p><i>The purpose of my paper is to take a brief insight in one of the most challenging novels of Virginia Woolf, The Waves.</i> (E2)</p> <p>... <i>the actual purpose of this paper, which is to present Tolkien's fabled saga in a new and unique light...</i> (E4)</p> <p><i>The aim of the present analysis is to show how identity is rendered through the use of narrative techniques</i> (E11)</p> <p>...introduces the reader to the topic of <i>fantasy perceived as an ultimate form of escapism.</i> (E15)</p>	<p>...avem fixate câteva <i>obiective</i> generale, cum ar fi: <i>oferirea unei viziuni de ansamblu a termenului daimon, identificarea acestui motiv în literatura română, ... alegerea unui text pentru analiză...</i> (R7) (...we have set several general objectives, such as: offering a general view of the term 'daimon', identifying this motif in Romanian literature... choosing a text for analysis...)</p> <p>Lucrarea de față propune o <i>analiză a modului în care India este abordată ca poetică a spațiului...</i> (R14) (The present paper aims at an analysis of the way in which India is approached as a poetics of space...)</p> <p>Acest studiu mi-a permis <i>explorarea modului în care diferite teme și motive din cadrul romanului sunt preluate și extinse de arta cinematografică ...</i>(R3) (This study allowed for the exploration of the way in which various themes and motifs in the novel are taken over and extended by cinema)</p>

Verbs are much more numerous than nouns in both languages: *to aim at/to, to analyze, to be interested in, to deal with, to depict, to discuss, to do away with, to emphasize, to explore, to focus on, to illustrate, to present, to question, to show, to study, to talk about*, in English; *a aduce în discuție (to discuss), a analiza (to analyze), a conține (to contain), a evidenția (to emphasize), a fi dedicat (to be dedicated), a ilustra (to illustrate), a insista asupra (to insist on), a prezenta (to present), a-și propune (to attempt at), a sintetiza (to synthesize), a trata (to talk about–approx.), a urmări (to deal with–approx.)*, in Romanian. With very few exceptions, the English verbs are employed in the active voice, while the majority of the Romanian verbs are used in the passive voice. Thus, writing culture difference manifests itself at this level in that the human performer of the action (the writer of the paper/researcher) is less prominent in Romanian than in English (though, the human agent is left in the background in some cases in English, too, by using non-human subjects with active verbs—see, for example, “This paper *focuses on the notions of expression and repression in terms of sexuality* (7)” or “The paper *studies the escapist properties of fantasy within ‘The Lord of the Rings’* (4)”. Nevertheless, such examples are rather exceptions than the rule).

English	Romanian
<p>The present analysis <i>deals with cultural identity and difference in a multicultural society.</i> (E11)</p> <p>The paper <i>aims to elucidate the structure and certain characteristics that are present in The Waves.</i> (E4)</p> <p>In my diploma paper I have <i>chosen to talk about three representative novels of</i></p>	<p><i>Jocul de-a trăi viața din text</i> este o lucrare care <i>își propune să descopere unele substraturi ale jurnalului intim.</i> (R6) (<i>Jocul de-a trăi viața din text</i> is a paper which attempts at revealing some hidden aspects of the diary.)</p> <p>În primul subcapitol <i>am evidențiat potențialul cinematografic al romanelor lui John Fowles...</i> (R3) (In</p>

<p><i>the Victorian age.</i> (E5)</p> <p>In chapter three I <i>focus on the Innocent Eye Perspective...</i> (E3)</p> <p>In this paper, we <i>will discuss about euphemisms in English.</i> (E2)</p>	<p>the first subchapter, I have emphasized the movie potential of John Fowel's novels.)</p> <p>Cel de-al treilea subcapitol <i>este dedicat modului în care romanul Orele este reflectat în ... filmul cu același nume</i> (R3) (The third chapter is dedicated to the way in which the novel The Hours is reflected in the movie by the same title.)</p> <p>.... <i>temele, motivele și elementele fantastice, dar și miturile sunt sintetizate în același capitol.</i> (R4) (... the themes, motifs and fantastic elements are synthesized in the same chapter.)</p>
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The “subject clause+to be+predicative clause” construction was detected only in the texts written in English, mainly because, even if sentences of the type “subject clause+to be+predicative clause” are grammatically acceptable in Romanian, they are rejected due to belonging to a register that is too informal to be appropriate in a research paper.

English	Romanian
<p><i>What I choose to do is to analyze two novels with a concern for gender...</i> (E6)</p> <p><i>What this paper does is to create a social background of the 19th century, in which it identifies two different poles of literature...</i> (E8)</p>	<p>_____</p>

2.3. Elements Related to the Structure of the Paper as a Whole or the Structure of a Particular Chapter

The linguistic elements that give indications on how the whole paper or just a particular chapter is structured may be included in two broad categories: deictic elements and non-deictic ones.

2.3.1. Deictic Elements Related to the Structure of the Paper as a Whole or the Structure of a Particular Chapter

The identified deictic elements that fulfil the role of giving details about the structure of the paper or of a certain chapter are: numerals, demonstrative adjectives (and pronouns) and adverbs. Of these, numerals (both ordinal and cardinal) with an attributive value are most often used in both languages, but they are much better represented numerically in the BA papers written in English.

English – ordinal numerals	Romanian – ordinal numerals
<p><i>The first chapter</i> of the paper, then, introduces the reader to the topic of fantasy... (E4)</p>	<p><i>Primul capitol</i> al lucrării este unul introductiv ... (R12) (The first chapter of the paper is an introductory one...)</p>

<p>In <i>the second chapter</i>, I will make a presentation of the theoretical aspects. (E1)</p> <p>In <i>the latter half of the second chapter</i> I will take a closer look at Holden... (E12)</p> <p><i>The third chapter</i> focuses on the image of the vampire in movies (E1)</p> <p>In <i>the 4th chapter</i> I talk about a Late Victorian novel... (E3)</p> <p><i>The fifth chapter</i> includes Toni Morrison's view on the role of African American writings in the American culture. (E11)</p> <p>In <i>the last chapter</i>,... I will approach the notion of time... (E2)</p>	<p>În <i>cel de-al treilea capitol</i> se va face trecerea spre romantismul de tip Biedermeier. (R13) (In the third chapter, the transition is made towards the Biedermeier romanticism.)</p> <p><i>Ultimul capitol</i> se numește ... și are ca subcapitole... (R12) (The last chapter is called... and its subchapters are...)</p> <p>La începutul <i>primei părți</i>, lucrarea tematizează ambivalența comportamentală a românilor ... în fața țiganilor...; <i>Partea a doua</i> a lucrării urmărește prezența țiganului și imaginea acestuia în literatura română; <i>Ultima parte</i> a lucrării ... este destinată operelor... al căror protagonist este personajul-țigan. (R10) (At the beginning of the first part, the paper deals with the behavioral ambivalency of Romanians against Gypsies... The second part of the paper concentrates on the presence and the image of the Gypsy in Romanian literature... The last part of the paper is dedicated to works whose main character is the Gypsy.)</p>
English – cardinal numerals	Romanian – cardinal numerals
<p>My research paper is structured in <i>four chapters</i>. (E1)</p> <p>My paper is structured in <i>three chapters</i>... (E2)</p> <p>My paper contains <i>five chapters</i>... (E3)</p> <p>In <i>chapter one</i>, ... I will discuss the narrative approaches... (E2)</p> <p>In <i>chapter two</i>... I will present how the novel changed... (E2)</p> <p>In <i>chapter three</i> I focus on the Innocent Eye Perspective... (E3)</p> <p>I have structured my thesis on human nature in <i>five sections</i>. (E5)</p>	<p>Pasul următor este acela de a stabili în câte capitole va fi divizată lucrarea. În cazul nostru, aceasta va fi divizată în <i>patru secvențe (capitole)</i> majore... (R7) (The next step is to establish in how many chapters the paper will be divided. In our case, this will be divided in four major (chapters) sequences.)</p> <p>În ceea ce privește structura lucrării, aceasta este compusă din <i>trei capitole</i>. (R3) (As far as the structure of the paper is concerned, this is made up of three chapters.)</p>

Demonstrative adjectives represent an equally frequent choice in the two types of introductions in the corpus under consideration.

English	Romanian
<p>In <i>this paper</i>, we will discuss... (2)</p> <p>Upon <i>this premise</i>, in <i>this paper</i>, I am at... (2)</p> <p>Throughout <i>this paper</i>... (5)</p>	<p>... <i>această lucrare</i> se vrea a fi un veritabil studiu de sinteză. (8) (... <i>this paper</i> is meant as a synthesis study.)</p> <p>Prin <i>acest studiu</i> mi-am propus să analizez modalitățile prin care se realizează trecerea de la un tip de artă la</p>

<i>This paper</i> also comes in complete contrast to other works... (4)	altul. (3) (My intention in this study is to analyze the means by which the passage from one type of art to another takes place.)
I chose to dedicate <i>this paper</i> to James Joyce's <i>Ulysses</i> ... (5)	În <i>acest capitol</i> m-am concentrat mai ales pe inteligența Ancăi... (1) (In this chapter, I concentrated especially on Anca's intelligence.)
Because <i>this diploma paper</i> is entitled... (5)	
The first chapter of <i>this research</i> starts with a minimal definition of the term <i>dystopia</i> ... (9)	

One instance of a demonstrative pronoun used with the same structure-reference function as the demonstrative adjectives was identified in the introductions written in Romanian: “Al doilea capitol al lucrării se numește... și în cadrul *acestuia* vom aborda...” (12) (“The second chapter of the paper is called ... and in this we will look at...”). Though such use of demonstrative pronouns is possible in English as well, it was not resorted to in the papers we analyzed.

The category of adverbs of place, represented by the adverbs *here* and, respectively, *aici*, its equivalent in Romanian, is employed in the same way in both languages.

English	Romanian
<i>Here</i> , focalization is also internalized... We speak <i>here</i> about character-bound focalization... (3)	Tot <i>aici</i> am realizat o definiție a romantismului de tip Biedermeier... (13) (Here, I have also defined the Biedermeier romanticism...)
<i>Here</i> I analyze Tolkien's text in-depth and dwell at length on the setting of Arda... (4)	<i>De aici</i> am făcut trecerea spre eșuarea comunicării în comediile lui I.L. Caragiale. (1) (From here, I have moved on to the failure of communication in Caragiale's comedies.)
<i>Here</i> I depict magic as the most important element that separates Tolkien's world from ours and also <i>here</i> I render the wizardry of Middle-Earth as a staple ... (4)	<i>Aici</i> am recurs mai ales la studiul lui Titu Maiorescu ... (1) (Here, I have mainly resorted to Titu Maiorescu's study...)
I will <i>here</i> explain how the concepts of id, ego and superego are applied in the novel. (10)	

2.3.2. Non-Deictic Elements Related to the Structure of the Paper as a Whole or the Structure of a Particular Chapter

Both cardinal numerals and demonstrative adjectives, as deictic elements, alternate with non-deictic variants with a similar structure-related function.

In English, *first* and *last* are used interchangeably with the non-deictic adjectives *initial* and *final*, while in Romanian, *primul* (first) finds itself a counterpart in the adjective *introdactiv* (introductory) and the non-deictic matching part of *ultimul* (last) is *final* (final).

English	Romanian
<i>The initial part</i> of the first chapter deals with the mythology behind the vampire. (1)	În <i>capitolul final</i> ... am tratat singurul personaj feminin... (1) (In the final chapter, I have dealt with the only feminine character...)

<i>The final part</i> of this diploma paper is a brief conclusion... (8)	<i>Capitolul introductiv</i> este de factură teoretică. (3) (The introductory chapter is a theoretical one.)
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Besides the non-deictic adjectives just mentioned, other such linguistic elements that refer to the structure of the text, more exactly, to its progress, are employed in both languages, though unevenly—there is variation between *following* and *next* in English, while in Romanian, *următorul/următoarea* is used invariably (the absence of choice being motivated by the inexistence of synonyms in this case).

English	Romanian
Varieties of the English language are described in <i>the following section</i> ... (3)	În <i>următorul subcapitol</i> am ilustrat trăsăturile specifice literaturii postmoderne (3) (In the following chapter, I have illustrated the peculiarities of postmodern literature.)
<i>The following subchapter</i> suggests that characters express more freely their sexuality... (7)	Vom discuta în <i>paginile următoare</i> despre trei perioade nefaste din istorie... (9) (In the following pages, we will discuss three unfortunate periods in history...)
<i>The next two chapters</i> represent entirely my personal contribution to the paper... (8)	
All of this theoretical background will be used in <i>the next two chapters</i> , where I will apply it to the novel... (9)	

The demonstrative adjectives *this* and, respectively, *acest/această* are paralleled by similar synonymous non-deictic elements in both languages: on the one hand, the possessive adjective *my* in English and its equivalent, *mea*, in Romanian; on the other hand, the adjective *present* in English and its Romanian equivalent, *de față*.

English	Romanian
<i>My</i> work focuses on different critical points of view. In <i>my</i> work I tried to discuss Virginia Woolf's methods of writing her unique novels (2)	Lucrarea <i>mea</i> de licență se intitulează... (3) (My final paper is entitled...)
<i>My</i> paper is structured in three chapters... (2)	În lucrarea <i>de față</i> se încearcă să se traseze liniile majore ale teoriei demoniului. (8) (In the paper that you can see (approx.), we try to trace the main lines of the theory of the demonic.)
<i>My present</i> research is going to discuss dystopia... (9)	În lucrarea <i>de față</i> prezentăm momente ale istoriei în care copiii au avut parte de un univers nefast. (9) (In the paper that you can see (approx.), we present the moments in history when children lived in an unfavourable universe.)
	Astfel, a luat naștere <i>Hermeneutica fantasticului</i> , cel de-al doilea capitol al <i>prezentei</i> lucrări. (3) (The second chapter of the present paper, <i>The hermeneutics of the fantastic</i> , was created in this way.)

The progress/sequencing of the text is also indicated by non-deictic verbs, adverbs/adverbial phrases and prepositional phrases.

Only one verb of the type mentioned was identified in the introductions written in English, while the Romanian texts proved richer from this point of view.

English	Romanian
<p>My paper is structured in three chapters preceded by the introduction and it <i>ends</i> with the conclusion and the bibliography. (2)</p>	<p><i>Urmează</i> apoi să fie explicate concepte ca <i>postcolonialism, decolonizare, literatură postcolonială</i> ... (14) (The explanation of concepts such as postcolonialism, decolonization, postcolonial literature follows.)</p> <p>...acest prim capitol are un subcapitol în care voi prezenta viața autorului, <i>urmând</i> ca mai apoi să fac o prezentare în amănunt a...” (12) (... this first chapter has a subchapter in which I will present the author’s life, a more detailed presentation of... following.)</p> <p><i>Continuând</i> analiza noastră axată pe opera lui Eminescu și Byron, în cel de-al treilea capitol se va face trecerea spre romantismul de tip Biedermeier. (13) (Continuing our analysis of the works of Byron and Eminescu, we will move to the Biedermeier romanticism in the third chapter.)</p>

Like verbs, adverbs and adverbial phrases are used as progress/sequencing related non-deictic elements in both languages, even if they are numerically imbalanced.

English – adverbs	Romanian - adverbs
<p><i>Secondly</i>, I want to analyze sexuality in the novel <i>Mrs. Dalloway</i> (7lit)</p> <p><i>Firstly</i> I will add the social and cultural context... (9lit)</p> <p><i>Then</i>, the analysis will proceed to look at the psychological and sociological reasons for producing humor (6lit)</p> <p><i>Next</i>, I will follow the impact of gender on Modernism... (7lit)</p> <p><i>Afterwards</i> we will focus on the relationship between gender and Postmodernism... (7lit)</p>	<p><i>Urmează apoi</i> să fie explicate concepte ca postcolonialism, decolonizare, literatură postcolonială... (14) (Then, concepts such as postcolonialism, decolonization, post-colonial literature will be explained...)</p>
English – adverbial phrases	Romanian – adverbial phrases
<p><i>Last, but not least</i>, I want to outline the influence of a male writer on a female writer and conversely... (7lit)</p>	<p><i>În cele din urmă</i> se va lua în considerare și viziunea unor autori britanici (14); (Last...the vision of certain British authors will be considered.)</p> <p><i>În continuare</i>, lucrarea urmărește istoria țiganilor... (10) (In what follows, the</p>

	<p>paper talks about the history of the Gipsies...)</p> <p><i>Acestea fiind spuse, vom intra în miezul analizei... (7) (This being said, we will get into the heart of the analysis...)</i></p>
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The use of prepositional phrases indicating the progress/sequencing of the text is also imbalanced, however, less so if compared to the use of verbs, adverbs and adverbial phrases with an analogous metatextual function in the corpus analyzed.

English	Romanian
<p><i>After seeing</i> how the communicative process can make or break the relationship between the interlocutors, I will look at physical and verbal aggression... (3)</p> <p><i>Throughout the research</i> of the present paper (2)</p>	<p><i>După ce am poziționat</i> acest pilon literar va trebui să construim pe el analiza (7); (After we have positioned this literary milestone, we will have to build our analysis on it.)</p>

2.4. Elements Related to the Logical Relationships between Certain Parts of the Text Introduced

A number of words and phrases are employed both in the introductions written in English and in those written in Romanian (though obviously more often in the former) to clarify the logical relationships between certain parts of the text. As such, they anticipate the succession of ideas and arguments in the body of the text and help the readers to better follow and understand them.

English	Romanian
<p>... theoretical aspects of phrasal verbs. <i>In order to point them out</i>, I will start with an introduction into phrasal verbs... (1)</p> <p>... the transitivity and intransitivity of phrasal verbs and their literal and idiomatic meaning. <i>To illustrate</i> all these aspects, I will give examples (1)</p> <p>It is my belief that... <i>In this regard</i>, the paper does away with the allegorical scrutinies of <i>The Lord of the Rings</i> saga found in literary criticism... (4)</p> <p>In the last chapter, I will point out how communication can be established in a dystopian society. <i>In this sense</i>, on the one hand, I will focus on presenting how language functions as a propaganda tool... (9)</p> <p>Humor also connects ‘<i>Portnoy’s Complaint</i>’ and ‘<i>Zuckerman Bound</i>’, which is why humor will be analyzed from the same theoretical perspectives... (6)</p>	<p>Concluziile studiului vor devia într-o oarecare măsură de la rostul obișnuit <i>pentru a lansa premisele</i> unei noi cercetări... (5) (The conclusions to the study will somehow deviate from their usual purpose in order to make room for the premises of a new research...)</p> <p>Această lucrare își propune mai întâi un itinerariu prin istoria țiganilor, prin prezența lor în literatura română, <i>analizând</i> opere cunoscute care au personaje țigănești... (10) (This paper aims at tracing a route through the history of the Gipsies, through their presence in Romanian literature, by analyzing well-known works where Gipsy characters are present...)</p>

<p>I will debate the assumption that there are two different writing styles according to gender <i>by demonstrating</i> that it is a matter of context and education. I will try to explain the ambiguity of sexuality ... <i>by emphasizing</i> the same issue in Woolf's other novels. (7)</p>	
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3. Conclusion

The identification and classification of the linguistic elements with a metatextual function in the introductions to the BA papers we focused on, and our (admittedly limited) comments on them have hopefully brought the importance of these elements to the fore.

The results of our analysis prove that most of the student writers are aware of the metatextual role of introductions, at least in the particular case of BA papers, and that they employ linguistic devices that support the fulfillment of this role. However, there are also exceptions to this general trend—one of the introductions written in English and three of the ones written in Romanian completely lack reference to the structure of the papers (the introductions in Romanian are, by and large, rather essayistic and subjective, with elements referring to the author of the paper favoured to the detriment of metatextual elements, some of which are used incorrectly at places).

Quantitative and qualitative differences have also been noticed between introductions that do contain metatextual elements, within the limits of the same language as well as across English and Romanian. In both languages, some of the introductions are obviously richer in metatextual linguistic devices than others and some subcategories of such devices are better represented numerically in one of the languages as compared to the other. For example, numerals referring to the structure of the paper, adverbs connected to sequencing and phrases that guide the readers through the logic of the text are more often employed in English than in Romanian, while the situation is reversed in the case of demonstrative pronouns connected to structure and verbs and adverbial phrases with a sequencing indicating role. Numerical imbalances between certain subcategories of metatextual elements triggered qualitative dissimilarities, too—those that are better represented in terms of number of items are also better represented in terms of variety of these items. For instance, we could identify only one adverb of place that was connected to the structure of the papers, both in English and in Romanian: *here* and, respectively, its correspondent *aici*, while the range of verbs that announced the topic/content/purpose of papers was much wider in both languages: *to aim at/to*, *to analyze*, *to be interested in*, *to deal with*, *to depict*, *to discuss*, *to do away with*, *to emphasize*, *to explore*, *to focus on*, etc. in English and *a aduce în discuție (to discuss)*, *a analiza (to analyze)*, *a conține (to contain)*, *a evidenția (to emphasize)*, *a fi dedicat (to be dedicated)*, *a ilustra (to illustrate)*, *a insista asupra (to insist on)*, *a prezenta (to present)*, *a-și propune (to attempt at)*, etc. in Romanian. In English, only one non-deictic equivalent of the demonstrative adjective *this* was used, while in Romanian, there was a choice between three such equivalents: *mea*, *de față*, and *prezentă*.

The inconsistent use of metatextual elements prompts us to suggest that there is still room for raising awareness of their importance and for improvement in the way they are used, at least in the context in which our analysis was carried out. A more systematic approach to these elements in the academic writing training (lectures, seminars, workshops) offered to our students and in the printed materials that support it would, therefore, be more than welcome.

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POSTPOSING AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN ENGLISH AND FARSI/PERSIAN

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Abstract: *The term postposing denotes any construction in which a phrasal constituent appears to the right of its canonical position, leaving its initial position either empty or occupied by an expletive. Ward and Birner (2004) argue that postposed constructions preserve the old-before-new information structure paradigm in English. The present paper investigates postposed constituents in Persian to find out the information structure paradigm of such constructions. The data have been taken from 34 interviews. The findings show that various constituents might undergo postposing in spoken Farsi (known as Tehrani dialect), and, in contrast to English, NPs were found to be triggered in postposed position when the referent was hearer-old.*

Keywords: *discourse-new, discourse-old, hearer-new, hearer-old, information structure, preposing, postposing*

1. Introduction

It is argued that non-canonical word order can serve an information function. Languages exhibit different canonical word orders, and, depending on the flexibility of the languages, the speakers choose a narrow or wide range of non-canonical constructions to change the information statuses. At the same time, it is believed that marking given and new information may be similar or different, and the argument reversal, both preverbal and post verbal, may play an important role in the information structure of sentences. Preposing, inversion, right and left dislocation, and postposing are among the non-canonical constructions studied by researchers. Postposing refers to the constructions in which some arguments leave their canonical positions and appear to the right of those positions (Birner and Ward 1988:3). Ward and Birner (2004:163) argue that postposed constructions preserve the old-before-new information-structure paradigm by presenting relatively unfamiliar information in post verbal position.

With regard to the topic under discussion, i.e. information structure and non-canonical word order, not much literature can be found in Farsi. Inversion as well as topicalization, however, has been under study. Birner and Mahootian (1996:127-138) discuss the differences and similarities between discourse-functional constraints on inversion in English and the corresponding construction in Farsi. After offering different examples, they conclude that both languages allow a marked ordering of XSV. While this accounts for English topicalization, Farsi XSV corresponds to English inversion with regard to discourse functional constraints. In other words, XSV non-canonical word order represents English topicalization, whereas Farsi XSV and English XVS word order represent inversion. Therefore, in Farsi there is only one construction

associated with two functions—inversion and topicalization—whereas in English two separate constructions can be observed (Mahootian 2008:282).

However, few studies, if any, especially data based ones have been undertaken concerning postposing in Farsi. In this paper, using a data-based approach, I will examine the postposed constituents and corresponding discourse properties to indicate the information as well as the pragmatic constraints in spoken Farsi. The focus is kept on the data collected from spoken Farsi since it permits more flexible word order in comparison with the rigid written one (Karimi 1994:43). Further discussion regarding word order in Farsi will be offered in section 2.1 below. The data have been taken from 34 interviews done on two popular TV shows on the VOA channel. Given the various accents common in Iran, it is necessary to mention that the present paper does not cover all Persian or Farsi speakers' accents and focuses on the standard colloquial dialect spoken in Iran called *Tehrani*. I expect to show the discourse constraints with regard to postposing in spoken Farsi and to highlight the differences between Farsi and English information structure in postposed constituents.

This paper is structured as follows: In order to discuss and compare postposing in English and Farsi, it is necessary to begin with a focus on discourse constraints. I will take Prince (1992) (cited in Ward 1999:3) to draw a distinction between possible information statuses followed by Ward's (1999) comparison of postposed subjects in English and Italian as my point of departure; the core point of the paper i.e. postposing in Farsi will be assigned to the next section (2.1) when the factual data taken from interviews will be brought up for discussion. The findings do not bear out information structure observed in English postposed constructions. I will conclude that postposed constructions in Farsi do not preserve the old-before-new information-structure paradigm by presenting relatively unfamiliar information in post verbal position.

2. Postposing

Ward (1999:2-21) examines subject postposing in English and Italian. In English, according to him, the phenomenon falls into two categories, i.e. existential "there," which is sensitive to the hearer-status, and the English presentational "there," Italian *ci*-sentences and Italian subject postposing that seem sensitive to the discourse status of the postposed constituents. Both satisfy the expected requirement that the postposed information be new. While existential *there* was found to be sensitive to the hearer- status, presentational *there*, Italian *ci* sentences, and subject postposing were shown to be sensitive to the discourse status of the postposed constituent (Ward 1999:16).

To discuss postposing and information structure, it is necessary to take discourse functions into consideration. It is widely believed that some factors such as discourse-status and hearer-status of the information play key roles in determining the information structure in different languages (Ward and Birner 2004:154). In the present paper, I investigate postposing in Farsi with regard to discourse-new, discourse-old, hearer-old, and hearer-new information while following Prince (1992, cited in Ward 1999:3) to refer to the following possible information statuses:

- | | | |
|----|---------------|---|
| a. | HEARER-NEW | entities that are new to the hearer |
| b. | DISCOURSE-NEW | entities that are new to the discourse |
| c. | HEARER-OLD | entities that are assumed to be known to the hearer |
| d. | DISCOURSE-OLD | entities that have been evoked in the prior discourse |

Through this classification, an entity may be hearer-old, yet discourse new or vice versa. Following Ward's (1999:2-21) distinction between discourse-familiarity and hearer-familiarity, we will have four possible information statuses, of which, according to him, only three normally occur in natural discourse. As a result, the fourth one is omitted in our discussion. Definitions of the others are offered below:

- a. Hearer-old, discourse-old: Information which has been previously evoked in the current discourse, and which the speaker therefore believes is known to the hearer.
- b. Hearer-old, discourse-new: Information which has not been evoked in the current discourse, but which the speaker believes is known to the hearer.
- c. Hearer-new, discourse-new: Information which has not been evoked in the current discourse, and which the speaker does not believe to be known to the hearer.

Ward (1999:3) gives the following example to illustrate the possibilities mentioned above:

- (1) A friend of mine at Stanford told me that he saw Chelsea Clinton working out in the gym yesterday.

Here, from an informational perspective, three entities attract the attention of the reader. To begin with, the phrase *a friend of mine at Stanford* represents information that is both discourse-new and hearer-new: it was not previously evoked and is unknown to the hearer. The second entity, i.e. *he*, represents discourse-old as well as hearer-old information having an explicit referent (a friend of mine). The last one, a proper name referring to a specific entity in the world, *Chelsea Clinton*, shares discourse-new but hearer-old information, because it is not evoked in the current discourse but can be assumed to be known to the hearer.

2.1. Postposing in Farsi/Persian

As mentioned in the introduction, data-based research on postposing in Farsi is limited. Some researchers such as Karimi (1994:69) and Mahootian (2008:281), while discussing preposing and topicalization, raise the issue briefly, but I could not find any independent study published on postposing in this language. Before discussing the postposed constructions, a brief discussion on Farsi word order is necessary. Farsi (Persian), a null subject (pro-drop) language, exhibits mostly a rigid SOV canonical word order in writing. The spoken language, however, licenses alternative arrangements (Karimi and Taleghani 2007:168), which can also be seen in writing, especially in informal texts. For instance, the speakers have different options to convey the same proposition as below.

- (2)
- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----|
| a. | mæn | sara | ro | di-d-æm | SOV |
| | I | Sara. | object marker | see.past.1sg. | |
| | | | | | |
| b. | sara | ro | di-d-æm | (S)OV | |
| | Sara. | object marker | see.past.1sg. | | |
| | | | | | |
| c. | di-d-æm | sara | ro | (S)VO | |
| | see.past.1sg. | Sara. | object marker | | |
| | 'I saw Sara.' | | | | |

In the first sentence, SOV word order is chosen; however, by virtue of pro-drop property, the speaker may change the structure to (S)OV in (2b), dropping the subject. Subjects are often

left implicit in daily conversations. Karimi (1994:51-70) argues that these reorderings are rule governed and restricted by certain conditions.

My data were taken from more than thirty interviews conducted in two TV shows under the titles of *Parazit*—a comedy political show—and *Shabahang*—an art show from the VOA Farsi TV channel. The data collected are classified on the basis of the kinds of constituents postposed.

In the first segment to be analyzed, the interviewee is a young filmmaker. After asking different questions concerning the filmmaker’s activities, the interviewer asks why her film is entitled *roozhaye sabz* (green days). The interview continues with the following question:

(3) Interviewer: Why have you chosen this name for your film?

Interviewee: Because this film is about ... the period in which the colour green came into our lives. In fact, this green colour became the symbol of a movement.

dær vaghe nemad-e yek jonbesh sho-d in ræng-e sæbz

In fact symbol.EZ one movement become .3.sg.past
this colour.EZ green

‘In fact, this green colour became the symbol of a movement.’

The film portrays the 2009 presidential election in Iran. A majority of the people got involved in that election, and many of them are still in prison. She makes a link between the colour and the event. The speaker uses a postposed construction including a definite NP, *this green colour* (in ræng-e sæbz), with which the hearer is familiar, because after that presidential election in Iran protestors continued to wear green bracelets or carry green flags to show their protest. Therefore, the addressee and the people watching the interview are familiar with the referent. In addition, it has previously been evoked in the current discourse. In other words, it has a clear referent included in the immediate environment. This phrase is repeated by the speaker several times. Surprisingly, in contrast to postposing in English, this postposed NP in post verbal position sounds felicitous while in the very context the preverbal NP, the symbol of a movement (nemad-e yek jonbesh) is probably discourse-new yet hearer-old since, in fact, it is the first time in the discourse that *movement* is mentioned. However, it is possible that the entity occupying the preverbal position is hearer-old since some people had started referring to the demonstrations in Iran as *a movement* before.

The Ezafe/ EZ morpheme which can be seen in (3) is a productive means of modifying nouns as well as linking non-verbal heads and their complements (Mahootian 1997:66).

In the next conversation, the interviewee speaks about some sporadic demonstrations which started in protest of the result of the presidential election mentioned above. While answering various questions, he mentions the word *batche* several times. *This word* literally means children, but it is commonly used in any conversation to refer to a group of familiar people, especially young people. The word *batche* then comes up again in the following sentence:

(4) in yekshænbe ke extar be-diktator esm-
esh-ra gozasht-æn bache-ha

this Sunday that warning to-dictator name.its.object marker
put.3.pl.present perfect guy.pl

‘The next Sunday which is called warning to the dictator by the guys...’
 (...the guys have started calling it warning to the dictator).

In this sentence, the NP *bæcheha* is postposed. The postposed construction portrays an NP movement in a rather long sentence. It represents an entity that is presumably familiar to the hearer because it was mentioned at least twice by the interviewee and henceforth is discourse-old. The next interviewee is a singer whose parents are also musicians:

- (5) Interviewee: I have been familiar with music since childhood. My father is a musician, and my mother is a singer. She sings... I always was busy making songs, singing...

Interviewer: Have you studied music academically? Explain more.

Interviewee: ...I started going to private piano classes at the age of 6...

Interviewer: Ok, you pointed out that both your father and mother are into music ..., but how much did their taste influence your work?

Cheghædr tæsir-gozasht sæligehaye anha roo
 kar-e to

how much influence.3.sg.past taste.pl.EZ
 their on job-EZ you

‘How much did their taste influence your work?’

Interestingly enough both the subject *their taste* (*sæligehaye anha*) and the object *your work* (*kar-eto*) have been postposed. As the reader can see, the postverbal position is occupied by a subject NP preceding an object PP. His parents’ careers have been discussed in the conversation and therefore the subject NP may be considered hearer old. Regarding the object PP, one can presumably claim that it is also hearer old yet discourse-new since the singer starts explaining his works afterwards.

Other prepositional phrases may be postposed by Farsi speakers, as well. In the following pieces of data, it is possible to observe the postposition of two PP constituents postposed:

- (6) Rastesh mosighi-ra mæn æz shæhrestan-e Babol
 shoro-kær-dæm ba piano

In fact music.object marker I from town.Ez.Babol
 start.1.sg.past with piano

‘In fact, I began playing music on the piano in a town called Babol.’

- (7) Parsal –bæhar dær-Saadatabad ejra-dasht-im
 ba gorooh-e- cheshme-sevom

Last spring in Saadatabad play.1.pl.past with
 band.EZ eye-EZ –third

‘Last spring, we played with a band called The Third Eye in Saadatabad.’

In these examples, pragmatic constraints show postposing of unfamiliar information both to the hearer and to the discourse. In the postposed construction in (6), the entity occupying the

post verbal position, *with piano*, is discourse-new referring to an entity which has not been evoked in the current discourse, and can be assumed to be unknown to the hearer. In the second example (8), the interviewer asks the musician to explain about his background in music. As it is obvious, two adjuncts are preposed i.e. *last spring* and *Saadatabad* in preverbal position. The PP, *with a band called the third eye*, moved to the post verbal position represents information that is both discourse-new and hearer-new, having not been previously evoked and simultaneously unknown to the hearer.

To investigate other possibilities, consider the following utterances. In the first example provided, the interviewer asks the interviewee, a young singer, to explain how he has formed his music band:

- (8) Interviewer: How was your band formed?
 Interviewee: In fact, we, the main singer of the band and I, were about to play in a university four years ago.
 ‘We began to work on some songs.’

Shoro kær-dim rooye chænd-ta ahæng kar-kær-dæn
 start.do.1.pl.past on some song work.do.infinitive

‘We began to work on some songs.’

In example (8), nothing can be observed in preverbal position. Interestingly, post verbal position may be felicitously occupied by both the subject infinitive, *to work*, which is presumably hearer-old but discourse new and a PP constituent, *on some songs*, which represents discourse-new and hearer-new information. Generally speaking, contrary to the NPs, the PPs represent more unfamiliar information in the constituents placed after the verbs. Karimi (1994:55) considers this kind of construction *verb preposing*. Based on the data collected, I will now discuss the overall results.

In statistical terms, a rough estimate obtained from the data from 34 interviews illustrates that around 65% of the postposed constituents are PPs while 25% are NPs and the rest lies within other kinds of constituents. Table 1 shows this rough estimation of the postposed constituents and information structure.

Table.1. A rough estimate of the percentage of the postposed constituents

	NP	PP	Other
DISCOURSE-NEW, HEARER-OLD	15%	25%	
DISCOURSE-OLD, HEARER-OLD	10%		5%
DISCOURSE-NEW, HEARER-NEW		40 %	5 %

Summarizing the data leads us to take some significant points into consideration. To begin with, the findings are not homogenous. Secondly, Farsi permits various constituents to be postposed. The most important result to be discussed is the behavior of the NPs. 10% of the noun phrases in subject and object positions represent information not new to the discourse, having been evoked in the current discourse, and even not new to the hearer, i.e. the hearer can be assumed to be familiar with the information. The rest of the NPs (15%) also did not allow the findings to accord exactly with the conclusion in Ward (1999) and Ward and Birner (2004:163). According to them, postposing constructions preserve the old-before-new information structure

paradigm by presenting relatively unfamiliar information in post verbal position. In contrast, we have seen that in Farsi precisely the opposite informational structure holds: discourse-old and especially hearer-old information tends to be represented by the postposed NP constituents. Thus the findings obtained through the data in spoken Farsi in this paper do not confirm the claims made in English. However, Karimi (1994:69) argues that NPs appear in post verbal position only if they are specific. She believes that the restriction on Persian post verbal noun phrases is determined by the interaction of specificity and word order.

In contrast to the NPs, most of the prepositional phrases in the postposed constructions represent unknown information. Around 40% of the postposed PPs are sensitive to hearer-status as well as discourse status, or felicity arises when these constituents represent information that has not been previously evoked and, simultaneously, which the speaker does not believe to be known to the hearer. The PP constituents were found to be at least discourse-new. Therefore, based on the data collected, Farsi speakers tend to postpose prepositional phrases when they convey unfamiliar information.

3. Conclusion

Pragmatic functions, and, more specifically, discourse and hearer statuses, have been under study owing to their prominent role in structuring utterances. Researchers have investigated on the one hand the degree of sensitivity of the non-canonical constructions regarding the organization of information structure in a language, and, on the other hand, whether these constituents are constrained to represent new or old information.

In the present paper, based on data taken from TV interviews, I have tried to investigate pragmatic constraints regarding postposed constructions in spoken Farsi when a preverbal constituent has been moved to post verbal position, leaving the previous position empty. Ward (1999) and Ward and Birner (2004) argue that postposed constructions preserve the old-before-new information structure paradigm by presenting relatively unfamiliar information in post verbal position.

However, the data collected in spoken Farsi do not show similar results. Generally speaking, NPs were found to be triggered in postverbal position when the referent was hearer-old or hearer-old and discourse-old. None of the postposed NP constituents present hearer-new information. This finding does not accord with the conclusion in previous research regarding postposing in English and Italian. In other words, final position does not tend to be reserved for new information which is supposed to be unfamiliar to the discourse and especially to the hearer.

Also significantly, these findings demonstrate that equivalent constructions, here postposed, may be subject to different pragmatic constraints in different languages. While the postposed NPs in post verbal position represent an entity unfamiliar in some sense in those languages, Farsi chooses an entity that is familiar to the discourse, the hearer, or both.

When it comes to prepositional phrases moved to post verbal position, the findings demonstrate different informational structure. Most postposed PPs exhibit behavior similar to what has been found in English.

To sum up, although non-canonical postposed constituents are alleged to represent discourse-new as well as hearer-new information, or at least information that is less familiar when compared with the constituents filling the preverbal position (Ward 1999; Ward and Birner 2004) in English and Italian, Farsi speakers impose the opposite constraints on the postposed constructions used. The NP constituents postposed were not found to represent new information to the hearer.

It also remains for further research to find out whether in other languages with equivalent canonical word order postposed constituents are treated as hearer-old or hearer-new. Further research may be aimed at investigating the role of morphology in Farsi or other languages with respect to such non-canonical constructions and the corresponding pragmatic constraints.

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Notes on the author

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DE GRUYTER
OPEN

DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0007

TRANSLATING THE OTHER: MARLOW'S DISCOURSE BETWEEN IMPERIAL RHETORIC AND PRIMARY ORALITY

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***Abstract:** The present paper attempts to see what determines Marlow's difficulty to turn his Congolese experience into language. Therefore, I argue that Marlow's storytelling collapses because at the core of his discourse there is the unknown semantic universe of the other. In the "heart of darkness", on the banks of the Congo River, there stands an unknown language, the language of the natives which is known only by Kurtz. Thus it becomes impossible for Marlow to translate it and incorporate it in his story.*

***Keywords:** discourse of alterity, primary orality, rhetoric of Empire*

1. Introduction

Apparently, in *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad recreates the archetypal storytelling scene; the storyteller is surrounded by his listeners and the time is "ripe" for telling stories full of adventures. However, at a closer inspection, both speaker and listener are isolated from each other, and the act of storytelling is a solitary performance. Marlow seems to be more concerned with finding the right words, which could help him voice his unique experience, while his listeners, especially the first narrator, fall in the same linguistic trap as they "listened on the watch for the sentence, for the word" (Conrad 1995:55). Although he is a wanderer, an adventurer, Marlow returns home with an incommunicable experience. From the very beginning, he is torn between his urge to share this experience and his inability to voice it, between his powerful storytelling drive and his linguistic struggle.

One can speculate that what Marlow experienced in Congo belongs to the realm of the unnameable, thus falling outside language. Therefore, many readings of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* have dealt extensively with Marlow's linguistic crisis (Brooks (1984), Miller (1985) and Mulhern (2006)). Their interpretations most often, but not exclusively, dwell on the linguistic implications of Marlow's philosophical speculations, namely that language fails to describe and translate experience. Thus "the unnameable", with which Marlow confronts himself, is given existentialist, but vague dimensions. Conrad's favourite storyteller, according to these readings, becomes a prisoner of linguistic surfaces. On the other hand, Goonetilleke (2003:42) argues that "language represents not a failed attempt to capture experience but rather an effort to suggest an experience for which normal language is inadequate". Therefore, Marlow's linguistic crisis is a direct result of both his unusual African experience and of his need to cover an experiential,

cultural and linguistic void. In this context, a better variant for the word “void” could be the more philosophically charged term “absence”. The above-mentioned word “unnameable” is a partial equivalent of “absence”.

Instances of conspicuous absence are numerous in *Heart of Darkness*. Most of the time, they seem to polarise around two focal points: the empty imperialist rhetoric and the unknown semantic world of the native Africans. Marlow, the storyteller, has to find ways to narrate and incorporate them in his narrative. If the African discourse is perceived as “savage discord”, as meaningless noise, the imperialist discourse is seen as excessive oratory or empty, propagandistic discourse.

2. The Rhetoric of the Empire

At the beginning of the novella, the first narrator’s extended monologue seems to prepare the readers for the story of Britain’s great imperial expansion. This is a tale which everybody on the board of Nellie seems to be expecting; an epic narrative of a glorious past about “the great knights-errant of the sea” and “all the men of whom the nation is proud” (Conrad 1995:32). The Thames seems the perfect place to start a sea story since it bears the memory of the “great spirit of the past”:

And indeed nothing is easier for a man who has, as the phrase goes, ‘followed the sea’ with reverence and affection, that to evoke the great spirit of the past upon the lower reaches of the Thames. The tidal current runs to and fro in its unceasing service, *crowded with memories of men and ships* it had borne to the rest of home or to the battles of the sea. It had known and served all the men of whom the nation is proud, from Sir Francis Drake to Sir John Franklin, *knights all, titled and untitled—the great knights-errant of the sea*. (Conrad 1995:32, my emphasis)

Thus, the unnamed narrator establishes a connection between those who “followed the sea”, a community to which he himself belongs, and the great narratives of the empire. The rhetoric of the Empire is skilfully exposed as a farce due to the fact that the first narrator’s discourse is based entirely on memories. I am referring here to a collective memory that creates and propagates myths: “the tidal current runs to and fro in its unceasing service, crowded with memories of men and ships”. In order to deconstruct the unnamed narrator’s story of progress and civilisation, Marlow, from the very beginning, announces a different narrative, which is set in contrast to the “possible” story initiated by the first narrator. “And this also,” said Marlow suddenly, “has been one of the dark places of the earth” (Conrad 1995:33). Although the first narrator did not voice his thoughts out loud, Marlow seems to start a dialogue with him, as they both mention the Knights:

Light came out of this river since—you say *Knights*? Yes; but it is like a running blaze on a plain, like a flash of lightning in the clouds. We live in the flicker—may it last as long as the old earth keeps rolling! But darkness was here yesterday. Imagine the feelings of a commander of a fine—what d’ye call ‘em?—trireme in the Mediterranean, ordered suddenly to the north; run overland across the Gauls in a hurry; put in charge of one of these craft the legionaries—a wonderful lot of handy men they must have been, too—used to build, apparently by the hundred, in a month or two, if we may believe what we read. (Conrad 1995:33, my emphasis)

Marlow invites his listeners to embark on a different time travel, further back in time, when Great Britain was not a powerful empire, but an unknown territory to be conquered by the emissaries of The Roman Empire. Hence, he describes a place endowed with all the

characteristics of Otherness: “the very end of the world” in “the midst of the incomprehensible” where the “mysterious life of the wilderness ... stirs ... in the hearts of the wild men” and death skulks in the air. Marlow exposes the falsity of the imperialistic discourse by stating that the now colonisers used to be the colonised Other, meaning savage and impenetrable. This depiction actually parallels the description Marlow will give to another encounter, that between Western Europe, this time represented by the Belgium Empire, and Africa, though nowhere is there any direct reference to either Africa or Belgium.

Marlow goes even further and questions the written word which is in fact at the very foundation of empire and civilisation. As shown by Levi-Strauss (1976:392) and Jack Goody (2000:163), the written word is an indispensable instrument for propagating the imperialist ideology. At one point in the novella, when Marlow finds the Russian’s book entitled *An Inquiry into some Points of Seamanship*, the written word and the book are associated with solid ground and familiarity. “I assure you to leave off reading was like tearing myself away from the shelter of an old and solid friendship” (Conrad 1995:66). The written book apparently stands for the concrete world of facts; in its fixity, it seemingly embodies constancy and stability. However, on the other end of the spectrum, there stands Kurtz’s report.

It was eloquent, vibrating with eloquence, but too high-strung, I think. Seventeen pages of close writing he had found time for! ...The peroration was magnificent, though difficult to remember, you know. It gave me the notion of an exotic Immensity ruled by an august Benevolence. It made me tingle with enthusiasm. This was the unbounded power of eloquence—of words—of burning noble words. There were no practical hints to interrupt the magic current of phrases, unless a kind of note at the foot of the last page... “Exterminate all the brutes”. (Conrad 1995:77)

The report is the perfect embodiment of the narrative of empire; it is eloquent, pompous, myth-making, but empty. It is also the paradoxical combination between the so-called noble ideas, which redeemed the process of colonisation, and utter cruelty. The same insanity and absurdity, which characterise all Marlow’s encounters with the instruments of imperialist power, are to be found in the pages of Kurtz’s report. If the myth-making discourse of the unnamed narrator is actually present in the novella, Kurtz’s report appears as ‘absence’ in Marlow’s story. All we have, in fact, is Marlow’s own vague commentaries on it. Even though he considers the report “magnificent” and “vibrating with eloquence”, he deems it “too high-strung” and “difficult to remember”.

3. The Discourse of the Other

Parallel to and seemingly in opposition to the narrative of civilisation, there is the world of *primary orality*, the world Marlow finds on the banks of the Congo River. Ong (2002:6) defines primary orality as the orality “untouched by literacy”, hence not influenced by writing and print. J. Hoogstraal (1998:51) argues that Ong’s category of primary orality can be seen as a way of recreating the language and culture of those whose language was assimilated or has not survived because of the colonial oppression. However, reimagining and recreating primary orality can be considered an idealistic enterprise, since according to Tyler (1987:98), a purely oral culture survives only as an absence in the written record of an ethnographer. To him, the Ongian primary orality and Derridean “absence”, which Derrida defines in *Of Grammatology* (1976), are almost identical: “[the] oral voice of natives becomes the absent centre around which the text revolves and without which it would not exist” (Tyler 1987:98). The language of the natives becomes another void around which Marlow constructs his story.

In *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow discovers a world of powerful, incomprehensible sounds; a world which communicates differently and appears too intense for him. This is the realm of excessive aurality which Ong (2002:44, 45) describes as combative, prone to physical and verbal aggression.

Before it stopped running with a muffled rattle, a cry, a very loud cry, as of infinite desolation, soared slowly in the opaque air. It ceased. A complaining clamour, modulated in savage discords, filled our ears. The sheer unexpectedness of it made my hair stir under my cap. I don't know how it struck the others: to me it seemed as though the mist itself had screamed, so suddenly, and apparently from all sides at once, did this tumultuous and mournful uproar arise. It culminated in a hurried outbreak of almost intolerably excessive shrieking, which stopped short, leaving us stiffened in a variety of silly attitudes, and obstinately listening to the nearly as appalling and excessive silence. (Conrad 1995:67, my emphasis)

Words like “complaining clamour”, “savage discords”, “tumultuous and mournful uproar”, “intolerably excessive shrieking” denote a word exclusively dominated by sound. To Marlow, there is honesty in the “the passionate uproar” (Conrad 1995:63) and a “dim suspicion of there being a meaning in it”, which even the now “civilised” people could have comprehended in “the night of first ages” (Conrad 1995:64). Certainly, Marlow romanticises the natives when he sees them as belonging “to the beginnings of time” (Conrad 1995:49).

The auditory construction of the above quoted scenes accommodates the interest modernist writers develop for the complexity of sounds, what Cuddy-Keane calls “modernist soundscapes” (2008:382). *Heart of Darkness* is haunted by powerful sounds, from Marlow's voice to the clamorous world of the natives and to Kurtz's lingering cry. Powerful sounds and obsessive voices are evoked with an almost maniacal obsession. But excessive sound is synonymous with the collapse of language or its descent into meaninglessness or madness. As Marlow tries to incorporate the others' discourses especially Kurtz's into his own storytelling, he is confronted with the impossibility to render them into meaningful words. Thus, his storytelling becomes an agonising search for the right word.

The “dim suspicion” that the natives' boisterous discourse might have meaning frightens Marlow. Kristeva's description of *abjection* seems to perfectly illustrate the storyteller's controversial attitude towards the African people. According to her (1982:6), the abject is both “unapproachable and intimate”. The world of the natives is remote yet close, strange yet familiar, and its familiarity seems more disturbing than its outlandish characteristics: “what thrilled you was just the thought of their humanity – like yourself – the thought of your remote kinship with this wild and passionate uproar” (Conrad 1995:64). What upsets and creates abjection is “[the] in-between, the ambiguous, the composite” (Kristeva 1982:4). This mixture and continuous oscillation between the familiar and the outlandish could also render the discourse of alterity impossible to translate. Marlow has at his disposal the necessary linguistic tools to describe his Congolese experience, he might guess at the signification of the noise of the drums played by the natives, yet he fails to do so.

Griffith (1995:31) writes about the psychological tension triggered by utter displacement and the contact with the so-called “primitive” cultures. This is the drama of cross-cultural contacts, which could ultimately foster anxiety syndromes. In *Heart of Darkness* we can talk about Marlow's interpretative anxiety when it comes to incorporating in his story a reality “that lies beyond its own epistemologically constrained field of vision” (Parry 2005:50). Marlow's reinterpretation or fictionalisation of Africa resembles what Christopher Miller (1986:14) calls the “Africanist discourse”, a narrative re-creation and re-imagination of a phantasmagoric and

quasi-mythological Africa, a mixture between realism and allegory. The surreal description of the African landscape is a common symptom of cultural dislocation.

Watching a coast as it slips by the ship is like thinking about an enigma. There it is before you— smiling, frowning, inviting, grand, mean, insipid, or savage, and always mute with an air of whispering, ‘Come and find out.’ (Conrad 1995:40-41)

The Africa Marlow describes is full of signs he cannot decipher. He confesses that he fails to interpret the meaning of “the roll of the drums” (Conrad 1995:62); he also did not know whether the “prehistoric man was cursing us, praying to us, welcoming us” (64). The landscape is also full of confusing signs that point to what Marlow calls “overwhelming realities”. Thus, he has to “keep guessing at the channel”, “to discern, mostly by inspiration, the signs of hidden banks” and “to keep a lookout for the signs of dead wood” (Conrad 1995:62). He did not know “whether the stillness on the face of the immensity [was] meant as an appeal or as a menace” (Conrad 1995:54). As he himself confesses “[when] you have to attend to things of that sort, to the mere incidents of the surface, the reality—the reality, I tell you—fades”, when the deciphering of signs becomes central, when the storyteller becomes a prisoner of language, what we call reality is lost.

Marlow’s trip upriver becomes a linguistic quest, a continuous search for meaning and a necessity to appropriate the unknown and to convert it into meaningful signs. But as the African landscape impedes the smooth progression of the steamboat, so does Africa “resist Marlow’s narrative invasions” (Parry 2005:49). As Marlow and his crew penetrate “deeper and deeper into the heart of darkness” (Conrad 1995:63), this new semantic universe refuses to unravel its mysteries. The world of the natives is assimilated to a “black and incomprehensible frenzy” (Conrad 1995:63). The adjective “incomprehensible” and Marlow’s immediate confession that “we were cut off from the comprehension of our surroundings” (Conrad 1995:63) point to the failure of conceptual language to articulate an “inner truth” the narrator is constantly searching for. “Frenzy”, the same as “savage discord”, suggests the same excessive aurality that seems to characterise the world of primary orality, or better said how a literate person perceives it.

For Marlow the language of the natives is assimilated to mere “jabber”, it is “silly, atrocious, sordid, savage, or simply mean, without any kind of sense” (Conrad 1995:76). Hence, it is incomprehensible, primitive and absurd. One cannot fail to notice the ever-present cliché of the unintelligibility of the natives, a trope most often encountered in Victorian fiction and not only. As Parry (2005:49) argues, Marlow’s story makes reference “to another semantic universe that its own discourse cannot decipher”. Therefore, when Marlow fails to understand the natives’ language and cultural codes, he transfers all meaning to the surrounding landscape.

Oral-aural cultures, characterised by what Ong (2002) termed auditory syntheses are cultures that foster various anxieties, cultures prone to animism (the belief that non-human entities have a spirit). When Marlow transfers meaning to the landscape, he becomes liable to the same animism, also coupled with a heightened anxiety:

The woods were unmoved, *like a mask—heavy, like the closed door of a prison*—they looked with their air of *hidden knowledge, of patient expectation, of unapproachable silence.* (Conrad 1995:85, my emphasis)

Thus nature, though it promises to reveal “hidden knowledge”, becomes incomprehensible, refusing all interpretation or translation. Access to the “heart of darkness” is denied to the European intruder.

4. Kurtz – Between Cultural Immersion and Displacement

The point of convergence between the two cultures, European and African, is represented by Kurtz. He is an example of what Griffith (1995:49) calls “cultural immersion” since, to use a Victorian trope, Kurtz went native and “surrendered” himself to the culture and customs of the Other. But Kurtz, the same as Marlow, underwent first cultural displacement and then, unlike Marlow, he completely gave up his so-called “civilised” customs. Kurtz is the character who dared to step “over the edge, while I [Marlow] had been permitted to draw back my hesitating foot” (Conrad 1995:98).

Consequently, Kurtz becomes the meeting point of these two types of discourse: the empty imperialist rhetoric, best represented by his report, and the unknown semantic world of the natives, which he alone can understand. But who is actually Kurtz? He is a character *in absentia*, defined almost entirely by his own absence in the text. Therefore, he is just another void or absence around which Marlow constructs his narrative. When Marlow hears of Kurtz, he remarks that “somehow it didn’t bring image with it – no more than if I had been told an angel or fiend was in there” (Conrad 1995:54). “Kurtz was just a word for me,” Marlow says, adding that “I did not see the man in the name any more than you do” (Conrad 1995:55), stressing the fact that to him Kurtz was linguistically constructed, thus immaterial and prone to lies.

As stated before, quoting Kristeva (1982:4), the in-between, the ambiguous and that which disturbs identity by not respecting borders create abjection. Kurtz is at the same time a man of the Empire and the leader of the natives. This intermediate position is what fascinates and repels Marlow. Thus Kurtz is “a remarkable man”, but “hollow at the core” and “an atrocious phantom”. To Marlow, Kurtz’s cultural immersion is the equivalent of the ego giving up “its image in order to contemplate itself in the other” (Kristeva 1982:9). In his case, the *I* does not disappear, but finds “in that sublime alienation [the Other], a forfeited existence” (Kristeva 1982:9). At a closer look, he may be considered another example of the quasi-medical and philosophical term Degeneration: Kurtz gives up his European persona to become one of the natives. But his renouncement is only partial; he indulges into “the unspeakable rites” performed for him by the natives, but his discourse still retains the pomposity of imperialistic propaganda, the report being a case in point.

5. Integrating the Discourse of the Other – A Challenge?

Marlow’s difficulty to integrate the two types of conflicting discourses in his narrative – the discourse of alterity and the mock rhetoric of the Empire, both embodied in Kurtz – translates itself into an excessive rhetoric. His story becomes punctuated with a plethora of negative or indefinite adjectives. F.R. Leavis (1955:177) highlights the self-effacing, ambiguous tendencies of Marlow’s story, noticeable in the “overworked vocabulary” and the “adjectival insistence upon inexpressible and incomprehensible mystery”. One of the adjectives most often linked to his interpretive anxiety is “impossible”. It is used ten times in the novella, most often in connection with Kurtz and the rites performed by the natives in his honour. It also appears in one of the most quoted passages from *Heart of Darkness*: “[no], it is impossible; it is impossible to convey the life-sensation of any given epoch of one’s existence...It is impossible” (Conrad 1995:55). This quote represents one of the deepest musings on the failure of language to describe reality. The word impossible is accompanied by its many synonyms: “improbable”, “inexplicable”, “inconceivable”, “insoluble”, etc.

Another negative adjective used in the novella in key moments is “unspeakable”. First it is used when Marlow tries to describe the rites in which Kurtz takes part. The second time Marlow uses it is to convey the state of utter confusion and mystification he experiences when trying to understand Kurtz’s relationship with the natives.

I had turned to the wilderness really, not to Mr. Kurtz, who, I was ready to admit, was as good as buried. And for a moment it seemed to me as if I also were buried in a vast grave full of unspeakable secrets. (Conrad 1995:90)

This word is more intimately linked with storytelling since it implies the impossibility and, maybe, the unwillingness to verbalise one’s story. It is the equivalent of silence. More than impossibility, it suggests prohibition and self-censorship. Marlow does not want and cannot describe the rites.

“Unspeakable” could also be assimilated to what Freud (1998:154) terms *the uncanny*, which is the opposite of “familiar”, “native”, and “belonging to the home”. Marlow avoids describing to his listeners what he exactly saw or experienced in the Congolese jungle, instead he punctuates his discourse with negative, though extremely vague adjectives, all denoting a transgressive tale: “terrifying”, “ominous”, “abject”, “vile”, “oppressive”, “merciless”, “callous”, “monstrous”, “intolerable” and adverbs like “brutally”, “beastly” (repeated twice, one after another). Like any other storyteller, Marlow fears rejection and censorship, therefore he will avoid any stories that depart from acceptable community standards; stories that fall into what Norrick (2007:135) calls “the dark side of tellability”. Even though the “unspeakable rites” might stand for the clichéd image the Victorians had about ‘primitive’ peoples, they should never be overtly mentioned, but just alluded to.

The difficulty to turn Marlow’s “exotic” experience into a story becomes also evident in his overuse of the language of approximation, exemplified by the conjunctions “as if”, “as though”, the preposition “like” and the verb “seem”: “[it] was like a weary pilgrimage amongst hints for nightmare” (Conrad 1995:42); “[the] best way I can explain it to you is by saying that, for a second or two, I felt as though, instead of going to the centre of a continent, I were about to set off for the centre of the earth (Conrad 1995:40); “as if Nature herself had tried to ward off the intruders” (Conrad 1995:42); “[it] seems to me I am trying to tell you a dream” (Conrad 1995:55). This language of approximation suggests the narrator’s attempt at appropriating the ‘unfamiliar’ and at integrating it in his own discourse.

Marlow’s anxiety as a storyteller is permanently linked to the fear that his inability to incorporate and translate this epistemologically different world might alienate the audience. His concern for the efficacy of his storytelling is reflected in the many questions that saturate his narrative. “Do you see him? Do you see the story? Do you see anything?” (Conrad 1995:55); “[how] shall I define it?” (Conrad 1995:92); “[what] were we who had strayed in here? Could we handle that dumb thing, or would it handle us?...What was in there?” (Conrad 1995:54). Paradoxically, these queries are not supposed to establish a connection with the audience as a way of recreating the participatory nature of storytelling. They are not markers of conversational storytelling and they do not encourage dialogue with the audience. On the contrary, since Marlow waits for no answer, they are part of his soliloquy, of his ‘exterior’ monologue. This extensive dialogue with the self betrays a storyteller who still tries to understand his experience.

When language fails, silence takes over. Marlow’s narrative is permeated by dashes and suspension points, all marking moments of profound silence in the act of storytelling. Thus silence becomes a key word, almost synonymous with absence, lack of reaction and defeat in the

face of the unknown semantic world of the Other. Although this should be an interactive storytelling scene, both the storyteller and the listeners are absent: the audience rarely reacts to the story and the story seems “to shape itself without human lips” (Conrad 1995:55).

6. Conclusion

In *Heart of Darkness*, the storyteller is confronted with the world of the Other. Marlow, the European sailor, travels to Africa to discover a world that lies beyond his cognitive horizon. This almost surreal encounter escapes representation, and the agile storyteller is faced with the limits of language. Also, in the Congolese jungle, Marlow is faced with the false ideology that supports imperial expansion. These two types of discourse are different, but they have something in common, they both appear as “absences” in Marlow’s tale. The semantic world of the native Africans is incomprehensible for Marlow, and is incorporated in his story as excessive, but meaningless noise. The imperialist grandiloquent propaganda, though characterized by an overabundant rhetoric, is nonetheless empty and hollow like its prophets. These two antagonistic types of discourse are embodied in the character of Kurtz, a clear example of both cultural immersion and displacement: he is both a man of the empire and the indisputable leader of the natives.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0008

THE GEOGRAPHY OF SELF-REPRESENTATION: ORIENTALISM IN ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S *THE SUN ALSO RISES*

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Abstract: *This paper will deal with the problematics of cultural self-representation in Ernest Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises. I shall approach this theme by applying concepts from Edward Said's Orientalism and Jean Baudrillard's America to Hemingway's novel and discussing the limitations of such theories which – it will be argued – oversimplify the issue by reducing it to an opposition between 'Self' and 'Otherness'.*

Keywords: *America; cultural representation; Hemingway; Otherness; Orientalism*

1. Introduction

Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* is a novel about a group of American and British expatriates and their struggle to deal with the culture of continental Europe, which they perceive as both fascinating and repulsive. The characters are based in Paris, but decide to travel to Pamplona for the Festival of San Fermin and watch the Running of the Bulls. Inevitably, their immersion into this new and unknown culture, changes the way they perceive the world and themselves, as shown by the following quotation:

You're an expatriate. You've lost touch with the soil. You get precious. Fake European standards have ruined you. You drink yourself to death. You become obsessed by sex. You spend all your time talking, not working. You are an expatriate, see? You hang around cafes. (Hemingway 1995:74)

According to a popular French saying, "Africa starts at the Pyrenees" (Kaminsky 2008: 21). According to a similar but slightly more exaggerated British saying, Africa "begins at Calais" (cf. Partridge 1992: 356). Ernest Hemingway's (1995) *The Sun Also Rises* can be interpreted as a tale of dislocation in which prolonged contact with what is perceived as cultural Otherness by a group of British and American expatriates triggers a process which, in Freudian terms, could be characterised as the surfacing of the repressed subconscious. In this paper I shall discuss the problematics of self-representation in Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* by applying concepts from Edward Said's (1979) *Orientalism*, Jean Baudrillard's (1988) *America*, Peter Brook's (1998) *Reading for the Plot*, and Kristeva's (1982) *Strangers to Ourselves*, to Hemingway's novel.

I shall argue that the novel deals with a sense of deepening dislocation and that each stage of the geographical dislocation undergone – either collectively or individually – by the characters corresponds to a different degree of psychological tension and turmoil experienced individually by each member of the group. I shall further argue that, as the characters become increasingly immersed in a culture which they perceive as being exotic and focused mainly on

physicality, their fears, frustrations, prejudices, and traumas become increasingly visible. In other words, it is everything that is strange – and therefore Oriental – within each character that emerges and becomes impossible to repress. Finally, it will be argued that the journey to Spain is actually a journey within the Self which is part of an ongoing process of self-discovery.

2. Fascination and Repulsion

In his article “Whiteness and the Rejected Other in ‘*The Sun Also Rises*’” Daniel S. Traber (2012) discusses the way in which Jake’s character is influenced by his relationship with Robert Cohn, a relationship which is highly contradictory, in the sense that it involves both rejection and identification. He argues that Jake’s portrayal as a complex character can help the reader to understand Hemingway’s own approach to the theme of Otherness throughout his novels. He argues that:

Hemingway’s evaluation and treatment of forms of otherness according to a rejected notion of centred whiteness reveals a complicated critical politics existing simultaneously with prejudice. Jake’s convoluted identity quest allows us to see how marginality is deployed by Hemingway, and Jake’s refusal of particular othered identities exposes something other than a facile bigotry. (Traber 2012:124)

He argues that although Jake is certainly depicted as a prejudiced character, his responses whenever he encounters an instance of Otherness are ambiguous, and so is his relationship with Cohn:

Hemingway ensures that any analysis of Jake is slippery because so many of his statements about Cohn are contradictory as articulations of either inclusion or exclusion. Jake says he likes Cohn (he even includes him in his prayers at the cathedral in Pamplona [97]), but will later claim to dislike him; he feels sorry for Cohn and then deliberately withholds sympathy; he feminizes Cohn as highly emotional and childish, yet has this unmasculine man physically conquer the novel’s two code heroes by knocking Jake out and pummeling Pedro Romero into a bloody mess. (Traber 2012:129)

Furthermore, the relationship between Jake and Robert as a relationship between centre and margin is not as clear-cut as it might seem at a first glance: Jake is a Catholic – and thus himself the target of religious discrimination – whereas Robert comes from a highly privileged family. Traber also argues that – surprisingly enough – Jake’s final rejection of Cohn does not occur as a consequence of the latter’s Otherness, but rather as a consequence of his failure to embody it. To be more specific, Cohn’s belonging to the American upper-class subdues his marginality: he is simply not strange enough for Jake to regard as “a source of otherness” (Traber 2012:130). Traber’s interpretation of *The Sun Also Rises* draws attention to the fact that the relationship between Self and Other as cultural representation highly depends on circumstantial and individual factors. In order to understand the complex dynamics of representations, one can analyse Jean Baudrillard’s *America*.

In *America* Jean Baudrillard (1988) describes the New World as an intriguing yet somewhat charming world of contrasts. Baudrillard is both fascinated and appalled by the paradox which is America and his French/European prejudices clearly pervade his description of America and of Americans. The concept can be reversed and applied to *The Sun Also Rises* by arguing that continental Europe causes the American expatriate to experience the same reaction of awe and repulsion that America causes the European traveller to experience.

The description of the Spanish landscape as something strange and fascinating is rather similar to Baudrillard’s description of the American landscape. In *America* Baudrillard describes his journey through Porterville, California:

The journey here through forests of orange trees, their leaves a deep, geometric green, laid out neatly on wild hillsides that are carpeted with undulating grass like animal fur and resemble the hills of Tuscany. A driveway lined by fifty palm trees, all the same height and absolutely symmetrical, leads up to a planter's house that is minuscule by comparison. (Baudrillard 1988:64)

Baudrillard manages to provide such a detailed description of the setting because he is unfamiliar with it and thus he can notice details which an American might fail to notice due to the fact that such views are part of his/her daily experience. Hemingway's description of the Spanish landscape is similar:

The road went along the summit of the Col and then dropped down, and the driver had to honk, and slow up, and turn out to avoid running into two donkeys that were sleeping in the road. We came down out of the mountains and through an oak forest, and there were white cattle grazing in the forest. Down below there were grassy plains and clear streams, and then we crossed a stream and went through a gloomy little village, and started to climb again. We climbed up and up and crossed another high Col and turned along it, and the road ran down to the right, and we saw a whole new range of mountains off to the south, all brown and baked-looking and furrowed in strange shapes. (Hemingway 1995:49)

However, it is in Hemingway's account of the bull-fight that the sense of fascination combined with repulsion mentioned above is most visible. To Hemingway – and to his characters –, Spain is the same paradox that America is to Baudrillard.

3. Orientalism

In his book *Orientalism* Edward Said (1979) argued that our perception of the world is marked by an opposition between the East and the West, an opposition which originated in the way in which Westerners have always portrayed Easterners. He believes that the Orient and "the Oriental" are regarded as primitive, uncivilised, and dangerous, and that they ultimately embody the idea of "Otherness". Said's concept of "Orientalism" can be extended and applied to Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* by analysing the way in which the French, the Spanish, and arguably the other members of the group are portrayed as Oriental.

It is important to point out the fact that the concept of Orientalism is not restricted to the idea of a geographical opposition between East and West. Orientalism is an approach to the world and to one's own identity, an approach which is based on a complex perspective made up of a series of political and cultural constructs pertaining to the Orient and the way in which they are viewed by Westerners. In other words, Orientalism is a system of representation in which the cultural self is defined by means of its opposite. Therefore, Orientalism can be regarded as a post-structuralist concept based on the idea that the value of a sign depends solely on its position within a system and on its relationship to the other signs. Therefore, the sign cannot be defined on the basis of any internal or self-referring content, but only through the other signs to which it relates.

In *The Sun Also Rises* the characters fail to define themselves in terms of their personalities; their way of behaving is the mere result of their placement within a system which is able to provide them with something that is foreign and strange to them as Westerners. At the beginning of the novel, there seems to be a sense of unity among the members of the group. At this stage, the expatriate group can be regarded as a collective character standing for the image of the Occidental, while Paris is perceived as a strange Oriental place. However, even at this early stage, tension seems to build up: Cohn yearns for an exotic experience and wishes to travel to South America, and later on falls in love with Brett; Jake on the other hand becomes increasingly frustrated because he knows that his relationship with Brett can never be physical due to his impotence.

As shown above, when approached from an Orientalist perspective, the concept of Self in *The Sun Also Rises* cannot exist without the concept of Other. Self-representation thus becomes negative definition, and the problematics of identity is reduced to a series of binary oppositions. The Westerner does not need the image of the Oriental in order to define himself; he needs the Oriental in order to exist. However, regarding Hemingway's characters as mere cultural constructions seems a rather reductive approach, as the drama experienced by the characters is also related to the repression and, later on, rediscovery of those primal drives that eschew any kind of cultural boundaries.

It can be argued that, as soon as the characters get to Spain, the boundaries between Oriental and Occidental become blurred, as each character starts looking for signs of "Otherness" in everyone else. As they become immersed in what is perceived as an exotic culture, they all discover their own Oriental side. For example, Cohn's obsession with Brett becomes overwhelming, turning him into an irrational man who acts solely on instinct. Despite being repeatedly rejected by Brett, he pursues her with determination. Cohn himself is perceived in terms of his Jewishness – and implicitly as an Oriental – by Mike and even by Jake. While in Spain, Brett also gives into her passion for Pedro Romero and forgets about her engagement to Mike and her love for Jake.

4. The Stranger Within

This rediscovery of passions and instincts, which can be regarded as the rediscovery of the "Oriental within", can be linked to Julia Kristeva's (1982) theory of *l'étranger*, as expounded in her book *Strangers to Ourselves*. Kristeva adds a psychoanalytical dimension to the post-structuralist approach to identity. While in Said's (1979) theory of identity, the Other is always extrinsic to the Self, in Kristeva's view the Other is actually part of the Self. Kristeva argues that:

The image of hatred and of the other, a foreigner is neither a romantic victim of our clannish ignorance, nor the intruder responsible for the ills of the polis. Neither the apocalypse on the move nor the instant adversary to be eliminated for the sake of appeasing the group. Strangely, the foreigner lives within us: he is the hidden face of our identity, the space that wrecks our abode, the time in which understanding and affinity founder. (Kristeva 1982:6)

The representation of the Spanish as Oriental is therefore part of a wider process of self-representation. While noticing the strangeness of the Spanish, the characters are actually confronted with the uneasiness of rediscovering those parts of themselves which they perceive as strange and possibly shameful, and which have consequently been buried deep within the subconsciousness. The resurfacing of those primal impulses triggers the illusion of an extrinsic "foreigner". To be more specific, it is when the characters fail to make sense of what is going on within the Self that they project the supposedly reprehensible aspects of it outwards and generate the image of the despicable foreigner.

5. Searching for Meaning

In his book *Reading for the Plot* Peter Brooks (1998) argued that Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* is a "detective story gone modernist" (Brooks 1998:238), in the sense that it deals with the uncovering of narratives. Unlike the traditional detective story, whose narrative deals with discovering facts and uncovering criminals, *Heart of Darkness* deals with uncovering planes of narrative, and recovering relationships. The intricate narrative structure of *Heart of Darkness* is in fact based on a series of repetitions and re-tracings of steps which had already been taken. As the narrative layers unfold, and the plot seems to develop, the

reader notices that this development is merely a repetition. To be more specific, Marlow's journey in search for Kurtz is in fact Kurtz's journey. Marlow does not discover anything, but merely uncovers Kurtz's journey, and recovers something that he had lost. Therefore, Marlow's journey into "the heart of darkness" is in fact a journey in search for "lossness".

Peter Brooks also argued that there is no governing order in the narrative, and that the plot seems to be "a repeated 'trying out' of orders" (Brooks 1998:242). Despite the fact that an ultimate order is not achieved, this repeated quest for order – which echoes Marlow's journey in that it seeks to restore something that had been lost by retracing previous layers of narrative order – is in fact a quest for meaning:

Yet the orders tried out in *Heart of Darkness* may in their very tenuousness be necessary to the process of striving toward meaning: as if to say that the plotting of the stories remains necessary even where we have ceased to believe in the plots we use. Certain minimum canons of readability remain necessary if we are able to discern the locus of the necessarily unreadable. (Brooks 1998:242)

It is the same journey in search of "lossness" that we encounter in Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. When the characters travel to Spain, they merely uncover their own frustrations, impulses, and relationships to both themselves and to the other members of the expatriate group. For example, Brett's affair with Pedro Romero can be interpreted as an attempt to uncover her frustrations related to the impossibility of having any kind of physical relationship with Jake.

6. Conclusion

The way in which the characters in *The Sun Also Rises* perceive themselves and everyone else shows that defining the relationship between Self and Other is a rather complex task. As shown in this essay, the Orientalist approach to this problem places both Self and Other within a system of representation based on oppositions, thus denying the Self any real essence, and implying that the relationship between the two is prone to constant change. However, the relationship between the two concepts is not merely one of external opposition; the Self's perception of the Other is shaped by the Self's essence (the essence includes drives, and instincts), and not by its position within a system. The Self is a complex entity which is capable of reflection upon itself. It is this self-reflexive capacity that makes Brett and Jake's love possible.

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DE GRUYTER
OPEN

DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0009

NADINE GORDIMER: FAMILIAR TALES FROM SOUTH AFRICA

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***Abstract:** The paper analyses the new perspectives in Nadine Gordimer’s writings, focusing on her post-Apartheid works. The concepts of home, relocation, cultural diversity, violence and the issue of the Other are examined, as they represent the key factors in defining and understanding South Africa and its multicultural and multiracial communities.*

***Keywords:** multiculturalism, otherness, relocation, South Africa, violence*

1. Introduction

“The world of others talked back from what The World was set to make of those others – its own image” (Gordimer 2007:105). These words from Nadine Gordimer’s latest volume of short stories point towards the answer expected by the majority of critics who generally asked in the early 1990s when President Frederik Willem de Klerk overtly expressed his intentions to end Apartheid, and when the African National Congress under Nelson Mandela won the elections, which meant the beginning of a multiracial democracy for the South African society: “Once Apartheid is abolished entirely, do you think there will still be something for you to write about?” (Clingman 1992:137)

In a series of lectures delivered in 1994, Gordimer remarks the changed status of South Africa which is no longer at the margin of the empire but at its centre:

That other world that was the world is no longer the world. My country is the world, whole, a synthesis.” (Gordimer 1996:134)

In this regard, post-Apartheid South Africa has been reshaping its national identity in the light of global events that write universal history, offering citizens the chance to escape the confines of their country and bring in or take out elements that are essential when determining the specific attributes of a community in the process of globalization. In fact, it has the opportunity to extract ingredients from America, Europe and Africa in order “to become that delicious hybrid of West and South” (Temple-Thurston 1999:xi). The Western civilizations have attempted to impose their own standards and requirements on this “jagged end of a continent” (Gordimer 1998:278), which has attracted attention not only due to one of the worst forms of racism in the history of humanity but also with four Nobel prizes for peace and two for literature. Yet, when we read texts by South African writers – either written in English or translated from Afrikaans or

one of the African languages – we see that the local and the international are overlapping. The local is more than a first-hand experience of a meaningful community; it is the recovery of a shared space where the Self and the Other come into contact, exchange places, struggle to avoid erasure of differences, to preserve individuality and to oppose discrimination. In fact, as Michael Chapman (2008:11) underlines, South Africans no longer write “in reaction, back to the centre”. They write taking into account ‘the rediscovery of the ordinary’ as defined by Njabulo S. Ndebele (1992:434) in 1986 when he noted that “the visible symbols of the overwhelmingly oppressive South African social formation appear to have prompted over the years the development of a highly dramatic, highly demonstrative form of literary representation”.

Thus, replacing Apartheid themes and subject matters in the new South Africa is a demanding task. Some of the literary topics preferred by the ‘old guard’, formed of J. M. Coetzee, Nadine Gordimer, André Brink and Breyten Breytenbach are: the significance of multiculturalism in post-Apartheid South Africa, the status of the writer, the banalisation of violence due to mass-media coverage, the reconciliation with the violent past, the implications of economic and cultural globalization, the struggle against illness, HIV/ AIDS, sexual liberation, globalization and loss of cultural and national identity, displacement, economic exile and migration, issues that tend to replace older major concerns represented by violence and discrimination on account of race, gender, or wealth, the relationship between literature and politics or the role of ethics in writing. Leon De Kock, who proclaimed the death of South African literature in his essay “Does South African Literature Still Exist? Or: South African Literature is Dead, Long Live South African Literature”, considers that Gordimer has made a “remarkable move outwards, from closely observed turns” of South Africa’s social and historical aspects, manifesting interest in “how issues of national identity are traversed by the surges of global and transnational flows, means and potentialities” (De Kock 2005:76).

My aim is to point towards themes that constantly occur in Nadine Gordimer’s writings, to analyze them along with more recent issues that are addressed in her post-Apartheid narratives.

2. An Overview of Nadine Gordimer’s Writings

The majority of the topics and issues are no longer identified as belonging exclusively to the South African reality. Thus, *None to Accompany Me* (1994) and *The House Gun* (1998) accentuate that violence is primarily a heritage of Apartheid South Africa, and it must be related to individual and social responsibility to end it; *The Pickup* (2001) focuses on the oriental adventures of a young white South African woman who chooses to relocate to an Arab country; *Get a Life* (2005) explores the diseased body and life choices.

The concepts of “place” and “home” are also analyzed by Nadine Gordimer in relation to the topics of exile and relocation, disease and violence. Johannesburg and its suburbs, the townships and the wilderness of the veld are presented as fruitful sites in post-Apartheid fiction in order to study and comprehend city-culture and the preservation of natural environment. Thus, the “eternal nomad”, the ruthless female politician, the prisoner and the patient are connected and eventually refuse connection to a specific place, in their search for the Self and redefinition of the Other. Furthermore, Gordimer’s latest novel – *Get a Life* – turns to popular topics in the Western world: ecology and environmentalism, although she has been criticized for remaining silent on South African politics and attracting attention to issues brought forward by globalization.

2.1 Memory of Home and Exile

In her novels and short stories, the South African writer connects memory with the social space occupied by exiles, migrants and refugees in order to provide the necessary redefinition of identity that enables them to settle down in the target communities. The images produced by memory are superposed over reality so that it can be modified to permit adaptation in the new environment. It would be otherwise impossible for a nation with eleven official languages to exist based on past memory alone; that is why national consciousness is transformed by returnees and migrants (alien or foreign Others) who imprint their own traditions on the multicultural and multiracial South African society. Gordimer depicts instances of the exiles' lives, naming and determining the identifying characteristics to what Said (1986:12) calls "a series of portraits without names, without contexts", explaining images that are "largely unexplained, nameless, mute".

The pseudo-exiles (Caraivan 2003:140) are South Africans who are forced to find refuge within the borders of their own country. Their world is defined by relocation, loneliness and nostalgia, as their "imagined country" is placed out of the context of reality. Communication is hindered either by their inability to speak the same language or by their incapacity to understand the rules of what they consider the marginal Others and adapt to their world. As Homi Bhabha (1997:82) observes, skin is "the prime signifier of the body", the indicator of the Other regarded as "*almost the same but not quite*" (Bhabha 1997:89), and it correlates with the social, racial and cultural identity of both the Self and the Other.

The Pickup offers a picture of the new South Africa and its usual problems of race, class, bureaucracy, taken from a local to a global level. The change of setting from post-Apartheid Johannesburg to an Arab country and its villages, deserts and Muslim people is unusual for Gordimer who used to devote her attention to the specificity of the South African society. In addition, the novel depicts an idealistic image of the Other world and its inhabitants, as Julie Summers, the white South African woman who chooses to relocate to her husband's Arab village, is fascinated by the traditional values of the Arab family and by the immensity of the desert. This novel portrays a world of fragmented and "unfixed identities" (Dimitriu Şora 2006:167), an asymmetrical world of "skewed power relations" (169) in a post-Apartheid South Africa that has to redefine its identity in order to enter the "global village". The intercultural marriage is Gordimer's "silver lining" for the postcolonial world, just as interracial marriages were for the colonial period. In this regard, Nadine Gordimer undermines stereotypical distinctions and the opposition Orient/ Occident is reversed. At the beginning of the 21st century, South Africa is defined by political renewal, liberalism, and economic progress, and thus it is associated with Occidental images, South Africans being described as "European – but they don't call themselves that [...]" (Gordimer 2001:94).

2.2 Violence as a Disease in South Africa

The theme of violence in the process of transition from the Apartheid to the post-Apartheid period and the process of reconciliation with the violent past of the South African society is another favourite in Gordimer's writings. Although violence is the main topic in the novel *The House Gun* (1998), instances of violent acts are also identified in the novel *None to Accompany Me*, where Gordimer associates violence with a repetition impossible to break:

People kill each other and the future looks back and asks, What for? We can see, from here, what the end would have been, anyway. And then they turn to kill each other for some other reason whose resolution could have been foreseen. (Gordimer 1995:305)

There is a strong relationship between the violent Other and the vulnerable Other – generally the victim, but possibly the perpetrator, as well – and it starts from the senseless and excessive outbursts of violence displaying hatred of Otherness in a post-Apartheid multicultural and multiracial South Africa which is described in *None to Accompany Me*. Furthermore, violence and its effects on the vulnerable Other are studied as a phenomenon of inclusion, as everyone in South Africa is inheriting the legacy of Apartheid.

Multiracial societies are more likely to fall victims to conflict than societies with greater ethnic homogeneity, as Frohardt and Temin (2007:402) warn:

Attention should also be given to content indicators, such as a focus on past atrocities and a history of ethnic hatred; manipulation of myths, stereotypes and identities to ‘dehumanize’; and efforts to discredit alternatives to conflict.

Subsequently, such an “alternative to conflict” is the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) founded in January 1989 with the primary goal “to use its expertise in building reconciliation, democracy and a human rights culture and in preventing violence in South Africa and in other countries in Africa” (Bruce 2011). A second crucial step was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) assembled in 1995. The Commission has been considered the most effective way to come to terms with its past and to recognize its legacy of political violence.

In Nadine Gordimer’s opinion (Paul 1998), the main task of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Amnesty Commission is to reveal “the complexity of human beings, the complexity of their reactions to different pressures on their personal lives and their political and working lives, and the constant shift in their morality”, as “digging up [...] the truth” is both extraordinary and painful. *The House Gun* was written under the influence of tape scripts and methods used by TRC to obtain the victims’ testimonies. In the novel, Gordimer links stories of ordinary people and history itself in order to present her view of the transitory South Africa where violence has a complicated form imposed both by the legacy of Apartheid and by the process of transition, which made guns become a legitimate way of solving problems.

The House Gun records the psychological transformations of a white South African family, as they pursue the truth and finally understand the mechanisms of violence. The white couple is trying to come to terms with their son’s murder in the same way the South African society is making an attempt to reconcile with its violent past by putting itself on trial. The influence of mass media on the young population is also examined here, as it presents images of death and violence as random acts not connected to the audience. However, the “spectacle of violence” involves all the members of a community, without any exception, for it is strongly anchored in ordinary life.

Nadine Gordimer is also fascinated with the issues of health and disease. The structure of the relationship between the unhealthy/ contagious Other and the caregiver as well as that of the relationship between the professional and personal Self is examined in the light of concepts such as fear (of exposure, isolation and genetic modifications), vulnerability, solitude and public life, body self-image, nature and survival. Health is the mark of the self, whereas disease – as the mark of outsiders – expresses the otherness of the self and provides experiences which are thoroughly depicted and analyzed in Gordimer’s latest novel as a metaphor of the state of South

Africa. However, there is always a latent particle in every healthy body that may become activated and, eventually, the healthy Self transforms into an unhealthy Other.

2.3 The Return to Present

In her latest novel, *No Time like the Present* (2012), Gordimer revisits her characters from the Apartheid novels: a couple formed of a white man and a black woman, once illegal lovers, who fought in the anti-Apartheid movement, are now faced with the post-Apartheid society and with the decision to relocate to Australia.

The new issues of middle-class life have replaced the older ones. They now have to decide where to live and travel, what job to take, where to send their children to school. Steve no longer works as an industrial chemist in the guerrilla, but as a university lecturer in the chemistry department at a local university. Jabu becomes a lawyer with a firm that represents blacks in property disputes. Steve and Jabu refuse to become greedy and corrupt as their former comrades. After having worked so hard to install democracy, they see its fragile stability threatened by poverty, unemployment, AIDS, government scandal, tribal loyalties, contested elections and the influx of refugees from other African countries. As in *The House Gun*, Gordimer portrays the South African society using crime: a carjacking, a home invasion, a brutal school hazing. Due to the increase in crimes, the couple considers to relocate to Australia.

Consequently, Gordimer remains the portraitist of the South African society, her novels being pictures from different stages of South African history since 1950.

3. Conclusions

To conclude, post-Apartheid literature has manifested its capacity to rewrite and reinvent new identities, new stories that have aroused profound interest and continue to generate curiousness, defining the individual as part of the collective and mapping new trajectories to explore. Rita Barnard observes that

despite the fact that two South African writers have been awarded the Nobel Prize, South African literature is still in some ways an emerging field of inquiry and one that continues to require redefinition in view of the changed circumstances in the country. (Barnard 2007:4)

One of the several possibilities of formulating reinterpretations of post-Apartheid narratives is with respect to theories of otherness.

Postcolonial theory and literature have also searched for answers to questions such as the following: what does the Other mean in these times? Should “Self” and “Other” be viewed inevitably as accentuating differences? After identifying the Other, is “comprehension of Otherness” possible or is knowledge of the Other just a form of colonization, of authority, even violence?

The displacement of the Other by the Self in the South African history was imposed by the white population in their attempt to build a new nation in the 20th century. The new South Africa witnessed a repositioning of the Self the moment when eleven languages were officially recognized as national. Thus, multiculturalism and multiracialism have become the centre of political and literary discourses, replacing the issues of racism and discrimination. A radical displacement and replacement of the concept of race and culture has taken place in the 21st

century South Africa and Nadine Gordimer has marked this change on the historic and social map that she has outlined in her post-Apartheid novels.

As a result, several critics have noticed the fact that Gordimer's post-Apartheid writings abandon the "grand narrative" of Apartheid and turn to the ordinary, to "normalization". Ileana Dimitriu (2009) notes that, "in detecting a sense of 'postmodern melancholy' in the 'small histories' of Gordimer's post-1990 novels", various critics express their disappointment that the South African writer has concluded her social and political investigations, "has lessened interest in 'the politics of nationhood'", and has manifested interest "in explorations of postmodern multiplicity". The new South Africa has more social than political issues to solve, more races and ethnicities to tolerate and integrate in this new post-Apartheid, postcolonial, multicultural and multiracial era. On different occasions, Gordimer has quoted Flaubert's (1982:200) observation "I have always tried to live in an ivory tower" and she has always added her own incisive comments:

the poached tusks of elephants, the profits of exploitation of an African resource, a fit symbol of tranquility and comfort gained, anywhere and everywhere in the world, by the plunder of the lives of others (Suresh Roberts 2005:14).

Thus, Gordimer demonstrates her deep involvement in the realities of South Africa, her concern with the hardships of her fellow citizens, and her conviction that nothing is local anymore – everything must be perceived globally.

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DE GRUYTER
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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0010

THE PROBLEM OF KINGSHIP IN SHAKESPEARE'S HISTORY PLAYS

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Abstract: *Elizabethan England was a state of repression and Shakespeare could not write his plays freely and he could not oppose Elizabeth and her government openly. So he had to use allegory and every one of his plays is an act of rebellion. This paper deals with Shakespeare's history plays which are symbols of resistance to the rule of force and war politics, and that message is implicit in the way of presenting kings.*

Keywords: *history plays, kings, politics, power, Shakespeare*

1. Introduction

In the eighties, there were a number of new approaches that interpreted Shakespeare's history plays from different positions of poststructuralist theories. According to the representative of new historicism Steven Greenblatt (1988:2-21), Shakespeare's history plays, although they largely reproduce the ruling ideology and even represent an integral part of the power of Tudor monarchy, they also include an opposite opinion. The texts of the history plays are therefore interpreted as places where one could follow the dynamics of effects of authority and the subversion directed against that same authority. However, that subversion does not endanger the dominant ideology but helps it to be maintained. The provocation, the challenge and the defeat of subversion are strategies that make the dominant power and its ideology secure.

The British version of poststructuralist historicism is *cultural materialism*. Representatives of cultural materialism Dollimore and Sinfield (1985:211-216), in the text about *Henry V*, show that in Shakespeare's plays one can see how ideology and the state are characterized by internal contradictions and conflicts. Ideology can provide an apparent solution to social conflict only if it deals with its own internal conflicts. And if it deals with them, they must be revealed and not hidden. *Henry V* can be read as an ideological apology for Henry V and his conquest of France, but also as a subversive questioning of the whole dubious legitimacy of the enterprise.

This paper deals with the question of legitimate sovereignty and the problem of kingship in Shakespeare's history plays, showing how Shakespeare dealt with English history in order to express his resistance to the rule of force and war, and to criticize contemporary rulership, pointing out its internal contradictions and conflicts.

2. Shakespeare's Presentation of Kings in History Plays

During the 1590s Shakespeare wrote ten plays which dealt with the history of England, and only one later (it was *Henry VIII*, 1612-1613). In all these plays he mostly used facts from Hall's *Chronicle (The Union of Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre and Yorke - 1548)*, covering the period of the reign of Richard II to Henry VII, the period which most of the literature dealt with. Taking into account Elizabeth's age (she was fifty-seven years old in 1590), her problematic right to the crown, and the fact that if she did not leave an heir, the crown would pass to the Stuart dynasty, whose members had previously been excluded as potential successors for their Catholicism, there was no small wonder that history plays were very popular among theatre-goers of Shakespeare's time.

Shakespeare's presentation of kings in all his history plays is based on the understanding that it is more important what kings do than what they really are or what they say they are. And it is in situations of power that Shakespeare shows the basic problem of man, which is the contradiction between the truth and the mask, between the man's interior and the mask he brings upon himself. One who is on the throne has to abide certain laws which are "imposed" by the throne itself, and people close to the throne are obliged to act according to those laws, which sometimes can be very strict and cruel. Shakespeare's history plays depict unfortunate kings that behave more or less poorly and fail to receive the support they need to function as rulers.

No one who was involved in writing during the 1590s did fully believe in the Tudors as a legitimate dynasty which was chosen by God's will to govern England, which does not mean that many did not support the regime, and believed in the necessity of the monarchy as a form of government. There was a range of powerful symbols created by artists, poets and other propagandists who were under the protection of the court, which indicated that the queen or king is God's deputy on earth. Tudor propaganda quickly realized that religion could be used as an additional way to try to persuade the people to accept the legitimate authority of the ruling class, no matter how doubtful it was. Elizabethan England was a country based on repression and sanctioned all forms of rebellion. In such a state Shakespeare could not write freely and he could not oppose Elizabeth and her government openly. So he had to use allegory and each of his plays is an act of rebellion. This is first and foremost related to his history plays. They are symbols of resistance to the rule of force and war, politics, and the message is implicit in the way of presenting the kings.

3. The Problem of Kingship in Shakespeare's History Plays

Henry VI wants to be an ordinary citizen rather than the king, and his pursuit culminates in his speech on the hill where he expresses his desire to be a pastor while all around him there is a furious battle (III, *Henry VI*). Just prior to his imprisonment and murder he discovers his perplexity when faced with problems of royal power. Henry VI has not got the abilities that a king should have, and therefore he experiences failure.

Richard III is an influential protagonist who is, from the standpoint of morality, an evil manipulator, a deceiver and a fraud. These features require special competence and eloquence and action that helps Richard at all times to recognise his position in relation to the power he has over the other characters in the play and over the audience. His power stems from his ability to manipulate the other characters in the play and the audience. Although destructive, this power becomes more spectacular considering his performance on the stage, especially in the opening soliloquy, in the scene of courtship and in the dream scene where the audience meets a

completely different Richard. In each of these scenes he is at the same time furious, gallant, wise and full of remorse. Although contradictory, each of these terms makes a complex unity of Richard's character. But there is one aspect of the interpretation of *Richard III* which is extremely important. This is the interpretation of the play in the light of Richard's violence over innocent children. This play contains the most vicious scenes of violence against children and is Shakespeare's strongest revolt against such violence and his uncompromising condemnation of it. The children, who in the play represent an obstacle for Richard to conquer absolute power, because they are his eldest brother's sons, were eliminated in blood. Neither does their children's wisdom help them to stay alive, but it only brings them trouble because they become even more of a threat to Richard (which is explicitly seen in the first scene of Richard's interview with the children in act III). Richard, without any mercy, orders the killing of the children and, while those who should carry out the execution feel a little regret, Richard shows no signs of remorse. For the first time we hear the killer of the children who refers to the king as "bloody" (IV, iii) and Shakespeare completes his bitter, ironic parable of the wicked king and the tragedy of a country, England.

In his play *Richard II* Shakespeare makes it clear that the rule of a king is far more dependent on the support of the people or the good will of his subjects than the inheritance rights he has. Richard's contempt for the aristocracy, providing promotions for those who were not favored by the people, and the neglect of his duties as a king (III, iv), are what led to his loss of the crown. The entire first two acts are manifestations of Richard's capriciousness and self-will that does not even respect the people of established rights. King Richard is the owner who rents his own kingdom, he is cruel and unfair to his uncle Gaunt, and by snatching his cousin Bolingbrook's heritage, he undermines the foundations of his own power. Revenge comes with Bolingbrook coming to England with the army and most of the nobles greet him with enthusiasm. Upon the completion of the second act, we begin to understand the language of politics in the play. Bolingbrook and his supporters insist that he came back just because of his inheritance and titles. But we all know that he returned to get the crown, and Shakespeare will skillfully deal with his hypocrisy until Richard's transfer of power. Both Richard and Bolingbrook are forced to act, motivated by the desire for power, and they both show a combination of Machiavelli's inner contempt for everyone but himself and his "greatness". *Richard II* reveals a multiperspectival view of the Machiavellian concept of power that leaves us at the end of the troubled but not totally destroyed world. The play does not refute Machiavelli's observation that in the world of bad people it is crazy to be good. However, Richard's problems have nothing to do with whether he is good or bad. His decline occurs as a result of his political incompetence and the conflict between skilled and less skilled Machiavellian means. The whole play, in fact, shows a successful and unsuccessful rule, as Machiavelli described it in his *Prince*. (Grady 2002:79-80)

What distinguishes the first and second part of *Henry IV* from other history plays is that Shakespeare depicted the life of England outside the walls of the court and aristocratic circles. In a sense, the motive for this celebration of the common people of England lies in the traditional interpretation of the transformation of prince Hal in an honest and honorable king Henry V. Where Hall in his *Chronicles* justifies the behavior of young prince Hal by youthful volatility, preceding the king's famous victories, Shakespeare wants to show the prince is very calculated in everything he does. He seems to be a lost son who meets a world that could be more than an alternative to the volatile and corrupt world of his father's court. However, Hal does not leave the ruling class to which he belongs, but only "falls into" the society of those whom he rules. Through the acquaintance with Falstaff, he meets the magic of life without responsibility and morality, but at the same time he has to learn the importance of responsibility and respect for

order. Sanders notes that, while for Falstaff honor is “a motto on the coat of arms,” Hal must confront his father’s bitter enemy Hotspur. Where Falstaff cynically demonstrates his outrageous methods of mobilising people, Hal must, with the same degree of cynicism, master the skill of deception and fraud which are an integral part of the military command. Of course, it is not at all difficult to him. It is true that he has been training all the time for the role of “an ideal Christian ruler.” (Sanders 1996:155-157) Young prince Hal is a debauchee, a masked robber who, imitating his father and Hotspur, assumes the role of a knight. Scenes of debauchery and irresponsibility, friendship and generosity are shifting throughout the play. Everything is still moderate; because of Hal’s transformation there is no danger that it will all turn into a permanent state and thus threaten the existence of the monarchy. Prince Hal is thinking about what sort of image people and the general public will have of him playing a variety of roles, and successfully manipulating people around him, including the amazing, brilliant Falstaff. And all this in order to gain power, real tangible power that brings popular appeal and acceptance, for in Shakespeare’s time it was – as it is today – a key element of a successful and long-term rule.

In the second part of *Henry IV* rapacity, treachery, and force dominate. Falstaff and the tavern world become less attractive and Hal seems less calculated. The play contains a series of scams and it just highlights the main form of political communication. Greenblatt (1988:15-18) divides characters into “good” and “bad”, considering that the “good” ones that fit into order can maintain it only if they break the promise. He’s interested in lies, hypocrisy and hate of force that is present in this play. The rule of the modern prince is based on deception, intimidation and cold expediency; the politics dominating the system is based on fraud, and it again confirms its power. In this way, subversion only helps ratification of power.

Falstaff introduces the spirit of game into Hal and Henry’s world of the military spirit. He mocks the hypocrisy, vanity, ambition and moralization of Henry IV, and his actions are a parody and political satire on the world of court and the politics of Henry IV. This play also contains the voices of marginalised groups. Besides Falstaff, Poins and Pistol, there is a waitress and her friend Doll Tear-sheet, country justices Shallow and Silence. The Boar’s Head Tavern of Mistress Quickly can also be seen in the light of political satire. It is the image of England in which there is nothing better than in her brothel. The abuse Falstaff conducts in recruiting soldiers also reflects the image of Henry IV’s England. Since the rich paid not to be recruited, Falstaff gathers “such as, indeed, were never soldiers, but discarded unjust serving men, young sons to younger brothers, revolted tapsters, and ostlers trade-fallen...and such that you would think that I had a hundred and fifty tattered prodigals, lately come from swine keeping, from eating draff and husks” (IV, ii, 620). And the speeches of Prince Hal and Henry IV on the problems of their reign, about how difficult it is to maintain and preserve the state and how war is necessary for the sake of that goal, sound hypocritical. For, since he crushed internal rebellion, Henry IV promises to his people another war in the Holy Land. Realising that for a country there is nothing worse than a civil war and that an outer enemy unites the country, he decides to lead a Crusade. He has chosen the Crusade – a Holy War, hoping that God will forgive him his sins. The sin for which he felt guilt and hidden fear was the overthrow of the rightful king Richard II. It is that sin that his son, the future king Henry V will try to expiate in another war (Bettenhouse 1975:32-52).

There are many debates about whether *Henry V* should be read as a praise for “the mirror of all Christian kings” (as it is presented by Olivier in his film from 1944), or as a politically subversive public condemnation of a Machiavellian monster (as Kenneth Branagh clearly indicated in his film in 1989). Neither of these interpretations is entirely acceptable. When *Henry V* is read in relation to Machiavelli’s political theory, the main issue becomes the difficulty of the

dynasty that took power illegally to retain that power, regardless of the ability of its ruler. Shakespeare's Henry V is an example of a Machiavellian ruler, and he gives a striking criticism of Henry's Machiavellian politics and the political thought that he embodies. Henry himself is presented as an ambiguous figure – a very talented and inspiring ruler who is ready for terrible moral debasement in order to unite the country and thus ensure the legitimacy of his dynasty. His huge ambition to be king as soon as possible and continue on the path of his father is made clear when Henry gently hugs the crown of his sleeping father. The authority of the royal power is deeply undermined and called into question in *Henry V*, by explicitly showing Henry's hypocrisy and the use of religion to justify his own goals. God is there to give permission to a magnificent "project," of conquering another country, killing its soldiers, raping its women, plundering and looting.

In order to show a single image of the kingdom Shakespeare had to fit a large number of differences, which was very demanding and complicated because it could endanger the ideological illusion of unity. This unity of the play is threatened by a traitor among the high nobility, rebellious subjects, soldiers who ask questions about how much the king's goals are justified. The authority of the royal power is deeply undermined and brought into question in the first place by the problem of usefulness of the war that Henry wants to wage against France. If this is the avoidance of internal disturbances, which is however vaguely and indirectly suggested (*Henry V*, II, ii), its validity is completely undermined (Dollimore and Sinfield 1985:215-216).

Henry's entire politics is based on the war with France. Pushing the country into a war of conquest he accepts the Machiavellian cynical advice of his father on his deathbed: "Be it thy course to busy giddy minds/With foreign quarrels" (II *Henry IV*, iv). This is exactly what Henry V will do next, following Machiavelli's advice that a ruler must primarily be engaged in war, and that there should be nothing else to think about, or nothing else to teach others than warfare. This is especially true for a ruler whose position is problematic and who therefore has to find an excuse to go to war immediately and, if possible, secure the support of the church (Machiavelli 1998:57). The strategic character of Henry's war policy with France is clearly stated at the beginning of the play, as Shakespeare calls into question the legitimacy of the war.

Before the decisive battle of Agincourt Henry is disguised as an officer; he comes among his soldiers and, talking to one of them, he wants to check their readiness for combat. There is no such scene in any of the sources. Shakespeare introduces the question of the institution of royal power, suggesting the English officers think they are doomed to be defeated in the battle that would follow. Henry believes that the king must lead the army and he knows that all his men are afraid. He also knows that they must not show any fear because it will prevent the king to lead the army. The conclusion that follows is that no one must examine the actions of the king. In this war Henry must depend on soldiers Williams, Bates and Court, but his attention is only partly focused on what they have to say. He avoids key issues, trying to manipulate his soldiers to begin to think like him. Bates and Williams point out that the cause of war must be honest; if it is not, then the war crimes will be the responsibility of the king himself. Williams shows the king as one who is to blame for the fate of his army. In his reply to Williams, Henry says that the king cannot be responsible for the afterlife of his subjects if they die sinful deaths for his purpose, thereby cleverly avoiding the questions of the widows and orphans. This response only reinforces the impression of the way in which, with a lot of cynicism, ordinary people were used by the church and its leaders, who are willing to risk ordinary people's lives for their dubious justice. After this interview, his complaints of how difficult a position the king holds and how his subjects have little understanding for the heavy duties that he carries out in their best interest, sound ironic. The battle of Agincourt has proved the unscrupulousness and brutality of Henry's character, when the

“exemplary pious Christian ruler” at one point orders that every soldier kill his prisoners, and so makes the war even bloodier (IV, vi). Henry’s order to kill the prisoners was not a favorite subject of British critics. Herschel Baker (1974:933) mildly observes that Henry’s chilling speech at Harfleur (III, i) and the command to kill the prisoners were allowed by the rules of war in the fifteenth century. Others see this command as the expression of Henry’s special characteristics as a war leader.

John Sutherland, in his essay on Henry, asks if he is a war criminal. Describing in detail the parts that tell about Henry’s order to kill prisoners, he notes that, from the way Shakespeare presented him on the stage, Henry could know, when he issued the order, if the French cavalry simultaneously carried out the massacre of boys who were in his army background. Since Henry could not know that and a single messenger did not bring any such news to him, Sutherland concludes that the motive could be military caution and that makes this action even scarier (Sutherland and Wats 2000:109-115).

Henry V, far from being a patriotic play, is a refined analysis of the problem of royal power that can be read along with *Richard II* – a play depicting overthrowing a king who began a difficult cycle of ruling the English monarchy of the late Middle Ages. The problems that are central in the last play of the tetralogy take us back to those set out in the first. *Henry V* forces the reader to reconsider the rule of the most celebrated ruler of England (Hadfield 2005:70-71).

King John is a chronologically isolated drama; it tells the story of a king whose right to the throne was pretty suspicious and whose reign was controversial. Protestants celebrated him as the first king of England who opposed the oppression of the Roman Church. Catholics – with an emphasis on John’s complicity in the murder of his nephew Arthur, son of the previous king Richard I (whose claim to the throne was stronger), and his conflict with the Pope (which resulted in the king’s excommunication, before he finally had to yield and obey the Pope) – saw in John a usurper, a murderer and a heretic. Andrew Hadfield (2005:70-71) claims that *King John* is probably one of the first of Shakespeare’s plays (if the date 1590/1 is an exact one) that continually highlights the problem of legitimacy. Shakespeare makes John’s right to the crown more problematic than it was in the sources. Arthur, John’s nephew, was the legitimate heir of Richard the Lionheart, as Mary Queen of Scots could be considered a successor of Henry VIII, after the short reign of Edward VI and Queen Mary. There are certainly parallels between Queen Elizabeth and King John. But this implicit comparison was quite dangerous, and Shakespeare was quite careful to emphasise the similarities too.

Shakespeare sees John as a vulnerable, insecure, imperfect, apparently successful ruler who has “bright” moments, fitting fully the Protestant tradition as one who opposed Cardinal Pandulph, but also as someone who has succumbed to the corrupting power of political need so that his collapse is inevitable and complete. John’s difficult and uncertain rule is displayed along with the striking success of Philip, the Bastard, true son of Richard the Lionheart, whose life parallels the life of his king. Shakespeare invented this character to convey his ironic stance against politicians who are ready to betray each other for the sake of their own interests. In the first half of the play, the Bastard is portrayed as a satirical character. In the second act he plays the role of commentator and comments on the action of the play from a distance. As an observer, he makes fun of all politicians including King John, mostly because of their pretending or bombastic speeches. The Bastard’s famous speech about commodity is extremely important. He makes fun of a compromise that kings make to their own benefit. In the second part of the play, the Bastard admits that he cannot resist greed and he keeps making fun of greedy kings: “Since kings break faith upon commodity” (II, i), the bastard then says he will seek gain for himself. This is the ultimate form of human opportunism and a caricature of unprincipled kings. The

Bastard is a character in whom Shakespeare shows treachery and baseness of political life. As a man of his age, he is “naturally” gifted to flatter and his strength is his power of rapid assimilation. While John is troubled by doubts that prevent him from operating efficiently, the Bastard successfully uses all the opportunities, thus dominating the English campaign against the French. In contrast to John’s resignation there is a tremendous confidence of the Bastard who encourages John to begin to behave as the king should behave. Bloom thinks that the Bastard should become king since no one in the play behaves like a real king. According to him, John is a “traitorous coward” whom historians now only remember for Magna Carta (Bloom 1998:51-64).

King John points out the necessity that rulers behave like kings. The play attracts attention by significant similarities between the reigns of John and Elizabeth, in that they were not at the mercy of the Pope. However, the logic of the Bastard’s vaunted courage, his undoubted success in countering all the inconveniences of his position as an illegitimate child and his role in supporting King John could mean that actions are more important than titles.

4. Conclusion

In Shakespeare’s history plays the approach to policy is demystifying. The plays demystify the politics and power, giving a fragmented picture of the world in which power is not only used but very often abused. The politics is seen as *realpolitik*, i.e. as the dynamics of interests, ideological trickery, manipulation, instrumentation and exploitation. Shakespeare makes it clear that the rule of a king is far more dependent on the support or the good will of his powerful subjects than on the inheritance rights he may have. All royal protagonists in Shakespeare’s history plays fail because their views are limited to their own ambitions and dynastic conflicts. They also do not fulfill or violate their moral principles, civic and royal responsibilities. In general, Shakespeare accepted the opinion that good rule meant the rule of a persistent and moral ruler who has the support of the people, yet ultimately, he was not only interested in the question of good royal power but also in the process of losing humanity.

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**DESIRE FOR THE OTHER AND THE ITERABLE IDENTITY IN THE SOCIAL
CONTEXT:
A POSTMODERN READING OF TENNESSEE WILLIAMS' A *STREETCAR NAMED
DESIRE***

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Abstract: In postmodern outlook, the boundary between the different divisions made inside the mind is blurred. It is the Other of one's self that indirectly defines the identity of a character or makes it abject. The purpose of this study is to recognize the adjustment identity of Blanche in "The Streetcar Named Desire" in diverse social contexts. The identity of Blanche is under surveillance through some key elements in the postmodern bedrock. The chains of signifiers that are produced by the considered character distinguish the mayhem of the mind that is trying to find a new identity in the altered social context. The study aims to unravel the desire for the Other or the hidden alter that is trying to adapt itself to the new environment while the character is unraveled as abject for the others in the special context. The dangling state of Blanche's mind is exposed through multiple features of the concepts to embody the blurring border between the Other and the self.

Keywords: abject, alterity, difference, identity, the Other

1. Introduction

This study commences with the Literature Review followed by the 'statement of the problem'. After that, the related research questions are presented. The prominence of the study and its purposes are clarified in the 'significance and purpose of the study'.

Literature Review

The story of the play happens in the environment of the 1950s in America. This decade can be called the transitional stage from the atmosphere that the Second World War has left. Due to the conditions of that time somehow the reliability in man-made institutions was shackled by such horrible events. N.Hooti and M.Rashidi (2010:1-2) comment that:

Every day we pass one another on the street, yet we do not know each other, and we least bother to enter into relationships. We seem to have lost the sense of communal life as we seem to be phobic to sociability. Eventually, it leads to a world of isolation, a world where man finds himself separated by the cemented barriers of indifference.

Building upon this, we feel the environment suffering from disillusionment. The new concept of the self in the contemporary culture has found a new perplexing meaning in the name

of loss of self. In such an atmosphere, a widely utilized theme in literature has been in the dyad between concepts like reason and emotion, intellect and intuition. The problem of self extends in the context of society and the self is put in the loss of identity. In Lacanian terms, identity can be figured in individual contexts and also in group contexts. On self-realization and personality, Freedman comments:

Personality is suffering. The struggle to achieve personality and its consolidation are a painful process. The self-realization of personality pre-supposes resistance; it demands a conflict with the enslaving power of the world, a refusal to conform to the world. Refusal of personality, acquiescence in dissolution in the surrounding world, can lessen the suffering and man easily goes that way. Acquiescence in slavery diminishes suffering, refusal increases it. Pain in the human world is the birth of personality, its flight for its own nature.(qtd. in Shastri, 1988:3)

Tennessee Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire* was widely commented after its publication. Some criticized it of giving the reader an emotional shock and not any spiritual education. On the other hand, Harold Clurman wrote about the impact of the play *that*: "Its impact at this moment is especially strong, because it is virtually unique as a stage piece that is both personal and social and wholly a product of our life today. It is a beautiful play" (qtd. in Hurrell 1961:92). It is said that the play has won the position of being a classic text of American literature. It also represents unique dimensions of human characters' identity in the play. Through the play we recognize that Blanche descends from a noble family and the house of Stella quite unfits her because of her previous noble way of life. In New Orleans, Blanche is put in the new environment to characterize herself again in the different condition. Blanche's identity is in a new context which she has to adapt herself. R. E. Jones comments that:

There are basically two types of women in the plays of Williams : the women who are the relics of the moribund traditional of gentility in which Williams himself was reared, women who are unable to accept the twentieth century and who prefer living in the illusive and legendary world of something that never really was – the mythically cavalier Old South; and the healthy, uncultured, basically sensual women, usually of Latin origin, by whom Williams has been attracted in his more recent plays, and who seem to have been conceived by their creator, if not as representatives of a sort of salvation, then at least as attractive earth-goddesses whose salvation is their own sexuality. (1961:111)

Blanche's character seems to belong to the first group. She may embody the decadence of the aristocratic world which she represents and is confronted with. Hooti mentions:

Williams' world represents the first generation of Americans and their blue-blooded wives. This is a fragile world, which is characterized by short-lived beauty, animal-sex and aristocratic deviations. Generally the world of South in Williams plays is the world of frustrated human desires, ambitions, and failures, a world from which success has been skillfully alienated. It is also the world of the past, available only through memory. However, the characters in Williams plays remain firmly rooted in this anachronistic world of past and refuse to move with the time. (2011:4)

Blanche's identity is left in the aristocratic world of the past and is now unable to rediscover and refine herself. She detaches herself in the new world and lives in a new self-made one, which is full of pretensions. One part of her character seems to be left in the traditional world while she opposes the new world that she is confronted with in Stanley's house. It is interesting to note that even Stella with the same predecessors has adjusted herself and has a life in balance with Stanley, but we see that Blanche cannot stand such a life and wants to change Stella's mind. This is vividly claimed when Williams states that:

In Stella Blanche can see her own self, which is imprisoned in the patriarchal psyche of Stanley. Therefore, she desires to retrieve Stella from the clutches of Stanley. She even tries to provoke Stella against Stanley. This is depicted very vividly at the end of scene IV. In her speech Blanche says, “He acts like an animal, has an animal’s habits! ... Thousands and thousands of years have passed him right by, and there he is – Stanley Kowalski – survivor of the Stone Age! ...Don’t – don’t hang back with the brutes!” (1947:163)

On the other hand, Blanche’s turn into being a nymphomaniac is the clue of her shunning the past. At first, the death of the family members keeps her alone with a bunch of ideals that she carries; then, the love affair with Allan and Allan’s homosexuality that she cannot bear are all the signs of the in-depth chaos inside her. What Blanche is trying to do instead of adjustment is the adaptation of her ideals of the previous life to her new context of life. On the different places, Williams symbolizes the conditions in both places, Hooti comments that:

New Orleans differs from the world of death and destruction at Belle Reve in appending the denial of death to the drama of Desire and Romance. The “Ideal world” of Belle Reve falls a prey to lust and death, thereby generating the thesis that in a biological universe, Romance, if at all possible, is only of a limited duration. (2011:7)

Through this perspective we could state that Blanche is trying to protect her romantic ideal, and both places help to keep alive all her illusions as the disappearance of the illusions makes life difficult for her because of the new environment. On the process of the modification in the identity of Blanche, it could be stated that in the new milieu of New Orleans the destruction of Blanche’s character reaches a pinnacle. Many deaths and the ill ended relations with Allan are all push her towards a faster devastation.

2. Statement of the Problem

Conventionally, identity is considered structured, stable, a constant core existing in man’s nature and man does not play crucial roles in creating it. On the contrary, in postmodern terms, identity is a multiple rather than unitary core inside human beings. It is a fragmented structure that one molds in one’s interaction in the social contexts with the others. Multiplicity of identity is also important in miscellaneous contexts. Blanche’s identity brings the characteristics of the traditional way of life internalized in her character in her life in Belle Reve. In the play, this subject is confronted with her new style of life. which needs adaptation to the little society – which is Stanley’s apartment that represents the developed ideas against the traditional ones. What is defining the present character of Blanche, shown in her contact with the people in the play roots in her past. This past is the *Other* of her *self* that is indirectly effecting Blanche to adapt whatever she faces with the accepted ideas of the past. Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that besides the internal part of her psyche that is affecting her identity, the external elements such as the behavior of the others in the social context are making her abject. Her dangling identity is swinging in the modern and the postmodern ideas. While she is in a quest to stabilize her fragmented identity, we figure out that in the postmodern context, the exact boundary between the absolute concepts are blurred. Blanche is perplexed to find a dominion of structured identity for herself, however she is vacillating in the dyad of the self and the *Other*.

2.1. Research Questions

Observing the identity of Blanche that is molded and depicted variously in different situational context, these questions are tried to be answered in this study:

- 1- How does the difference between the *Other* and the self characterize Blanche?
- 2- Who is defining the subject of signification for Blanche?
- 3- What means mold the identity of the *Other* and the self inside Blanche's psyche?
- 4- How does the double presence in the places produce an iterability in the identity of Blanche?

2.2 Significance and Purpose of the Study

The chaotic state of the character inside Blanche is taken into account. Presenting Blanche as a character moving from Belle Reve symbolizing the values of the past and New Orleans as all the modern way of life which Blanche cannot adapt, Williams portrays the binary state of the previous life with the new one. It is notable that nothing is imposed on Blanche and she has chosen to come into such a kind of life that she is not able to adjust. The *Other* of the main character is unraveled which in Kristeva's idea produces the *Other* that makes the abject of a character. The desire for self-developed identity and also the difference that builds the *Other* that clashes with the identity and simultaneously aids to define it is under surveillance. The poles of self and the *Other* and signification play in the symbolic and imaginary order of Blanche's mind a lenient base for the character of Blanche.

Method

The study mostly uses some critical key terms in literary and cultural theory. These terms are mostly taken from their novel delineations in the postmodern era. Many postmodern writers are taken into account that present their independent definitions and focus on the different layers of life.

A Streetcar Named Desire

The play takes place right after World War II, in New Orleans. Stella is pregnant and lives with Stanley Kowalsky. Blanche Dubois, Stella's older sister, arrives suddenly, with sad news. Belle Reve, the family mansion, has been lost. In the past, Blanche has stayed behind to care for their dying family while Stella left to make a new life. Stanley's coarseness bothers Blanche as well, since he makes no effort to be gentle with her. On Blanche's birthday, Stanley, harshly presents Blanche with her birthday gift: bus tickets back to Laurel. Blanche is overwhelmed by sickness. She cannot return to Laurel, and Stanley knows it. Weeks later, Blanche has suffered a mental breakdown. A doctor and nurse come and take Blanche away to the asylum.

2.2. *A Streetcar Named Desire* from a Postmodern Outlook

In postmodern culture, identity finds an alternate definition. The dangling and unstable state of Blanche's character can be unraveled through some developed postmodern concepts. It is the desire for the Other in Blanche that oriented her as abject in her new social context. Through

this process, Blanche's desire is scrutinized in the play. It seems that it is the power of this desire that never lets Blanche to come out of the chaos of her characterization. The chains of signifiers that are produced by the considered character extricate the turmoil of the mind that is trying to find a new identity in the new social context. The others in the play and Blanche are considered to recognize the main reason behind her that marks her abnormal. The others can be the source of Blanche's abjection and Blanche herself can be the dominant reason behind it. The floppy state of Blanche's mind is uncovered through multiple features of the concepts to exemplify the blurring border between the *Other* and the self.

Abjection

Subject and object of desire in the binary opposition of the psychoanalytic thought find a destabilized position. Each part of this pair has a separate and defined meaning in its specific boundaries. These boundaries provide the blurring framework in which self is untying itself from the *Other*. This attempt is called *abjection* by Julia Kristeva. Julian Wulfreys states that:

While the subject/object structure makes logical meaning possible, the abject produces, or is otherwise comprehensible as, an uncanny effect of horror, threatening the logical certainty of either the subject/object or self/ not-self binarism. Abjection is thus the process of or psychic experience of a *slippage across the boundaries of the self*, and with that a partial erasure of the borders of the psyche which define the ego. The abject is, amongst other things, the fluid locus of forbidden desires and ideas whose radical exclusion is the basis of the subject's cultural determination.... (emphasis added) (2004:1)

Wulfreys draws a connection between the psychic construction of the human body and the part which revolts and simultaneously belongs to that body. He continues that in "literary or filmic" forms of literature we can consider the abject symbolized which can find "a determinate form outside the self and other than the self and yet cause a visceral, often violent response." (ibid) Building upon this, it could be claimed that the repulsive and the mysterious in the narrative or the characters in the text preexist in the psyche. Julian Wulfreys clarifies that "... there is therefore a mobile structural relationship to be understood here, whether that which makes me abject is actually external to me or is incorporated with, whether within my body or my psyche." (2004:4). Julia Kristeva in her definition of the term abjection states: "repelling, rejecting, repelling itself, rejecting itself. Ab-jecting." (1982:13). In this relationship, it is intense that the self is reacting an 'other' which is not the self but in a state that the self is responding to. Barbara Creed in her definition of the abject as threatening states that:

Although the subject must exclude the abject, the abject must, nevertheless be tolerated for that which threatens to destroy life also helps to define... The abject can be experienced in various ways – one which relates to biological bodily functions, the other of which has been in a symbolic (religious) economy. (1993:9)

The abject seems not to have a particular place of happening. It can happen in any context and in any experience. The nature of the abject threatens and causes bewilderment. It is also invincible from our contextual identity that may be individual or social. Kristeva defines the nature of the abject as an inseparable response in a simile as:

There looms within abjection, one of those violent, dark revolts of being, directed against a threat that seems to emanate from an exorbitant outside or inside, ... It lies there, quite close, but it cannot be

assimilated ... Unflaggingly, like an inescapable boomerang, a vortex of summons and repulsion places the one haunted by it literally beside himself. (1982:1)

So, to put it briefly, Wulfreys defines abjection as:

the work of a psychic traversal resulting in a corporal, physiological and psychological response which... breaks up the subject's sense of identity in the very process by which 'I' strive to maintain myself, my identity, my life. Abjection effects a violent revelation to me about my selfhood: that identity, comprehended as a fixed meaning, is only an illusion promoted by the psyche; rather, the self is nothing but a fiction, a series of narratives precariously assembled and always susceptible to the dissolution of its assumed sovereignty or autonomy. (2004:4)

The acceptance of reality versus the delusional world that Blanche is living are totally two opposing poles against each other. Blanche cannot even stand the reality. This is evident when she says: "I can't stand a naked light bulb, any more than I can a rude remark or a vulgar action." (1947:37) In these two different places, the iterable identity of Blanche is vividly depicted. In Belle Reve she longed to retain her gentility while in New Orleans she forces herself to adapt to the new place as her ideal. Thus, the adjustment to the new reality turns to be a delusional reality of Stella's house in Blanche's mind. Blanche's desire is for the *Other* of herself, which she seems to be longing for so much and left behind in her previous living context. This fact is revealed in apt examples in the text of the play. The features of the past that she brings with her are defining her identity in a coalitional way. To be frank, all that she denies or changes for another kind show all that has happened in her chaotic past life. Every object in her new life brings the dead presence of her past life that she collides. According to what was mentioned about the abject by what Wulfreys and Krestiva point to, it could be deduced that what that makes Blanche abject is truly flowering within her *self*. Thus by repelling and rejecting, as Kristeva mentioned, Blanche turns to the state in which she reflects the repellence and the rejection toward herself. Through this process the boundary between the subject/object relationship is lost and then the embodiment of the chaos appears. Blanche cannot ever refuse the previous state of her life and indirectly she is depicting this fact through the comparison between Stanley standing against Stella and her. In another place, she is comparing the vivid difference between their house in Belle Reve and Stella's place in New Orleans. Meanwhile, the clearest thing about the other identity in Blanche's character is when she cannot stand the light in which she is put under. She says:

And turn that over-light off! Turn that off! I won't be looked at in this merciless glare! Come back here now! Oh, my baby! Stella! Stella for Star! I thought you would never come back to this horrible place! What am I saying? I didn't mean to say that. I meant to be nice about it and say – Oh, what a convenient location and such – Ha-a-ha! Precious lamb! (1947:5)

Thus, we could claim that the *Other* which Blanche is fluctuating from it to her present position is her previous identity. The interesting point here is that both the *Other* and the living self of Blanche are intercontextualized in the atmosphere of society. To be clearer, her identity experienced in the previous society is the *Other* which helps her to refine the new identity for herself.

Blanche's character in the play is put under a new disorder. The desire for another state is the drive which characterizes the identity of Blanche. In other words, Blanche is excluded by the previous society she was living in and now she is self-estranged by the new environment again. She is living in a new world in New Orleans where no elegant significance of the past exists. The

play epitomizes a condition in which she is forced to be eccentric again. As Wulfreys mentioned about the literary or filmic forms, it could be claimed that the abject of Blanche made in the middle of her dangling state between the *Other* and the self is embodied in her ostracism which is a kind of another death for her. The reciprocal relation between the social context in which Blanche is living and her state of mind products a fake character inside her that seems to be a shelter under which Blanche is trying to delineate herself. Blanche fails to live in the usual circumstance since she loses the realistic notion of life. In Lacanian terms her character is linguistically present in the symbolic order but under the play of the signifiers she is indirectly epitomizing the hidden part of herself. The idea of suture between the symbolic and imaginary orders of the mind finds meaning here. Blanche cannot find a stable identity for a power in her drives the fluctuation inside herself to shackle the structure of identity under the power that makes her wish for the *Other*. Stuck between the self/not-self dyad, Blanche comes from another context of society. In the new context which is New Orleans, she is diagnosed with her peculiar and odd behavior. It is not known that what makes Blanche abject is really from within or is external to her. A layer of self-made changes conceals her personality. She is neither a new character in the new context, nor the same as she was in the past.

Desire

Reiterating the concept of desire, we could claim that desire sheds light upon the want to be in exhibiting the subject in the chain of signifiers and demand the compliment of the *Other*. Any desire gives a trace to an indirect access to the dominion of the unconscious which enters our language. On the source of desire, Lacan states that:

...if there is desire, it is only because there is the unconscious, i.e., a language, whose structure and effects escape the subject: because at the level of language, there is always something that is beyond consciousness, which allows the function of desire to be situated. (1967:45)

Desire can also be related to identity on the ground that an internal psychic drive such as desire may lead to mold the identity. As Anthony Elliot (1996:40) speculates: 'desire not only drives the individual subject in different directions, it is also constitutive of the representational activity of the subjectivity itself – to, for example, people's core sense of identity.'

It is the unconscious of Blanche behind her conscious that has a blurry presence. This unconscious that brings all the dead presence from Belle Reve is the drive behind desire to function. The hidden part behind the symbolic order of Blanche's significations unravel the desire that finds function in that order. Another crucial point about identity is that we could also consider our identities in a vast hypertextual reality. The expression of "I" resides in the expression of identity. As Irving Cemil Schick makes clear that identity:

is not an artifact but a process, namely its own construction... it only exists as the dual of alterity... both identity and alterity are contained and conveyed through narrative... the notions of identity and alterity, of 'us' and 'them,' are closely linked to the sense of place, that is, to notions of 'here' and 'there'.

What seems crucial to this fact is the formation of the sense of the identity in a character which is dependent on a social context. In fact, the external elements may preexist and predetermine the subject's identity. (1999:20)

The values and beliefs that one holds mold one's identity. These values may differ from one to another and even from one group to another but the point is that identity can never be defined as an autonomous entity. It is always definable through "what it is not" (Wulfreys, 2004

:98). Alternatively, identity as Schick (1999:21) represents it, is always a construction: ‘Identity is its own construction... and narrative is the medium through which that construction is realized. But the construction of identity is inseparable from alterity – indeed, identity itself makes sense in juxtaposition with alterity.’

Likewise, the process through which Samuel Weber puts identity to be molded should be taken into account.

in order to be *cognizable*, an element must be recognizable as the *same*, which in turn presupposes a process of *com-parison* and *repetition*. It must be compared with earlier instances of itself in order to be recognizable *as a self*, as an identity.

This process of repetitive comparison, out of which self-sameness emerges and which it therefore must *pass through*, introduces an element of *heterogeneity*, of *otherness*, into the constitution of the same. The question, however, now becomes: precisely what is the rule of this heterogeneity in the process of repetition that is presupposed by every identification and by all identity? (1996:96)

Both the external desire imposed on Blanche and the internal ones play crucial roles in molding her identity. Compared with the past of herself in the narrative, her identity is imposed to move from the multiplicity to a unitary form. In fact, through apt repetitions, she displays her past conflicting her present while she can never move beyond one. The oscillation causes her symbolic disasters to appear.

Alterity

Alterity is another subject related to identity. Comparing alterity with abjection we find the alter as an absolute concept in a condition of otherness. Emmanuel Levinas in *Time and the Other* considers an ‘absolute exteriority of alterity’ opposing the reciprocal state of the idea of the *Other*. The sense of the self is shackled during the encounter with the other so the self knows itself not in self-sameness but in the identity’s alterity. He comments that “There is an abyss between... the ego and the alterity of mystery” (1987:81). On the structure of the self the alter Levinas continues that: “in the very heart of the relationship with the other that characterizes our social life, alterity appears as a nonreciprocal relationship.” (1987:83). In deconstruction terms Simon Critchley this disjuncture as:

What takes place in deconstruction is double reading that is, a form of double reading that obeys the double injunction for both repetition and the alterity that arises within that repetition. Deconstruction opens a reading by locating a moment of alterity within a text... What takes place in deconstruction is highly determinate form of double reading which pressures alterities within texts. (1999:28)

The complete understanding of alterity lies in the heart of sign. The sign cannot be closed by itself in any act of reading and considering reading as reading of signs, we could claim that no reading can come to a close by itself. On the relation of the difference with the other, Samuel Weber states that:

The Heideggerian and even more the Derridean, notion ‘difference’ (1996:171) implies a structure of language and a process of articulation that includes a practical, performative moment which, I am convinced, is where one has to start-and probably end- if one is to respond to the trace of the other, to that dimension of alterity to which thinking is so profoundly indebted.

On the other hand, Wulfreys considers being as structured “like a language, it is comprehended through differential relationships, by which meaning and identity are only

available through an understanding of that which belongs to the self-same” (2004:17). He continues that:

alterity is not... a dialectical position but is always already within the same, it is the radical difference – what is termed by Derrida *différance*- that makes possible any comprehension of the same. Because of this ‘I’ can never see myself authentically as absolutely singular or unique. ‘I’ is always traced, haunted, by the marks of alterity. (2004:18)

The Derridean idea of *tout autre* can also be discussed at this point. There has been a wide discussion about true nature of *tout autre* or ‘radical alterity’. When Derrida speaks of ‘radical alterity’, he does not assume a pure exteriority heterogeneity as a hypostasized ‘Other’ would ultimately be subsumed under a notion of the same; he points to an otherness that inhabits the self-identical, not as the result of some subversive or transgressive act but as an alterity that has always been internal to any closed structure, be it linguistic or otherwise.... by bringing the temporal deferral of presence and the spatial distinction that places in relation to an other, *différance* marks the impossibility for an identity to close in itself. In this sense, spacing become indissociable from the concept of alterity. Considering the character of Blanche as our sign, there can be seen That Blanche is bringing the alter with herself to define her character. This is the way through which the text appears to deconstruct itself. All that Blanche does has a clue inside it that leads to the impure identity of Blanche. In fact, what others say identifies her weak character to some extent:

‘Stella: And admire her dress and tell her she’s looking wonderful. That’s important with Blanche. Her little weakness!’ (1947:22)

Or in another place Blanche states that:

‘Blanche: Whoever you are—I have always depended on the kindness of strangers.’ (p. 160)

Through the play, there happen a number of repetitions of miscellaneous sentences that are identifying Blanche through the alterations that they make. In fact, every repetition produces an alteration that is simultaneously playing a significant role in the depiction of Blanche’s character. These clues are pertinently seen in the play:

Blanche: Why, that you had to live in these conditions?

Stella: Aren’t you being a little intense about it? It’s not that bad at all! New Orleans isn’t like other cities. (1947:6)

Blanche is opposing the new conditions in which she is exposed to. On the other hand, it is worth noting that Stella is representing an other for Blanche which she could never adapt to be. Blanche’s character in the play is put under a new disorder. The desire for the alter is the drive which characterizes the identity of Blanche. In other words, Blanche is excluded by the previous society she was living in and now she is self-estranged by the new environment again. She is living in a new world in New Orleans where no elegant significance of the past exists. The play epitomizes a condition in which she is forced to be eccentric again. The reciprocal relation between the social context in which Blanche is living and her state of mind products a fake character inside her that seems to be a shelter under which Blanche is trying to delineate herself. She depicts the *Other* of herself that comes out of her reaction toward the others in the environment. She fails to live in the usual circumstance since she loses the realistic notion of life. She is not accepting to forget the previous notion of her life.

She says:

Blanche: But you’ve given in. And that isn’t right, you’re not old! You can get out.

Stella: I'm not in anything I want to get out of.

Blanche: What – Stella?

Stella: I said I am not in anything that I have a desire to get out of. ... He promised this morning that he was going to quit having these poker parties, but you know how long such a promise is going to keep. Oh, well, it's his pleasure, like mine is movies and bridge. People have got to tolerate each other's habits. (1947: 45)

Other

In Lacanian psychoanalysis there is the other and the Other. The other reflects that which is not really other but is a reflection and projection of the ego; the Other reflects a radical alterity which is “irreducible to any imaginary or subjective identification” (Wulfreys, 2004:169). In the definition of the Other Lacan states that:

When the subject addresses its demand outside itself to another, this other becomes the fantasized place of just such a knowledge or certainty. Lacan calls this the *Other*- the site of language to which the speaking subject necessarily refers. The *Other* appears to hold the truth of the subject the power to make good its loss. There could be found a distinguishable desire for an *other* from the need in the character of Blanche. To investigate such a subject in her identity we need to contemplate the preceding concepts with desire. For Lacan, desire is an unconscious motivator from which the conscious articulations are symptomatically produced. Wulfreys defines the structures of desire as:

When the subject addresses its demand outside itself to another, this other becomes the fantasized place of just such a knowledge or certainty. Lacan calls this the other- the site of language to which the speaking subject necessarily refers. The Other appears to hold the ‘truth’ of the subject and the power to make its loss.... Language is the place where meaning circulates – the meaning of each linguistic unit can only be established by reference to another, and it is arbitrarily fixed. (2004:170)

When Blanche is comparing Stanley's family with her and Stella's predecessors, she says:

There's even something – sub-human – something not quite to the stage of human yet! Yes, something – ape-like about him, like one of those pictures I've seen in – anthropological studies! Thousands and thousands of years have passed him right by, and there he is – Stanley Kowalski – survivor of the stone age! Bearing the raw meat home from the kill in the jungle! (1947:51)

Thus, we could claim that the *Other* which Blanche is fluctuating from it to her present position is her previous identity. The interesting point here is that both the *Other* and the living self of Blanche are intercontextualized in the atmosphere of society. To be clearer, she is not staying in the exact state which may be the symbolic order of her mind which is clarified through her signification, neither she is in the state which recognizes her imaginary order which is depicted in the meaning beyond her diction. She inhabits on the blurring borderline between these two. The concealed part of her character pertains to her imaginary order from which she is departed and her signification through the attempt to adapt herself is reveals her symbolic order. To be clearer, in Lacanian terms her character is linguistically present in the symbolic order but under this play of the signifiers she is exemplifying the concealed part of herself. The idea of suture is embodied here, that is, she is oscillating between the imaginary and symbolic order of her mind. Blanche cannot find a stable identity for a power in her drives the fluctuation inside herself to shackle the structure of identity under the power that makes her wish for the *Other*.

Difference

Derrida defines difference with the use of self-presence. By self-presence, he refers to the unique being of an “I” which has an identity. About difference he states:

But this pure difference, which constitutes the self-presence of the living present of the living present, introduces into self-presence from the beginning all the impurity putatively excluded from it. The living present springs forth out of its nonidentity with itself and from the possibility of a retentional trace. It is always already a trace. This trace cannot be thought out on the basis of a simple present whose life would be within itself; the self of the living present is primordially a trace. The trace is not an attribute; we cannot say that the self of the living present ‘primordially is’ it. Originary being must be thought on the basis of the trace, and not the reverse. This protowriting is at work at the origin of sense. Sense, being temporal in nature... is never simply present; it is always already engaged in the movement of the trace, that is, in the order of ‘signification’. It has already issued forth from itself... *the temporalization of sense is, from the outset, a ‘spacing’*. (1973:85)

Building upon this, it could be claimed that there exists a reciprocal relationship between difference and identity. In other words, difference constructs identity and is also produced by it. Considering the features of difference Wulfreys clarifies that:

Because of the spacing and temporality of difference that makes up any ‘living present’, any moment of supposedly pure presence is always marked or traced by the movement of an infinitely divisible instance.... As a result of thinking such spacing and temporal motion, one cannot conceive of an identity or being, an absolutely discrete, full or simple concept, as the source or origin of all subsequent copies or representations. Instead, it is the trace, it is difference that makes available the very idea of a concept or originary being; it is this spacing-temporalizing signifying process which gives access to a meaning or sense... . Any identity, concept, or meaning is therefore written, it is structured by a writing and is an effect of writing and is an effect of writing, if by writing we think the concept beyond the narrow conceptualization as a series of graphic marks on a page or screen. (2004:59)

3. Conclusion

The gap between the self and the *Other* and the fluctuation between the binaries that lack and loss are the sources of them brings a chain of signifiers to existence that in each situation define an identity and an alter that can be identified through the relationships it is exposed to. In fact, the presence of the self is impossible until the presence of the *Other* is taken into account with the self. It is in their reciprocal relation that both find meaning. Blanche’s identity is simultaneously formed by the mutual relation between the two parts of her identity. The presence in two different social contexts gives Blanche to the situation to reiterate herself in the new place differently while the trace of the dead presence of the past is never cleared. The source of signification – which is our source to characterize Blanche- are both the internal elements from the past and the external social exposures. Her identity is always in a state of being. It is in the endless oscillation between two cores that her blurry identity silhouettes.

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REVISITING NOAH'S ARK IN JULIAN BARNES' *A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN 10 ½ CHAPTERS*

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Abstract: *Considering that intertextuality is the text's property of being connected to other previous texts, Julian Barnes' novel, "A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters", rewrites the Biblical story of Noah's Ark. Besides the narration accounted in the Bible, new elements are encountered here: e.g. the Ark wasn't a simple vessel, but a small fleet; Noah butchered the animals from the Ark, animals selected initially to be saved from the Deluge; the woodworms, creatures that symbolize decay, were also present on the Ark, etc. Then, new versions of the Biblical story, all having connections with Noah, the Ark and the Sea are present. Therefore, Julian Barnes fructifies Noah's story, readjusting it to other spaces and historic times.*

Key-words: *fabulation, historical knowledge, historiographic metafiction, intertextual relations, Noah's Ark, subjectivity*

1. Introduction

Nowadays, there is a tendency of the contemporary authors to submit the texts, previously written, to a process of rewriting, by giving them personal interpretations. The fact that one piece of writing is found in communication with other works belonging to authors who lived in different centuries made the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin assert that language appears dialogic: anything we say or write exists in response to things that have been said or written before. Thus, "the image becomes polysemous, as well as a symbol. Immortal novelistic images are consequently created, that live a different life in different epochs" (Bakhtin 1982:277).

Later on, the Canadian exegete Linda Hutcheon affirmed that one of the main features of postmodern fiction is its intertextual relation with history. She brought into discussion the concept of "historiographic metafiction", a postmodern literary genre that relies on historical documents incorporated in fiction. The fact that "we know the past (which really did exist) only through its textualized remains" (Hutcheon 2004:119), may help an author contour an idea about the unfolding of some past events and reconstitute them. This author could be urged by "a formal manifestation of both a desire to close the gap between past and present of the reader and a desire to rewrite the past in a new context" (Hutcheon 2004:118).

Julian Barnes' *A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters* is a good example of historiographic metafiction. Before commenting upon intertextual relations present in the novel, we have to take a look at the title that is very ironical since no book can comprise the history of the entire world in about three hundred pages. In fact, Julian Barnes does not intend to write "the History of the World", but one of its possible histories. That's why the British writer has put the indefinite article *a* right at the beginning of the title. He offers several divagations from the main course of the world history, considering that individuals need stories to face the difficulties and misfortunes of life:

History isn't what happened. History is just what historians tell us. There was a pattern, a plan, a movement, expansion, the march of democracy, it is a tapestry, a flow of events, a complex narrative, connected, explicable. One good story leads to another. [...] We make up a story to cover the facts we don't know or can't accept; we keep a few true facts and spin a new story round them. Our panic and our pain are only eased by soothing fabulation, we call it history (Barnes 2009:242).

According to the British writer, history is what we are told that happened, not what really happened. Since there is no direct access to these real events, already occurred, history remains open to questions and there will always be a discrepancy between facts and fiction.

2. Rewriting Noah's Ark Story

The starting point of Julian Barnes' novel, *A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters*, is the Biblical story of Noah's Ark firstly accounted in the "Old Testament", namely in the "Book of the Genesis" (chapters 6-9). After building an Ark made of gopher wood, the Patriarch Noah saved himself, his family, and a pair of every world's animals –male and female- when God decides to destroy the world by way of the flood because of mankind's evil deeds.

Julian Barnes rewrites the Biblical story so that in the first chapter entitled "The Stowaway" we may find out new elements. The narrator is a woodworm who –together with other six peers- goes on board Noah's Ark secretly. Being a witness at the events, the woodworm gives another perspective upon the account of the Deluge as if he wants to prove that there were things omitted in the "Old Testament". Accordingly, Noah wasn't a good man, but a "monster", an "old rogue" who butchered the animals from the Ark, animals selected initially to be saved from the Deluge.

As we know from the Bible, Noah had three sons: Han, Shem and Japheth. But in the woodworm's version of the story, a fourth son appeared, Varadi of whom we have never heard because nobody kept record of him. Unlike his father and brothers who maltreated the animals, Varadi behaved friendly with them: "He could be seen strutting the quarterdeck with a parrot on each shoulder; he would slap the quadrupeds affectionately on the rump, which they'd acknowledge with an appreciative bellow" (Barnes 2009:6). For this reason, this youngest son wasn't so popular within his family. Moreover, the narrator questions Varadi's vessel suddenly disappearance in the waters' depth and his mysterious death.

Then, the Ark wasn't a simple vessel having three hundred cubits long, fifty wide and thirty high, as in the Bible, but a small fleet made of eight vessels: Noah's galleon that "towed the stores ship"; four smaller boats, each headed by one of Noah's sons; a hospital ship, since the family was "superstitious about illness"; the last vessel was surrounded by mystery since one found out in its nearness could feel "strange perfumes; occasionally, at night, when the tempest slackened, you could hear jaunty music and shrill laughter" (Barnes 2009:5). One day, this vessel got sunken due to a sudden squall.

Consequently, the woodworm signifies "the presence of an aporia, reminding us of the false divisions made by historians in the textual continuum of the past" (Finney 2003:69). His story, different from the one that we all know from the "Book of the Genesis" is an allusion to the fact that nobody knows exactly what happened in immemorial times and what the Bible accounts could be as well just one version of the Great Flood.

3. Other Versions of the Biblical Story

Next chapters give new versions of the Biblical Deluge, all having connections with Noah, the Ark and the Sea. The view of history that Julian Barnes offers us is "repetitive and cyclical" (Guignery 2000:62). A recorded event, occurred immemorially, in which Noah, together with his family, and a pair of each world's animals take refuge on an Ark to protect themselves from the sea of chaos is re-enacted, in one form or another, in other spaces and historic times. The purpose of

this reconsideration is to give a new perspective upon the past in the light of the present. Since this textual past is rewritten, being transposed in fiction, it doesn't remain conclusive; on the contrary, it is open to new interpretations.

3.1. Searching for Noah's Ark

For the Christian world, Noah's Ark is the symbol of faith that "represents the church in which man should be saved, safely riding the waters of life" (Cooper 1992:14). Since the Ark announces the apparition of the church, its reproducing in modern times is not made at random. Chapter nine, "Project Ararat", opens exactly with the image of an ark located on the way to the village Kitty Hawk from North Carolina:

On the right-hand side of the road, the west side, its high prow pointing towards the ocean, stands an ark. It's large as a barn, with slatted wooden sides, and painted brown. As you turn an amused and passing head, you realize that it is a church. Where you might normally see the ship's name and port of registration perhaps, you read instead the ark's function: WORSHIP CENTER, it says (Barnes 2009:249).

This reconstituted wooden ark changes its function. Now, it represents a church, a place of worship. Unlike the Ark, depicted in the Bible, where just religious Noah and his family may have gone on board to be saved from God's anger, this modern ark becomes more terrestrial, as it intends to be closer to the people: anyone is allowed to get inside it and may ask for God's forgiveness.

It is known that Noah's Ark landed on Mount Ararat –located in Eastern Turkey- when the waters of the Deluge retreated. Starting from the "Book of the Genesis", Julian Barnes includes two stories in which certain characters explored Mount Ararat. Even if he invented the characters, the British writer relied on historical documents that testify the existence of several travelers who escalated Mount Ararat in the past centuries.

In chapter six, "The Mountain", Amanda, the daughter of an atheistic father, now the deceased Colonel Fergusson, made in 1839 an expedition to Mount Ararat intending to intercede "for the soul of her father". Ascending Mount Ararat, Amanda Fergusson fell down unexpectedly and wounded her leg. Because she couldn't continue to mount, she remained in a cave in an exercise of her faith: "I shall remember the Holy Scripture and wait for God's will. On this mountain God's will is quite manifest. I cannot imagine a happier place from which to be taken onto him" (Barnes 2009:165).

In chapter nine, "Project Ararat", the American ex-cosmonaut Spike Tiggler made a moon landing in 1974. Far away from home, he believed that he was told by God to go and search for Noah's Ark. So, in 1977 he went to Mount Ararat hoping to find out the remnants that may certify that Noah's Ark landed there. After prolonged searches, he found out just a human skeleton in a cave. He believed it belonged to Noah, but in fact it was that of Amanda Fergusson.

Here, the terms "Noah's Ark", "faith" and "God" are closely connected. For Spike Tiggler, the purpose of searching for Noah's Ark turns into a deeper and spiritual one, namely that of finding his own faith. As well as Amanda Fergusson, Spike Tiggler finally tries to find out the belief and trust in God on Mount Ararat.

3.2. Sailing on the Sea of Chaos

As regards the voyages depicted, there are connections between the first, the second, the fifth and the seventh chapters. In the first chapter, "The Stowaway", the animals go on board Noah's Ark in pairs, male and female. Later on, there is made a difference between "clean" and "unclean" animals, the latter ones being considered crossbreeds (e.g. basilisk, griffon, sphinx, hippogriff). In this way, mostly "unclean" animals were sacrificed, being taken for food by Noah and his family.

Similarly, in the second chapter, “The Visitors”, tourists from several countries are ready to go on a cruise in the Mediterranean Sea. They get on board “in obedient couples”, but the cruise liner is occupied by Arab terrorists, members of the Black Thunder group. They bargain with the lives of the tourists for the release of three of their compatriots caught by the American air force in Sicily and now imprisoned in France and Germany. The tourists are differentiated between “clean” nationalities (e.g. the Swedes, known for their neutrality in the international conflicts) and “unclean” ones (e.g. the Americans, the English), the latter being in danger to be killed due to their governments’ responsibilities regarding the Palestinian cause. The executions are to take place not at random but in pairs of two –man and woman, husband and wife- till their request would be fulfilled by Western governments.

In chapter five, “The Shipwreck”, the last survivors from the raft of the Medusa were floating aimlessly on the ocean waters after their frigate had struck a reef in the summer of 1816. These castaways had to make a difficult choice: since a limited supply of provision remained, fifteen of them, considered themselves in a good enough physical condition, decided to cast into the sea their twelve comrades who, sick and seriously wounded, had fewer chances of survival. Due to this cruel sacrifice, “the healthy were separated from the unhealthy, like the clean from the unclean” (Barnes 2009:121).

In the third story from the seventh chapter, “Three Simple Stories”, nine hundred and thirty seven passengers went on board the liner St. Louis from the port of Hamburg, on 13th May 1939. According to the German authorities, these travelers were “tourists traveling for pleasure”. In fact, they were Jews who ran away, frightened by a fascist regime. Considered “unclean” by the authorities, they could be exterminated. Initially, the Jews had to be debarked in Havana, but the Cuban government decided not to receive them, motivating a presidential decree that revoked “the validity of tourist visas when the true purpose of travel was immigration” (Barnes 2009:183). After intense negotiations between several world states, some European governments decided to receive them in Belgium, Holland, France and Great Britain. The end of chapter seven reminds us again of “The Book of the Genesis” that says that during the Great Flood the rain lasted for forty days and forty nights. Here, in the penultimate paragraph, the British writer comments that the three hundred and fifty Jews allowed into Great Britain “were able to reflect that their wanderings at sea had lasted precisely forty days and forty nights” (Barnes 2009:181).

All these events totally different chronologically are linked by a common message: the dichotomy clean/unclean –that comprises some other ones like selected/refused, healthy/unhealthy, clandestine/authorized- “that is not based on reason but on instinct or prejudice, will always be counterproductive, being considered dangerous, not only for those in question, but also for the image of the humanity in general” (Pătrașcu 2009:274).

The fourth chapter, “The Survivor” makes us remember once again of Noah’s Ark. A Chernobyl-type nuclear disaster is a good pretext for Kathleen Ferris, a thirty-eight-year-old woman survivor, to go on board a small boat in Northern Europe and to row randomly on the open seas. She took just two cats with her, a male and a female, “re-enacting the Ark narrative on a diminished scale” (Kelly 1993:4).

All these chapters offer versions of the Ark sailing without destination on the waters’ immensity. This Ark, either large or small, is “built for human survival against the storms of God and/ or nature” (Finney 2003:67). Supposed initially to be a place of refuge and to protect its occupants, it turns into a prison ship, both for animals and for individuals, a prison from which the act of remaining alive is a miracle.

4. Conclusion

As we have already seen, Julian Barnes mixes historical material with imaginary events to annihilate certitudes of historical knowledge and redefines history as “fabulation”. It’s true that many events that occurred in the world history are kept in textualized forms (e.g. chronicles, official

archives, diaries, memoirs of living witnesses), but we don't know exactly the degree of objectivity of these sources, sources recorded not only by historians but also by unknown individuals. For this reason, a certain and absolute truth is not accessible to us nowadays. We just succeed in approximating the past, without being able to contour exactly the scenario of the events occurred in immemorial times. Consequently, historiographic metafiction "while teasing us with the existence of the past as real also suggests that there is no direct access to that real which would be unmediated by the structures of our various discourses about it" (Hutcheon 2004:146).

Considering Mikhail Bakhtin's theory regarding the dialogic quality of a text, whatever we say always exists in response to things that have been previously said. This fact is possible due to the language that is dynamic, relational and engaged in a process of endless re-description of the world. In this context, Julian Barnes rewrites Noah's story, reinterpreting and fructifying the Biblical story.

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FAILED MOTHERS, MONSTER SONS. READING SHAKESPEARE'S *RICHARD III* AS A FAIRY TALE

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Abstract: *The paper looks at Shakespeare's historical play Richard III and its fairy tale-like character given by the configuration of the main character as an arch-villain and the presence of motifs and patterns typically associated with the fairy tale genre. More specifically, it considers the mother-son relationship between the Duchess of York and Richard in the light of the motif of monstrous birth. It is not a coincidence that the emergence of such motifs coincides with the historical contexts of the early modern period. Reading Richard III in this key is related to the revisionist approach to chronicle plays.*

Keywords: *arch-villain, fairy tale, monster birth, queenship, revisionist reading.*

1. Introduction

When Richard Gloucester refers to “Our bruised arms hung up for monuments” in Act I scene 1 of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, the Elizabethan audience watching him might have still remembered that the last Plantagenet king had had a withered arm. Or at least this is what gossip fostered by Tudor historiography made the Elizabethans and many future generations believe. Richard III, despite his short reign of only twenty-six months, is, paradoxically, one of the most notorious English monarchs. The numerous international references to Richard today, most of them occasioned by Shakespeare's exaggerated portrayal, make him the perfect equivalent of a tabloid public person. And the recent discovery of his skeleton, in a car park in Leicester, brings him more in the spotlight than ever.

The paper attempts a double reading of Shakespeare's chronicle play, the last in his tetralogy dedicated to the Wars of the Roses, or the Cousins' War: on the one hand, it observes the dominant fairy tale pattern and investigates the connection between such motifs and the late medieval or early modern historical context; on the other hand, it subscribes to the revisionist readings which show how vulnerable to propaganda (and, consequently, susceptible to libel) Elizabethan histories were, *Richard III* being, probably, the best example.

Although the mystery surrounding his life and death—and his legacy—is today, after the identification of his remains, bigger than ever, the impression that his existence and rule was well known is conveyed by the large number of (almost) contemporary recordings, ranging from historical documents, literary biographies, diary entries, and plays. Shakespeare is surely the first author one can think of when it comes to the story of Richard III and he is, just as surely, the one responsible for the king's transformation into a legend. However, the last Yorkist is presented by a number of writings throughout the 15th and the 16th centuries. Polydore Vergil, Edward Hall, Raphael Holinshed, and Thomas More are only the most available examples. What they all have in common is the darkness of the portrayal they offer

a monarch who was decidedly controversial but perhaps too bad to be true. The revisionists' attempt to rehabilitate the youngest son of the White Rose finally came to fruition in August 2012 when, after many years of speculation, the skull and bones of a man who had died at least 500 years ago were dug out of the yard of Leicester's department of social services (Connor 2013). The man had been buried without a coffin and the superficial grave had been a bit too small for him. The back of his skull had been cut open by a bladed weapon and there were signs of numerous other wounds, sign of a violent death, but also of the fact that the body had suffered a series of post-mortem aggressions. The archaeological findings indicated that the place where the body was found had belonged to a medieval church. The historical documentation, forensic investigation, DNA testing, and radiocarbon dating, which lasted for half a year, proved, beyond any doubt, that the remains were King Richard III's (Owen 2013, Britten and Hough 2013). What was revealed about his life and death indicated with scientific precision what had eluded writers, visual artists, historians, and researchers for exactly 528 years, since the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, when Gloucester, after having been ready to give his kingdom for a horse, lost the war, the crown and his life to Henry Tudor. It showed what was accurate in the history of the last days of the Wars of the Roses as we inherited it from the Tudors and what was false in the afterlife of a slandered king.

2. Richard the Crookback, Richard the Ruler of the North

While all the above-mentioned historians have a lot to say about Richard's days after Edward IV's death, there is little—if any—information about the early years as the Duke of York's youngest son. Sean Cunningham (2003) tries to retrieve the figure of Richard Gloucester from secondary, indirect sources, such as diary entries, letters, charters, etc. As he argues (2003:7), “we accept Richard either as manipulated victim of Tudor propaganda, or as a scheming monster of Shakespeare's play, but by promoting these stereotypes, writers have moved away from who Richard was.” He continues that, in this equation, Gloucester is no longer a 15th-century character, who occupies a specific place in a social, political and cultural environment, but the product of a modern, stylized refurbishing. Who and what he really was can be understood best in connection with his family, with the service he performed and the roles he played as a feudal public actor (Horrox 1999). He was the smallest of twelve children, born and raised in the northern territories, at Ludlow Castle, the son of Cecily Neville and Richard, Duke of York, heir presumptive to the throne of England when Richard was a child. He was too young to be involved in the first episodes of the civil war, but, by the time he was eight, he must have experienced all the pain, suffering and havoc brought about by the Wars of the Roses. He remained in his mother's care, together with his next brother, George, while his father and elder brothers lived in exile in Ireland. During the second phase of the war, when his father and eldest brother, Edmund Rutland, were killed, his mother sent him away to safety in the Low Countries. When his brother Edward ascended to the throne, he was taken in the household of Warwick “the Kingmaker,” his mother's relative, where he received the elite education reserved to the nobility of the highest echelons—the conventional schooling of war, estate management, and politics. As a young adult, Richard Gloucester was already the uncontested ruler of the North, who enjoyed the loyalty of the Northern counties of England, being himself one of the most valuable vassals and allies of his brother the king, securing these remote territories for the crown and maintaining the solid border against the Scots.

As one of the most reliable supporters of Edward IV's claim to the throne during the third phase of the civil war, when Margaret of Anjou and her son Edward were defeated and Henry VI was killed in the Tower, it wasn't such a big surprise that, on his deathbed, “the sun in splendor” named Richard regent and protector of his minor sons. Peter Hancock (2011)

observes, as a reaction against the general impression that has been promoted by the Tudor chroniclers (that Gloucester had plotted to usurp the throne long before his brother's death and that he may be even responsible for Edward's demise), that, had Edward not died so unexpectedly young and had his sons been only a few years older, Richard would have spent his whole life in the North as a respected overlord and trustworthy royal ally and would have remained only a footnote in history. But as it happened, he came to London and, from that moment, he became a major player and a historical figure about whom all future generations had an opinion. Hancock makes another interesting point, noting that, just as the primary cause of the Cousins' War had been the frustration and discontent of a generation who was not given the chance to rule (referring to Edward III's sons and grandsons), Richard III's plight stems from his status as a youngest son. Being only "a spare," unprepared and insufficiently trained for the highest office, he was unconvincing, not legitimate enough in the eyes of his contemporaries and subjects. This drawback is also responsible for how easily he was deposed, a situation similar to the fate of Richard II, the second son of the son of a king, removed and executed by Henry Bolingbroke, future Henry IV.

Hall, Holinshed, Vergil, and More are remarkably unconcerned with Richard's background, being, instead, infinitely interested in making (inaccurate, since unsupported by facts) assumptions about his moral character and unsatisfying physique. The first chronicler to offer opinions about the last Plantagenet and support it with the help of fantastic data and rumours is John Rous who, already in the 1490s, during the early days of the Tudors, rushes to criticize Richard and to project his figure against a mythical background of villainy. He records that Richard was dubious from his fetal status, when he remained in his mother's womb for two years and was then born with teeth (in Knight and Lund 2013). This early reputation is quickly confirmed by Holinshed who, in *The Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577), depicts Gloucester as small, of body greatly deformed, his face narrow, his countenance cruel. Thomas More is even more enthusiastic about expanding on the king's misshapen body. He borrows the birth scene from Rous and has Richard come "into the world with the feet forward [...] and also not untoothed," and finds inspiration about his looks in Holinshed, when he describes his "lowly countenance." (More 2013:5) But More is also the first to call Richard a crookback and to give him the discomfort of a withered arm, apparently voicing popular beliefs. Shakespeare (2006, I, 1) will make much of this deformity, interpreting it creatively and adding a limp and all imaginable "disproportion[s]".

The discovery in the improvised grave at Leicester sent a shiver down everybody's spine since the skeleton belonged to a man who suffered from scoliosis, in other words, someone whose back was curved and had one shoulder appear higher than the other. This is indeed proof of a spinal deformation, though the hunchback—technically, kyphosis—is out of the question. The explanation ventured by critics (Knight and Lund 2013) can be found in the different interpretation of the crookback offered by the early modern clinical expertise and by Richard's chroniclers. While a medical practitioner like Ambroise Paré would diagnose a dislocated vertebra as a crookback, More and Shakespeare make use of a narrower meaning of the term and burden Richard with a deformation which, in theory, wouldn't have been visible. Modern medicine could also add that such a disease starts to manifest itself only later in life, usually during adolescence, so it would have been impossible to identify it in the body of infant Richard and lament his monstrous shape. The other fact revealed by the archaeological discovery was that the man buried in Leicester, in Greyfriars' Church, later dissolved by the newly Protestant Henry VIII, had very fine bones and a spare, almost feminine physique (Connor 2013). Portraying the king as "small," which most chroniclers did, seems, then, accurate: an effeminate body might have been cause of displeasure in beholders accustomed with more solid frames, which could have more successfully proved manly qualities expected in a warrior king.

3. The Proud Cis, Duchess of York

Cecily, nicknamed the York Matriarch, was as formidable a woman as Eleanor of Aquitaine several centuries before her, although she did not enjoy the fame and reputation of the latter. Mother of two kings, great-grandmother of the Tudors, her twelve children and their numerous offspring are proof of how successful she was as a consort of the Duke of York. She played an important role in family matters and decision-making in the administration of northern territories, managing the estate at Ludlow Castle on her own for years and raising an army on a yearly basis for her husband's military campaigns in the South, during the Cousins' War. Known as the "Proud Cis," the Duchess earned this reputation with her pride and temper, her determination and single-mindedness in defending the Yorkist cause, putting up with the loss of her husband and first-born son with the courage and reserve of the most experienced male warrior. As a landowner, she remained an independent manager even during her family's exile. Her most notable exploit was the trip she undertook to London, while in disgrace during the comeback of the Lancastrians, to plead her husband's and sons' cause in front of Parliament.

Quite strikingly, Shakespeare chooses to present her, in *Richard III*, in the company of her grandchildren, Clarence's orphaned children, to offer a powerful family picture. A widow and mourning mother, she redirects her energy, spent on administration and warfare so far, joining the wailing queens. Although rivals initially, Queen Margaret (of Anjou), Queen Elizabeth (Woodville) and the Duchess are one and the same voice towards the end of the play, when they predict the usurper's demise and Richmond's messianic arrival. In the play, previous rivalries are forgotten between all the consorts, as the only competition consists of who displays grief and mourning more powerfully. The new female rival, briefly mentioned in the play, but clearly profiled in history, is Margaret Beaufort, Countess Richmond, Henry Tudor's mother, who plotted for decades against the Plantagenets and in favour of her son's ascension to the throne. Though the son is the rescuer, the mother is evoked maliciously by Queen Elizabeth in the early scenes of the play.

Accurate facts about Richard's relationship with his mother are unknown. It can be assumed, as Sean Cunningham did (2003), that the Proud Cis, a mother and consort of outstanding career with her twelve births and five sons who survived to adulthood, must have been protective of her children. As her youngest – and therefore the most vulnerable – offspring, Duchess Cecily kept George and Richard safe both in the North and when she sent them away on the Continent, during the numerous crises of the Cousins' War. One of the most striking details in Shakespeare's play, where the Duchess is given a surprisingly important role (for a woman in a historical play and a female who was not a queen), is her relationship with Gloucester. Apart from the monstrous birth motif, this distant, unemotional, politically embittered kinship is the aspect which brings *Richard III* closest to the fairy tale realm, where mothers who deliver abnormal children are never concerned with the babes' plight, but with their own reputation and credibility.

4. Monsters and their Mothers

Cultural historians like Jo Eldridge Carney (2012) notice a coincidence between the development of the literary fairy tale and the influence of queenship (queen consorts and queens in their own right) in the politics of early modern states, especially England. While traditional scholarship on the fairy tale gave a romanticized view, of an oral, peasant manifestation, whose main, though not exclusive, public were the children, recent research, such as that of Robert Darnton (2000) focuses more on the direct relationship between politics

and the fairy tale genre, acknowledging its historical insertion. Thus, although abstract character construction and plot development, as described by structuralists and formalists, is undeniable, this abstraction is no longer considered incompatible with history and fact. Actually, as Jack Zipes (qtd. in Eldridge Carney 2012:2) proves, early modern fairy tales presented the reality without disguising the violence and cruelty of daily life, living and dying conditions that were so overwhelming that they needed to be accommodated by means of abstractions. Also, fairy tales mirror the concerns and customs of the educated elite and court affairs, which is why so many stories feature monarchs, princes, and the higher ranks of the aristocracy. As a reflection of this, queens, with their joys and sorrows, are central figures in most early modern fairy tales.

A look at early modern queenship reveals complexity and variety. The English consorts of the 15th century seem to have had a remarkable ability to exert political influence and exploit their positions. Margaret of Anjou earns the nickname of a “she-wolf of France,” in Shakespeare’s *Henry VI*, Part 3 (I, 4) because she renounces the submissive, discreet role of intercession allotted to medieval queens. Elizabeth Woodville is a “painted queen” and “a queen in jest” (*Richard III*, IV, 4) because, a commoner herself, she used her influence at court to secure top positions for all members of her numerous family (Okerlund 2006). In the 16th century, the scandal around Henry VIII’s too many wives, the crisis of succession at the death of Edward VI, who dies without an issue and is followed by three women, brings queenship to the forefront and increases the controversy about it. The rivalry between Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart, consort of France and Scotland, with an ambition to become queen of England in her own right, indicates that the struggle for power was as natural in women as it had always been in men. Other queen consorts, however, follow the pattern of devoted wives and mothers, who observe the prescriptions of the Church and society. Elizabeth of York, wife to Henry VII Tudor, is such an example: married to secure the legitimacy of the Tudors’ claim to the throne, she led a life of little public influence, though she was daughter, sister, niece, mother and grandmother of kings and queens of England and Scotland (Okerlund 2011). Katherine of Aragon is another example of a consort whose tragic destiny was influenced by the exclusive role of royal vessel that, as a princess and woman, was assigned to her. It was her inability to produce a healthy male heir that decided the course of history throughout the 16th century and, probably, much later. And English consorts are only the examples at hand, while such illustrations could be found in the early modern histories of Spain or France as well.

In fairy tales, this diversity of biography is well reflected. Beyond being good or bad queens, natural or step mothers to princes and princesses, royal women show desire and ability to rule in their own right, they survive libel, punishment, sometimes even death sentences, are viable substitutes for husbands and sons, and frequently flout social rules. A constant form of subversion (which is reported as deliberate but turns out to be involuntary by the end of the story) is the miscarriage or the delivery of abnormal babies, monsters, and animals.

During the early modernity, the concern with the monstrous escalated. This is an important period for defining ethnic, religious, sexual, and other identities (Lunger Knoppers and Landes 2004) so the narratives of monstrosities are abundant, trapped between fable and a form of (fictitious, pseudo-scientific) comparative anatomy. Monsters embody otherness better than anything or anyone else, in a time when Europeanness strived to build itself a new identity, which should reflect the political, religious, and colonial transformations. According to Michel Foucault (2000), monstrous bodies are reflections of social aberration more than of medical pathology, but the attempt to tame – and, sometimes, punish – them for what they are or for the negative value they represent reflects the birth of a principle of correction, so successful in the age of Reason. The medieval monster, with echoes in the 15th and the 16th

centuries, is a portent, a divine sign, as defined by St. Augustine and Christian thought (Lunger Knoppers and Landes 2004:13). When the monster emerges from a royal family, the link between individual body and the body politic is even more dramatically enforced.

English and French fairy tales abound in plots involving abnormal births: miscarriages, stillborns, moles, monkeys, and puppies. While pregnancy is a frequent wish motif, reflecting the reality of pressure on consorts to produce healthy, preferably male, heirs, the disappointing outcome of conception and gestation is just as recurrent. This fact reflected, on the one hand, the popular obsession with monster births in medical treatises, folklore, sermons, and wonder books, but also the anxiety of society (and patriarchy) to secure viable succession from the top echelons to the most humble communities. Whatever the reason for this occurrence, such preoccupations also place the responsibility for producing fully developed babies in the maternal body. In fairy-tales, just like in scientific texts and wonder books, the opposite event is not interpreted as a natural accident or misfortune, but as a result of the woman's misbehavior. According to Jo Eldridge Carney (2012:50), stories of abnormal births are to be read as cautionary tales in the emerging Protestant tradition and can be regarded as instruments of the reforming mission taken on by the new church. Stories about women who give birth to animals reflect a cultural anxiety about reproduction, insufficiently known medically and thus uncontrollable. Another important observation made by Eldridge Carney (2012:52) is that monstrous births usually imply an erased paternity: the kings and princes of fairy tales cannot forgive their consorts for the offence of a baby whose body does not follow the standards of beauty and health. While taking the credit for good children, the misshapen offspring is rejected as not their own flesh and blood. What is more, in fairy tales, husbands never check the (usually slanderous) rumours about the queens' delivery of a mole or cat, simply deciding to keep the event as secret as possible and have the failed mothers suffer the consequence of their inefficiency or, worse, transgression. Last but not least, fairy tales may focus extensively on the queen's misfortune, but the concern for the baby's state is usually inconsequential. Mothers deplore their own disgrace but give little thought to the sons and daughters they gave birth to.

It is no coincidence that such stories start circulating in an age when the lives of royalties were not exempt from the motif of monstrous births. The two most notorious English cases are Anne Boleyn and Mary Tudor. The former, though not beheaded for the inability to bear a son (after she gave birth to a healthy baby girl, Elizabeth), is ultimately punished publicly for her several miscarriages, which are attributed to unruly sexual behavior, disobedience, and intervention against the will of her husband. This has to be seen in the context of Henry VIII's obsession with his reputation as man and monarch: his public condemnation of his wife is the result of his plan to prove it impossible that the delivery of a deformed fetus might have had anything to do with him. The latter, though queen regnant, is also vulnerable when her pregnancies – no longer a private business, since the pregnant body also corresponded to the body politic of England – turn out to have been imaginary and the rumours suggest the delivery of a mole which had then to be disposed of, like in fairy tales, to save the royal family from public shame. The mole, though reminiscent of fairy tales, was an ambiguous, polysemous term, reflecting both animal imagery and a medical term, borrowed from Latin, *mola uteri*, describing a lump of flesh, or a tumour (Eldridge Carney 2012:62).

5. The Toad's Mother

In *Richard III*, a play abundant in fairy tale elements, the mother-son relationship seems to have been inspired by Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy's *Babiole* or by Straparola's *Ancilloto* (about queens and monkey- or dog-babies) rather than by the *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. It is true that Thomas More's *History of Richard III* is as

generous in proving the last Plantagenet's monstrosity as Shakespeare's play. However, the Bard is far more imaginative in projecting an exaggerated image of the arch-villain. The Elizabethan playwright is also creative in offering a story of the mother-son relationship which had no historical grounding, but must have borne a resemblance with the fairy tale realm.

In this play, all female characters, collectively referred to as the "wailing queens," are brought together as allies, despite former divergences, against a common danger – Richard. This alliance works well especially at a rhetorical level, with curses and calling names directed against a common enemy. Anne Neville sees her husband as a hedgehog, Queen Margaret calls him a dog, a worm, a cur, a hell-hound, a hog, and a "poisonous bunchback's toad" (I, 3), while his own mother voices her despair at his ugly looks:

Duchess: I have bewept a worthy husband's death
And lived by looking on his images:
But now two mirrors of his princely semblance
Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death,
And I for comfort have but one false glass. (II, 2)

Here, she compares her elder sons with mirrors. (We must remember the "amorous looking glass" Richard himself evokes in I, 1, as a reference to the "sun in splendour," his handsome brother Edward IV, who can enjoy the time of peace banqueting and flirting, while Gloucester suffers from a lack of popularity and, hence, a complex of inferiority.) According to the Duchess, the elder brothers (only two of whom are presented in Shakespeare's play) are the living image of their defunct father, the Duke of York, while Richard is only a "false" copy. The implication is clear: like the fairy tale motif, like Henry VIII's reaction at Anne Boleyn's miscarriages, the son who does not live up to the expectations and standards of his genitor is discarded. Duchess Cecily takes the shame onto herself, deploring the life of humiliation and displeasure she has lived ever since her last child's conception:

Duchess: A grievous burthen was thy birth to me;
Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy;
Thy school-days frightful, desperate, wild, and furious,
Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous,
Thy age confirm'd, proud, subdued, bloody, treacherous. (IV, 4)

Queen Margaret confirms the accusation, when addressing the King as "slander of thy mother's heavy womb" (I, 3). However, historically, the slander about Duchess Cecily's sexual transgression focuses on Edward IV, not on Richard (Hancock 2011). Edward, fair, tall, and massive was very different from his father and brothers, who were dark and slim. Historians contemporary to Richard even comment on the resemblance between the Duke of York and the new Ruler of the North, Gloucester: a German diplomat writes a rare description of Richard during the late 15th century which seems one of the very few objective reports about the king's figure and personality (in Knight and Lund 2013). Nicolas von Poppelau uses Richard's physical description to prove the allegations about Edward IV's illegitimacy. It is true that, during the Cousins' War, it was a common strategy in both camps to cast doubt about the ruling monarch's credibility and claim by spreading rumours about their mothers' unfaithfulness. Henry VI's only son, Edward, and Margaret of Anjou were the targets of such slander, and so were Edward IV's children by Elizabeth Woodville. Duchess Cecily was, therefore, no exception, although, in Shakespeare's play, the slander is not targeted at the Yorkists' leader, Edward, but at Richard.

The Duchess adopts the fairy tale, superficial personality of the consorts who often try to get rid of their monstrous children in order to avoid their husbands' wrath and the public

opprobrium. One of the most shocking interventions is her hypothetical reference to infanticide, uttered with the eloquence of an early Lady Macbeth:

Duchess: She that might have intercepted thee,
By strangling thee in her accursed womb
From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done! (IV, 4)

6. Conclusion

The accusation that Richard's chroniclers were unfair to him may be, in its turn, unfair. After all, Tudor historiographers may have been bound to tell facts as they were, but poets were not. And the portrait of absolute, but undoubtedly charismatic villainy Shakespeare offers is the direct result of history's metamorphosis into literature. In order to animate a chronicle, in order to dramatize a historical account, stylistic artifices must be allowed for. Still, it is impossible not to observe that, indeed, Richard Plantagenet seems to have been one of the most maligned monarchs in English history. At the end of Thomas More's, Hall's, Polydore Vergil's, or Holinshed's chronicles, the readers are left with Richard's body, stripped naked and thrown over the back of a horse, a description of abject death compared with the funeral ceremonies of Plantagenet rulers before him. At the end of Shakespeare's play, though, we are left with nothing. There is the body politic of the last warrior king who vanishes, to be replaced by early modern dynasties; there is the physical body of a man we cannot forget, but whose final demise we are not allowed to witness. Only half a millennium after the events at Bosworth Field are readers finally given a way out of their dilemma. Richard's body, which was not deformed as much as to make the handicap visible, was indeed carried to Leicester, where it was buried in a grave too small for him. But, since fairy tales always have a happy ending, even when they are about monstrous births, because children grow up to be healthy and admired adults, such a final moment is also deserved by Richard's story. And the recent events of 2013 AD have offered it: his remains were laid in a grave inside Leicester Cathedral with the pomp and ceremony reserved to royalty, be they generous or wicked, handsome or misshapen.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0014

THE FALKLANDS WAR AND THE BRITISH STAGE

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***Abstract.** The paper examines the way the Falklands War of 1982 was reflected in the creation of British playwrights. Officially, the war was seen as a heroic act, as another glorious page in the book of British history. But for many writers it contained nothing heroic; it was just noisy brandishing of weapons and useless loss of human lives.*

***Keywords.** Britain, Argentina, Falklands, Margaret Thatcher, Belgrano, British army, military life and mind, war drama, heroism, trauma.*

The Falkland Islands are a group of islands in the South Atlantic, sparsely populated and considered British territory since 1892, but subject of territorial dispute between Britain and Argentina since the eighteenth century. In 1982 they were invaded by Argentina, but soon recaptured by the British. When the Falklands War broke out, everybody wondered why this happened as the islands were not strategically situated and did not contain and fuel ores. But, as it soon turned out, the event offered Margaret Thatcher and her government an unexpected life-buoy to recover some of their lost popularity by stirring the people's dormant feelings of patriotism and demonstrate that another glorious page was turned in the book of British history:

There was a feeling of colossal pride, of relief that we still do the things for which we were renewed. (Margaret Thatcher, qtd. in Young 1991:281).

Although certain newspapers had a different point of view, for quite a while events were envisaged from their heroic side and certain official (pro Thatcher) documents that were issued somewhat reflected this perspective placed in the context of the fact that the prime minister's ratings in the opinion polls soared from very low in late 1981 to 51% in June 1982 (after the Falklands events) (Young 1991: 280):

In the political history of Margaret Thatcher the war [i.e. the Falklands War] played the part of an unqualified triumph. Because it ended in a great victory, eight thousand miles from home, it made her position unassailable, both in the party and in the country. It guaranteed her what was not previously assured: a second term in her office. [...] The Falklands war showed her qualities of decision and fortitude at their most brilliant, but only after a certain fallibility had been exposed which originated, paradoxically, in indecision. The war was the culmination, if not necessarily the product, of a fatal unwillingness to grasp a diplomatic nettle and a parallel failure to decide whether her Government was more interested in maintaining defence commitments or in cutting defence expenditure. (Young 1991: 258)

No sooner was the Anglo-Argentinian conflict over and the initial elation diluted than the war backslided to what it really was: noisy brandishing of weapons and a loss of 255 British and 650 Argentinian lives. The territory was actually recaptured but the sacrifice in

human lives could not be disregarded. On 2 May the Argentinean ship *The General Belgrano* was sunk by the British submarine *Conqueror* and 368 sailors drowned. This was an act which escalated the war and, as a result, two days after HMS *Sheffield* was hit by an Exocet missile with the loss of another 21 lives and many sailors grievously injured (Young 1991: 276-7). It turned out that this business of war was definitely not a series of victories and triumph.

The act of sinking the *Belgrano* was interpreted by those who considered that the Argentinian government would not have accepted any concessions in other circumstances as a wise and necessary demonstration of force and superiority, whereas others regarded it as fortuitous. Anyway, this was probably one of those seminal moments when the whole Falklands affair was questioned with arguments pro and against:

There are those who feel that the Falklands War was inevitable and right, that the operations were carried out with great courage and expertise by the great leaders and soldiers of Britain, that it was an expression of British determination to stand up aggression no matter what the cost in men and materiel and, indeed, that it was a glorious chapter in our history.

There are other who feel that the Falklands War should never have happened and that it did happen is a reason for shame, regret and anger. (Wood, Preface to *Tumbledown*, 1987: xiv-xv)

If the war in Vietnam was the disseminative soil for stories, novels, films, songs, paintings, photographs, dissertations and so on, the Falklands War was an opportunity which artists could not miss. In the UK it seemed that Margaret Thatcher herself set the fashion, although what she meant was the glorious side. The moment is recorded by H. Young (1991: 277). At her Christmas reunion in 1983 among the artists that she entertained were film producer David Puttnam, who had recently (1981) been awarded the Hollywood Oscar for his film *Chariots of Fire* and Andrew Lloyd-Weber, composer of heroic musicals. It was then that she indirectly suggested that the memorable *Belgrano* episode should be chronicled on celluloid. To make things more obvious she told the visitors 'This is the chair I sat in when I decided to sink the *Belgrano*.' (Young 1991:277)

These are the historical facts of the spring and summer of 1982 and what came after them, with their heroic and catastrophic side. How they were transposed into art, how the events were reflected on stage is contained in what follows.

Falkland Sound is a small scale play based on David Tinker's poems and letters home written before his death. Lieutenant David Hugh Russell Tinker was a Royal Navy officer who was killed in action during the Falklands War on 12 June 1982. His father, Hugh Tinker, a writer and university professor, published his son's earlier letters home and poems, reminiscent of Wilfred Owen's earlier work, in a volume called *A Message from the Falklands: The Life and Gallant Death of David Tinker*. This book was subsequently adapted into a stage play called *Falkland Sound* by Louise Page, first staged in 1983. The result was documentary theatre based on documentary reportage.

Our Boys by Jonathan Lewis is another anti-militarist drama about battle stress that starts from the ascertained fact that at the Falklands War victory parade and thanksgiving services the wounded and the crippled were carefully kept out of sight. Its author, like Charles Wood, was an ex-Army officer turned dramatist, actor and director. The play, terrifying and funny (Lyn Gardner, 1995) staged for the first time in April 1995, follows the fate of five recruits and an army officer confided to Queen Elizabeth Military Hospital in Woolwich during the mid-1980s. The play is a protest against the absurdity of obeying orders, however dangerous and absurd they might be – 'It is better to shoot than to think'.

If you train young men to kill then there should be an awareness that when you let them loose with gun they are going to behave like boy scouts. In any situation when they are frightened or aren't sure what

the hell is going on, their first response is always going to be to pull the trigger. (Jonathan Lewis, quoted by Lyn Gardner, 1995)

Sink the Belgrano! by Stephen Berkoff is directly associated with the Belgrano episode, previously mentioned in this article, about which the playwright forewarns in the introduction to his Faber and Faber volume containing the play:

It is apparent to everyone that the sinking of the Belgrano was a very dubious affair, [...] a typical product of [...] muddled and opportunist thinking. The irony is that brave Britons and Argentinians lost their lives needlessly ('Why I wrote it', in Berkoff, 1987:1)

In this play Berkoff resuscitates the drama in verse modelled on Shakespeare's *Henry V*, but his play takes the form of a stinging satire or pamphlet and the verses are most of the time simple, direct and often crude statements in lines interspersed with adult language and slang.

Steven Berkoff's play on the Falkland's War is one of the most vocal plays on the war with the writer's virulence directed against Margaret Thatcher and her role in The Falklands War. At the same time it is a grotesque representation of the war in a play that its author considers 'a caustic satire on the people who love to bask in the limelight of the world's adoring gaze' (Berkoff qtd. in Green).

The play deals with the first month of the war leading up to the sinking of the Argentine destroyer the Belgrano by the British nuclear submarine HMS Conqueror. A chorus similar to ones in Greek plays sets up the story, while scenes featuring the Prime Minister and her War Cabinet – reduced to a comic threesome of Maggot, Pimp and Nit – the sailors on the HMS Conqueror and the English public re-enact the days prior to battle.

Berkoff uses a variety of means, most of them metaphors, to express his reactions to the Falklands War and his opinions of war in general. The most apparent and striking in *Sink the Belgrano* are the names of the key characters Maggot Scratcher, Pimp and Nit. The character of Maggot Scratcher most evidently represents that of Margaret Thatcher; Berkoff makes it very plain who Maggot is as she is continuously addressed as Prime Minister. Pimp and Nit represent Francis Pym, the Foreign Minister, and John Nott, the Minister of Defence, both members of the War Cabinet who advised Margaret Thatcher throughout the war. The two are posterously summoned by Maggot:

MAGGOT: Where's my Foreign Secretary Pimp
And get me my good faithful Nit
Those two defenders of Tory strength.
PIMP and NIT: Here your most worshipful most honoured Maggot. (Berkoff 1987: 11)

It is directly observable that the characters' names reflect Berkoff's opinion of each of these government officials.

In an allusive way this play also deals with Britain and its everyday issues: unemployment, the mindless press, arms dealing, international economic interests. But by far, the aim of Berkoff's virulence and the most spiteful image in the play is Margaret Thatcher (Maggot Scratcher) caricatured for her cynicism and ignorance:

MAGGOT: ... we need a war
Establish once again our might and strength
Shake our old mane, out fly the moths
Oh, God, I start to feel myself again
Now *where is this damn Falkland Isle?* (Berkoff 1987: 7, my italics)

Ignorance reappears elsewhere in the play when Maggot stupidly asks again: ‘By the way Pimp... where *is* the Falklands?? (Berkoff 1987:5, my italics)’. But this is not the only negative side associated with the Prime Minister; her lack of commitment and care, for breaking important talks to go shopping,

MAGGOT: Oh, never mind... just f[...] all that,
Oh shit... a pound of bacon with no fat
I’ll be back, just chat away...
I’ve got to get the groceries...
And please don’t quarrel when I’m gone
Or plot behind my back! You scum. (Berkoff 1987: 13)

and not wanting to move from Downing Street – ‘I’ve just decorated this bloody place!’, she says (Berkoff 1987:22) – are also included in the farcical list.

Far from flattering is also the treatment of the enemies – the Falklanders appear as mutinous slaves to big business (the FIC – the Falklands Island Company), as people who toil for their home that they call ‘this pisspot’:

FARMER 1: Oh toil, oh strife, oh bleeding bloody graft
Is this the life for us I daily spout?
For sixty quid a week they bleed our veins
And us poor farmers slave for next to nought
We live in this pisspot, this dreary rock
Where no one has invested, not a jot...
The profits never go to thee or me,
Where then? The bloody bleedin’ FIC. (Berkoff 1987:5)

Sink the Belgrano also tells the story of the war from three different perspectives: the Prime Minister and government, the soldiers, and the English public. These point-of-views are represented through Berkoff’s recommended and by some means bizarre staging, with the stage divided into three areas representing the Prime Minister’s house 10 Downing Street, the HMS Conqueror and an English pub area. In Berkoff’s staging, 10 Downing Street represents the government’s viewpoint, the submarine represents the soldiers at the front’s viewpoint, and the pub area is the ‘voice of England’ (Berkoff, *Collected Plays* 143 qtd. in Green), the chorus.

The threat of war and war itself, similar to other plays about war, casts a terrible shadow on the laurels of the conquerors and deprives them of all heroism. Like in the scene at the end of the play where images of carnage, appalling fragments of dead bodies, bloodshed and destruction are associated with the images of the sinking Belgrano:

CHORUS: The first torpedo pierced the ship like
It was made of butter – sunk right through
Then tore inward and upward through
Four steel decks... It spun its deadly
Groove... It sunk itself into its guts
And ripped its soul apart... The old ship
Then simply turned round and died...
The light were out... just silence...
(Darkness)
Dead men were everywhere, in bits
A piece of arm and here a leg...
Upon the deck a figure covered in burning oil
All black and running as the heat roasted
His flesh. Three hundreds and thirty sailor died at once...
The others dragged their shredded flesh

To rafts to face the icy sea, thirty-six hours more
Or less... The conscripts, boys of eighteen years
Stayed disciplined and kept their nerve
Each one ready to sacrifice himself to
Help an ally or a wounded friend. At
Seventeen O one just one hour more. *The Belgrano*
Sank stern first beneath the waves. (Berkoff 1987:38)

Sink the Belgrano, though making a strong political statement, was not well received by English audiences during its premiere at London's Half Moon Theatre in 1986. But Stephen Berkoff, on the other hand, was pleased with his work and was untouched by such criticism. He stated about the virulent reviews and attacks against the play:

It was curious that their reviews, which were almost hysterical cant, resembled so closely the threats and poisoned mail I received from Fascist thugs. (Berkoff 1987:1).

It was all proof of the fact that Berkoff's grotesque version of the Theatre of Cruelty had attained its goal.

The Falklands Play is a notorious war play – or, rather, a screenplay – written by Ian Curteis, initially commissioned by the BBC in 1983 for broadcast in 1986, meant to be a dramatic account of the political events leading up to the Falklands war and a subsequent reconstruction of the blood-spattered event of 1982. Its representation was postponed several times as a result of its bellicose or combative tone.

The play focuses on the methods by which British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the British government handled the Falklands crisis. The play focuses on the behind-the-scenes dealings between the British Conservative government and the United States, and Argentine governments, in what became a diplomatic collapse whose result was war and eventual British victory. *The Falklands Play* tries to explain why and how the war was fought stressing the fact that much of what happens in a war happens far from the public eye, behind the scenes and closed doors, as the direct result of the influence, interest, cynicism and will of professionals.

Such 'professionals' are the political figures of the day, such as Ronald Reagan, the American President; Alexander Haig, the American Secretary of State at the time of the Falklands War; Henry Kissinger, assistant to President Nixon for national security affairs between 1968-1973 and then US Secretary of State between 1973-1976, a man who in 1973 was awarded the Nobel peace prize; John Nott, the British Defence Secretary; General Leopoldo Galtieri, the chief of the junta government of Argentina or Nicanor Costa-Mendez, the civilian Argentinian foreign minister. The following extract which contains two scenes has, just as the rest of all the play, strong characteristics of a docudrama, and offers a significant example of how such political figures are re-drawn and made to react in the context of the menacing threat of the almost unavoidable war:

86. INT. THE PRESIDENT'S BEDROOM. THE WHITE-HOUSE. A CORNER
Close shot of the loudspeaker-telephone beside the bed.

HAIG (*distort*): I could start for London tonight, if this coincides with your crisis perception, Mr President.

Pulling back, we see a valet packing clothes for Reagan's coming Caribbean tour. They are distinctly exotic. Reagan is putting out ties and shoes.

REAGAN: A diplomatic shuttle between London and Buenos Aires? Trying to patch something up?

HAIG (*distort*): That's right, sir.

REAGAN: Like Henry Kissinger used to do?

HAIG (*distort*): Kissinger? Oh, yes, yes, but that was different.

REAGAN: Will your heart stand up to it?

87. INT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S ROOM. STATE DEPARTMENT

Haig on the telephone at his desk. He is as tensed up as the President is relaxed.

HAIG (*rattled*): Sure, sure, [...] nothing whatever wrong with my heart.

REAGAN (*distort*): Anyone who's had – what was it? – triple bypass coronary surgery –

HAIG: Mr President, I'm one hundred per cent fit! One hundred per cent!

REAGAN (*distort*): All right, Al, all right...

HAIG: And we've only got seventeen days, OK? Before the British get down there, and a REAL hot war blows up! (Curteis [2002])

Charles Wood, the author of the TV script *Tumbledown*, was a professional soldier himself, but soon gave up his job because it was against his conceptions of pacifist. This is why his writings and his film participation are openly against myths of military life. He explores military life and the military mind, as exemplified in the British army, at its worst.

Tumbledown is a BBC production based on the real *Tumbledown* episode in the Falklands war when, on 14 June 1982, the Scots Guards battalion of the British army launched an assault on Mount Tumbledown situated near the town of Stanley (Port Stanley) – the capital of the Falklands Islands – and succeeded in driving Argentinian forces from the mountain. One of the participants in the assault was Lt Robert Lawrence, a real figure and the play's main protagonist. Charles Wood learned about him from *The Guardian* of 17 August 1974. The newspaper article said:

Lt Robert Lawrence was a 21-year-old Scots Guards officer with five years' army service when he was sent to the Falklands on the *QE2* [the Queen Elizabeth II] in April 1982. A few days before his 22nd birthday and 1½ hours before the Argentinian surrender, he was shot in the back of the head by a sniper during the assault on Tumbledown Mountain. For his part in the action, he was awarded the Military Cross. (qtd. in Wood, Preface to *Tumbledown*, 1987:ix)

As Charles Wood confesses, he met him personally, listened to his story and the result was the screenplay.

The BBC spent a lot of money on the TV production of *Tumbledown* which aroused great antagonism and debates in the press and which should have been shown in 1987, but was withdrawn and banned for a year for being considered too outrageous in its unswerving attack against the British government. On its first transmission *Tumbledown* attracted 10.5 million viewers, which was a stunning success for a serious drama obtained from a public accustomed most often to watch TV commercial productions.

Tumbledown is one of the most dramatic and well-known plays about the traumatic events in the Falklands Islands, a genuine document, where real events and real people are recreated with actors. Here the theme of the proud soldier who goes to war to demonstrate his heroic qualities is replaced by the desperate fight of a physically crippled and mentally traumatised young man (Robert Lawrence, a Lieutenant in the Scots Guards) to survive with the help of his father and, if possible, in spite of the shamefully inert government officials. There is no glory, but traumas and violent memories of carnage and atrocities, a sample of which is contained in the following stunning and detracting dialogue Robert, now a disabled 'hero' moving in a wheelchair, has with his Major:

MAJOR: ... We wonder if you would care to answer a few questions... (*Opening a file*)... Robert. We're asking all the wounded for their impressions of the casualty evacuation, the whole think for a report. Would you care to?

ROBERT: What for?

MAJOR: So that next time we do it better.

ROBERT: Next time? All right, but you'll have to answer some questions from me. Am I still going to be able to serve in the Army? What sort of pension can I expect if I am discharged? How much will I get from the South Atlantic Fund?

MAJOR: Hasn't anybody told you these things?

ROBERT: No, my father writes letters. He tries to find out. Nobody seems to know or wants to know.
 MAJOR: All right, I'll try... But, first, name, rank and number... (*His pen is poised over the questionnaire.*)
 ROBERT: Do you know, you're the first person I've seen in combat dress for months.
 MAJOR: I'm sorry?
 ROBERT: You must enjoy wearing it.
 MAJOR: What is it like to kill? [...]
 (*The Major is staring at Robert who is sweating and writhing in his wheelchair*)
 ROBERT: They don't die.
 MAJOR: How does it feel? Do you feel anything – elation, pleasure, sick?
 ROBERT: You push the thing in and nothing happens. Mine broke off. I had to kill him with the broken end if it, stabbing and stabbing at him, and he was shouting at me, talking all the time in Spanish, and I was stabbing him with my snapped-off bayonet, everywhere, in his face, his mouth, everywhere I could. He kept trying to hold it. He said 'please' in English.
 MAJOR: What did it feel like?
 ROBERT: When?
 (*Robert is very distressed. His leg is in spasm, and his arm is jerking wildly.*)
 MAJOR: When he said 'please'.
 ROBERT: It didn't feel like anything. [...]
 MAJOR: How many did you kill?
 ROBERT: I don't know... (Wood 1987: 68-70)

What this fragment points to is that the result of war visible on Robert Lawrence is not only physical mutilation but also mental impairment. Indeed, a study of 25,000 soldiers who took part in the Falklands War proved that one in five suffered from post-traumatic stress syndrome, a reality found in the case of the later Gulf war (the campaign against Iraq of 1990-1991), as well (cf. Lyn Gardner). The same study reveals that the victims received no counselling and continued serving in the Army, living through the nightmare of Northern Ireland sectarian violence and the Gulf conflict.

In spite of its being associated with a political problem, however, Wood strove to prevent *Tumbledown* from being viewed as a political statement. Wood advances no opinion as to whether the Falklands war was just necessary or desirable. It does not invite sympathy for the Argentinians. He is not even, in the end, particularly interested in the question of whether the military treats injured soldiers decently. What he is interested in is rather what we expect from our soldiers and the image we have of them and to what extent they raise up to our expectations of bravery.

The Second World War, Woods suggests, has led us to make an artificial and dubious moral investment in the image of the British army as a brave and glorious territorial army, drawn from and sharing the same values as the dignified society. The truth is unpleasant; the British highly-trained, well-equipped, thoroughly professional armed forces disturb us. But their competence is also shocking, their invincibility a mere myth. We recoil when we learn that behind the veil that they are magnificent patriots defending their fatherland, they may even enjoy doing their job of professional killers.

Besides moving along the trajectory from heroism and glory to neglect and impotence, *Tumbledown* contains another back, inverted turn in its construction: it opens with the English countryside shining in the summer heat against the sound of a military march and an RAF fighter plane soaring overhead – a combination designed to evoke Britain's 'finest hour' of hope and glory. It begins with Robert Lawrence's superior look and pride to be a member of the Scots Guards and an epitome for his country and ends with George and Helen Stubbs comparing Falklands veterans Robert and Hugh unfavourably with the 'heroes' they remember going off to fight the Second World War. But in this vision Robert and Hugh are not heroes, but 'killers'. In between there is Robert with his terrible experience in the Falklands War and his wound at the head, his paralysis and rehabilitation therapy, his traumas and drama of finding himself deserted by friends and cast aside by society.

What the reader should infer from the instances of war drama discussed in this article is that in Britain, unlike in many cases in America where the melodrama and sensationalism of Broadway, Hollywood and other similar institutions is often the big temptation when representing the war, such as the one in Vietnam, in Britain the war productions associated with the Falklands events are more derived from reality, more critical, more purposeful and more committed.

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DE GRUYTER
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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0015

A MOTHER'S PLIGHT – FEAR AND HOPE IN KAMALA MARKANDAYA'S *NECTAR IN A SIEVE*

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Abstract: *This paper dwells upon Kamala Markandaya's construction of motherhood in post-independence rural India as depicted in her 1955 novel, "Nectar in a Sieve". Caught between changing times, between colonial and postcolonial paradigms, perennial traditions and shifting values, different world views and cultural systems, Markandaya's main character finds solace and strength in her philosophy of hope and endurance.*

Keywords: *humanism, politics of representation, social archetypes, strategies of containment*

1. Introduction

Included within the tradition of the social realist novel, Kamala Markandaya's fiction focuses upon the Indian peasants' hard life in the wake of the Independence, at a time when most Indian authors, living in India or abroad, writing in English or in a regional language, tended to concentrate upon urban social realities. Her work covers a wide range of topics that includes, among others, the plight of poverty-stricken Indian peasantry, the clash of Western and Eastern systems of values and representations, the opposition between a pre-colonial tradition versus the post-Independence modernization as well as various aspects of human suffering and endurance triggered by social inequities. Her texts generally tackle problems of local concern in novels whose actions take place in India and are deeply interested in discussing social problems – such as *Nectar in a Sieve* (1955) and *A Handful of Rice* (1966) – and the cultural clash between East and West that engenders the predicament of people caught in postcolonial political, economical and cultural intricacies – *Some Inner Fury* (1956), *Possession* (1963) and *The Golden Honeycomb* (1977).

This paper tries to place Kamala Markandaya's representation of the Mother figure within the general framework of the politics of representing Indian motherhood, usually located at the intersection of different patriarchal portrayals, of various ideologies, religions, cultural clichés and socio-economical considerations. Though the Mother has always been placed on an ideological pedestal and venerated as an abstract entity, primarily worshiped for her procreative gifts, self-sacrificing nature and the overwhelming power of maternal love, reality has always exposed the degree of discrimination, oppression and violence women have been constantly submitted to. An entire series of patriarchal stereotypical representations of womanhood as feeble, impure, unstable and dependable on men, in permanent need of guidance, control and restraint, has legitimized different aspects of violence against women and reinforced them by means of tradition, religion and state policies, at various moments in history and in different socio-political contexts.

2. In the name of the mother

In literature, media and social life there have been innumerable representations of the Indian mother drawn in the name of the father that have pushed mothers on an ambiguous position between idealization and demonization. The various politics of representation involved in drawing the portrait of the Indian mother have engendered the attempt to fight biased representations, and, in the process, to confine the Other – in this case the woman/the mother – within a set of equally biased value systems that perpetuate a misleading portrayal. This ideology of containment has often generated an entire *ideology of liberation* that focuses, according to Jameson, upon breaking stereotypical representations and sometimes producing a literature of self-hatred, completely endorsing the very representations it tries to fight.

India seems to be a special case in this regard since women's representations have generally acquired paradoxically conflicting, and sometimes even violent, dimensions under the influence of a particular combination of factors related to religion, social class, caste, degree of education, sex of the child and rank in the female family hierarchy. These factors are juxtaposed on a longstanding tradition of worshipping the Mother figure initiated by a powerful Hindu cult of the Mother Goddess and variously appropriated by diverse political ideologies and particularly cemented in social consciousness by the Indian nationalist movement. Violence against women, resulting from socio-economic and political factors, has permeated different cultural spaces in different forms, and its prevalence has rendered it seemingly "normal" in society, hence tacitly accepted and easily overlooked by authorities in spite of the increased awareness of human rights violations globally.

India's particular social and historic circumstances – starting with the British colonial rule, the various nationalist pre-/post Independence movements and the social mutations over the last decades – allowed the consolidation of particular social archetypes of the maternal that generally endorsed the local patriarchal system. The increased awareness regarding the restrictive understanding of Motherhood triggered by the Indian nationalist movement that further reinforced the identification between the mother figure and national symbols, corresponded to a series of successive legal measures meant to improve mothers' legal and economic status. The final outcome was an even larger gap between the ideological veneration of Motherhood and the violent treatment of mothers.

The ambivalent figure of the Indian Goddess, in its multiple avatars and incarnations (ranging from Durga, the invincible warrior goddess and the benign protector of motherhood, to Kali, the destructive creator of time and space and the destroyer of the evil, to Sashti, the children granting goddess, to Parvati, the goddess of divine love and Lakshmi or Sita or Radha as the ideal consort) both feared and worshipped for her generative power in a ritual that associated sex and fertility, has given rise to a diverse typology of mothers: benevolent, violent, punishing or destructive but always endowed with overwhelming forces. Subsequent economic changes and what has been generally seen as the tension between "official religion and the living syncretic goddess" (Krishnaraj 2010:17) provoked significant changes in the representation of motherhood which has been taken over by various ideologies that operated a sacralisation and idealization of the concept in different socio-historic contexts.

Kamala Markandaya's interest when depicting her characters and, especially, her female characters, lies in the way in which they face the most terrible ordeals (starvation, degradation, rootlessness, disease and death) and succeed in preserving their humanism and dignity. Markandaya's portrayal of motherhood can be characterized as an idealized representation heavily relying on a mythological dimension, only focusing upon a positive side of motherhood, overlooking such harsh realities as domestic violence, discrimination, compulsory childbearing, communal scorn though it cannot be accused of being obviously subsumed to a particular political ideology.

3. Ideal motherhood between fear and hope

In analyzing the predominant fictional modes embraced by Indian writers Fawzia Afzal-Khan distinguishes between the realistic and mythical modes, which she describes as two modes of containing the Other; she ranges realism along with the present or the future, with progress and modernization, materialism and industrialization, as well as with change and transformation whereas the mythical mode is associated to the past, to traditions and customs, to community and a set of pastoral, idyllic values, to faith and religion, sometimes even with stagnation and “petrification” (Afzal-Khan 1993). Markandaya seems to embrace both modes, neither offering a pertinent solution to her characters’ general plight, and she combines them in what has been generally termed as “literature of concern”. In *Nectar in a Sieve*, the mythical stands for the Eastern traditional way of thinking and living, for religious faith and the idyllic past, and realism starts with the acceptance of change and progress, with the dignified confrontation with an impossibly harsh reality.

She, however, is not a theorist to dwell upon caste and class problems only. Her concerns being predominantly socio-economic, her novels offer us a strange tale of brutality, ignorance, mental and physical bludgeoning that the ordinary Indian, man and woman, is subject to. (Krishnaswami 1984:162)

The ordinary Indian people’s life is Markandaya’s main concern in her fiction and she repeatedly confessed that her long residence in England did not make her lose touch with India, on the contrary, it enhanced her perceptiveness as an outside observer and brought forth her childhood experiences: “My father was an inveterate traveler and something of a rebel; leaving the traditional preoccupations of his family, he had joined the railways, so that not only was the whole of South India opened to me during childhood and adolescence but also a good part of England and the Continent... I think the role of observer which every traveler assumes is good training for any writer... It makes a good starting point, and I believe it was my starting point” (Markandaya in Kumar Arora 2006:2).

Rukmani is the central character and narrator of the story and she embodies Indian idealized motherhood, offering a significant lesson of humanism, endurance, faith, dignity and love. She becomes the representative of so many other Indian mothers of the 50s, fighting against poverty and the crashing forces of nature and history. She tells a heart breaking story about human solidarity and hope that acquires epic dimensions and transforms Rukmani and her husband into heroic figures. Rukmani (married at twelve with a man she did not know) starts her marital life in peace and relative plenty. She and her husband, Nathan, are soon blessed with their first child. The disappointment of not having a son is compensated by Ira’s extraordinary beauty and her moral qualities while the following six years are plagued by the pressure to conceive a male offspring. With the secret help of a British doctor who treats Rukmani of infertility, she gives birth to other six sons. During all this time they have to struggle to survive terrible famine and draught. The construction of a modern tannery in the village triggers a series of tragic events, wisely foretold by Rukmani, starting with the gradual destruction of an old traditional order and life style, the immigration of the two elder sons to Ceylon, the death of their youngest son out of starvation in spite of the food provided by their daughter, now secretly turned into a prostitute in order to feed her family. The tannery finally buys their land forcing them to leave and try to find shelter in the city, in their son’s household but they discover he has deserted his family. Robbed of all their money and meager possessions, with no place to go and nobody to ask for help they become stonebreakers, getting a few annas per days which they save for their trip back home. Weak and overworked, Nathan dies and Rukmani goes back to the village and to her son and daughter, accompanied by Puli, an adopted nine-year old child.

The interminable series of hardships Rukmani and Nathan have to put up with prove their strong determination to preserve their family values, their sense of identity and their communion with nature. For Rukmani the most important thing is to keep her faith and her hope for a better future. Hope and fear are the two extremes between which the entire novel is constructed. Hope is generally associated to the mythical realm of tradition and religious belief, to the human capacity to overcome the hardships of life and the dignified strength of endurance: “We are all in God’s hands, and He is merciful” (Markandaya 54) is Ruki’s motto. Hope primarily comes from family solidarity, whose emblematic image is marriage in all Markandaya’s novels, and is sustained by the permanence of the land, however elusive this turns out to be.

To those who live by the land there must always come times of hardship, of fear and of hunger, even as there are years of plenty. This is one of the truths of our existence as those who live by the land know: that sometimes we eat and sometimes we starve [...] Still, while there was land there was hope. (136)

Their connection to the land gives them a sense of purpose, an identity and a constant reason of hope. The vegetation symbols abound in the novel and the treatment of nature is essentially romantic. The description of the daily tasks of working the land in the first chapters of the novel establish a domestic atmosphere of tranquility and calmness, in which the family and their household start putting down solid roots in love, respect and solidarity, just as the seeds planted by the young Ruki yield a juicy golden pumpkin, at that time, a sure sign of their future prosperity and bliss. The fertility of the land speaks of the ever stronger bonds between them and their increased sense of belonging. Rukmani makes a symbolic association between sowing and writing as two life fulfilling activities, the latter offering “a solace in affliction”, “a joy amid tranquility” (16), both standing for the double knowledge that might be passed on to the next generation: knowledge of the land and knowledge of the mind. The small garden she tends next to her house, the clever management of her household and her ability to write and read earn her husband’s respect. Nature synecdochically reduced to “the beans, the binjals, the chillies and the pumpkin vine” (18) inspires in them a permanent sense of wonder, of respect and veneration for the miracle and “the very essence of life” (17). But in Markandaya’s fictional world hope is always mixed with fear as suggested by the cobra hidden under the pumpkin leaves, the omen that foretells a troubled future.

Fear, as a constant presence in the peasants’ existence, is primarily inspired by nature’s ravages (floods and draught), its uncontrollable fury and dangerous outbursts: “Nature is like a wild animal that you have trained to work for you. So long as you are vigilant and walk warily with thought and care, so long it will give you its aid; but look away for an instant, be heedless or forgetful, and it has you by the throat” (43). Fear is intensified to paroxysm by the threatening changes brought about by progress and industrialization and everything they entail – the aggressive invasion of technology, noise, agitation, bigger prices at the bazaar, increased consumerism, the takeover of children’s playgrounds, then people’s lands and houses – which will finally lead, in Rukmani’s opinion to the destruction of their world and their families, to the severance of the link between human beings and their land, to the loss of the youth lured by the false promises of the tannery. Since “there’s no going back,” Nathan’s advice is “bend like the grass, that you do not break” (32).

Hope and fear. Twin forces that tugged at us first in one direction and then in another, and which was the stronger no one could say. Of the latter we never spoke, but it was always with us. Fear, constant companion of the peasant. Hunger, even at hand to jog his elbow should he relax. Despair, ready to ungulp him should he falter. Fear; fear of the dark future; fear of the sharpness of hunger; fear of the blackness of death. (83)

All these fears are also a mother's fears and perhaps the biggest one in Rukmani's case is hunger and the constant terror that she and her husband will not be able to provide for their children. Hunger is the real cause of degradation and of the "end of humanism" in *Nectar in a Sieve* as it gives the real measure of people's courage, will and determination. "Hunger appears like an octopus in the novel," Hari Mohad Prasad remarks. "It is the real evil, stronger than the original Satan, that disturbed the bliss of the Eden Garden" (Prasad 99). Markandaya offer relates hunger to immorality and it sometimes becomes quite difficult to extend moral judgments over her characters. Both Kunthi and Ira enter prostitution for the same reason, the feeding of their families.

For hunger is a curious thing: at first it is with you all the time, waking and sleeping and in your dreams, and your belly cries out insistently, and there is a gnawing and pain as if your very vitals were being devoured, and you must stop it at any cost, and you buy a moment's respite even while you know, fear the sequel. Then the pain is no longer sharp but dull, and this too is with you always, so that you think of food many times a day and each time a terrible sickness assails you, and because you know this you try to avoid the thought, but you cannot, it is with you. (91)

Kamala Markandaya preserves this oscillation between hope and fear until the end of the novel and makes her metaphorical images and symbolic elements fall into categories ranged according to this binary opposition: the village and the city, the land and the tannery, the family's hut and the temple in the city, etc. The land, reason of both fear and hope, the essence of these people's existence and one of the metaphorical representations of the mother, offers them a lesson of life, endurance and dignity as it "disciplines the body" and "uplifts the spirit" (107). If the soil marks the reliable consistence of tradition, belonging and identity, the tannery, the epitome of progress and modernization, stands for all the evils of civilization and for Markandaya, the end of humanism. It claims Rukmani's elder sons, it kills the youngest one, destroys Ira's future and makes them leave their home, dashes their hopes and finally provokes the disintegration of their family.

The hut and its small garden concentrate in their small but poignantly significant details the sense of belonging and the old traditional ways, fragile in the face of progress and change, functioning as symbols of a life together and a repository of happy memories; its symbolic opposite, the tannery is a destroyer of everything pure in the novel and becomes Rukmani's direct enemy. Most images are feminized and translated in terms related to vegetation, food, gardening or domestic tasks. Rukmani's exceptional force of endurance and survival is equated to the spicy chillies: "I was especially pleased that I had not been forced to sell all the chillies, for these are useful to us; when the tongue rebels against plain boiled rice, desiring ghee and salt and spices which one cannot afford, the sharp bite of a chillie renders even plain rice palatable" (57). Finally, everything is rendered "palatable" according to Rukmani's words, "one gets used to anything" (66).

The one who is not so willing to accept the fact that everything is "palatable" is Kenny, the British doctor, who provides the Western arguments, though commonsensical and highly practical, against Rukmani's Eastern philosophy of fatalistic resignation and acceptance. For Kenny the Indian "ghastly silence" (48), the foolish acceptance of pain as a spiritual experience, the extreme simplification of all social and political intricacies, the injustice and deprivations are simply unacceptable. Instead of crying out their suffering and demanding their rights, as Kenny advises her to do, Rukmani offers a lesson of dignity by sticking to her philosophy of life: "We go on our way (48) [...] Is not a man's spirit given to him to rise above his misfortunes? Want is our companion" (115).

4. Conclusion

The final lesson Markandaya offers us is related to “the importance of a nation’s maintaining its own cultural identity, dancing its own dances, in the face of encroaching westernization” (Drum 1983: 327). Though achieving a very flattering portrait of the Indian mother figure, though striking the right balance between a realist and the mythical modes, between East and West making them function in a symbiotic relationship, Kamala Markandaya still refrains from offering solutions for the depressing realities of life. In this “tragedy of economics” where “the characters transcend the bludgeoning of economic mischance and assert the unconquerable spirit of man (and woman)” (Iyengar 1962:332), Markandaya manages to realistically depict the socio-economical predicament experienced by the Indian rural communities, the plight of motherhood and the impressive struggle to survive and still preserve a “seed” of hope and a sense of purpose, reinforced by humanism and dignity. The essence of Rukmani’s philosophy of hope and unquestionable acceptance of fate is summarized by Kamala Markandaya in the two lines taken from Coleridge’s poem *Work without Hope* that represent the motto of the novel:

Work without hope draws nectar in a sieve,
And hope without an object cannot live.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0016

WHEN POWER SEDUCES WOMEN: SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGIC (MOTHER) QUEENS IN MANGA

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Abstract: *Power is seductive, and fantasies of power affect both men and women, who are sometimes willing to do anything in order to achieve or retain it. The paper looks at how such a modern transmediation as manga renders powerful femininity in two of Shakespeare's great tragedies, namely Hamlet and Macbeth. The paper aims to discuss the ways in which the emotive behaviour of both female protagonists eventually makes them inappropriate for the power roles they assume as wives, queens and mothers.*

Keywords: *emotive behaviour, manga, mother(hood), power, queen(ship), Shakespeare*

1. Introduction

In an interesting study on the presence of graphic novels in academic libraries, O'English et al. (2006:173-175) note that graphic novels were developed out of the comic book movement of the 1960s, and came to be used by authors who wanted to exploit the comic book format while addressing more mainstream topics. The same authors further point out that today graphic novels have entire conferences dedicated to them, with their own emerging canon. The ever-growing interest in this form of literature has thus caused a turning-point in the appreciation of graphic novels, whose scholarly and cultural value is being reassessed, the focus now lying on a happy combination of reading for scholarly enhancement *and* for personal enjoyment.

"Born" in 2007, the "Manga Shakespeare" series is also a form of graphic novel, relying on the peculiarities of a Japanese comic book (*manga*) and of Shakespeare's original language. At the crossroads of two cultures – European and Asian, English and Japanese – and of two time periods (early modern England and the 21st century), "Manga Shakespeare" seems to promote the ideal kind of reading: for pleasure and education at the same time. Although scholars and academics may regard this as a form of "dumbing down" one of the greatest writers of all times, the fact that the "Manga Shakespeare" series can actually encourage students to read the Bard's work – and feel comfortable doing it – is, in my personal opinion, an indisputable advantage for this genre.

What this paper aims to explore is how two such *manga* adaptations of the original Shakespearean plays – *Hamlet* (2007) and *Macbeth* (2008) – render the famous female protagonists and the multiple roles they take on throughout the plays: wives, mothers, and queens. What makes these women alluring? or, quite on the contrary, what makes them despicable? The reason behind the choice of these two particular plays lies in the multiple similarities the two female characters share, as well as in the ways in which they subvert the age's definitions of womanhood, all of which will be presented in the following sections.

2. The Rise of Graphic Novels. Communicating Emotions

Graphic novels in general, and comics and *manga* in particular, have developed a special language which relies on human gestures and facial expressions. Aiming to analyze the visual representations of emotions from a social semiotic viewpoint, Feng and O'Halloran (2012:2067-2068) explain how emotion in visual art forms is not only transmitted through "conventionalized signals such as pictorial runes, pictograms and balloons" but also through "stylized versions of bodily behaviours such as facial expression, body posture, and touch." To establish image-viewer relationships, social semioticians focus therefore on interpersonal resources, among which camera-angle and gaze are essential. According to these authors, emotive behaviours are semiotic resources used to create meaning in a social context. The authors further distinguish between metaphorical symbolic and literal iconic representations of emotion, where the former could be exemplified by the presence of fire or smoke above a character's head to suggest anger, while the latter may consist in a broad smile for happiness, or a drooping posture for sadness (Feng and O'Halloran 2012:2068).

In their attempt to provide a descriptive toolkit for visual analysis, Feng and O'Halloran (2012:2070-2073) focus on three main ways of conveying basic emotive behaviour: facial expression, touch and body orientation, all of which encode the valence, activation and intensity of the emotion. Facial expression takes into consideration the facial muscles involved in the expression of the emotion, and it is important through its action (e.g. up vs. down, open vs. closed) and value (positive vs. negative). Similarly, touch is another effective way of communicating emotions, by considering five aspects: intensity, duration, touched body part, touching body part, and frequency of contact. Finally, body orientation – horizontal (backward vs. forward) or vertical (up vs. down) – represents an important source for the emotion conveyed, as well as for the character's attitude and social identity.

As argued elsewhere (Şerban 2012:337), I would like to underscore the fact that *manga* may be read as a (post)modern popular form of reversed *ekphrasis*, or a partial intersemiotic translation, which transforms words into emotive behaviours. Given that it heavily relies on visual input and cinematographic angles – including (extreme) close-ups and views from above or below, which challenge the lateral view privileged by theatrical performances (Rommens 2000) –, *manga* offers the viewer/reader a sense of immediacy and drama similar to watching a film rather than performance on stage; the most notable difference lies in the fact that the reader can move through the plot – backwards and/or forwards – at his/her own pace. At the same time, the *manga* artist plays a very visible role as "translator", since s/he is the one that selects, describes and interprets the characters' verbal exchanges, turning them into images which complete the written text (Şerban 2012:337).

Although there are many variations depending on the subgenre and target readership, a brief overview of *manga* characteristics would include: drawings in black and white; very expressive, personality-revealing eyes (sometimes incredibly large), picture-perfect hair, long limbs and pointy chins; feminized male characters; a focus on emotions (Johnson-Woods 2010:5-12, Cohn 2010:192-194). The *manga* page is usually made up of several frames, which vary in size, shape and number; the frames often contain numerous and minute details, and cinematic angles (as mentioned above), which are impossible to achieve in a theatrical performance. Nevertheless, the "Manga Shakespeare" series stands out twice from traditional *manga*: firstly, through the European way of reading it, from left to right; and secondly, through its use of eight to nine colour pages, whose purpose is to introduce the characters, thus functioning like an equivalent of the "dramatis personae" section in drama.

As shown above, the main advantage of *manga* is that it provides a simultaneous reading and watching experience, more complex than a mere reading of the play and which is

more appealing to the younger – and more visually prone – generations. Moreover, *manga* recontextualizes Shakespeare’s plays, adapting the cultural capital of the 16th century to the 21st, while still using Shakespeare’s original – albeit abridged – written text (Şerban 2012:339).

The two transmediations proposed for discussion here – *Hamlet* (2007) and *Macbeth* (2008) – were chosen because of the similarities between the two female protagonists: both are wives, non-English queens and (potential) mothers. Yet all these roles seem mere masks they choose or have to wear in order to fulfill their personal desires. The following sections will therefore discuss in turn each of these roles and look at how the emotive behaviour of these characters, drawn according to *manga* conventions, visually conveys important, linguistically encoded, information with regard to these two women-wives-queens-mothers in a few key scenes of both plays.

3. *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*: Masks of Femininity

When, in the final scene of *Measure for Measure* (Shakespeare 1999), Mariana states that she has had intercourse with her husband although he does not know it and they are not yet married, the Duke concludes that “Why, you are nothing then: neither maid, widow, nor wife?” (V, i, 176). Women seem thus divided into three categories, all of which are connected to men: maids (who are to be married), wives (who are married), and widows (who used to be married). A fourth category is supplied by Lucio: the “punk” (i.e. prostitute), who is again defined in relation to men, namely through her abilities to allure them. This hierarchy of womanhood reflects the early modern, masculine view of the world, according to which femininity is first linked to domesticity and housewifery, and later to maternity. In Shakespeare’s age, women were thus “restricted to the private sphere”, and especially valued for their “natural” vocation as wives and mothers (Rackin 2005:123). However, I would like to add that besides these four categories, there would be yet another – the queens, who are also presented in relation to their husbands, as mere consorts, who often do their royal husbands’ bidding, acting as spies or as adjacent spokespersons.

As Kemp (2010:66) also remarks, “nearly all the major female characters are presented in terms of their connections to men” and, when compared to male characters, they speak relatively few lines. According to Kemp, this could be the result of Shakespeare’s writing for an exclusively male cast of actors, as well as for a male-centered stance on human experience. Thus, femininity becomes a mask, worn by young men on the early modern English stage and crafted especially through performative acts (Moncrief and McPherson 2007:6), or, in other words, through emotive behaviour (cf. Feng and O’Halloran 2012) that is especially visible in body orientation, gestures (e.g. touch) and facial expressions accompanying the “female” characters’ speech. Consequently, gender ambiguity – represented by the young man playing a female part – becomes erotically alluring since – as Rackin (2005:76-77) explains – in early modern England, real life prostitutes would wear male clothing to make themselves more desirable and attract customers, whereas the feminized man onstage would appeal to the women in the audience.

Women’s power – although exercised through their husbands – consisted primarily in the various social roles they could play, such as wives, mothers, or – if they were fortunate enough – queens consort. Of the three roles, maternity confers more worth on women, offering them a position of empowerment and making them “socially worthy”, as well as casting them as “contributors in terms of spirituality” (Moncrief and McPherson 2007:5) through the bearing and birthing of children. Comparatively, queenship also emphasizes a woman’s social worth, singling her out and turning her into a role model for the entire

community/ society, whereas wifehood is meant to emphasize all women's submissiveness and helplessness, as they exchanged the father's authority for the husband's.

These three hypostases of femininity dominate Shakespeare's plays and they also appear in the two plays under analysis, embodied in the two female protagonists who combine and/or take on in turn one of these masks: Queen Gertrude and Lady Macbeth.

3.1. The Women

In her book dedicated to women in Shakespeare's age, Theresa Kemp (2010:31) notes that early modern women were generally regarded as figures "that needed to be contained", that were "inherently inferior, uncontrollable, and prone to a wide range of vices and disabilities." Reflecting this view of women, Shakespearean female characters rarely voice internal monologues or express their own passions. In *Hamlet* for example, neither are we allowed to enter Gertrude or Ophelia's minds, nor do we find out about their strong emotions and desires from themselves (Kemp 2010:92). However, they both primarily react to and obey the(ir) men who struggle for power. For instance, we first see Gertrude in a delicate situation when she fails in her attempt to juggle her three roles as wife, queen and mother: having remarried none other but her own brother-in-law, Gertrude shows maternal concern for her son's melancholy but she does not seem preoccupied that her hasty marriage prevented her son from rightfully inheriting the throne of Denmark.

In a much similar way, when we first meet Lady Macbeth, she is also negotiating her roles as wife, (potential) mother and would-be queen, a title she seems to desire at all costs. Yet, unlike for Gertrude, we are allowed to see her mind at work, as a negative example of a power-thirsty individual. Even if we do not know for sure whether Lady Macbeth has given birth or not, her internal monologue after receiving her husband's letter shows her willing to give up her femininity symbolized by maternity ("my milk") in exchange for the masculine traits of cruelty and aggression. For her, queenship is more problematic than for Gertrude, as it implies decision-making and agency.

Another feature common to these plays is that both Gertrude and Lady Macbeth are contrasted to other women, who – although not on the highest social level – stand for the age's "norm": the good obedient maid Ophelia, and the good loyal wife and mother Lady Macduff, both of whom are showcased through (an almost blind) submissiveness and helplessness respectively.

But how are these female characters introduced to us in the *manga* versions of the plays? As mentioned in the second section of this paper, the only colourful pages in *manga* portray the characters in a position typical for their status(es) in the story. Thus, Gertrude looks rather old and bitter; her overall facial expression suggests sadness and disappointment; her eyebrows indicate a slight frown; she is looking sideways, towards Claudius (who almost completely covers her), as if ashamed to make eye-contact with the viewer/reader, while the corners of her mouth are slightly drooping. Drawn behind Claudius, a symbolic position for all noble early modern women who needed male protection, Gertrude does not touch her second husband (nor he her for that matter), which would suggest a resigned disappointment or even indifference rather than the uncontrollable sexual appetite Hamlet so contemptuously mentions in his first soliloquy. Moreover, the dress Gertrude is wearing oversexualizes her, showcasing her sensuality; her long fair hair, which usually bears angelic connotations, is here meant to emphasize her gullibility and naiveté, which, together with her body orientation (semi-profile), casts her as a victim: the typical, aristocratic early modern woman in need of male protection.

Lady Macbeth too first appears to us from behind her husband, and her sensuality is also emphasized through the revealing red and grey dress she is wearing. But these are the

only things she shares with Gertrude. Otherwise, Lady Macbeth is drawn as a typically mean woman, this being evident particularly in the full but tightly closed lips and in the elongated serpent-like shape of her eyes and V-forming eyebrows, which together convey despicability and scheming. Her body is oriented towards the viewer/reader and she looks directly at him/her as if in a challenge. Unlike Gertrude, whose body is more than half hidden behind King Claudius, Lady Macbeth is much closer to her husband; more than half her body can be seen even if she appears to be a step behind. Yet her left hand possessively covers Macbeth's heart and is in turn covered by Macbeth's right hand, suggesting the close relationship and emotional intimacy the spouses share. Her grip on Macbeth shows her as the ambitious woman she turns out to be, as well as the fact that she transfers agency over to him since her position as a woman prevents her from obtaining the desired royal status by herself. Overall, her body orientation and facial expression highlight her as the driving force behind Macbeth.

3.2. The Wives

Bridging the public and private spheres of a woman's life, the notion of wife is closely connected to the definition of womanhood. Whereas wifehood is defined especially through female sexuality and desire in the private domain of life, it is usually associated with loyalty and good housewifery in the more public area.

When discussing the relationship between Gertrude and Claudius, Rackin (2005:136) underlines the fact that, "in modern terms", their marriage seems the best one of all "because even in middle age they seem to enjoy the shared sexual passion which" [despite being condemned by Hamlet] "is now regarded as a healthy achievement and the hallmark of a successful marriage". The only drawback is that we only see Gertrude as a wife through the biased, young Hamlet's eyes: she represented an ideal wife and mother while married to King Hamlet, but she fell very low from that pedestal once she married Claudius the usurper. Thus, Gertrude the wife is referred to only in relation to the marital bed and the sexual duties of the wife, appearing as (over)sensual and sexually uncontrollable. Nevertheless, she is also submissive and loyal, silently supporting her royal husband's decisions and defending him even in her own son's eyes until the shocking revelation in the closet scene.

Comparatively, the Macbeths often appear on stage together and we are shown the inner workings of their marriage, as they convey "a remarkable mutuality of purpose and emotional intimacy when they conspire to murder Duncan", while "the virtuous Macduffs never even appeared together on stage" (Rackin 2005:136). Kemp (2010:94) reads Lady Macbeth as an extreme version of the shrew, who, because of her own ambition, keeps nagging Macbeth to commit the murder and repeatedly challenges his masculinity. Yet soon after Lady Macbeth's show of power over her husband, Shakespeare lets us see her fainting at the news of King Duncan's death, a gesture that would have feminized her and made her less threatening and deviant to the early modern male spectators.

The Macbeths' special relationship, where at first the wife seems to have the upper hand, turns Lady Macbeth into a perverted notion of womanhood (Kemp 2010:94). Much like the witches – further argues Kemp –, who stand for a perverted form of domesticity and good housewifery through their evil brewing, Lady Macbeth tries to take on a psychological masculinity and breaks the wifely duties of hospitality, first planning the murder of Duncan and later the ambiguous "dispatching" (sending away or killing?) of the thanes in the banquet scene. Nonetheless, she is and remains loyal to her husband, whom she urges and supports to achieve kingship, even though she suddenly disappears into the background afterwards.

3.3. The Queens

An exclusively public function, queenship is closely linked to the notions of hospitality and role-model wifeness. As concerns Queen Gertrude, Rosenberg (1992:70-73) remarks that she “makes herself alluring through supple weakness and flirtation”, as she stealthily or openly exchanges endearments with Claudius in public, yet she must be at least in part aware and ashamed of her hasty, indecorous remarriage. Gertrude retains her queenly status and power through her husband, but she remains decorative, as she is a mere puppet, a loving and submissive consort for a cunning king. Her regal superiority is manifest only when she briefly plays the role of hostess to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, or in relation to such younger men as accusing Hamlet or rebellious Laertes; yet even here, Hamlet seems successful in shocking her into familial, courtly and political awareness.

Lady Macbeth, on the other hand, is presented in the role of hostess on two occasions, but each time with a murderous intention: the killing of Duncan and the “dispatching” of the thanes. Unlike Gertrude, she seems very concerned with decorum and making a good impression both on Duncan (act I, vi) and on the nobles gathered at the banquet (act III, iv). She appears cool, calm and collected, level-headed and diplomatic when entreating the guests to stay longer, while Macbeth is terrified by the ghostly apparition of Banquo. Nevertheless, by the end of the play, she regresses, transferring her initial power onto her husband.

3.4. The Mothers

Pertaining to the private area of life, motherhood is little represented in Shakespeare’s plays and the few mothers who do appear are, according to Rackin (2005:134), rather unsatisfactory, or – in the words of Moncrief and McPherson (2007) – they combine compliant and disruptive instances of maternal behaviour.

As mentioned before, the first time we see Gertrude, she appears as a care-filled mother, whose main concern centers on her son’s melancholy. By contrast, Hamlet, who seems overwhelmed with female sexuality, sees his mother and her remarriage through the lens of misogyny, thus failing to understand the early modern woman’s need of male protection. Also, her quick remarriage has caused, in young Hamlet’s eyes, her downfall from the privileged position as ideal, nurturing mother to the promiscuous role of his uncle’s wife. At the same time, Gertrude appears rather selfish since, instead of supporting her son’s claim to the throne, she ruins his chances. As Rackin (2005:134) also observes, whenever Gertrude and Hamlet appear on stage together, she is either pleading or scolding him for his behaviour; each time, however, she does this to no avail since Hamlet never complies. She thus seems to alternate between maternal nagging and helplessness.

By contrast, Lady Macbeth has nothing maternal about her. Although the text does not offer clear evidence to her being a mother or not, she makes reference to maternity in order to argue for her ambition and her determination to achieve it. Her lines (in act I, v), which oppose the imagery of maternity and milk to the imagery of murder and blood, cast her as a cruel potential mother, capable even of infanticide if her deepest desires are at stake. In the absence of the baby, whom she only claims to have given suck to, Lady Macbeth scolds her husband, almost as if he were a child: the first time, just before the murder of Duncan, more aggressively because they are in private, while the second time in a more diplomatic fashion because they are in public, at the banquet.

Unlike Gertrude, who is contrasted to a maid (Ophelia), Lady Macbeth is contrasted to the age’s model of maternity embodied by Lady Macduff, who stands for early modern feminine helplessness. A modern, domestic version of a noble lady – shown beside the hearth in the castle and engaged in banter with her young son – Lady Macduff has insufficient power

as a mother to protect her child. She does however prove to be a loyal wife by defending her husband's honour against the murderers' accusations of treason, although – as Rackin (2005:134-135) contends – she is far from the medieval model of the lady who would have led the castle's defence in the absence of her husband.

If so far we have explored the masks these two women wear, let us now look at two scenes from the *manga* adaptation of each play, focusing in turn on a couple of key scenes of the private and public lives of each female character.

4. Public Life vs. (Witnessed) Private Life

As queens, both Gertrude and Lady Macbeth are never completely alone and even their privacy is witnessed and/or reported on. The scenes chosen to illustrate this idea are part of the climax and the denouement in both plots, taking place in the third and fifth acts of each play; thus for *Hamlet* we shall discuss the so-called “closet scene” (act III, iv) and the “duel scene” (act V, ii), whereas for *Macbeth* we shall deal with the “banquet scene” (act III, iv) and the “sleepwalking scene” (act V, i). (For a selection of *manga* frames representing these scenes, please see the table in the Appendix.)

As mentioned above, Gertrude seems a genuine representation of an early modern woman, always defined through men – as wife and queen consort to first King Hamlet and then Claudius, or as mother to Hamlet. Her power is therefore indirect, the result of her association with powerful men. She is usually surrounded by men, almost always in the company of her royal husband (with the exception of the “closet scene” in act III), but marginalized either physically, through her location, or conversationally, through the political topics of the men's conversation.

Comparatively, Lady Macbeth does not need male protection even though she often appears in the company of her husband. What she needs is a male agent who would bestow on her the position she desires: queenship. She too is usually in the presence of men, yet unlike Gertrude, she commands the attention not only of her husband through what she tells him, but also of other men through their preoccupations for her womanly sensibilities (her fainting at the news of Duncan's murder – act II, iii) or their gratitude for her hospitality (the welcoming of Duncan (I, vi) and the thanes (III, iv)). In the *manga* transmediation, she, unlike Gertrude, often looks directly at the viewer/reader as if to be able to monitor everyone's actions, or to convince them of her motives and draw them on her side.

Let us now examine the *manga Hamlet* “closet scene”. In the privacy of her chamber, but under the watchful eye and keen eavesdropping of hidden Polonius, Queen Gertrude acts on behalf of Claudius, having summoned Hamlet in order to scold him for the displeasure he has inflicted on “his father”. However, this initial superiority as queen and mother, who expects to be obeyed because she represents royal and paternal authority, suddenly changes once she hears Hamlet's shocking accusation of murder. The *manga* transmediation covers this scene in only two pages, alternating large frames or “macros” (Cohn 2010:197) with close-ups and even extreme close-ups of Gertrude's and Hamlet's faces.

It is interesting to note that throughout these highly emotional frames (just as throughout the whole plot) Gertrude never looks directly at the viewer/reader, as if she were averting her eyes and retaining her aloofness. We are not shown her face when she tells Hamlet of his offence against Claudius, when her posture is very upright and imposing, patronizing even, since the focus is primarily on her role as queen. Yet, as the queen gives way to the mother, Gertrude's held-up head begins to droop and her eyes seem tear-filled (although she does not cry) when she asks Hamlet to show her the respect she is entitled to. She fails in the attempt to touch her son, being literally “shoved” away, and the two extreme close-ups on her and Hamlet's confronting profiles show her increasingly large eyes under the

shock of the accusations. Five close-up frames later, Gertrude tries to prevent the murder of Polonius but, although her mouth is wide open as if in a scream and her hand is raised in a stopping gesture, she seems a mere doll whose words or actions are not even acknowledged. (Moreover, the bloodstains in the background symbolically link the actual murder of Polonius to the evoked murder of King Hamlet, further increasing the tension of the moment.) To emphasize Gertrude's lack of agency and authority, the only full frame of the sequence shows her by herself, rather as a victim of domestic violence, as she leans against the wall, her face turned towards the viewer/reader but with squeezing closed eyes as if trying to shut the whole world out. Similarly, when she tries to berate her son for the murder, her body is thrust forward like a scolding mother's, she is frowning and glaring at Hamlet who ignores her by looking away, her mouth is open as if to shout, yet no words are actually spoken. Gertrude's emotive behaviour strongly suggests her inner turmoil, as the shock of the accusations of murder and hasty remarriage turn into horror at Hamlet's murder of Polonius. Yet all of her intense emotions, together with the fear of what might happen to her son when the truth is discovered, are easily brushed aside by Hamlet, and Gertrude is again marginalized and muted even in her motherly concern for her son's welfare.

On the other hand, the duel scene, which takes place in public, highlights Gertrude's role as queen, whose duty is to watch the duel, together with her royal husband, and reward the winner. It is now that she acts on impulse, deciding to drink the cup of wine meant for Hamlet, and consequently dying poisoned. In other words, the first time that Gertrude assumes agency, the consequences are disastrous. Of the thirteen frames which make up this scene, four focus on Gertrude's dying, while the other nine are equally divided between the angry Hamlet, the confessing Laertes, and the found-out Claudius. This division shows Gertrude's death as equally important to the three men's situations, yet her marginalization is again visually suggested by the peripheral positions of her frames on the page. Here too, Gertrude avoids eye-contact with the viewer/reader. In the first frame, a facial close-up, we see Claudius apparently trying to prevent Gertrude from swooning. While Claudius half-laughingly thinks she may be fainting because of the blood, as it would be normal for a woman, Gertrude's only visible eye looks backwards suspiciously at her husband, whose physical proximity she immediately and strongly rejects: her body is oriented backwards, her left arm is completely stretched out in a pushing away gesture, and she is frowning as if she cannot stand his presence next to her. The next frame is a larger one, showing Gertrude on her knees, barely supporting the upper part of her body, her head fully bent down, while a concerned Hamlet and a repenting Claudius stand on her sides albeit without touching her. Her position on the floor may be read as the epitome of her marginalization, downfall and ensuing death since the next frame, an extreme close-up, showing her drooping face in profile, with wide-open eyes and slightly open mouth, suggest her surprise at realizing she has been poisoned.

By comparison, the first scene chosen for *manga Macbeth* is a public one, which takes place on the occasion of the banquet thrown in honour of the new king. Here Lady Macbeth too acts on behalf of her husband, though out of her own volition, trying to make the guests feel more at ease despite Macbeth's irrational behaviour and hallucinations. She plays the role of hostess – a social function as both wife and queen – to perfection, remaining calm and taking charge of the situation. She is the only woman present; hence she is surrounded by brawny, warrior men, whose strength and power she borrows from. There is only one macro frame, which shows Lady Macbeth as hostess. The male guests, several warlords sitting at a table, are thus “domesticated”, while she is doing her best to appease their fears and reassure them. Lady Macbeth commands both our and the guests' attention, as she appears in the centre of the frame's background, her body upright and regal, her arms outstretched sideways in a reassuring gesture, while the frightened figure of Macbeth is cowering close to the door

behind her. Her facial expression is not very clear but her presence as hostess (right behind the glass-laden table) is impressive. This particular large frame is followed by a series of close-ups in which she has a few private moments with her husband, whom she whisperingly scolds to keep his calm and behave like a man. Her facial features show her again as very determined and ready to push her husband's self-imposed limits.

On the other hand, in the sleepwalking scene, once guilt has taken over, we see that Lady Macbeth's strong personality and determination have disappeared, and she seems lost, a mere shadow of her former self. The six frames depicting this scene focus more on the doctor and the maid rather than on Lady Macbeth, who appears now marginalized by everybody and no longer seeks eye-contact with the viewer/reader. She is here associated with another woman, the maid, who reports on her state. There are only two frames which focus on Lady Macbeth: one where we see a close-up of her upper-body and the figures of the doctor and the maid in the background, and another focusing, in extreme close-up, on Lady Macbeth's allegedly bloody hand. The close-up on her face suggests intrusion into her personal space, where the viewer/reader now has access. We see her in profile, her eyes looking blankly ahead, her eyebrows raised and her mouth slightly open, with drooping corners. Her overall appearance suggests confusion and disbelief, and that aura of energy she seemed to have about her is no longer there. In contrast to her previous associations with masculinity and men's company, the other woman's presence clearly points out to Lady Macbeth's degradation to a "dummy", or – to recall the Duke's words in *Measure for Measure*, "nothing, then". The other frame centers on Lady Macbeth's right hand, palm up, which she is rubbing with the left thumb, in a nervous, guilty gesture.

It would perhaps be interesting to mention that the *manga* version shows Macbeth actually finding his wife's body after she has jumped from the battlements. The two frames show Macbeth running towards and standing over Lady Macbeth's fallen body, with blood leaking out of her eyes and mouth, and a pool of blood surrounding her head, as if to emphasize her murderous mind.

What both plays and their *manga* adaptations seem to underscore is that both Gertrude and Lady Macbeth die in the end because they did not comply with the traditional early modern roles of femininity, having proved themselves to be quite the opposite of good women, submissive wives, proper hostesses, role-model queens, or nurturing mothers.

5. Conclusions

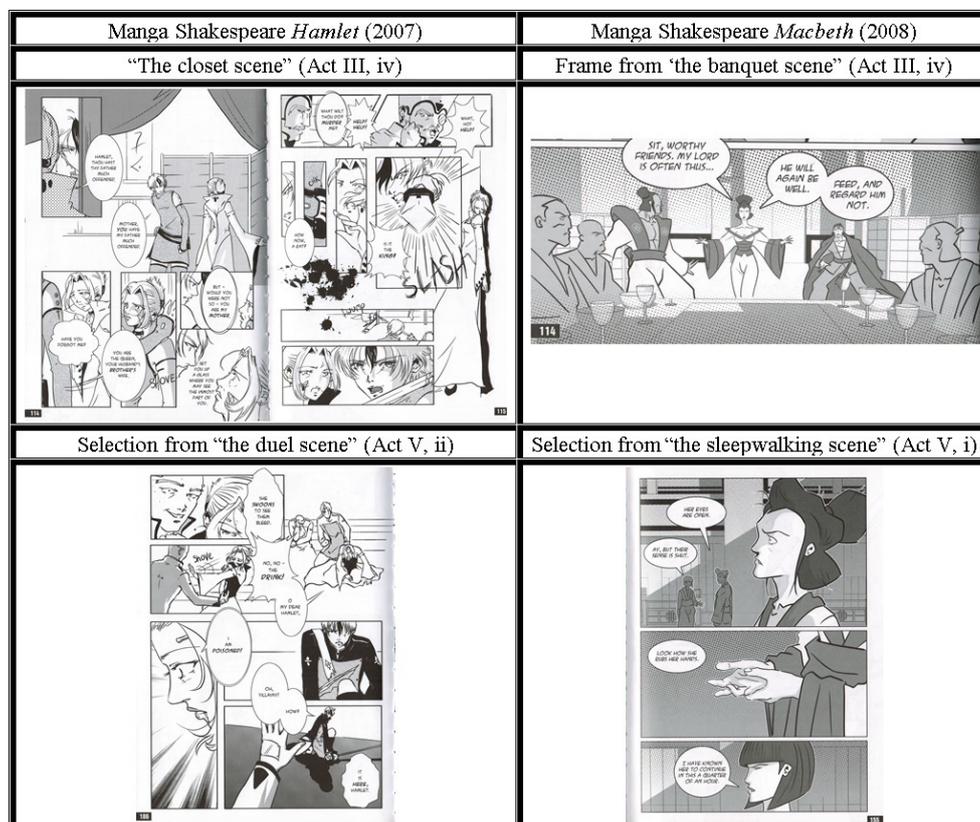
As we have seen, both women allow themselves to be seduced by power: whereas Gertrude chooses to remarry in order to remain queen, Lady Macbeth plans murder in order to become queen; yet, while Gertrude disguises desire for power under erotic love, Lady Macbeth labels it with ambition. As wives, they are both loyal, but eventually they become marginalized by their husbands. Although Lady Macbeth plays the hostess role more than Gertrude, and Gertrude is more obviously a mother, both women are excluded by the men whose company initially gives them power and/or agency.

This is rendered in the *manga* adaptations very visibly in the arrangement of the frames on the page as well as in the social interaction of the characters. Although they may seem the focus of attention in the scenes selected, both women's emotive behaviour (facial expression, touch and body orientation) shows their inadequacy and inappropriateness regarding the power roles of queen and (potential) mother they have assumed.

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Appendix



Notes on the author

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DE GRUYTER
OPEN

DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0017

"YOU CAN'T GET BY WITHOUT THE DREAM": BELIEF IN JULIAN BARNES'S *A HISTORY OF THE WORLD IN 10 ½ CHAPTERS*

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Abstract: *This paper presents a less examined dimension of Barnes's writings, which is the dominant role that belief plays in the development of his characters in *A History of the World in 10 1/2 Chapters*. The main argument of my essay is whether love can be considered as the most significant proposition of the novel. A content-based analysis of the novel's "The Survivor" chapter demonstrates Barnes' sceptic attitude towards postmodern rationalism, while the examination of "Parenthesis" and "Dream" chapter shows that hope, which becomes synonymous with belief in the novel, is actually the most permeating phenomenon in the novel.*

Keywords: belief, narrative, spirituality, temptation, uncertainty

1. Introduction

In a few months or so devoted scholars or journals of contemporary literature will certainly discuss Julian Barnes's *A History of the World in 10 1/2 Chapters* due to the 15th anniversary of his much debated novel. Despite a few critical reviews, the novel was celebrated for its generic hybridity and has been widely discussed ever since by numerous scholars such as Merritt Mosely, Bruce Sesto, Matthew Pateman, Vanessa Guignery or Frederick M. Holmes. This paper attempts to shed some light on a less researched area of Barnes's fiction which has only partly been mentioned in previous studies on the author. "I don't believe in God, but I miss Him" is a quotation from Julian Barnes, which gave inspiration to my research on Barnes's attitude towards faith and God. Although Barnes is notorious in using biblical references and religious motifs in his fiction, the spiritual undercurrent of his writings is a dimension less examined by literary scholars. *A History of the World in 10 1/2 Chapters* (from this point onward referred to as *A History of the World*) engages with several religious themes. However, Barnes's tendency to subject religious issues to ironic presentation, reinforces the image of the writer as an irreligious artist of the postmodern tradition. Still, I propose that many of his writings have a spiritual domain which has been excluded from the main scope of literary research.

The primary aim of this paper is to elaborate on the significant role that belief plays in the development of Barnes's characters in *A History of the World*. The introductory part of the essay deals with the generic hybridity of the book to show the relationship of the individual chapters and the theme of uncertainty crucial in most Barnesian novels. The analysis of the novel begins with the narrative mode of the novel, particularly that of "The Survivor" chapter, which leads to the analysis of the double use of the word 'temptation'. A clear distinction is made between spiritual temptation and 'temptation to believe' and their crucial role in character construction is examined. Afterwards, I compare Barnes's proposition of love in the

"Parenthesis" chapter with Katherine's 'temptation to believe', both of which are offered as remedies against the oppressing nature of history. Finally, I examine the importance of belief and dreams, elaborated in the chapters "Parenthesis" and "Dream", and reach the conclusion of that belief is the most essential need of man (at least of the characters) in *A History of the World*.

2. Analysis

At the time of publication, there were several scholars who were unable to regard *A History of the World* as a novel, and considered it rather as a collection of short stories. Although the book combines documented historical events with fictitious elements, "the writer [Barnes] . . . rejects the appellation of 'short stories' as the book consists of various strands which are carefully woven into all the chapters through echoes, repeated phases, details and themes" (Guignery 2006:62). I consider *A History of the World* a novel, but a narrative which consciously stretches, in certain cases even violates, the limits of the conventional novel.

The primary goal of *A History of the World*, according to Frederic Holmes, is to demolish any confidence of the readers that is to obtain objective truth about the past and the history of the world. Barnes uses textual fragmentation to hinder the totalizing representation of the past. The chapters are written from numerous different perspectives in a variety of stylistic registers and genres varying from fables to legal transcripts. According to Claudia Kotte (1997:108) "the novel's mixture of the factual and the fabulous violates the standard expectations that historiography must treat actual rather than fictional events". Yet, according to Barnes, historians, just like fiction writers, also need to mix the factual with the fictional: "if history attempts to be more than a description of documents, a description of artefacts, (it) has to be a sort of literary genre" (Guignery 2006:67). Several critics have analysed the book through the postmodern concept of historiographic metafiction, a phrase which was officially coined by Linda Hutcheon (2004:5), referring to such works that "are both intensely self-reflexive and yet paradoxically also lay claim to historical events and personages". However, with the mixture of the fictional and the factual the authority of historical texts is strongly undermined.

Barnes's eccentric and highly selective history of the world centres on individual characters. The novel juxtaposes several narrators, whose viewpoints obviously seldom concur. In parallel with the postmodern epistemological doubt regarding the past, the fragmented narrative of the novel strengthens the uncertainty of reaching absolute knowledge. The chapters' diversity, their clearly subjective rewriting of history, as well as their self-reflexivity, all call attention to their factitious constructions and reduce their level of validity. "The Survivor" chapter is unique in comparison to all the other chapters, since it does not only defy the notion of the master narrative as the others, but also starts deconstructing itself due to the presence of two contrasting narratives within this single chapter. One level of the narrative is Katherine on the island in the company of two cats, while the other level is Katherine tied to a hospital bed. The first few pages are written in third-person narrative and give a glimpse into her life and daily acts of defiance, for instance raising her voice against feeding radioactive reindeers to minks. The change of narrative to first-person takes place when Katherine reports how she set out on her voyage. There is no consistency in the shifts of the narrative modes, but rather (it is as if) the two narrative voices start fighting for dominance. It would be logical if her assumed reality on the island she finally comes upon remained in the first-person, and her nightly trials with the doctors were narrated in the third-person, signalling that the latter, the dream world is reality. However, each narrative level exploits

both narrative modes; therefore, the unreliable narrative adds to the indeterminacy of the real and the unreal, fact and fiction.

The most fundamental characteristics of Katherine, the narrator of “The Survivor” chapter have crucial significance in proving my thesis on the importance of belief in the world of the novel. Katherine believes in supernatural things, such as “if only you could believe that the reindeer can fly, then you’d realize anything is possible” (Barnes 2009:84). Her seemingly childish beliefs are neglected by her surroundings; however, her insight is in line with the woodworm's recollection from the first chapter, therefore her perceptions of worldly matters gain more credibility. “Everything is connected” (Barnes 2009:84) is a sentence of hers which occurs repeatedly, on the one hand referring to Barnes's meticulously intertwined strands that connect the chapters on the level of motifs, themes, characters and plot, on the other hand considering some organic unity between man and nature. Nature in the eyes of Katherine is superior to the binding forces of man’s rationality. Katherine states that women are more in touch with the world as they are more closely connected to all cycles than men. She contrasts natural cycles with the violent history of humanity and concludes that what is wrong with the world is that “we’ve given up having lookouts. We don’t think about saving other people, we just sail on...Everyone below deck” (Barnes 2009:96). She articulates the loss of our humanity and our concern for non-materialistic things, which manifests itself in the patriarchal history of the world. However, having given up lookouts also underscores humanity’s lack of belief in the ordinary and the extraordinary miracles, a phenomenon which fundamentally permeates the modern world perceived by Barnes. Katherine spiritual struggle is against the binding forces of this modern world.

Katherine’s resistance to the modern world echoes that of the narrator in the “Parenthesis” chapter. Both narrators criticize the oppressive nature of history. Katherine states “I hate dates. Dates are bullies, dates are know-alls” (Barnes 2009:99). She revolts against the authoritative and confining nature of history. Similarly to her rejection, the narrator of the “Parenthesis” writes “we get scared by history, we allow ourselves to be bullied by dates . . . Dates don’t tell the truth . . . They want to make us think we’re always progressing, always going forward” (Barnes 2009:241). Both narrators turn against dates which sustain the progress fallacy within history, as it is designed to cover the often chaotic, repetitive violent and destructive history of man. Both chapters reflect on the act of fabrication: “We make up a story to cover the facts and spin a new story round them” (Barnes 2009:242), which has been deployed to cover the hopelessness and despair of our own existence, and soothe the pain of uncertainty regarding our past, present and future.

Katherine calls the men in her dreams "tempters". Due to other biblical references, I chose to apply the biblical meaning of the term. Yielding to temptation means, in short, committing some kind of act that goes against the will of God, therefore considered a sin, which if not repented will surely lead to the damnation of the soul. Katherine’s tempters charge against her spiritual self, which believes that the morality of man has to be reformed in order to reach a more meaningful level of existence. Katherine identifies her tempters as her rational self striving to destroy her spiritual: “the mind was producing its own arguments against reality, against itself, what it knew” (Barnes 2009:100). However, the interpretation of temptation is challenged in the following:

She didn’t believe in God, but now she was tempted. Not because she was afraid of dying. It wasn’t that. No, she was tempted to believe in someone watching what was going on, watching the bear dig its own pit and then fall into it. It wouldn’t be such a good story if there was no-one around to tell it. Look what they went and did-they blew themselves up. Silly cows. (Barnes 2009:103)

Katherine’s willingness to believe in a God, who possibly is just a passive observer of the world, is also a form of temptation, but not in a traditional sense. Barnes ingenuity lies in the

fact that the reader's mind is transfixed with the biblical meaning of temptation, which, therefore, assigns a sinful characteristic to spiritual belief. Yielding to this aforementioned temptation would mean defying the predominantly secularized world and rational thinking of man. In this light, a wish to have faith in God and the spiritual is inherently something that has to be overcome. Theological scepticism is a fundamental postmodern trait of Barnes's oeuvre, yet scepticism is not equal to disbelief. At the end of the chapter Katherine overcomes her spiritual temptation and rejects her evil tempters, the world of reason represented by men. Therefore, by defying the rationale, she yields to the other form of temptation, which is a 'temptation to believe' in something that goes beyond man and his history of the world. The chapter ends with Katherine being back on the island and closes with the lines "She felt such happiness! Such hope!"(Barnes 2009:111). The factual and the fabulous undermine each other's authority, and, therefore an undecidability permeates the reading of the story. The text allows the reader to decide whether we got an insight into a delusional mind or witnessed a spiritual redemption, if not both, side by side, without neutralizing each other's meaning. Temptation to believe is the hope of breaking the cycle of human history, which in the eyes of Barnes is a desperate voyage on which people are vainly seeking deliverance from various kinds of disasters, or the hope of a future spiritual realm that will once nurture a truly humane mode of existence both on the physical and spiritual level.

Although all the narrators of the novel tend to echo each other, Katherine is the single narrator who explicitly repeats the major ideas of the narrator from the "Parenthesis" chapter. Some scholars consider this chapter to be the key to interpreting the rest of the novel, although it breaks the pattern of the novel, as it turns into a personal creed on history and love. Introducing the topic of love at such a late stage upsets the novel's finely tuned mechanism of themes for a brief period. Love is said to be essential as it is "unnecessary" (Barnes 2009:236), and it "makes us see the truth, makes it our duty to tell the truth" (Barnes 2009:240). Whereas history covers and distorts the truth by means of fabulation, love unveils the truth and is able to turn against the oppressive forces of history: "Love won't change the history of the world . . . but it will do something much more important: teach us to stand up to history, to ignore its chin-out strut"(Barnes 2009:240). History dismisses the importance of the individuals and makes them feel daunted and insignificant; while love enables people to see the absurdity and the trivial nature of history. The narrator states that to defy history we have to put aside our scepticism about truth and continues: "we must still believe that objective truth is obtainable; or we must believe that it is 99 per cent obtainable; or if we can't believe this we must believe that 43 per cent objective truth is better than 41 per cent" (Barnes 2009:246). This sudden endorsement of the concept of truth is seen by Vanessa Guignery (2006:68) as "the postmodernist strategy of inscribing and subverting, installing and deconstructing". Barnes ingenuity lies in the fact that he reverses the postmodern process: he first deconstructs the notion of objective truth and then re-inscribes it. The narrator's proposition of obtainable certainty is similar to Katherine's temptation to believe, in the terms of that both deeply rely on an act of faith. Unless we believe in certain things that have no rational bases, we are left with complete despair regarding our world and human existence.

In regard to "Parenthesis", Andrew Tate states that Barnes's defence of love is "lyrical, persuasive and moving but . . . no more rational than an apologia for Christian faith" (Tate 2011:62). In agreement with Tate, Barnes's reasoning does fall short in fulfilling for instance the requirements of an argumentative essay, however the line "So religion and art should yield to love" epitomises the stations of Barnes's search for meaning. Wojciech Drag identifies three novels as the major milestones of Barnes's pursuit of meaning. She concludes that while *Flaubert's Parrot* offers that the meaning of life is actually the search for meaning itself and *Staring at the Sun* offers no consolation in religion, *A History of the World* supplies the most solid foundation for a meaningful existence, which is love "even if it fails us,

although it fails us, because it fails us" (Barnes 2009:245). I agree with Drag's major findings; however, I believe it is not wise to interpret the other chapters simply as a prelude to love.

I do not wish to deny the importance of love in Barnes's later fiction and that of the empowering experience of love in "Parenthesis". Furthermore, from the viewpoint of ethical criticism, love can be considered as the novel's most significant proposition, as it could be the foundation of an "anti-materialist" (Barnes 2009:244) system of moral values that would fill the space left by Christianity in the Western culture. Nevertheless, apart from "Parenthesis", all the other ten chapters conspicuously lack this phenomenon. Barnes excels in presenting an unreliable set of narratives of the history of the world, in which humanity is seemingly always headed towards entropy. Yet, simultaneously the cyclical structure of a greater narrative is enforced, since the fragmented narratives of the world are actually woven together by the reoccurrence of major themes, motifs, and characters throughout the novel. But only one set of phenomena permeates all the chapters of the novel, and that is hope and despair: "we are lost at sea, washed between hope and despair, hailing something that may never come to rescue us"(Barnes 2009:137). In an existentialist reading of the text, hope is present to counteract the violent and ruthless acts of man, for instance in the face of extinction ("Stowaway"), despair ("Shipwreck"), massacre ("The Visitors"), violent death ("Three Simple Stories"), and unexplainable tragedy ("Upstream"). Hope is more explicit in certain chapters than others, and is just as multi-faceted and indeterminable as the chapters of history in the novel, but the temptation to believe in change of events, ordinary or extraordinary miracles, even though they go against the voice of reason is present in every chapter. Hope in "the Survivor" chapter is Katherine's 'temptation to believe', which defies both the inhuman acts of man and the secularized world of reason, however later it is synonymous with faith in "The Mountain" and "Project Ararat" chapters, which convey the clash between belief in the spiritual and the rational. In the former, the sentence "where Amanda discovered in the world divine intent, benevolent order and rigorous justice, her father had seen only chaos, hazard and malice" (Barnes 2009:148) epitomizes the irreconcilable nature of the scientific mind and the strongly religious one. Nonetheless, Miss Logan (an outside observer) realizes that "There were two explanations of everything, that each required the exercise of faith, and that we had been given free will in order that we might choose between them" (Barnes 2009:168) conveys that the ambiguity of the world cannot be resolved; and, therefore, neither the spiritual nor the rational domain should be excluded.

The last chapter underscores another analogy of hope which is repeated in the title, "Dream". The chapter unfolds "an iteration of eternity free from judgement" (Tate 2011:62), which is designed to be so democratic that all individuals get acceptance and are provided with their own personalized version of eternity. Ironically, Barnes deprives the characters of final certainty even after death, as even God appears to be absent. This picture of heaven uses and abuses modern consumerism as its frame, resulting in a mockery of both sacred and profane ideas of the current age. After having spent a few hundred years in perfect happiness, the narrator starts yearning for some form of certainty, longing to be judged: "I'd always had this dream . . . dream of being judged. It's what we all want, isn't it? I wanted, oh, some kind of summing-up, I wanted my life looked at"(Barnes 2009:293). Dreams gain great importance by the end of the chapter that will complement both the motif of 'temptation to believe' and that of hope. The protagonist's evaluation of his life is disappointing as he receives a simple "You're OK" (Barnes 2009:294) pat on the shoulder. His discomfort remains and his lines of enquiry lead to Margaret (who most closely resembles an angel of some sort) telling him that sooner or later everyone takes the option to die off. Margaret states "we often get people asking for bad weather, for instance, or for something to go wrong. They miss things going wrong. Some of them ask for pain" (Barnes 2009:305). This underlines the "contradictory

nature of human desires, needs and hopes" (Tate 2011:62), according to which we can only appreciate the sun behind the clouds of rain.

The first-person narrator is unable to express what is actually wrong with his personalized eternity. He can only complain about Hitler being in heaven, and not having dreams ever since he has supposedly died. He reaches the conclusion that "Heaven's a very good idea, it's a perfect idea . . . but not for us. Not given the way we are" (Barnes 2009:309). Again, he is not explicit, but his words are indicative of another crucial element of human nature. On the very last page of the book he asks "Why do we have Heaven? Why do we have these dreams of Heaven?" to which Margaret answers "Perhaps you need them . . . you can't get by without the dream" (Barnes 2009:309). What dreams are manifestations of and how dreams should be interpreted is a separate field of studies; however the "Dream" chapter foregrounds the idea that dreams are manifestations of the very essence of man, his hopes and desires. While "Parenthesis" claims love to "give us our humanity, and also our mysticism" (Barnes 2009:245), all the other chapters propose that belief as such is vital part of what makes us humans. Believing in something does not require reasoning, as it implicitly builds on hopes, desires and feelings. Despair and pain cannot be erased from the world, however if such a place existed then the balance between hope and despair would be disturbed. However, the world is presented as off balance in which reason and power has oppressed faith and love. *A History of the World* underscores the necessity of belief because faith in either ordinary or in extraordinary miracles constitutes our very essence and our mysticism.

3. Conclusion

This essay has covered a wide range of crucial terms from 'temptation to believe', through hope and dreams to faith. The presence of belief in the works of Barnes reflects a temptation to believe in the irrational that goes against secularized modern thinking of man. The world of the reader is as embedded in rationality as that of the characters; therefore believing in something that goes against the world of reason is a 'modern' form of temptation. This is the reason why I differentiated between two forms of temptation: temptation of the rational (believing in miracles) and temptation of the spiritual (believing in reason). Although the motif of 'temptation to believe' and hope in a world of unordinary miracles is permeated with Barnes's religious scepticism, Barnes always offers his characters and his readers an interpretation that validates the spiritual, a chance to choose faith over reason. The fact that Julian Barnes, who regards himself an atheist writer, proposes this chance in a dominantly secularized postmodern tradition reveals that he himself is occasionally tempted to believe.

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DE GRUYTER
OPEN

DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0018

WHAT IS A SHORT STORY BESIDES SHORT? QUESTIONING MINDS IN SEARCH OF UNDERSTANDING SHORT FICTION

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Abstract: The paper seeks to identify the cluster of essential features for a working definition of the short story, in an attempt to establish short fiction as a fully independent literary genre. I further explore the fundamental mode of thinking and of imagination generated by reading short fiction.

Keywords: counterfactual thinking, hypothetical plots, short story, structural brevity

1. Introductory Remarks

The short story overthrows expectations, has undefinable but captivating effects, gives the sensation of irresistible fascination, pulsates and throbs ceaselessly, suspends motion, emphasises vigorous nuances, never exhausts the subject, focalizes an experience, throws into doubt firm ideas, defamiliarizes our assumptions, works in-depth, engulfs and snares us. The short story is intuitive, mythic, antisocial, immaterial, fragmentary, intense, mysterious, unusual, misleading, oral, and lyrical. The short story can be all this. Or it can be nothing like this. It delights into indeterminacy and resists definition. The short story is “a dissident form of communication” (March-Russell 2009:ix).

In the long tradition of short story criticism and theory, literary critics have tried to answer two deceptively straightforward questions: *what stories do* and *what makes a short story*. In principle, any attempt to establish any clear-cut underlying characteristics of the short story seems to require a narrowing definition that would certainly exclude other multiple possibilities to approach ‘short storyness’. A short story can probably be *this* but never *that*. Critics have tried to distinguish short fiction from other fictional forms by explaining why a short story is *not* a novel, a fairy tale, a sketch, or an anecdote. The real problem with these classical puzzles may be that any such definitions can only reduce the short story to a limited number of qualities by sacrificing others.

Seen in this light, other similar questions are equally difficult to answer: how can we define the effect of a short story on us or how can we recognize the constituent elements that make a short story? And what exactly makes stories unique and memorable? What gives them prominence in our life? What are the essential qualities that bring them together? In this instance, there is no simple causality. Readers often explain that they *feel* and *suspect* there is something significant in the story’s depth of implication but they just cannot pinpoint exactly what it is about. Critics often speculate on the myriad of nuances and complexities found in stories, but with no concluding evidence. The text seems to be only throwing up possible ways of reading

and interpretation. Despite the difficulty, stories *do* matter to us. Still, the short stories of our very personal collections continue to live in us and reappear in our memory with an unequal emotional force and intensity. The stories we tell are essential for our coming to terms with life, in our quest for representing reality. We make use of different narrative patterns when we tell lies, make excuses, recount small anecdotes, and so on. Arguably, however, in a story the reality encapsulated is immensely more ample than the simple anecdote that can be read and recounted in a short sitting: “a true Short-story is something other and something more than a mere story which is short” (Matthews 1994 [1901]:73). The story’s apparent simple content and the brevity of its structure have vexed and intrigued generations of readers and critics alike.

2. The ‘Short’ History of Short Stories

Historically, nevertheless, short fictional narrative has been seen as secondary to the novel—which has been generally considered as the dominant genre, the legitimate and more refined literary form, more ‘serious’ in scope and intentions. Thus, in the literary theoretical studies, the novel has always received extensive critical attention. It is not until 1901, when Brander Matthews wrote his first full-length analysis of short fiction, that the unique art of short stories, as particularly distinct from the one employed by novels, was the subject of extensive study. Despite this first critical attempt at establishing a tradition for short fiction, the reading public have only remembered the reviewer’s comment in the London *Academy* on B. Matthews’s study *The Philosophy of the Short Story*: “The short story is a smaller, simpler, easier, and less important form of the novel” (reprinted in “The Nature of Knowledge in Short Fiction,” May 1994:132).

Over the years, many other similarly sceptical critics have treated short fiction as strictly dependant on the novel, grounding their theoretical claims on the fact that there is no clear individual set of features for short stories that could distinguish them from other fictional forms:

That there is no large and distinguished corpus of short story theory because the short story does not exist as a discrete and independent genre is a hypothesis – repugnant to many, of course – that ought to be taken seriously on occasion, if only to contemplate the perspective the hypothesis provides. [...] there is no single characteristic or cluster of characteristics that the critics agree absolutely distinguishes the short story from other fictions. (Ferguson 1994:218)

In the same vein, another sceptical critic, Mary Louise Pratt (1994), claims that a working definition of the short story can only be formulated by reference to other genres, more precisely to the complex novel. This means that the relation between the two paired genres would be “highly asymmetrical” or a “hierarchical one with the novel on top and the short story dependent” (96). Pratt further explains that the dependency is twofold: it has historical and conceptual aspects. For a long historic period, the novel was seen as the more established and prestigious of the two genres. Assuming that short and long literary forms have not developed simultaneously, critics argue that the short story needs to be explained by facts about the novel in order to obtain legitimacy. With a superficial view of the question, it appears that the novel has provided the ground for the development of the short story and for its reception among other literary established genres. On this view, the hierarchical relations between the two paired genres can be explained by the binary oppositions of “unmarked to marked, of major to minor, of greater to lesser, even ‘mature’ to ‘infant’” (Pratt 96). Furthermore, framing the problem of the definition in such terms may deny the possibility of creating formal and generic characteristics for the genre of short fiction. It seems that structural shortness—the main feature requiring stylistic devices like economy, concentration, and unity—is too arbitrary a quality to construct an autonomous genre. In

the last instance, critics who support this view claim that a new genre based on the formal principle of *shortness* is bound to fail:

So the tendency is to give up the business of formal genre definition for short fiction as hopeless or fruitless, and to deal with individual texts as parts of the author's whole *oeuvre*, within a general perspective on fiction dominated by the novel. Fiction is thus thought of as 'the novel' plus assorted hangers-on of lesser proportions: the colon in *Novel: A FORUM ON FICTION* implies as much. (Good 1994:147)

By opposition, another category of critics has tried to prove that short fiction can stand alone as a legitimate genre, i.e. *not* dependant on the novel. Their position and conceptualization are grounded on two major arguments: the short story's specific structural properties and its historical traditions. In line with Northrop Frye's comments in his essays on prose fiction *Anatomy of Criticism* (2000 [1957]), it seems that literary critics experience "great embarrassment" while discovering other fictional prose forms developed prior to the birth of the novel: "The literary historian who identifies fiction with the novel is greatly embarrassed by the length of time that the world managed to get along without the novel [...]" (303).

In his study on the nature of knowledge in short fiction, critic Ch. E. May (1994) is suggesting that the short story has, in fact, a longer tradition than the long story. He goes on to say that, initially, the short form was the most natural way of communication through which we used to express our inner original religious feelings. The primeval relation between humans and the sacred would seldom take the form of isolated short narratives that were later linked together in more coherent and longer narrative forms. There are, therefore, two early distinct narrative forms: one would be the short narrative (with "the limit of a single sitting", as suggested by Poe (1994 [1986]), that was to become the source of the fairy tale, of the folk ballad, and of the modern short story; the second longer form requires more sessions for its delivery. From this early narrative form emerged the saga, the epic, and the novel. At the conclusion of his study, Ch. May argues that the family resemblance between short stories, fairy tales, myths, or fables (seemingly emerging from the primeval religious nature of narrative) has generated particular properties for the ontology and epistemology of short fiction. By referring explicitly to these properties, May provides a more rigorous integration of previous insular findings that can help deepen our knowledge of basic differences between the reality and the experience embodied in the two emergent narrative forms: one short and one long.

Different theoretical approaches and frameworks in short story criticism have been adopted, and it is evident that the differences between these approaches lie mainly in how they account for the nature of the short story. One of the best-known features for short fiction is the emphasis on closure: short story writers focus on the final part of the story with the view of stirring surprise and raising unexpected questions. In identifying the role of the closure, critics make the assumption that the whole weight of the text is concentrated here. On this view, the closure effect may explain the entire concept of 'storyness' in short fiction (see Lohafer 1994).

Many other theoreticians define literary short fiction by discussing the modifier 'short'. Very briefly, this means that short stories are works of fiction of 'short' length. But how short should they be? We have an increasing number of anthologies that publish stories of no more than one page or just several paragraphs but, at the other end of the spectrum, there are stories of seventy or eighty pages. With no definitive limits for size or length, it may appear to be rather problematic to give a clear definition to the short story. But yet, 'shortness' *does* seem to be an inescapable feature that many short story critics use as a point of comparison with the seemingly more established literary form—the novel.

3. On Further Defining Short Fiction

For reasons that I will be addressing in what follows, I argue that the mere fact of physical shortness should not be treated as only an intrinsic feature but a property that necessarily occurs relative to something else. A short story, by reason of its length and its fragmented experience contained in the brief time dedicated to its reading, can express the inherent discontinuity and fragmentariness of the stories we generally share outside the fictional realm. In truth, the limited physical length of the short story excites the reader's imagination, as in real life we are used to coming to terms with the incompleteness of experience and with its transitory nature. Put differently, we thus learn how to manage fragmentariness. (Short) stories are fundamentally incomplete and indeterminate in both fiction and real life—they tell fragments of life, and at every turn, the intentional gaps in the story challenge us to discover a potentially new story. Fictional short stories 'imitate' our natural narrative habits in the sense that they mimic our desire of telling stories that are fragmented and that capture one "discrete moment of truth [...] – not *the* moment of truth", as Nadine Gordimer (1994: 265) rightfully acknowledges. According to the critic, the art of short fiction heightenedly manifests in the brief illumination of a particular situation:

Short-story writers see by the light of the flash; theirs is the art of the only thing one can be sure of—the present moment. Ideally, they have learnt to do without explanation of what went before, and what happens beyond this point. (1994:264)

On the other hand, 'shortness' may seem too quantitative and material a feature to give an accurate evaluation of 'short storyness', but yet it does seem *one* crucial fact. Generally, traditional critical studies on short fiction have treated the opposition between 'short fiction' and other 'longer narrative forms' with the aim of establishing the superiority of longer narrative modes. And by so doing, the short story has been seldom regarded as simply a poorer and more condensed form of the novel. In contrast to the complexity and forced continuity of the novel, the short story has been regularly defined as a minor art form. While I do admit that the relation between the two artistic forms needs to be recognized (for a better understanding of how they both communicate human experience), I argue that the examination of the differences between long and short fictions should not consolidate new structural relations between individual literary genres. Rather, we should acknowledge the emergence of a new literary form (short fiction), along with an ontologically different mode of knowing reality and of thinking.

This study argues that the short story's use of vigorous compression and fragmentation replenishes, rather than exhausts, nascent sources of textual meaning. The notion of structural distinction is crucial and ought to be considered as a means of capturing the nature of 'big and small forms', which reflects an individual *mode of knowing*: the short story takes its inspiration from the abstract realm of "dreams, desires, anxieties, and fears", "the timeless theme", or from "the immaterial reality" (May 1994:xxvi). In contrast, the novel appears to be more indebted to a social context, which means that novelists try to give an accurate reconstruction of the social world and recreate "the illusion of reality":

The results of this distinction are that whereas the novel is primarily a social and public form, the short story is mythic and spiritual. While the novel is primarily structured on a conceptual and philosophic framework, the short story is intuitive and lyrical. The novel exists to reaffirm the world of 'everyday' reality; the short story exists to 'defamiliarize' the everyday. (May 1994:133)

A short story is a photograph. South American writer Julio Cortázar insists that, like a successful photograph, the short story cuts off a fragment of reality to meet the physical limitations, but paradoxically, the selected segment acts “like an explosion which fully opens a much more ample reality, like a dynamic vision which spiritually transcends the space reached by the camera” (1994:246). This arresting metaphoric comparison is pertinent since it helps us realize that the discussion of the short story must begin with the notion of physical limits. It is important to notice that both photographers and short story writers use that limitation aesthetically. By delimiting the image or the event, they must choose something *meaningful* that projects imagination toward a realm beyond the visual or literary anecdote in the photograph or in the story (Cortázar 1994:247). Short stories have the mysterious quality to ‘illuminate beyond themselves’. It appears then that his essential quality of structural brevity has not only served experimental writers but it relates to the idea of tension and intensity in the story.

In opposition to the novel’s tendency to render the full-length of life, the short story communicates a significant fragment of life; nonetheless, within the restraints of limited space, the fragment is lifted to the status of an intense awareness of our own deepest experiences. The story’s tendency toward fragmentation and textual density was at the core of modernist fiction when short fiction began to flourish. Perhaps more than modernist novelists, writers of short story greatly explored the relation between the fragment and the whole, which led them to experience an inherent paradox in their writing: the fragment as a part detached from the whole completed the whole but finally remained the most memorable and autonomous segment of the text. Perhaps not surprisingly, the story’s fragmented nature and disjointed discourse suited modern time and its disordered subjectivity in a world that slowly but surely became more disarticulated against a background of sprawling quantities of tittered fragments.

The short story is a fragmented and restless form, a matter of hit and miss, and it is perhaps for this reason that it suits modern consciousness—which seems best expressed as flashes of fearful insight alternating with near-hypnotic states of indifference. (Gordimer 1994:265)

Stylistically, short stories focus on one single moment or a single situation that can best capture “the ultimate reality” (Gordimer 1994:264); that is, the subtle meanings of our human experience and the infinite reflections of human life. Conversely, novel writers use the fictional novel as an artistic means of “netting ultimate reality” (Gordimer 1994:263), but their artistic tools have often failed to attain such an ambitious goal. This may explain the novel’s frequent changes in structural form and narrative approaches. Regardless of the artistic form and methods employed by novel writers, novels seem to be losing themselves in a bewilderingly complex search for meanings, completeness or totality. It can be said that novel writers genuinely seek to give a *complete* sense of resolution. Admittedly, they try to render the full-length of life in order to give an authentic account of a complete life. This sustained attempt of the novel can nonetheless prove rather deceptive. Novels misleadingly teach us that we can live out the ‘totality’ of experience. For that matter, it is empirically impossible for the experiencing subject to experience completeness, totality, or plenitude. Logical completeness is arguably an attribute of real objects and actions in real life.

4. ‘Short’ and ‘Long’ Narrative Forms—Contrasting Features

Essentially, the structural differences between short and long forms ought not to be regarded as mere contrasting equivalents but as two models that allow different engagement in

two distinct artistic forms. These individual literary fictional narratives propose fundamentally different ways of distinct modes of thinking and imagination. It is just reasonable to argue that short fiction, by its very length, will present individual characteristics for 'short' experiences or snapshots of reality. The way we reflect on such fragments of experience will clearly differ from the mode of thinking used for understanding longer narratives. Short and long narrative fictions ultimately suggest two particular ways of confronting reality and of coming to terms with experience.

It is only reasonable for the short form to rely on implication, suggestion, and in-depth understanding. The tension created by economy and fragmentation, ellipsis, the impulse toward depersonalisation, the fragile dialogues, the single effect, and the suspension of motion in linear narrative are characteristically inherent devices sustained by short texts. In an attempt to capture the story's meaning, myriads of minds turn the text over and around, speculate, play out interpretations and construct others anew.

E.A. Poe (1994 [1986]) was the first to acknowledge the issue of shortness, as linked to the concepts of "unity" and of "singleness of effect". For Poe, the brevity of the short story creates a sense of intensity and compression. Due to its unified and compact form, the short story requires a special type of reading and understanding, one that goes in the depth of implication. This means that the mode of thinking used by both readers and interpreters of short fiction is inherently particular, i.e. their ability to recognize the deep level of understanding at which meanings begin to develop.

As already argued, short stories' structural brevity generates changes in artistic techniques and devices, which, in turn, can cause dramatic shifts in reading and in the corresponding cognitive operations used by readers for understanding and interpretation. Thus, for instance, in the analysis of (modernist) short stories, one needs to look at two major shifts—the shift in technique and in the reader's ability to understand "the theme" (the meaning) of the story. In her study on the modern short story (late 19th c. and early 20th c. short stories), Suzanne C. Ferguson (1994) argues that the brevity of short fiction requires the use of two distinct techniques: stylistic economy and the foregrounding of style. Ultimately, short story writers have to overcome the limits and restraints imposed by the story's limited length, which also results in the use of special stylistic devices.

By generally limiting the point of view to one character, short fiction writers focus their subject matter on the exploration of unique experiences or short fragments of life. In his study on short fiction, *The Lonely Voice*, Frank O'Connor argues that short stories do not normally create "heroes" or models that can be followed, but instead, the world of short fiction is populated by isolated figures, "wandering about the fringes of society" (O'Connor 1963:19), dreamers, artists, or lonely idealists. In one word, this fictional world is the one of "the submerged population" that has certainly changed from writer to writer, but that will always give a sense of "an intense awareness of human loneliness" (O'Connor 1963:19). Clearly, "the lonely voice" of the submerged population prompts the articulation of a particular attitude of mind used to understand reality.

Unlike the novel's investigation of the totality of human experience and of the full-length of life, short fiction allows an in-depth analysis of intensely subjective and isolated human experience. The preoccupation of short story writers with such unsettling themes, along with the employment of a limited point of view, can pose an additional problem for the reader. It seems that the reader's quest for the meaning(s) becomes even more problematic, due to the uncertainty generated by the narrative point of view. This limited access to the condensed textual universe makes the reader's journey to reach the meaning a long and challenging one. Further, Suzanne C.

Ferguson argues that the main technical shift in short fiction appears to be the transformation of the traditional plot by “deletion” and “substitution” (1994:221-222), resulting in the creation of “elliptical plots” (1994:222) and “metaphorical plots” (1994:223). In essence, short story readers are asked to build ‘hypothetical plots’, which are mental constructs that are not intended to only recuperate the narrative sequence, but to evaluate other possible developments of the condensed or suppressed plot. In S. Ferguson’s own parlance:

By hypothetical plots I mean something more specifically formulable than the bare-bones structuralist ‘fabula’: a counter-story, with a beginning, middle, and end, that tells ‘what happened’ in chronological order. [...] The reader must to some extent construct this hypothetical plot in order for the actual story to seem meaningful. (Ferguson 1994:222)

5. Reading Short Fiction and the Workings of Counterfactual Thinking

The short story’s hypothetical plots can generate a higher number of possible courses of narrative developments than in longer fiction. This means that the reader will constantly ask questions about the multitude of possibilities that arise from deletions and substitutions. In other words, the reader is required to stay alert for potential narrative developments, regarding, for instance, what could be happening in the present of the story, what might have happened in the past, what may yet happen (based on present evaluations), or what may never actually happen. On this view, readers are asked to draw inferences about existents or actions that have only been implicitly included in the text, and in the end, they should draw mental representations of these implicit items. Apart from what ‘happens’ in the world of the text, readers may need to make sense of other dynamic alternative worlds that are dreamed of, imagined, wished for, or secretly planned by characters. Short ‘storyness’ thus resides in the reader’s ability to recognize this large alternative system of the text and later bring it to life.

This has also much to say regarding the configuration of the story—on the one hand, there is the actual world generated by the text, and on the other hand, this world is surrounded by a multitude of alternative possible worlds. That said, I may safely argue that while reading short fiction, the reader’s mind operates as a world-making machine: “we recognize a story that has not been fully told lying behind the one that *is* told. Reading the stories, we become detectives, piecing together the main elements of the hypothetical plots in order to rationalize the actual plot” (Ferguson 1994:223).

Then I am suggesting that the particular mode of thinking in short fiction is a major factor in differentiating it from other kinds of narrative or literary genres. Principally, this may explain why short stories necessitate particular approaches in both writing and reading. Such a particular mode of thinking requires readers and interpreters to accommodate to a new profile equipped with special reading abilities: the construction of the hypothetical plot or double plot (the story that has not been (fully) told yet), the ability to reach the deep level basis of the text where meanings are developed, and the capacity to restore the sum of possible worlds that form the semantic domain of the text. Short story readers show a special conceptual ability to create mental alternatives and to blend these hypothetical mental spaces with other mental scenarios prompted by their ‘actual world’. In short, interpreters have the extraordinary capacity to operate mentally on the unreal, to run simultaneous mental scenarios, and to perform off-line cognitive simulations. Understanding the narrative universe in short fiction requires readers to carry out intensive cognitive work. In order to build mental constructs of ‘true’ possible worlds, readers need to compare non-actual facts with the facts existing in the textual actual world, and then they need to combine these elements in a new blended mental space.

It seems that most mental work performed during reading short fiction uses the tools of counterfactual thinking, which involves dynamic substitutions, creative mental constructions of non-actual worlds, and structural combinations of fragmented textual universes. Short story readers perform such mental operations because, in this way, they can have access to the meanings of the text. Therefore, a close analysis of the bends and turns of the interpreter's imagination when performing acts of reading short fiction can prove useful for an insightful exploration of the intricate paths of human imagination.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0019

THE THINGNESS OF THE THING: THE ROLE OF EVERYDAY OBJECTS IN BECKET MIRACLE WINDOWS

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Abstract: In “*The Waning of the Middle Ages*”, J. Huizinga has pointed out that “all things would be absurd if their meaning would be exhausted by their function and their place in the phenomenal world, if by their essence they did not reach into a world beyond this.” (1924:201) Starting from this assumption, I purport to analyze the role/roles played by everyday/ordinary objects in the miracle stories depicted in the Trinity Chapel glazing and argue that their individuation/haecceity is subject to practices of ritualistic and artistic encodings.

Keywords: *ampulla, artefact, Canterbury water, ex-voto, relic*

1. Introduction

Soon after the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket, as the fire of 1174 gutted the great Romanesque choir of Canterbury Cathedral, it became clear that the space which awaited reconstruction was destined to house the relics of the recently canonised saint. To the monastic community of Canterbury, the fire was seen as a sign of divine retribution and restitution to counteract the murder of the Archbishop and the desecration of the cathedral by the spilling of his blood. The incident allowed the monks to link the canonisation of St Thomas to the refurbishment of the cathedral and re-establish Canterbury as a force to be reckoned with by the secular authorities.

The dramatic account *On the Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral* (1174-84) given by Gervase of Canterbury, a twelfth-century acute observer and able writer and chronicler, testifies to the retributive justice God had bestowed both on the monastic community of Canterbury and on His viciously slain and martyred Archbishop:

In the year of grace one thousand one hundred and seventy-four, by the just but occult judgment of God, the church of Christ at Canterbury, in the forty-fourth year from its dedication, that glorious choir which had been so magnificently completed by the care and industry of Prior Conrad was consumed by fire. (...) [William the Englishman] laid the foundation for the enlargement of the church at the eastern part, because a chapel of St. Thomas was to be built there; for this was the place assigned to him; namely the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, where he celebrated his first mass — where he was wont to prostrate himself with tears and prayers, under whose crypt for so many years he was buried, where God for his merits had performed so many miracles, where poor and rich, kings and princes, had worshipped him, and whence the sound of his praises had gone out into all lands. (qtd. in Robert W. Willis 1843:145)

According to Gervase, the reconstruction that followed took account of provision for a new chapel and shrine dedicated to the martyr who was to bring an unsurpassed worldwide fame to the cathedral. The chapel was designed to shimmer with light, colour and reflective surfaces not only in the contrasting marble used for the main piers and shafts but also in the glossy inlaid floor tiles and the large stained glass windows circling around the ambulatory, which narrated the stories of the miracles of St. Thomas Becket.

The subject of numerous books and articles, the stained glass at Canterbury Cathedral has long been a popular topic for art historians, and yet there are still avenues left to explore. I hope to contribute to the discussion by employing a new approach to the examination of the Miracle Windows, one that focuses on the role/roles played by everyday/ordinary objects in the narrative structure of the glazing panels.

2. Classification of artefacts and their function in practices of healing

In an attempt to organize the corpus of objects/artefacts the stained glass windows display, I have identified several types of objects which I have roughly distributed in two large classes/categories:

1. containers i.e. objects capable of holding especially liquids (vessels): ampullae, flasks, mazers, basins, bowls, cups, chalices, jugs;
2. objects of confinement/restraint and chastisement/punishment: rope or wire coils, clubs and sticks associated with the 'healing' of the mad, crutches and boots for the crippled, axe, knife for offenders or transgressors; these objects are often made into ex-votos or offerings. Of interest for this analysis is the votive value of everyday objects which are often placed at the tomb of the martyr in fulfilment of a vow/pledge or because they have been used during a cure.

Most of the objects represented in the visual narratives on glass belong to the first category of artefacts (containers or vessels). The explanation is very simple. The most powerful relic associated with Thomas Becket was his blood which the monks at Canterbury collected immediately after the murder. The monks seemed to have initially feared to allow the faithful to consume the martyr's blood for evident theological reasons. "Although miraculous healings were frequently effected by saintly relics, no hagiographic precedent existed for the consumption of a martyr's blood. The Old Testament book of *Leviticus* specifically prohibited the drinking of blood and the only person whose blood figured prominently in Christian doctrine and ritual was Christ himself." (Jordan 2009:482) At the same time, as Alyce Jordan has rightfully observed, there were other practical reasons to hinder the proliferation of the relic: "large scale distribution of blood, however, posed numerous problems, among them issues of limited supply and means of preservation." (ibidem.)

However, the solution to both the problem of supply and that of blasphemy was easily solved by dilution. In her book, *Comparing Pilgrim Souvenirs and Trinity Chapel Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*, Sarah Blick gives a dramatic account of the way in which the blood of Saint Thomas came to be used as a powerful thaumaturgical instrument despite the prohibitive resemblance to the Eucharistic miracle:

Within a week of Becket's martyrdom in 1170, the first blood miracle occurred. A man dipped his garment in the martyr's blood, diluted it in water and gave it to his paralyzed wife to drink, curing her instantly. Accounts of this extraordinary healing power spread very quickly, and soon sick people were 'lying in pain all about the church.' The monks of Canterbury were initially reluctant to allow access to the blood, as hitherto, the only blood associated with church practice was the Eucharistic wine/blood of Christ. The monks' objections were quickly overcome as a mob broke into the church demanding access to the blood and its healing powers. The monks yielded and provided in a small vial or pilgrim ampulla the first Canterbury Water, water tinged with the blood of St. Thomas Becket. (Blick 2001:7)

Henceforth, the Canterbury water or "the water of St. Thomas" (and not his blood to avoid any association with the Eucharist) became the universal panacea for afflictions of the body and spirit. Once the shrine became a popular pilgrimage site, Canterbury monks started to "dispense spoonfuls of 'St. Thomas' water' or applied sponges soaked in the tincture to affected parts of the body." (Blick 2001:483)

The proliferation of the relic became as intriguing as the use of ordinary profane objects used in the preparation and administration of the miraculous potion was. If we agree that artefacts are intentionally made to serve a given purpose and that the nature of an artefact lies in its function i.e. an artefact has a functional essence, then to what extent does the association between a sacred substance/energy change/alter the essence of an object? Do ordinary objects have a latent propensity towards assimilating the sacred through proximity or contiguity? Are they ontologically inferior to those deemed sacred e.g. liturgical or ceremonial objects?

3. Becket Miracle Windows: activating the sacred energy of everyday objects

A telling example is given by the story of Petronella of Polesworth, the nun who appears to suffer from epilepsy. The story is visually narrated on two adjacent roundels. The first shows, in the very centre, two nuns tenderly leading a third, a weak stooping figure in utter disarray. Other three sympathetic nuns urge them to leave the convent and make for Canterbury where St. Thomas, the true physician, could appease their companion's distress. The second panel depicts Petronella seated at the tomb, having her feet bathed in the holy water of St. Thomas which three sedulous monks had carefully prepared.

The first thing that drew my attention was the lack of symmetry or balance in the second panel. The image is intentionally off-centred as the protagonist is no longer the ailing woman, who has been reduced to a passive thanks-giving recipient of the cure. The eye is purposefully drawn to the scene where the three monks are mixing water poured from a flask or ampulla with drops of blood held in a spoon. The two candlesticks carefully arranged on the tomb slab guide the eye to a particular point of focus: the bowl or basin where the tincture is being prepared.

Despite the fact that artefacts rely wholly on human agency to exist (they have an essential anthropological dimension which I do not intend to argue against), it is not the human agency that is valued in this panel. "The thing put before our mind or sight" (as this is the meaning of the Latin word *objectum*) is the bowl where the miraculous sublimation of water and blood into sacred protean energy occurs. Container and contained have become one single ontological entity whose function is to cure, to heal. Likewise, the small ampullae or pilgrim souvenirs one would buy after praying at the tomb of the martyr did not just store the precious liquid for later use, as any ordinary container or vessel would do. They were believed to have been endowed, better said imbued with the force of the relic they contained. They turned into relics themselves inasmuch as they metonymically stood for the entire force of the sacred they had absorbed.

Another example comes from the cure of Ethelreda which depicts the miraculous healing of a woman who suffered from malaria. The inscription suggests that "she had grown pale through loss of red blood cells, but, when she imbibed the blood of St. Thomas mixed with water, she recovered." The roundel clearly shows two monks actively involved in the preparation and administration of the miraculous cure. One of the monks raises an ampulla which has supposedly been filled with a combination of the saint's blood and water which the other monk is diligently mixing in a bowl. Their seemingly hasty manner of conduct is once more contrasted with the restraint of the second pair of women. One of them is kneeling on the saint's tomb chest, hands almost clasped in supplication, while the other, probably a nun, stands apart with aloof dignity, her hands pointing in the direction of the miserable supplicant. The focus is obviously laid on the transfer of sacred energy from the concocted remedy (blood-tinged water) safely kept in the ampulla strategically raised a little above the imaginary central point of the image to the suffering woman who, lips parted, awaits to drink the miraculous potion which promises to restore her health.

In contrast to the previous scene which depicts the cure of Petronella, the ampulla containing the miraculous concoction has been assigned a central role and an elevation which reminds one of the ritual raising of the consecrated elements of bread and wine during the celebration of the Eucharist. The ontological status of the object has changed dramatically. In the story of Petronella, the ampulla was a simple vessel which contained one of the ingredients used in the preparation of the cure: water. No further hints were given to a special status the ampulla might carry as a ceremonial or ritualistic object. On the contrary, the object looks like any ordinary vessel for holding or pouring water or wine at the table.

A famous scene from the Bayeux Tapestry gives us some insights into the rituals of dining and feasting in the eleventh century. The episode illustrates the banquet held by the Normans after they landed in England. Presiding over the table is a bishop, probably Bishop Odo who took part in the Norman Conquest. The legend above reads: "And here the bishop blesses the food and the drink." One can easily spot a central clerical figure raising his right hand over a cup or mazer in benediction while other five seated characters help themselves to food and drink and a servant kneels within the inner arc of the table carrying a basin probably for the washing of hands and a piece of cloth for wiping them. The pictorial representation of utensils helps us identify many of the drinking vessels common during the eleventh and twelfth centuries but of interest is the elongated object which resembles a drinking flask (ampulla) similar to that used in the preparation of the Canterbury water.

That an ordinary/everyday object may, under certain conditions, acquire properties which exceed the boundaries of the phenomenal world proves that sacredness is not a 'frozen' characteristic of a ritualistic object. It is a protean energy which may 'contaminate' the whole world and make it sacred. Nevertheless, Durkheim (1976:322) is not entirely right in affirming that "even the most superficial or indirect contact is enough for it [sacredness] to spread from one object to another." The transfer of sacredness is not the outcome of a rudimentary process of contamination by contiguity. In most of the cases it involves a double agency and a mutually agreed on manner of conduct. On the one hand, there is the agency of the sacred-curator, mainly monks whose alleged spiritual perfection and inner cleanness make them the exemplary preservers of uncontaminated unpolluted sacredness. Their task is to preserve, administer and effect the transfer of sacred energy from the holy relic to the recipient-object or person. On the other hand, there is the agency of the faithful beneficiary who cannot partake of the sacred energy unless he/she is a true believer.

On an ampulla found on Thames waterfront in London, proven to be a thirteenth century holy water container from Canterbury, along with the image of the saint, a short Latin text is inscribed which reads (in translation): "Thomas Becket is the best doctor for the pious sick" - in this case "through the miraculous power of the water once held in the vessel" (Spencer 1998:52). So, what the sacred object catered for was bodily sickness but only for those who were spiritually sound.

The agency of saints has been likened to radioactivity: the invisible residue of divine power could be transferred to objects through touch or proximity. The simple pilgrim badges that were purchased from saints' shrines drew their potency from a combination of these factors: physical proximity to the saint's relics, anthropomorphic representation of the saint and often the inscription of their name. (...) These objects served as proxies for the saint, storing thaumaturgical power that could later be used for healing in the home ... (Gilchrist 2012:227)

One beautiful example to illustrate the second category of objects (objects of confinement/restraint and chastisement/punishment) is given by the cure of Mad Henry of Fordwich. The two roundels which illustrate his story are carefully designed to reflect the differences in the protagonist's attitude and composure which precede and follow his 'cure'. The first roundel shows poor Henry, hands tied behind his back, being dragged and forced to

kneel at the saint's tomb by two chastising men. Working along the scene, the seemingly punitive action of the two men is clarified by the inscription running along the arched top of the architectural setting: AMENS ACCEDIT ('He arrives out of his mind').

However surprising and disquieting a scene of such brutality may seem, the practice of exacting corporeal punishment on the mentally destitute was endorsed by the Bible and actuated by the Rule of Saint Benedict: "The fool is not corrected with words" (Prov 29:19). And again: "Strike thy son with the rod, and thou shalt deliver his soul from death" (Prov 23:14). Understandably enough, the two 'friends' are at great pains to elicit the salvation of their mate's soul by forcibly beating him up with sticks or rods. The sense of drama is increased by the way in which the monastic figure, represented on the right side of the image, protectively shields a book (probably the Bible) displayed on a reading support. The image of the worried monk who seeks to protect the Holy Book from the threatening approach of Mad Henry of Fordwich is illustrative of the belief that a sacred energy must be cautiously contained for fear of improper contagion leading to desecration. The monk seems to fear that the irrational and evil-possessed man, ranting demonically and struggling vigorously to free himself from the hands of his companions, could reach a dangerously close proximity to the sacred object and defile it. Body language is particularly telling in this situation. The two enter a visual-gestural combat whose nature and intensity restate the mystical clash between good and evil. To the fixed vicious and defiant gaze of the madman, the even-tempered monk responds with a gesture of restrained amplitude; he barely outstretches his right arm in the direction of the aggressor to prevent him from advancing. Conversely, his left arm is represented unnaturally outstretched, extended to an impossible length, in an overstated gesture of ludicrous protection.

In the second roundel, a dignified Henry is shown kneeling at the tomb, his hands gathered in prayer while his friends and the now collected monk marvel in awe at the miraculous healing scene they had been witnessing. The coil of rope and the clubs used to bind and beat him, the instruments of his enforced healing, are placed in the foreground "as an *ex voto* or offering" (Michael 2004:112). The emphasis in "images on the 'votive' value of everyday objects which are often placed at the tomb" (Michael 2004:18), though less obvious to a modern audience, is perfectly intelligible in the context of the medieval understanding of the value of the sacred. Once used in a ritual of corporeal chastisement with a healing connotation in store, simple objects of correction become instruments of faith which mediate the transfer of sacredness from the holy source (here the tomb of the martyred archbishop) to the beneficiary in need (Mad Henry of Fordwich, in this case). Dawn Marie Hayes (2003:14) is of a similar opinion when noticing that: "the sacred charge of a place (or a person or object) could transfer to an ordinary object and render it more than it was." Thus, the essence of an object, its 'thingness', is not immutable and is not a question of phenomenological loading either. When exposed to the supernatural force of the sacred, even an ordinary uninspiring thing may acquire properties or characteristics which inevitably alter its nature, its quiddity. Once more, the meaning of the entire scene is elucidated by an inscription placed above the festively adorned arch: ORAT SANUSQUE RECEDIT ('He prays and departs sane').

A similar example is given by the cure of Mad Matilda of Cologne. The poor woman is said to have gone mad after she heard that her brother killed the man she dearly loved. In a fit of anger she killed her infant child, baptized only the day before, with a single blow of her hand. No doubt her illegitimate child was the cause of her lover's murder. According to the story recounted in the twelfth century by Benedict, one of the two monks appointed to compile Becket's canonisation dossier, she was so dangerous "she would even have strangled a young boy, who ran up to her, had he not been quickly snatched out of her way by those standing near her. Bound hand and foot, she raved for some four or five hours before the tomb

of the Martyr until he offered her healing. The evil spirit was indeed driven out of her but it left behind foul traces.” (www.medievalescribbles.com)

In the first panel, Matilda is shown being brought to the tomb of St. Thomas by two men who beat her into submission with sticks/clubs. Her eyes stare widely, her hair is unkempt, her clothes are ragged and torn, her limbs are contorted. The ‘therapeutic’ ordeal continues once they reach the tomb of the martyr. In the second panel she is shown hands tied while her attendants and a monk, probably take turns in inflicting upon her the harsh disciplining treatment. In the last panel she is seen bowing down to the ground, fully collected and submissive, hands clasped in grateful prayer, thanking the saint for freeing her from the Devil’s bondage. Equally indebted, her ‘wardens’ appear to present their clubs as an ex-voto or offering to a monk who places a candle on the tomb, in recognition of the miracle they have just witnessed.

4. Conclusions

To conclude, I believe that the role played by most of the ordinary/everyday objects which are depicted in Becket’s stained glass miracle windows is not merely instrumental. In other words, these objects which elicit hardly any veneration in day-to-day contexts of social or domestic activity, when transferred to a liminal ritualistic space, acquire properties which cannot be accounted for in the world of functional phenomenology. Ultimately, I must agree with Martin Heidegger when concluding that: “the thingness of the thing remains concealed (...) the nature of the thing never comes to light ...” (Heidegger 2001:168)

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0020

HETEROTOPIA ON SCREEN- *BLUE VELVET* (1986)

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Abstract: *Based on a framework consisting of postmodern theories of heterotopias, spatial pastiche, schizophrenic temporality and postmodern speed, this paper seeks to identify cinematic features in the works of the American director David Lynch, which exemplify time and space in postmodernism. Michel Foucault's theory of space will trigger the whole problematic of the time-space relation. This is followed by a discussion of Fredric Jameson's concepts of spatial pastiche and schizophrenic temporality and of the involute interaction between the two.*

Keywords: *heterotopia, postmodernism, space, time*

1. Introduction

A reading of the works of David Lynch through the lens of postmodernism can be inspiring in several ways: with the boosting popularity of film studies among the academia, the application of postmodern theories from media (architecture, fiction) to media (film, television, commercials) not only demonstrates that postmodernism is a stylistic phenomenon, but also evinces a socioeconomic phase in cultural development. Likewise, with Lynch's launching his career on television in 1990, the appropriation of film theories in the studies of television may engender the possibility of a multi-media cocktail which is a trait of the postmodern culture.

In the context of late capitalist society, David Lynch has exercised his craftsmanship in wielding a time and a space that are typically Lynclean. Despite earning two Oscar nominations with his direction of *The Elephant Man* in 1980, and writing and directing the explosive hit *Blue Velvet* in 1986, Lynch was not established in Hollywood until 1990 when he won the Cannes Film Festival's Palme d'Or for *Wild At Heart*. Still, viewers and critics have been divided in their reactions to his films, as one viewer commented on *Blue Velvet*: "You either love this film, or you hate it" (Denzin, 1988:468).

Many critics have branded him as a surrealist. To this Lynch coolly replied: "I don't even know that much about surrealism -I guess it's just my take on what's floating by" (Breskin, 1990:62). A reading of his films in the context of postmodern time and space may yield deeper insights into our epoch, as his works are formulaically said to reveal "the dark underside of Middle America" (Sobran,1990:38).

The issues of time and space are central in the discussion of the postmodern culture. They are also two inseparable and intertwining notions in the contemporary era where jargons and concepts like "spatial time" and "temporal space" emerge. And these two abstract concepts are graspable in the phenomenon of speed. The postmodern condition has become what Fredric Jameson calls the "cultural dominant" in the late capitalist society. And America,

being world leader in science and technology, is naturally an excellent site for this cultural experience.

To arrive at a more intelligible conception of space, we have to bear in mind that the contemporary epoch of space can be a comprehensive notion which is not only confined to the level of geographical locale and therefore distinguishes itself from the idea of place. Space can "take for us the form of relations among sites" (Foucault, 1986:23) as suggested by Michel Foucault who formulates a heterotopic space in his 1967 lecture titled "Of Other Spaces". Still, space can also be perceived in terms of time as in the concept of temporal space posited by Fredric Jameson.

Space, according to Foucault, is social rather than physical. In "Of Other Spaces" he outlines several spaces in the "epoch of simultaneity": the "unreal spaces" of Utopias which set up a perfected form in society; and their counter-sites - heterotopias - in which real sites are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted. In between is the mixed, joint experience of the mirror which is a step aloof from the first two spaces. Of the three, Foucault singles out heterotopology which possesses the curious property of being connected with all other sites, in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the relations it reflects. Understandably all cultures in the world constitute heterotopias. But it is the heterotopias of deviation that we are probing into and in particular, the heterotopic space of the cinema which is central to our discussion of space.

The Foucaultian heterotopia of deviation is one in which "individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed" (Foucault, 1986:25). This explains why the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible.

Indeed, the cinema fits in with the description of this category of heterotopias. It is Foucault's belief that our era has to do with space more than time. Foucault's perception of an "external space" seems to play down history for a simplified, sweeping generalization of space into various social sites and institutions (for example, the hospital, the prison, the lunatic asylum and the cinema), it nevertheless provides an exploratory basis on which more contemporary discussions of space can embark. At one point, he mentions that "it is not possible to disregard the fatal intersection of time with space" (Foucault, 1986:22) and he cannot help admitting that at least "time probably appears to us only as one of the various distributive operations that are possible for the elements that are spread out in space" (Foucault, 1986:23).

The hyperspace, to borrow from Jean Baudrillard, is a space of obscenity satiated with simulacra and an eclecticism of electronic images. It is experienced in an utterly intensive temporality in terms of the spatialization of time where the boundary between marginal and central narratives is blurred. Time does not only afford facility to the elements in space, as suggested by Foucault, it has also become a perpetual spatial present. Hence our relationship to the past is now a spatial one. We can see that the small town setting in *Blue Velvet* is contrived to convey a sense of timeless eternity. It is therefore impossible to isolate either element in the intricate postmodern time-space discussion, as Abbas observes:

The postcritical theorization of space therefore rejects any dichotomy of space v.s. time, structure v.s. history, focusing instead on how spatial structures are historically produced, as well as on how history itself could be understood in terms of questions of space (1990:8).

In "Postmodernism, and Consumer Society" published nearly two decades "Of Other Spaces", Jameson states that the postmodern condition is characterized by a spatial pastiche and a schizophrenic temporality. With pastiche there is "an effacement in it of some key boundaries or separations, most notably the erosion of the old distinction between high culture and so-called mass or popular culture" (Foster, 1983:112). Pastiche is an incorporation of forms, an

imitation of dead styles deprived of any satirical impulse. It is different from parody in nature. With parody there is always a sense of irony. Pastiche is a "blank parody" (Jameson, 1984:65). It takes the form of, for example, an imitation of a peculiar or unique style, the wearing of a stylistic mask, speech in a dead language, in a neutral sense, devoid of humour. While most critics of *Wild at Heart* reckon it a saga of sex, perverse violence, psychotic killing and muck, few notice its allusiveness and plagiarism to the classical Hollywood cinema which is itself a form of pastiche. In *Wild at Heart*, the linguistic norm is eclipsed and a field of stylistic and discursive heterogeneity emerges.

Schizophrenia is the breakdown of the signifying chain. It is a view largely developed in the work of the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan and is basically a collapse of relationship between signifiers, linked to the failure of access to the Symbolic. To a schizophrenic, language articulation does not take the form of a past or a future. He therefore does not have an experience of temporal continuity, but is condemned to live a perpetual present. Schizophrenic experience is thus "an experience of isolated, disconnected, discontinuous material signifiers which fail to link up into a coherent sequence" (Foster, 1983:119). A schizophrenic lives in a series of pure and unrelated presents in time. It is based on the notions of spatial pastiche and schizophrenic temporality that Jameson advances (not without sense of "nostalgia" though) into the consideration of historicism that effaces history, a consideration from which he introduces a more specific cultural mode of expression, namely, the "nostalgia film" in the postmodern cinematic space.

One of the denominators among critics of postmodernism, especially by the Marxists, is that postmodernism, caught in the giant web of superficial images, entails non-history and is therefore ahistorical. Jameson writes off "historicism" as "the random cannibalization of all the styles of the past, the play of random stylistic allusion" (Jameson, 1984:65-66). With the postmodern symptoms of schizophrenia and pastiche, the world is transformed into sheer images of itself and colonized by a new spatial logic of the simulacrum to replace what used to be a linear historical time. However, the past is not merely used as "referent", bracketed and then wilfully effaced. Jameson accuses the participants of postmodernism as if they are collaborating with the late capitalist society out of sheer caprice. In her defence for this "cultural dominant", Linda Hutcheon replies that rather than being an "enfeeblement of historicity",

postmodernist film (and fiction) is, if anything, obsessed with history and with how "we can know the past today" (Hutcheon, 1989:114).

In fact the practice of postmodernism is more akin to the approach of new historicism than historiography. At the least it provides an alternative access to the past in a new historical configuration.

The "nostalgia film", a postmodern film genre introduced by Jameson, reveals "the remarkable current intensification of an addiction to the photographic image [which] is itself a tangible symptom of an omnipresent, omnivorous and well-nigh libidinal historicism" (Jameson, 1984:66). In fact the very concept of *la mode retro* involves a restructure of pastiche and schizophrenic temporality in a collective and social level in order to lay siege to our past and the present. The postmodernist "nostalgia" art language takes a new form and represents the past through stylistic connotation and that "pastness" is conveyed by the "glossy qualities of image" (for example, fashion, architecture, art decor and cars). It follows that "intertextuality" and allusionism contribute to the aesthetic effect to displace "real" history in a "pseudo-historical depth" (Jameson, 1984:67). This may be actualized in, for instance, the style of the acting or the framing of the setting.

Foucault provides a fundamental approach to our understanding of other spatial constructs:

"we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. ... the world ... is a network that connects points" (Foucault, 1986:22).

This seems a valid description of the heterotopias of deviation exemplified in the example of the cinema in which on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three dimensional space. Meanwhile, in front of the screen, an heterogeneous audience is confined in a rectangular room. But the heterotopic space of the cinema probes deeper because things inside this space do not only juxtapose each other as if the cinematic space is a neutral area in which dead objects are inserted. Elements in this space interact with one another and it follows that chemical reactions actually take place between the legibly separate spaces of Utopias and heterotopias as well as among heterotopias.

2. *Blue Velvet*

Set in the small town of Lumberton, a hybrid town of a "heavy" reality and dreaminess, *Blue Velvet* is the most successful film David Lynch has ever directed. Lumberton is a wholesome looking Everytown. Lynch himself repeatedly describes it as any American small town and that there are many Lumbertons in America:

This is all the way America is to me. There's a very innocent, naive quality to my life, and there's a horror and a sickness as well. It's everything ... *Blue Velvet* is a trip beneath the surface of a small American town, but it's also a probe into the subconscious or a place where you don't normally face (Chute, 1986:32).

And the same town of Lumberton is just like any town in America, "our" town, redolent of the vacant moral naivety that American popular culture often mistakes for innocence. The uncovering of the evil is therefore an exposure of the margins of the social in (or under) the centre of the safe society. Denzin aptly observes: "These violent margins are now placed in small towns, next door to middle- and lower-class Americans who are attempting to live safe, respectable lives" (Denzin, 1988:463).

Lynch is certainly cautious to opt for his films niches for his particular stories. One also thinks of the scenic, seemingly tranquil but enclosed town of the elegantly named TV serial *Twin Peaks*. In both stereotypical US small towns, the emphasis on community and locality implies the possibility of limited action and social movement as characters' moves are confined to a certain locale. It may also suggest, but only deceptively, parochialism, myopia and self-contentedness.

The first five shots of *Blue Velvet* sketch Lumberton with cliché images of what are considered normal and ideal of the fifties: it begins with a clear blue sky, blooming bloody red roses waving in front of a white picket fence, to a classic 1940's fire truck. Artificially bright yellow flowers against the fence are cut to school children crossing a road. Although one doubts if such a town still survives the engulfment of urbanization in nowadays America, these images nevertheless present society itself in a flawless condition. The employment of slow motion and the contrasting use of colours add to an ideal but unreal quality. In Foucault's sense of the word, the first thirty seconds of *Blue Velvet* create a Utopian space on the screen, only to be immediately acted upon by and mingled with an other world.

This heterotopic space is open to us when Jeffrey finds the severed ear in a vacant lot. It centres around Frank Booth, local crime lord who had club singer Dorothy Vallens victimized, having kidnapped her son and husband. This heterotopia of deviation is inhabited by characters who are incompatible and yet jumbled together in the cinematic space. While Frank is the embodiment of evil, Jeffrey is a teen hero - with a flattened character - who undergoes a series of Hardy Boys style adventure during his vacation. Dorothy, posed as a sophisticated woman who at once possesses and suffers from the knowledge of darkness, sees in Sandy an innocent and pure girl-from-next-door. A constant dichotomy between good and evil, light and darkness, innocent and knowledge is therefore visible. But this dichotomy is

transgressive in nature. Frank's violent rape of Dorothy is punctuated by a lion's roar which comes back on the sound track when Jeffrey, surrendered to Dorothy's command, struck her across the face with the back of his hand during their intercourse, and the two of them melt in to dreamy bliss, marked by slow-motion slides of their love-making. The madman, Frank, is right when he tells Jeffrey, "You're just like me. We're the same," just before he punches him. Drawn to curiosity and his desire for sexual adventure, Jeffrey, like Frank, has become a slave to sadistic lust. Dorothy's knowledge is not a stark contrast to Sandy's innocence either. Her knowledge is one aligned with guilt, danger, horror. Her knowledge is a kind of sickness. This heterotopic space of deviant transgresses the taboos set for traditional Hollywood cinema where the world is usually composed of binary oppositions.

It shatters the myth of popular culture and unmasks Hollywood "hypocrisy". Part of *Blue Velvet's* horror is that the expected is reversed; the irrational exists within the same context as the rational. Critic Pauline Kael sees that "mystery and madness are hidden in the 'normal'" (Preston, 1990:168). But this seamy side of Lumberton does not hide itself under the rippleless surface, nor is it displayed side by side through antithesis. The hidden and the apparent has become an organic jumble. The good and the evil all float to the surface.

A more complex heterotopic space is found in *Wild at Heart* where, in a den of unhinged mother, creeps and ritual killers, emerges two innocent and lovely young persons: Sailor Ripley, who wears a snakeskin jacket as "a symbol of individuality and my belief in personal freedom" (it is exactly these modes of freedom and self-expression that the postmodern period is both fearful of and drawn to at the same time); and Lula Pace Fortune, a faithful and understanding lover. Their wholesome characters are however tainted by Lynch who gives Sailor a hidden past and a rebel streak, with a hot temper and brutal violence that enable him to literally crack the skull of his assassin. Raped by her uncle at the age of thirteen, Lula is a symbol of (excessive) sex which yields to the sexual harassment of Bobby Peru who tried to seduce Sailor to a bank robbery.

The alternate world does not only take its form through presentation of contrasting characters, it also expresses itself by means of cohabitation of disparate and uninhibited images. Lynch enjoys presenting "the unrepresentable in front of the viewers in ways that challenge the boundaries that ordinarily separate private and private life" (Denzin, 1988:462). The Baudrillardian sense of the obscene images and shots which do exist in real life but which normally are shielded from the eyes of the spectators are unreservedly displayed on screen. Baudrillard's concept of obscenity rests on speed and the explosion of information rather than the notion of space, perhaps Lyotard's conception of the postmodern can better illustrate the argument here:

The postmodern would be that which, in the modern, puts forward the unrepresentable in presentation itself; that which denies itself the solace of good forms, the consensus of a taste which would make it possible to share collectively the nostalgia for the unattainable; that which searches for new presentations, not in order to enjoy them but in order to impart a stronger sense of the unrepresentable (Lyotard, 1984:81).

To present the unrepresentable and not governed by any preestablished cinematic norm is the spirit in the works of David Lynch. The unrepresentable, brought onto the screen, challenges the boundary which separates public and private life. It wipes off the gap between high art and mass culture and erase the demarcation between a film shown on art-house circuits and a slick movie.

Grotesque and macabre objects that shock the cinema come in abundance in the Lynchean artifacts: a rotting, severed ear, sado-masochistic sex rituals, violence in nature, etc. are

prevailing images in *Blue Velvet* in which the nostalgic sense of the ideal homespun American life evoked by the opening shots do little to suggest stability and security. Soon we witness Jeffrey's father, seized by a stroke, fell down when watering the lawn: the water from the fallen man's hose shot straight in the air, as the camera begins a rapid tracking shot beneath the surface of the lawn and again we glimpse the more odious, distasteful aspects of a nature which rapaciously feeds upon itself. We see a magnified, microscopic shot of tall, menacing blades of grass where unknown insects fought to death in the dark greenery of their own miniature jungle.

Mapping these "unpresentable" images onto a typical small town setting in the fifties would be unthinkable in the traditional small town movie genre. But in an America where you browse the pages of any newspaper and would not be particularly thrilled by headlines about psychotic killing, massacre, or perverse rapes that fill up the pages, Lynch's weird images only serve as a reminder of the omnipresence of violence and the unpresentable.

When Bobby Peru's head is blown off with a shotgun during the bank robbery in *Wild at Heart*, Lynch shows it flying through the air, and then holds on it as it smashed to the ground and bounced away. During the same sequence, two security guards crawled across a blood-drenched floor searching for the hand one of them just lost to a shotgun blast, as one guard voiced hope that doctors would be able to sew the appendage back on, Lynch cuts to a dog escaping out of the back door, the missing hand in its mouth. These most ghastly images are exhibited with a humorous twist and leaves an audience feeling exhilarated and disoriented simultaneously. And Lynch subtly shows his humour as if he is making an action cartoon with real life performance. The entanglement of the normal and the perverse on the same cinematic plane makes Sandy comment, "It's a strange world, isn't it?" and Lula protest, "it's wild at heart and weird on top".

Lynch's style helps enrich the cinematic space. Deep focus cinematography enables an equal clarity of things in foreground and background. When Jeffrey and Dorothy are kidnapped to the whorehouse of Ben, grotesquely obese women are constantly moving in the background.

These obese women appear again (but half naked this time) in *Wild at Heart* when Sailor and Lula pull over at the motel where they first meet Bobby Peru in their exile. These revolting figures are an emblem of repulsively perverse sex rather than a sex symbol. They have no apparent contribution to the plot but serve to de-eroticize the notion of sexuality in both films. Their appearance is comparable to that of the bruised, naked Dorothy Vallens who is an empty sign of sexuality.

The presentation of the unpresentable presents profuse sex which is regarded as signs leading not to real sexual activity but to an "apprehension of sex", a complement to Baudrillard's theory of "sign fetishism" (Kellner, 1989:99,100). The naked body is anything but sexually attractive or appealing and the striking image of a woman's body reveals exactly what a woman lacks. Whether short independent takes or deep focus cinematography, these styles contribute to a deeper spatial dimension and enhance the development of spatial relations.

These scenes are disparate but not disjointed. The women are fetish of a sexual desire that embodies the gist of postmodern sex. It is an experience of "Virtual sex" in which seduction is liquidized (Kroker & Cook, 1986:24).

C. Kenneth Fellow has launched a not very lenient criticism against Betsy Berry's reading of *Blue Velvet*, saying that Lynch "commits blunders ... in the areas of sequence, causation, and consistency" (Fellow, 1990:173). He charges Berry of actually filling in gaps for the screenwriter and director and thus ironically exposing the film's fault more clearly. While Berry's essay may be an amelioristic criticism on *Blue Velvet* and an attempt to link up gaps deliberately left by Lynch, Fellow's attack on Lynch's lack of narrative logic which "is the

criterion that renders this film unsuccessful" (Fellow, 1990:174) only reveals a fallacy in his approach to the film. In fact, one will be frustrated if one looks at *Blue Velvet* (along with Lynch's other films) according to its logical sequence in the narrative because the film will then be nothing but a presentation of symbols at random, Lynch's emphasis is not that much on narrative logic as it is on cinematic style and visual effect. Pauline Kael begins her favourable review with a sheerly visual emphasis: "When you come out of the theatre after seeing ... *Blue Velvet*", you certainly know that you've seen something. You wouldn't mistake frames from [it] for frames from any other movie (Fellow, 1990:176).

Even Lynch himself admits that when he wrote the script, he began with no plot in mind but only a set of fantasies. We cannot simply dismiss his film as nonsequential because here time defies linearity and the continuity of time is shaped by images sometimes at the level of subtexts. Although rarely do we find a critic label Lynch a postmodernist artist, his works definitely share what Baudrillard describes as the postmodern:

the characteristic of a universe where there are no more definitions possible. ... It is also the possibility of resuscitating images at the second level, ironically of course. It all revolves around an impossible definition. One is no longer in a history of art or a history of forms. They have been deconstructed, destroyed. ... So all that are left are pieces. All that remains to be done is to play with the pieces. Playing with the pieces - that is postmodern (Kellner, 1989:116).

The pieces left over after the deconstruction of history explained by Baudrillard are revived and reappropriated with a twist. Very often, these "pieces" are employed because of their exemplary values of the built-in clichés and stereotypes, ideas of facts and historical realities. One can say that the history of postmodern art is a fragmentation of history. Time in a film is experienced only in a spatial pastiche of various filmic devices: art decor, fashion, etc. History

experienced in such a manner is mostly found in what Jameson terms as "nostalgia film". The nostalgia film is not merely a film about the past and about specific generational moments of the past. Jameson expounds in "Postmodernism and Consumer Society":

[The nostalgia film] does not reinvent a picture of the past in its lived totality; rather, by reinventing the feel and shape of characteristic art objects of an older period (the serials), it seeks to reawaken a sense of the past associated with those objects (Foster, 1983:116).

Rather than accusing the age of postmodernism of being ahistorical, we can consider it attached with ideas of history. The feeling of timelessness is felt in most of Lynch's works as viewers are never informed of a specific time when the plot takes place. This setting also has a crucial strategic function: it allows the film to do without most of the signals and references which we might associate with the contemporary world. This works together with a new formal inventiveness through the glossy qualities of the images - the typical kitchen scene, living room setting, costumes and music - because nostalgia film, according to Jameson, is not some old-fashioned representation of historical content, but approaches the past through stylistic connotation, conveying the "pastness", the "1950s-ness", the "Victorianness" by the attributes of fashion. The "remake" of the past therefore endows the film with a new temporal meaning in a new spatial language and our understanding of the pre-existing representation is now a constitutive and essential part of the film's structure. Jameson explains:

we are now, in other words, in 'intertextuality' as a deliberate, built-in feature of the aesthetic effect, and as the operator of a new connotation of 'pastness' and pseudo-historical depth, in which the history of aesthetic styles displaces Veal' history (Jameson, 1984:67).

History is evoked in *Blue Velvet* in the form of ideology but not temporal narrative or themes. A collage of images fill the screen with normalcy and decency, with what is always expected of the American middle-class bourgeoisie of the fifties: the collection of nostalgic images of perfect mothers in ideal kitchens, affable fathers watering manicured lawns, and grinning firemen waving to school kids. But all of them are purposefully made unreal, and dreamy. The past is consumed as pastness within an intensity of the present in the cinematic space. It is a past we can construct but not recover (Jameson, 1989:526).

However, what Jameson regards as "image-fixation cum historicist cravings" (Jameson, 1989:527) soon crosses with big city crimes like drug dealing and sado-masochistic sexual violence and even psychotic killing - something you would easily take for granted in *Moonlighting* or *Miami Vice*. The audience are baffled when the police constable received with indifference the cut ear from Jeffrey as if it was a daily routine in the small community of Lumberton, The social, ideological and aesthetic contradiction feeds on a spatial pastiche where a simulacrum of history is established.

3. Conclusion

The works of David Lynch by no means afford a social, political or moral reading. His vision and treatment of history and space, however, do facilitate a deeper insight into our contemporary surroundings and a more thorough understanding of the postmodern sense of history and spatial dimension. By employing Foucault's concept of space, Jameson's argument on postmodern historicism, its bearing on space and his introduction of the nostalgia film genre in addition to Virilio's interpretation of speed and space, the following observations are yielded: first, the Foucaultian heterotopia can be experienced in the small town setting in the films of Lynch. Contrasting characterization and fragmentary weird images help enrich the heterotopic space. Secondly, in deploying certain cinematographic techniques such as deep focus photography and adopting self-referentiality, a spatial pastiche is detected. Third, spatial pastiche of signs of different periods undermines the sense of history in the film world and produces an anachronistic schizophrenic temporality. This is typical of the genre of nostalgia films. Forth, the acceleration of speed in the late capitalist society may become a form of inertia. The postmodern speed is paradoxically a medium of decay.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0021

FROM WEST TO EAST: *ROMEO MUST DIE* BUT SHAKESPEARE IS THE SUN

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Abstract: *The paper presents a mini survey of the hallmark English language motion pictures which are explicitly based on William Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. The selection of the six films under investigation takes into account various criteria such as aspects of chronology, culture, impact or novelty of approach. The analysis is based on four categories: genre, auteurism (authorship), reception and verisimilitude.*

Keywords: *film theory, genre, auteurism (authorship), reception theory, verisimilitude*

*For never was a story of more woe
Than this of Juliet and her Romeo.*

(William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, 5.3.325-326)

1. By Way of Introduction

It is without any doubt that the youngest of all arts is also the most popular. Films are part of modern culture. Before the introduction of film in the early part of the twentieth century, only plays were performed on stage in the presence of live audiences. In less than a century this so called "seventh art" has turned into a real and profitable industry. The emergence of film making raised (among both theorists and practitioners of film making) questions about the advantages and the efficiency of films over theatre as well as queries around the emotional participation of an audience watching a drama performed on stage as opposed to a film adaptation. Sontag (1977:90) claims that, although film making had an early connection with the stage, one can make a film of a play but not a play of a film and then concludes that "theatre remains the favoured candidate for the role of summative art". Added to this, Eidsvick (1978:306-307) claims that

film and literary critics alike confuse literature with its dominant medium, print, and confuse the medium of film with its dominant genre, the narrative. (...) A medium is something we look through, not at, and it is what we see through a medium that defines which art we are involved in.

The theorist on film and founding editor of the influential French film journal *Cahiers du Cinéma*, André Bazin (1999:529), put forward two crucial arguments: first, that the best films rely on *mise-en-scène* to construct their moods and effects (rather than montage editing), and second, that the best films bear the mark or, better said, they illustrate "the vision" of their

directors. The latter became known as “auteur theory” (“auteur” is the French word for author). The issue of auteurism, along with other concepts is to be explored later in this paper as they will constitute the category system of the analysis presented here.

Literary classics are a rich source of adaptation for film makers and Shakespeare is not by far an exception to this rule. Quite on the contrary, his plays have enriched the film making industry for decades and have inspired many directors. More than that, it stands to reason to argue that his *Romeo and Juliet* is probably his most popular play, not only when it comes to its fame but also when it comes to its staging and film versions. Unfortunately, as Spencer (1967:7) argued as early as in the 1960s at the very beginning of his introductory words to the Penguin version of *Romeo and Juliet*: “Most discussions of *Romeo and Juliet*, and most stage productions, give a simplified view of the play”, by focusing on the tragic love theme and thus “do an injustice to the complexity of *Romeo and Juliet*”. It will be interesting to see whether Spencer’s argument is also valid for the film versions we chose to overview.

Romeo and Juliet was first produced in 1908 directed by J. Stuart Blackton in the USA, simultaneously with *Romeo e Giulietta*, directed by Mario Caserini in Italy. The years to follow witnessed countless attempts to adapt (for the big screen or television) William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. *Wikipedia* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romeo_and_Juliet_%28films%29) records 148 productions among which some are highly memorable, some are not; some are parodies and spoofs, while some are sheer pornography. In other words, all tell the story of Romeo and Juliet, yet they differ in dramatic presentation, philosophical viewpoint, in the nature of the characters and in the kind of love they instantiate, in the culture (and its values, beliefs and practices) which frame the story.

Under the circumstances, and since the main concern of our endeavour is to present a mini survey of the trademark English language films which are explicitly based on William Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, we had to decide in a principled way what “trademark” films might mean. Thus, the films included in the corpus of our mini survey, had to display certain features pertaining to various aspects, such as chronology, culture, impact, or reception and, last but not least, novelty of approach. We will, therefore, try to account, in comparative terms, for the selection as well as the nature, substance, and reception of the films included in the corpus. As follows, we will first clarify the methodological and theoretical concepts of our study and then we will present and discuss the findings of our analysis.

2. Theoretical Underpinnings

Before the analysis proper, it is necessary to explain some theory-related issues which informed the construction of the corpus and of the analytical framework. To this end, in this section of our paper, we will briefly overview some hallmark moments in the development of film making and then we will clarify the categories employed in our analysis.

2.1. A history of film-making in a nutshell

Although the beginnings of the movie history was largely attributed to the Lumière Brothers, it was Tomas Edison’s Kinetoscope, first presented at the 1893 Chicago World Fair, which generated the development of cinematography to one of the most powerful means of communication, entertainment, and mass media in the 21st century.

During the first 30 years, silent movies were accompanied by live music and sometimes sound effects, and with written dialogue and narration presented in intertitles. This was the period when the most popular and powerful cinemas developed in France and Italy. But the European film industries were brutally interrupted by World War I (1914-1918) and thus, the American industry, known as “Hollywood” gained the position it has preserved ever since: film plant for the whole world, holding extensive control over the market. The Hollywood era's novelty was *the studio system* with its publicity method, and *the star system* which prevailed for the decades to come.

The transition from silent movies to all-talkies was very quick and, by 1929, it was almost completely accomplished in Hollywood. As a result, new genres appeared, among which the classic-style Hollywood musical. Ten years later, Hollywood reached a climax with hallmark films like *Gone with The Wind*. The war and post-war years revived the British cinema which started to produce realistic war dramas as well as classic films like Shakespeare's *Henry the V* starring Sir Laurence Olivier. Also, the classic film noir can be traced back to the same period. The Cold War of the 50s brought themes such as invading armies of evil aliens. Television started to compete with films on the big screen.

The studio system in Hollywood underwent a decline during the 1960s, and many films were now being made on location in other countries, or using studio facilities abroad, such as Pinewood in England and Cinecittà in Rome. Meanwhile, independent producers and film production companies emerged, and the power of individual actors increased as well, thus underlying the *European auteur cinema*.

“New Hollywood” or “post-classical cinema” was called the period of the 70s, characterized by explicit sexual content and showing gunfight and battle scenes that included graphic images of bloody deaths. A new group of American filmmakers emerged, such as Francis Ford Coppola, Steven Spielberg, George Lucas and Brian de Palma. This overlapped the *auteur theory* in film and media, giving these directors far greater control over their projects than before.

The 1980s brought another competitor: the home VCR. The decade was dominated by directors like Lucas and Spielberg. The 1990s witnessed the development of a commercially successful independent cinema in the United States based on new special effects. The 2000s brought along new experiments and genres and revived the interest in epic drama (cf. *Gladiator*). Home theatre systems became increasingly sophisticated.

One major new development in the early 21st century is the development of systems that make it much easier for regular people to write, shoot, edit and distribute their own movies without the large apparatus of the film industry. (<http://www.filmbug.com/dictionary/moviehistory.php>)

2.2. From film genre to film reception: conceptual clarifications

Film theory can be defined as a sustained interrogation of propositions about the nature of the medium, the features of individual films or the interaction between viewers and films. (Corrigan and White 2004:419).

Based on this definition, we outlined our paper by combining several perspectives and dealt with six of the most innovative film versions of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* from the point of view of *genre*, *auteurism* (authorship) – the theory that a film is the creative responsibility of a single individual (usually the director) –, *reception theory* and *verisimilitude* (“Quality of truth”).

2.2.1 Genre

The concept of genre is generally used to classify works of literature, music, visual arts, and other art forms. Since the beginning of film production, genre acquired an important role and the popularity of specific genres varied across the historical periods.

Like our daily lives, movies are also conceived in repetitive paradigms which allow audiences to recognize and share expectations and routines. According to Corrigan and White,

film genre is a set of conventions and formulas, repeated and developed through film history... Like other social routines, genres describe cultural rituals, the repetition of formulas that help coordinate our needs and desires. (Corrigan and White 2004:289)

Consequently, a *genre film* designates a type of movie that is quickly recognizable, although sometimes it can carry the pejorative connotation of lacking originality (Corrigan and White 2004:432).

Film genres crystallized as early as the beginning of cinema, developing sets of generic conventions based on specific properties that identify a certain genre. To draw a complete list of film genres would be too daring and somehow confusing, because of the variable width or narrowness of scope, and because of the existence of hybrid genres and subgenres. Therefore, film theory operates with the concept of “generic constellation” (Corrigan and White 2004:297). Still, the generic classification is of utmost importance in the economic strategy of the film industry. It is the genre which attracts and draws audiences back again and again to experience the genres they enjoy.

As mentioned before, the popularity of genres depends very much on the stage of film history and periodization. Thus, the six film versions of Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, which represent the object of our case study, belong to different film genres, although they start from the same underlying story.

2.2.2. Auteurism

Film practice and theory started to have auteurism at its center in the early 1950’s. The concept originates in the films and writings of the French New Wave, and is indebted for its spreading to *Cahiers du Cinéma* of the 1950’s (Hillier 1986). The theory of authorship, or the auteurist criticism usually located the creative center of a film in the controlling perspective of the film’s director. This resulted in the decay of the studio system that defined filmmaking before 1945. As auteurism evolved through the 1960’s and 1970’s (and began to include other individual forces behind a film, such as stars and screenwriters), it focused on more theoretical and formal questions about personal expression in the cinema, issues about who in fact “authors” a film. Film authorship has shaped our understanding of many film cultures around the world and across different media beyond the cinema, as models of auteurism have evolved from France to the United States and through national cinemas from China and India to Iran and Denmark. The meaning of auteurism has changed significantly across time and space due to the pressures of poststructuralist theory, feminist interventions, cultural and racial distinctions, and the challenges of new media (Corrigan and White 2004:372).

2.2.3. Verisimilitude

A Dictionary of Film Studies (Kuhn and Westwell 2012:67) records the term *verisimilitude* under the definition of “the appearance of being true or real; believability”. Corrigan and White (2004:125) consider that

verisimilitude, literally “having the appearance of truth”, is that quality of fictional representations that allows readers or viewers to accept a constructed world, its events, its characters, and the actions of those characters as plausible. In cinematic storytelling, clear, consistent spatial and temporal patterns greatly enhance verisimilitude.

These patterns have a special role in the film editing process, being part of the *Hollywood continuity style*.

The standards of verisimilitude constantly change with audience tastes and cultural trends.

2.2.4. Reception

Reception theory focuses on how different kinds of audiences regard different kinds of films. It is one of the most important approaches used by cultural film studies. As its name reveals, it doesn't focus on the filmmakers, but it places at the centre of film experiences the audience. Not only sociologists are interested in collecting information about audience structure or preferences, but the film industry is at least as interested in the viewer surveys as the former. An interesting component of the *reception theory* is the theory of audiences, which are perceived as dynamic in the sense that films from the past may be received by today's audiences in new ways. According to Corrigan and White (2004:461),

[t]he responses of particular viewers to cultural phenomena are considered *situated responses*, readings that are influenced, though not predetermined, by geography, age, gender, wealth, and a host of other contingent factors... The methodologies associated with reception studies include comparing and contrasting protocols of reviews drawn from different periodicals, countries or decades.

In the analysis of our corpus we made use of the *International Movie Data Base* (IMDB) ranking, which is based on anonymous reviews, as opposed to the evaluation of recognized authorities such as the Oscar, BAFTA and Berlin awards, including nominations.

The first Academy Awards were presented on May 16, 1929, at a private dinner at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel with an audience of about 270 people and the ceremony ran for 15 minutes. Ever since, it has become the most prestigious cultural event honoring artists, directors and other personalities of the filmmaking industry.

BAFTA started out as the British Film Academy, founded in 1947 by a number of notorious directors such as David Lean, and Laurence Olivier. In 1976, HM The Queen, The Duke of Edinburgh, The Princess Royal and The Earl Mountbatten of Burma officially opened the organisation's headquarters at 195 Piccadilly, London, and in March the Society officially became known as the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA). (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Academy_of_Film_and_Television_Arts)

The Berlin International Film Festival, also called the *Berlinale*, is one of the world's leading film festivals and most reputable media events. It has been held yearly in Berlin, Germany, since 1951 when a U.S. film officer initiated it.

3. Methodological Underpinnings

Presenting and discussing briefly the issues pertaining to the methodology underlying the present endeavour has a twofold dimension. First, we need to engage in the discussion of the construction of our corpus for analysis, more precisely the selection principle and the criteria we based it upon. Secondly, we need to explain the approach we adopted and the steps we followed in our analysis.

As observed before, Shakespeare in general and his *Romeo and Juliet* in particular are probably the most frequently resorted to themes for the film making industry. Constructing an analytical corpus under the circumstances can turn out to be a fairly daunting endeavour, both when it comes to quantity (as mentioned before, *Wikipedia* records almost 150 films) and when it comes to quality (the criteria according to which such a selection should be made). To explain, both including too many films in the corpus and taking into account a large number of criteria would create a corpus impossible to manage. Thus, only three criteria were adopted: film making culture, impact and novelty of approach. The movie-making culture refers to the becoming of the film industry and the fact that we took into account English language based movies. When determining the impact of the movies we took into account both an international perspective and a local one. The international perspective was represented by the internet based IMDB, presented before, while the local was basically a mini survey conducted among the initiated, educated colleagues of our faculty. Added to that we also included in the impact criterion an aspect which we labeled as “trend setting”, that is to say that we considered that for a movie to be included in our analysis, it would propose a fresh perspective that opens a path to be followed by other film adaptations.

We ended up with six films in our corpus and they are listed together with their general characteristics in the figure below.

Figure 1. Overview of the films under scrutiny and their general characteristics

Place	Verona, Italy <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (1936)	New York, US <i>West Side Story</i> (1961)	Verona, Italy <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (1968)	Verona Beach, US <i>Romeo+Juliet</i> (1996)	London, UK <i>Shakespeare in Love</i> (1998)	New York, US <i>Romeo Must Die</i> (2000)
Language	Original text Cukor	Robert Wise and Jerome Robbins	Original text Zeffirelli	Original text Baz Luhrmann	Edna Hiltner English and original text	Sladjej Bartkowiak
Genre	Romantic tragedy	Romantic tragedy crime, musical	Romantic tragedy	Romantic tragedy, burlesque	Romantic tragedy, comedy,	Tragedy, crime, action martial arts
Leading Roles	Norma Shearer, Leslie Howard	Natalie Wood, Richard Beymer	Leonard Whiting, Olivia Hussey	Leonardo DiCaprio, Claire Danes	Joseph Fiennes Gwyneth Paltrow	Jet Li, Aaliyah
IMDB score	6.7	7.6	7.6	6.8	7.2	5.9
Time	16th century	1950s	16th century	1990s	16th century	2000

As can be seen, the observations recorded in the table refer to the authorship in terms of film directors, star actors and actresses, of the kinds of genres they instantiate, of reception: the score they got from the viewers, and verisimilitude to the original: time, place, and the language of the films. It needs to be mentioned at this point that, by and large, with this table we have introduced the category system of our analysis, whose purpose was to conduct a survey of our corpus in terms of the genre, auteurism, verisimilitude and reception. A further, more detailed analysis, both when it comes to cinematographic perspective and a linguistic one, will continue the endeavour presented in this paper.

4. The Films: Focusing In

If previously we overviewed the most important theoretical frameworks, the reasons and principles underlying the selection of the films which constituted our corpus, in this section we present, analyse, and discuss the films selected for our analysis. As mentioned before, to this end, the following categories will be looked at by film genre, auteurism, reception and verisimilitude.

4.1. Genre

Only two of the films analysed appeared to have taken the classical-loyal-to-Shakespeare approach: Cukor's 1936 version and Zeffirelli's 1968. The remaining films are all of a more or less hybrid nature, the most complex in this respect being the 1961 *West Side Story* and the 2000 *Romeo Must Die* turned into contemporary tragedies and adding two extra distinct genre features to the classical tragedy: crime and musical in the first case and crime and martial arts action in the second. The most innovative, though, of the six films appears to be Madden's 1998 *Shakespeare in Love* not because it is the most impregnated with comedy elements but because it is a framed movie of the type play-within-a movie. The frame consists in the love story between Shakespeare himself and lady Viola de Lesseps, a member of the emerging bourgeoisie who, initially in love with Shakespeare's work, ends up playing the part of Juliet (sacrilegious and law breaking in the period when all roles had to be played by males) and irremediably falls in love with Shakespeare in the process. An interesting genre related approach is put forward by Lührman's 1996 *Romeo+Juliet* with its mixture of contemporary elements and extravagant, burlesque elements.

In brief, as far as genre is concerned we consider that the "boldest" of the films analysed are the 1956 *West Side Story* and *Shakespeare in Love* due to their cutting edge, postmodern, trend setting nature: musical and framed play.

4.2. Auteurism

This turned out to be the most complex category of our analysis as it produced probably most interesting findings. In his review of *Romeo+Juliet*, Berardinelli (1996) claims that:

Ultimately, no matter how many innovative and unconventional flourishes it applies, the success of any adaptation of a Shakespeare play is determined by two factors: the competence of the director and the ability of the main cast members.

We would like to add that, particularly in the case of *Romeo and Juliet*, the limelight will inevitably shine upon the two adolescent tragic heroes of the play, and therefore on the “stars” (actors and actresses) who were so lucky to be chosen to take their part. In this way, besides the directors’ “visions”, these actors would inevitably influence greatly the sense and direction of the film as well as its reception. It has to be mentioned at this point that, regrettably but inevitably, some of the complexity and of the great subtleties of Shakespeare’s play are either downplayed or go unnoticed in film adaptations. Thus, when discussing each of the films, we will have to focus on the main protagonists and whether it was the way they interpreted their roles that had the major part to play in the film auteurism or whether there were other elements at stake. Within this category we will also refer to the “novelty” of treatment and the trend they set.

The most “unsuitable”, ridiculous and at time hilarious (to a third millennium viewer) protagonists are the 1936 *Romeo and Juliet*. Though it set the record of being MGM’s most expensive movie at that time, for example, as Orgel (2003:90) deems it, it was

largely miscast ... with a preposterously mature pair of lovers in Leslie Howard and Norma Shearer, and an elderly John Barrymore as a stagey Mercutio decades out of date.

The “vision” belongs to the producer Irvine Thalberg, and it was his desire to have the film revolve around his wife Norma Shearer and every aspect of the movie had to take this into account (from the selection of Cukor as a director, known as the women’s director at the time to the rest of the cast). The two protagonists, in spite of their opulent costumes and surroundings, are but two mature lovers, who have to behave like two hot-headed impetuous adolescents. Though highly acclaimed and prized at the moment of release and though faithful to Shakespeare, the film succeeds neither as a passionate romance nor as costume epic-drama. It was, however, like all the rest of the movies selected for our analysis, a trend setter: literal, theatrical adaptations (to this date, it held the highest ratio of the original Shakespearean text used: 45%).

The two protagonists of *West Side Story*, on the other hand, do not take the limelight, they are suitable, they are beautiful, reasonably young, and they sing and dance (less of the singing though in the case of Natalie Wood) well. Their selection was prompted by the desire to combine fame (Natalie Wood) with professionalism (the rest of the singing and dancing cast). Auteurism in this case was a combined “vision”, which resorted to other arts than drama. It is the music that marked the movie and ensured its impact, music composed by the most famous American composer Leonard Bernstein. The trend set by the film is that of liberal adaptations grafted by hybridization of genres (just as an example, see another famous movie of the eighties, *Dirty Dancing*).

It is without any doubt that when it comes to taking the limelight, i.e. the protagonists’ contribution to auteurism, the two adolescents selected by Zeffirelli made the greatest impact ever. The director’s audacity to choose two virtually unknown actors having the same age as Shakespeare’s originals proved to be a stroke of genius. Olivia Hussey and Leonard Whiting played the parts of their lives, and were forever marked by it. It was Leonard Whiting’s sole prominent cinematographic role and his very short movie making career ended in the 70’s, while Olivia Hussey only played in B rated movies after that. (The only actor who had a successful career after playing a part, Tybalt’s, in the film was Michael York.) The protagonists’ acting was so convincing and emotional that, to date, they remain the closest embodiment of the Shakespearean *Romeo and Juliet*. It is only almost fifty years later that another director dares to follow the trend set by Zeffirelli: that of beautiful, unknown adolescent actors and a more

liberated view on the sexual side of their attraction. (See Carlo Carlei's *Romeo and Juliet*, released in October 2013).

In a sense, the 1996 Luhrman's *Romeo+Juliet* does seem to follow Zeffirelli's suite when it comes to the two protagonists put forward. However, as young and beautiful as they might be, they are not teenagers and they are not that innocent in the movie making business. It is rather the imprint made by the director himself that rendered the movie its specificity both when it comes to his choice of actors (Di Caprio being a most favourite) and to his vision. The elements which constitute his authorial mark pertain to the burlesque, particularly evident in the ballroom scene (these elements of burlesque reach their full potential in Luhrman's adaptation of *The Great Gatsby*). This comical, burlesque, hybrid approach is to be followed and taken to another level by the 1998 *Shakespeare in Love*.

Shakespeare in Love is the most prized of the films scrutinised here, as it will be discussed in more detail in the reception subsection of our analysis. Though the two protagonists played their parts gloriously (Gwyneth Paltrow actually won an Oscar as best actress in a leading role but only after the withdrawal of Julia Roberts, whose presence in the film was sought after in order to secure the film's commercial success) we consider that the auteurism of the film is shared between the film directing (done by John Madden) and the script writing (belonging to Marc Norman and the famous playwright Tom Stoppard). Thus, besides its innovative framed theatrical play approach, combined with witty dialogue and savory supporting parts (i.e. the "producer"/apothecary), the vision put forward is highly postmodern in its hybrid and intertextual nature. This hybridism and intertextuality is all encompassing, from Shakespeare's plays (such as the reference to *Twelfth Night*) to the use of contemporary verbal clichés (such as: *Follow that boat* and *The show must...Go on* grafted on Shakespeare's language. Thus, even though the film is apparently loyal to Shakespeare's age and play, it most often than not "reads" like a contemporary romantic comedy, being thus the most postmodern Shakespearean movie ever made. The trend set is yet to be followed. No other director has yet dared to imitate this framed theatrical play vision when it comes to any of Shakespeare's plays. (The Spanish director Pedro Almodovar has recently done something similar, but obviously not with a Shakespearean play.)

In contrast, *Romeo Must Die* is the film in which the protagonists' parts have had the most prominent contribution to the film's auteurism. It is obvious the film has been produced with those particular actors in mind, both of them being very popular among the adolescents of the late 90s. Thus Romeo is played by Jet Lee, an actor of Chinese origin and a martial arts specialist, while Juliet is played by Aaliyah Haughton, a famous Afro-American recording artist, dancer, actress and model, who also ensures the film's soundtrack and who, unfortunately, died in a plane crash accident a year after the film was made, in 2001, at the age of 22.

This aspect probably determined the film's unexpected success since it was only meant to be a highly enjoyable fans' trip into the world of kung fu, spiced up with R'n'B and gangster rap scenes. The mere recycling of the Shakespearean theme in a film vaguely related to the original – a trend initiated by *West Side Story* – was rather richly followed since then. (See, for example, Solanas' 2013 *Upside Down*, a sci-fi set in a dystopic future.)

In brief, contrary to what one might expect in the case of Romeo and Juliet, only in three of the films investigated the auteurism can be attributed to the protagonists' playing parts in various degrees and with various results. Thus the most prominent contribution is that of *Romeo Must Die*; the most complex, loyal, emotional and long lasting effects were produced by the (anonymous) protagonists in Zeffirelli's film (greatly influenced by the director's vision), while

the most unnatural and slightly ridiculous are Cukor's 1936 protagonists, with the producer strongly influencing their selection and performance. In the remaining three films auteurism was provided by the directors' visions. The most complex auteurism, however, was put forward by *Shakespeare in Love*, where the combination of the director's vision with that of the scriptwriters along with the parts played by the protagonists made for the film's novelty of approach and impact.

4.3. Verisimilitude

It stands to reason to observe that when it comes to performance, most stage productions or films, for that matter, offer a simplified view of the original text. As T.J.B. Spencer (1967:7), the editor of the New Penguin's edition of *Romeo and Juliet* remarked in his introduction:

It is a work of art which weaves together a large number of related impressions, ideas, images and moral judgments. It changes from violence to beauty, from bountiful love to malicious hate. There is music and dancing; fantasy and bawdry; the heights of joy and the depths of misery, the lively festivity indoors and the tranquil moonlight outdoors, the unhappy dawn in the bedroom and the desperate suicide in the tomb.

Shakespeare spent a great deal of drama time in building up the environment in which we can understand and assess the two lovers. Apart from one instance, the whole play is set in Verona: in the streets, in the Capulets' house and garden, in Fra' Laurence's cell, in the churchyard by the Capulets' monument. The origins of the feud are not known, the feud just being the status quo. The dramatic construction is really dramatic and it moves on in a dizzying speed. It thus opens on Sunday morning and it ends the following Thursday at dawn. In this way, four July days cram intense experiences, which give the impression of a much more extended time span. The young lovers are barely teenagers, and though the younger of the two, Juliet at twelve is the more mature and responsible. Their love is instant, impetuous, ardent and eye-catching, though the play instantiates almost all the faces of love: sexual love, mature asexual, well-behaved kind of love, parental as well as "clan" love, brotherly love, pious or commiserating love. Apart from this ever encompassing theme of love, Shakespeare's play illustrates other themes such as public life and the complex but rigid kinds of relationships of the period. To what extent the films under investigation manage to capture this complexity and remain loyal to the play is to be explored as follows.

The producer of Cukor's *Romeo and Juliet* went to great lengths to establish authenticity and the film's intellectual credentials: researchers were sent to Verona to take photographs for the designers; the paintings of Botticelli, Bellini, Carpaccio and Gozzoli were studied to provide visual inspiration; and two academic advisers (John Tucker Murray of Harvard and William Strunk, Jr. of Cornell) were flown to the set, with instructions to supervise the production freely. To date, it remains the most loyal of film productions in terms of respecting the spirit and original language of Shakespeare's play. However, as it turned out, this did not make for the success of the play, which was marred by the unfortunate cast of mature, unconvincing actors. Equally unsuccessful was the intended desire for authenticity. Some of the blame could fall on the black-and-white character of the film inherent to the film making period. On the other hand, the actual choice of costumes was not a very happy choice. In the balcony scene Juliet is dressed in what looks like a frilly nightgown of the 1920s. In short, in spite of the proclaimed intentions and of the pains taken, the film only succeeded in being a first complex and expensive attempt to capture the nature and spirit of Shakespeare's play.

As for *West Side Story*, its authors transplant the classic tale to the New York City of the 1950s, in the Upper West Side ethnic, blue-collar neighborhood. The two feuding families are replaced by brawling street gangs. The Montagues become the Anglo Jets, led by Riff, and the Capulets become the Puerto Rican Sharks, led by Bernardo. At a dance, Tony, former leader of the Jets and Riff's best friend, and Maria, Bernardo's little sister, see each other across the room and this is how the story begins. The plot unfolds while all sing and dance on Bernstein's pop-opera. The only connections to Shakespeare are the theme and the plot.

The most accomplished loyalty to Shakespeare's play is instantiated by the Florentine Shakespeare lover, director Franco Zeffirelli's 1968 film. (He actually directed three film adaptations based on Shakespeare's plays: *The Taming of the Shrew* (1967) with Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton, the most famous adaptation to date, *Romeo and Juliet* (1968) his most famous film ever, and *Hamlet* (1990), starring Mel Gibson). At the peak of the age of epic historic films, the setting that Zeffirelli envisaged captures the very texture of time and place, recreating the sixteenth century Verona, in an exquisite combination of visual elements such as the burning sun, or the rich and resplendent costumes, and of blazing emotions and passions. The protagonists are convincingly young and beautiful, innocent and sex-driven at the same time. All the characters are well constructed, none of the most important missing, while the plot unfolds dramatically and speedily by keeping to the original. All in all, the film not only gloriously captures the very nature and substance of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* but it also captures, to a great extent, the complexity of Shakespeare's original, by achieving that combination of music, dancing and bawdry, outdoor-indoor, high and low balance mentioned at the beginning of this section of our paper.

Though Lührmann retained Shakespeare's language, he brought the setting up to date, making the Montagues and Capulets mobsters in a modern Miami-like city (although actually filmed in Mexico City and Veracruz). The film is set in the "crass, violent and superficial society" (Orgel 2003:91) of Verona Beach and Sycamore Grove. The visual conventions of the film were – as Orgel (2003:92) puts it – "largely those of porn films". Apart from the unusual setting and burlesque elements, which prevent the viewer to take this tragic story very seriously, Lührmann's film stays loyal to the content of the original.

The frame story of *Shakespeare in Love* depicts the impossible, furtive love story between William Shakespeare the playwright and a noble woman, Viola de Lesseps, while he was writing the play *Romeo and Juliet*. They also play the parts of Romeo and Juliet (lady Viola disguised as a young man who then plays the part of a woman) in the framed theatrical play staged within a compromise between the *Rose* and the *Curtain* rival theaters. The story is fictitious, though some of the characters are based on real people (Queen Elisabeth I or the playwright Christopher Marlow, for example). In addition, many of the characters, lines, and plot strategies make intertextual references Shakespeare's plays (*Twelfth Night*). The film is "not constrained by worries about literary or historical accuracy" (Maslin 1998) and includes anachronisms such as a reference to Virginia tobacco plantations, when the American colony of Virginia was non-existent. The most obvious deviation from literary history is the initial title of the "comedy": *Romeo and Ethel the Pirate's Daughter* that Shakespeare allegedly set out to write. The essence and atmosphere of the Elizabethan period are exquisitely captured in the film and the fragments from *Romeo and Juliet* presented in the film are faithful to Shakespeare's original.

If the *West* in the title of the paper was suggested by the 1961 *West Side Story*, the *East* definitely comes from the last but most recent of the films analysed in this paper, the 2000

Romeo Must Die. This *East*, however, is not of a geographic nature but of a cultural one. To explain, even if the setting of the film is the West (contemporary Oakland, California, USA) (a sort of, kind of Romeo is played by an Asian (whose name is Han) and his most accomplished skill is kung-fu fighting. As in the case of *West Side Story*, only the theme is Shakespearean. Thus, Jet Li plays an ex-cop who investigates the murder of his American-based-Chinese-mafia related brother and in the process falls in (a rather platonic, without a single kiss kind of) love with the daughter of an American mob boss, played by another ethnically different actress, the hip-hop and R'n'B star Aaliyah at her debut in the film making business. Neither of the clans approves of their romance, their feud being a racial one rather than a family one, and the protagonists fight and sing their way through the story. Romeo/Han does not die in the end, he manages to get the girl, but his father commits suicide. In brief, in spite of the title, *Romeo must Die* it is the most remotely related to Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* film of our corpus.

All in all, four of the films analysed display various degrees of verisimilitude, the most literary (and literally) proclaimed loyal to the original text, although the least accomplished, being Cukor's 1936 version, while the most accomplished as far as the nature and spirit of Shakespeare's original is concerned, being Zeffirelli's 1968 version. The remaining two, *Shakespeare in Love* and *Romeo+Juliet*, though bearing some elements of verisimilitude stray away from the original. *West Side Story* and *Romeo Must Die* just adopt the theme, with the former focusing on the love theme, while the latter focusing on the feud theme and being the most remote from the original from the six films surveyed here.

4.4. Reception

The last category of our analysis looks at the receiving end of the film making industry. As can be seen from Figure 1, as far as IMDB scores go, the best received scores were achieved by the 1960's *West Side Story* and Zeffirelli's *Romeo and Juliet* (both got 7.6), being the second highly rated of all Shakespearean film adaptations (second to Branagh's 1996 *Hamlet*, which received a 7.8 score). They are closely followed by the 1990's *Shakespeare in Love* (7.2). *Romeo Must Die*, even though it had a very promising debut, eventually was rated only 5.9. As explained before, IMDB scores represent the perceptions of "anonymous" viewers. When it comes to "the voices of authority", i.e. important award nominations and winnings, the story is only slightly different. See the figure below for a summary of the awards won by each of the films analysed.

Figure 2. Awards won across the six films in our corpus

Rank	Film/year	Oscars won	BAFTAs won	Berlin Bears won	Nominations won	Total number of awards won
1	<i>Shakespeare in Love</i> / 1998	7	5	2	6	14
2	<i>West Side Story</i> / 1961	10	-	-	1	10
3	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> / 1968	2	1	-	4	3

4	<i>Romeo+Juliet</i> / 1996	-	-	1	1	1
5	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> / 1936	-	-	-		-
6	<i>Romeo Must Die</i> /2000	-	-	-	-	-

The most appreciated of the films investigated is *Shakespeare in Love*, which won seven Academy Awards (a.k.a. Oscars) for best: picture, actress, supporting actress, art direction, costume design, original music, original screenplay, and six other nominations, five BAFTA awards and two Bears at the Berlin festival. The first runner up in this respect is *West Side Story* with ten Oscars won for best: picture, director, film editing, supporting actor and actress, cinematography, art direction and costume design, sound and best original score, plus one more nomination for adapted screenplay. The second runner up is Zeffirelli's *Romeo and Juliet* with two Oscars won for best cinematography and costumes plus four more nominations. It also won a BAFTA award for best costume. The "poorest" in terms of awards and nominations are *Romeo+Juliet*, which nonetheless won a Berlin Silver Bear award for best actor and an MTV award, while *Romeo Must Die* was nominated for an MTV award but got nothing. MTV – Music TV Awards are given to the films popular among the specific audience of the MTV channel, i.e. adolescents. Due to the rather restricted nature of the audience, we decided not to take into account these kinds of awards in our analysis. (www.imdb.com)

Profit wise, the most "lucrative" enterprise (in terms of raw financial profits, expressed in millions of dollars as reported by *Wikipedia*) turned out to be *Shakespeare in Love* with almost 300 million box office rate, as shown in the figure below.

Figure 3. Box office figures across the six films in our corpus

Rank	Film/year	(Domestic + Foreign) Box office/\$
1	<i>Shakespeare in Love</i> /1998	289 million
2	<i>Romeo+Juliet</i> /1996	147 million
3	<i>Romeo Must Die</i> /2000	91 million
4	<i>West Side Story</i> /1961	19 million
5	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> /1968	14,5 million
6	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> /1936	975,000

At a first superficial glance, it seems surprising that a popular film like Zeffirelli's (or Cukor's for that matter) are the two films that had the "poorest" box office results. These kinds of analysis definitely can produce misleading results, as there are various factors which might make for these inconsistent results. They can range from cultural and historical factors (such as film going practices across periods of time), social practices (such as promotion and by product policies) or demographic and geographic factors (the age group of cinema goers or where the

film was made and released) to financial factors (such as the value of the dollar to audience income) or IT development. This might explain why one of the most highly valued films (both by the viewers and by award givers) like Zeffirelli's had turned in considerably less money than *Romeo Must Die*, which nowadays is mainly appreciated by martial arts fans. Similarly, it is obvious that a million dollars in the 1930's represented hugely more as compared to the million dollars of the 2000's. It is nevertheless significant that the popularity of the films in terms of viewer score and awards is supported by financial data (with, for example *Shakespeare in Love* cashing in twice more than *Romeo+Juliet*, and three times more than *Romeo Must Die*).

5. Conclusions

The mini survey presented in this paper showed two important things: the fatigueless, die-hard, ever-increasing interest in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, on the one hand, and on the other, the diverse and fluid nature of the approaches. The films included in our corpus straddle the boundaries of almost a century (seven decades, to be more precise), roughly from the dawn of the film making industry in the first half of the twentieth century to the dawn of the third millennium. All the films investigated put forward what we called "freshness" of approach and set a trend in the film making industry. This "freshness" ranged from high verisimilitude to hybridism of genre and postmodern approaches. The most postmodernly versatile in terms of combining freshness of approach with intertextual and hybrid approaches turned out to be the framed Romeo and Juliet theatrical play put forward by *Shakespeare in Love*, which might account for its winning the largest number of awards and nominations, as well as for its turning in the best box office numbers. It is noteworthy though that the most emblematic for and closest to Shakespeare's original is the last but a less profitable of the films adaptations scrutinised. The beauty of the unknown adolescent actors, the combination of their innocence with their sexually explicit impetuosity proved to be Zeffirelli's stroke of genius along with the minute recreation of Shakespeare's time setting, in line with what Shakespeare did. (Cukor also attempted to recreate such an atmosphere but failed in almost every respect, for technical want of the time but also for want of directorial vision.) And for the latest attempt to revive Shakespeare and Zeffirelli's vision stands proof the 2013 adaptation. The success of *West Side Story* initiated the telling of a different story: that of the perennial success of the theme made famous by Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Whether it is depicted in a medieval or a contemporary setting, whether it is spoken (in Shakespeare's language or not), sung, or danced away in poor hoods, ballroom glitz or in martial arts choreography, this theme never seems to wear off.

And, as a final word, ever since Shakespeare bred them, Romeo and Juliet re-surface anew with clockwise regularity in theatres, books and films, in Western or Eastern cultures, never aging, never stale, forever telling a somehow fresh kind of the same tragic story in which Romeo must die and so must his Juliet. Only Shakespeare lives forever.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0022

PIRATES AND PIRACY IN AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE

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***Abstract:** Piracy is both an ancient and a modern social ill. Yet in American popular culture pirates have emerged as dashing heroic figures and Robin Hoods of the Sea. Some examples of this transformation of the pirate image from criminal to popular hero are explored in British and American fiction, cinema and other forms of popular culture.*

***Keywords:** Daphné du Maurier, pirate fiction, pirate films, pirate festival, Rafael Sabatini, Robert Lewis Stevenson*

1. Introduction

In historical records piracy predates the Christian era by over 1000 years and chronicles of piracy include the Hyksos and Sea Peoples, the Vikings, the Barbary Pirates and the real pirates of the Caribbean. Piracy remains a modern social ill today, with pirates operating off the coast of Somalia, Nigeria and Cameroon and in the waters around Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

In American popular culture, in novels, films and other media, pirates have emerged as dashing heroic figures, battling injustice and serving as Robin Hoods of the Sea. In the years leading up to April 2009, when the mass communications media in the United States focused on piracy, their attention usually involved Johnny Depp and *The Pirates of the Caribbean* film series (2003, 2006, 2007, 2011). Pirates in contemporary American popular culture appear in print media, film, TV, product advertising, “cultural” events, and sports. Most such pirate images are generally favourable.

There is a profound disconnect between the realities of piracy and the popular image of it found in most commercial entertainment media. The pirate has been presented in a romanticized and sanitized way that masks the brutality, cruelty and depravity of piracy in the real world.

With the 2009 seizure of the container ship *Maersk Alabama*, a container ship sailing under the American flag, American popular attention shifted briefly to the topic of Somali pirates and the real nature of piracy. But media interest quickly faded after the U.S. Navy Seals dispatched three of the pirates to their rendezvous with Allah, arrested a fourth, and rescued the captured American captain. For that short period of time U.S. press coverage of pirates was focused on the *Maersk Alabama* (Hawkins 2010), but that was 2009, and the level of press attention on piracy has declined substantially since. Even the release of the film on the event in 2013, *Captain Phillips*, did not spark a sustained revival of interest in piracy in the U.S. entertainment media.

Once again the media have returned to the popular mythology of piracy as a romantic enterprise, waged against unscrupulous merchants and dishonest political leaders. Johnny

Depp and *The Pirates of the Caribbean* films epitomize yet again the popular image of the pirate, demonstrated abundantly by the film series now in its fifth iteration. This is not a new phenomenon. Pirates have captured the popular imagination of the public for much more than a century, and in some cases, more than a millennium. If one is to include the Vikings as pirates, as this author does, then the Norse sagas were part of the body of piracy literature a thousand years ago, and remain with us to this day. These sagas were neither history nor fiction, but a hybrid of both, revealing actual events in highly exaggerated ways to enhance the prestige of the participants.

The first published account of piracy in the age of European expansionism and exploration was written by Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin in 1678. Originally written in Dutch and published in Amsterdam as *De Americaensche Zee-Roovers*, the book still circulates today under the titles *The Buccaneers of America* (1972, 2000), *The History of the Buccaneers of America* (2006), *The Illustrated Pirate Diaries: A Remarkable Eyewitness Account of Captain Morgan and the Buccaneers* (2008), and several other titles and variations in the spelling and renderings of his name in English (Esquemeling 2007), German, French and Spanish translations.

One of the other early quasi-scholarly works on the subject of piracy was *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates* (2002[1724]) by Captain Charles Johnson. When first set in print in 1724 it was written for a well-educated popular audience, and provided a wealth of information on pirates and piracy, some based on legends and some on official records. Standards for genuine scholarship in the 18th century were non-existent then, and the work would not be considered academically sound today, but for its place in the history of piracy literature. It names the most well-known pirates of that time, and recounts their more spectacular exploits. Johnson's book remains in print today and is considered the first source on piracy, even though it is not rigorously documented. Johnson's accounts of pirates and piracy were not flattering, and his pirates were "desperados, who were the terror of the trading part of the world" (Johnson 2002[1724]).

2. Popular Fiction

Pirates have been popular subject matter in action and adventure tales since the accounts of Captain Charles Johnson were first published in 1724. While Johnson's work was intended to be historical and accurate, pirates also became figures in popular fiction. Lord Byron's lengthy romantic poem "The Corsair" (1814) is set in Mediterranean waters. The corsair, a pirate captain, seeks to free his love, captured and enslaved by the Turks.

Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1884) introduced pirates to a wide audience with the classic adventure tale *Treasure Island* in 1883. The prolific Rafael Sabatini (1875-1950) created several pirate characters among his many adventure stories. Starting with *Frenchman's Creek* (1941) by Daphne du Maurier (1907-1989), numerous romance novels have used the character of the lusty, charismatic pirate captain as the seducer of the heroine. These novels, taken together, have shaped the popular image of pirates and piracy for the English-language world.

2.1. Long John Silver and *Treasure Island*

In the adventure yarn *Treasure Island* (1883) Robert Louis Stevenson shows most pirates as evil, duplicitous and violent men willing to do anything to acquire Captain Flint's buried treasure. But one among those pirates, Long John Silver, shows a more complex character, equally able to be beguiling or threatening. The events are set around 1760, and involve a treasure map, sought by pirates who had sailed with Captain Flint in the 1750s, still

eager to claim their share of Flint's buried treasure. But the map and a diary come into the possession of young Jim Hawkins and he shows it to some honest, law abiding men. They set out to find that treasure, but unknowingly sign on a crew comprised of many of Flint's old pirates, led by Silver. Conflict between the honest treasure-hunters and the old pirates erupts when all reach Flint's treasure island and the search for the gold begins.

When *Treasure Island* was first published as a magazine serial in 1883, the pirates were presented as wicked, homicidal men. Clearly a piece of fiction, the novel borrowed some names and places from the Johnson book to give the story some verisimilitude. While the central pirate figure, Long John Silver, was purely fictional, in the novel he sailed with Israel Hands, the name of a real pirate named in Johnson's book, who had sailed under Captain Edward Teach (Blackbeard) prior to Teach's 1718 death (Johnson 2002:59).

It was necessary to give Silver some positive attributes that could gain and hold the loyalty of the young Jim Hawkins. Thus Long John Silver had a charm and appeal to him which made him one of literature's more interesting villains. There is a complex duality in the character. Long John Silver is both a personable crewman, and villainous cut-throat.

When *Treasure Island* was made into a film in 1934, with Wallace Beery as Silver and Jackie Cooper as Jim Hawkins, his image softened even more. The 1950 Walt Disney version continued this trend and Silver, played by Robert Newton, was a rascal, but not so much a villain. With the character of Long John Silver there to open the door, other pirates moved toward social acceptability.

2.2. Rafael Sabatini and the Gentleman Pirate

The prolific novelist Rafael Sabatini (1875-1950) created several important pirate characters among his many adventure stories. Sabatini created the heroic pirates of *The Sea Hawk* in 1915 and *Captain Blood* in 1922. So successful was his Captain Blood character that he wrote two sequels about him, *Captain Blood Returns* (1930), called *The Chronicles of Captain Blood* in Britain, and *The Fortunes of Captain Blood* (1936). He created a third pirate for the adventure tale, *The Black Swan* (1932). Both *Captain Blood* and *The Sea Hawk* were made into motion pictures in 1924 (Ossian 2008) and both were remade with Errol Flynn in the starring roles of both (*Captain Blood*, 1935; *The Sea Hawk*, 1940). Over the years his *Captain Blood* novels have been filmed six times and also produced as a seven-hour radio dramatization.

Sabatini added a dimension of romance to the pirate tale, absent in *Treasure Island*. His stories are still adventure yarns, but a woman plays an important part in each, as a damsel in distress. The pirate thus evolves into the knight in tarnished armour. Indeed, in *The Sea Hawk* the central character is both knight and pirate.

The Sea Hawk (1915) unfolds between 1588 and 1593, and tells the story of Sir Oliver Tressilian. He is betrayed by his half-brother, wrongly accused of murder, and sold as a galley slave. While a galley slave he befriends a Muslim also enslaved on the galley. Their galley is captured by Barbary pirates and he is set free. He joins the Muslims and takes the name of *Sakr-el-Bahr*, the "Hawk of the Sea" in Arabic. Eventually, he and the pirates capture his beloved Rosamund and his evil half-brother. Sir Oliver rescues Rosamund from slavery, marries her and extracts a confession from his half-brother which clears him of the murder charge.

In *Captain Blood* (1922), Captain Peter Blood had been a medical doctor who was wrongfully arrested, tried and convicted of aiding rebels against King James II following the Battle of Sedgemoor in 1685. As punishment, he was transported to Barbados and sold as a slave on the plantation of the governor. He escaped, captured a Spanish ship bent on attacking the colony, became a pirate who never attacked British ships, and saved the daughter of the

governor who had enslaved him. Still a pirate, he saves the Jamaica colony from capture, and eventually is restored to good graces under the authority of the new king, William. As a reward for his heroism, Blood is pardoned, named governor of Jamaica, and takes the daughter of the former governor as his bride.

The Black Swan (1932) unfolds during the time when Sir Henry Morgan supposedly was governor of Jamaica. This would place the events in the novel around the 1670s. In the war against Spain, Morgan was a privateer and aggressively waged war against Spanish interests in the Caribbean and Central and South America. Morgan actually was admiral of the fleet positioned there to defend against the Spanish just prior to the peace treaty of 1670, served as lieutenant governor from 1674 and briefly as acting governor in 1681. In the book, Morgan employs some of his former pirate allies in an effort to suppress other Caribbean pirates some time after the peace with Spain. When the heroine of the tale is captured by the bad pirates (those former privateers who refused to stop their predations on Spanish shipping after the peace treaty and turned to attacking all shipping), the tale turns into a rescue mission. The hero of the story, Captain Jamie Waring, a privateer who has remained loyal to Sir Henry Morgan, does battle with the renegade privateers and rescues the heroine from them.

A typical Sabatini pirate captain really is a person of good character, thrust into piracy by some social injustice. He demonstrates his moral virtue by rescuing a woman in distress, protecting her from other pirates and other dangers. Thus romance was introduced to pirate fiction.

2.3. Daphné du Maurier and the Romance Novel Pirate

Beginning with *Frenchman's Creek* (1941) by Daphné du Maurier (1907-1989), numerous romance novels have used the character of the lusty, charismatic pirate captain with an honourable side as the seducer of the heroine. Still in print after three-quarters of a century, *Frenchman's Creek* today is considered a classic in its genre. Du Maurier preferred not to be characterized as a "romantic," and she wrote numerous novels and short stories which would not be classified as such. But the success of *Frenchman's Creek* could not be ignored, and its place in that genre is beyond dispute. Her novel was made into a film in 1944 with Joan Fontaine as the British aristocrat Dona St. Columb, and Arturo de Córdova as the French pirate Jean Benoit Aubrey, who wins her heart.

It is in the genre of the romance novel that the popular image of the pirate has been the most glamorized. Advancing the theme initiated by Sabatini, pirates have become the rescuers of ladies in distress, often from other pirates. Beginning with *Frenchman's Creek* by du Maurier (1941), an entire sub-genre of romance novels, most now written by women, have created a highly romanticized image of the pirate captain. The website Squidoo.com has posted its list of the ten best-selling pirate romance novels (2012), provided in the textbox which follows:

The Ten Bestselling Pirate Romance Novels

Forever Neverland by Heather Killough-Walden.

Bound by the Heart, by Marsha Canham.

Steel, by Carrie Vaughn.

Gentle Rogue, by Johanna Lindsey

The Pirate Lord (Lord Trilogy, Book 1), by Sabrina Jeffries, writing as Deborah Martin.

Guardian Angel, by Julie Garwood

The Care and Feeding of Pirates, by Jennifer Ashley (2005).

Frenchman's Creek, by Daphné du Maurier (1941)

The Gift, by Julie Garwood

The Pirate Prince (part of Ascension Trilogy), by Gaelen Foley

(Source: Squidoo.com, 2012)

These romantic images of pirate captains have influenced the popular imagination for decades. In five of these ten novels, the leader of the pirates is an aristocrat. They have turned to piracy as a consequence of great injustices done to them in three of the novels. Five involve some form of escape by the heroine, aided by the pirate. The women find themselves being rescued from bad pirates by good pirates in three of the stories, and from unwanted suitors or abusive husbands in four (Squidoo.com 2012).

That such a list is even compiled is indicative of the popularity of the genre in American popular fiction. Romantic images of pirate captains result in many readers and viewers who do not see pirates as ruthless criminals, but as romantic rakes who can be reformed by the love of a good, but adventuresome woman.

Such images may seem foolish and illogical, and have been criticized for playing into women's superficial fantasies. While this may be so, pirates have also served a minor role in the Feminist Movement. Erica Jong's 1980 novel *Fanny: Being the True History of the Adventures of Fanny Hackabout-Jones* finds the heroine taking a turn as an 18th century Caribbean pirate among her adventures. Jong, true to her uniquely colourful and bawdy ways, sets out to create a character who is simultaneously both modern and contextually historical.

3. The Pirates Go to the Movies

The earliest pirate film was a 1908 version of *Treasure Island*. In 1916 Lillian Gish, then a silver-screen superstar, played the title role in *Daphne and the Pirate*, another early pirate film. In 1924 the first film adaptation of *Peter Pan* was released by Paramount. Other silent films portrayed pirates in the silent era of filmmaking.

Popular film routinely takes the plots, characters and images of the successful novels to disseminate them to even larger audiences by adapting these novels to screenplays. Robert Ossian has compiled a list of over three hundred pirate movies on his *Pirates Cove* website (2008). The 1908 version of *Treasure Island* was the first of many film adaptations of the Robert Louis Stevenson's classic adventure tale. There were three more silent film versions of *Treasure Island* before the first "talkie", the 1934 version with Wallace Beery as Long John Silver and Jackie Cooper as Jim Hawkins. It had a truly stellar supporting cast, with Lionel Barrymore, Otto Kruger, Nigel Bruce and Lewis Stone among them. The first color remake was in 1950 by the Disney studios, with Bobby Driscoll as Jim Hawkins and Robert Newton as Long John Silver. Newton reprised the role in a subsequent 1954 Australian-made film,

Long John Silver and in a 1955 TV series *The Adventures of Long John Silver* reflecting the popularity of this pirate character (Wikipedia-Newton 2012). Newton also had played a pirate captain in the 1952 film *Blackbeard the Pirate* and his exaggerated accent and use of the guttural “argh” gave pirates their characteristic, stereotypical voice.

The two highly successful novels of Rafael Sabatini, *The Sea Hawk* in 1915 and *Captain Blood* in 1922, both were made into silent motion pictures in 1924. Both films were remade as talkies with Errol Flynn starring as *Captain Blood* in 1935 and as *The Sea Hawk* in 1940. In *Captain Blood* (1935) Hollywood took some liberties with the story, but it did follow the general plot of Sabatini’s novel. However, the Errol Flynn version of *The Sea Hawk* (1940) was not based on the Sabatini plot and simply employed the title and some elements of the original story. A third Sabatini novel, *The Black Swan*, also became a motion picture in 1942, but this time it was Tyrone Power playing the lead and Maureen O’Hara, Lady Margaret, the damsel in distress. Power plays Captain Jamie Waring, a reformed pirate loyal to Sir Henry Morgan. Waring suppresses rogue pirates, rescues Lady Margaret from them and, in doing so, wins her love (Wikipedia-Black Swan 2012).

Errol Flynn appeared in yet another pirate film in 1952, *Against All Flags*, opposing Maureen O’Hara as a female pirate based in Madagascar in the 1700s (Ossian 2008). At that time Madagascar was indeed a pirate colony and base from which pirates could attack shipping in the Indian Ocean.

Certainly not all depictions of pirates have portrayed them as heroic men. Pirates have served as the effective foils and villains in action-adventure yarns, at least since the time of *Treasure Island* by Robert Louis Stevenson (1883). Captain Hook in the 1904 play *Peter Pan; or, the Boy Who Wouldn’t Grow Up*, by Sir James Matthew Barrie, later offered as a novel, *Peter and Wendy* (1911) and made famous in the Disney animated movie *Peter Pan*, was a total villain whom Peter had to fight to rescue his captive boys and Wendy. In *Hook* (1991) the tale is re-focused on Captain Hook, played by Dustin Hoffman, and still thoroughly villainous. The story was retold in 2003 again with actors rather than cartoons, and in a more serious, adult tone (Ebert 2003).

4. Pirates as Non-Threatening Comedic Figures

While most of the early pirate films were action-adventure tales and romances, *The Crimson Pirate* (1952) with Burt Lancaster and Nick Cravat is as much a slapstick comedy as an action-adventure yarn. Nick Cravat, playing the mute Ojo, was a talented acrobat and he and Lancaster used their acrobatic skills in the film to confront pursuers and achieve numerous implausible escapes.

The Princess and the Pirate with Bob Hope and Virginia Mayo (1944) was another early film comedy with pirates as the foils to Bob Hope’s foolish antics. The pirates were evil, avaricious men, but somewhat inept, giving Hope, as Sylvester the Great, an entertainer and actor on the same ship as the princess, the opportunity to come to her rescue.

The Princess Bride (1987), based on the novel by William Goldman (1973), features the “Dread Pirate Robert” (Cary Elwes) in a comic action adventure film in which the young hero takes on the role of pirate in a quest to reclaim his lost sweetheart and save her from real villains.

The Pirates Who Don’t Do Anything – A VeggieTales Movie (2008) employs cartoon vegetables as the crew of a pirate ship, and clearly was intended for children. Among the more recent animated pirate films is the 2012 feature-length cartoon, *Pirates! Band of Misfits*, featuring a contest among rival pirate captains for the title of “pirate of the year.” These child-friendly films present the pirates as non-threatening comic beings who never really hurt anyone.

Pirates also have found a place in films with the fantasy-occult and pornographic genres. Both are blended in the films *Pirates* (2005), described as the most expensive pornographic film produced (Wikipedia-Pirates 2013) and *Pirates II – Stagnetti’s Revenge* (2008) which involves sex, fantasy and resurrection from the dead of the evil pirate Victor Stagnetti. Non-pornographic ghostly pirates have appeared in such films as Walt Disney’s 1968 comedy *Blackbeard’s Ghost*, and the more recent 2006 *Pirates of the Great Salt Lake*.

Even before film, pirates also have been employed in various comedic ways in other media. Gilbert and Sullivan wrote and produced the comic opera *Pirates of Penzance* for the stage in 1879. It is revealed that these pirates of Penzance, a popular English beach resort, are “all noblemen who have gone wrong” and are forgiven their piracy in the end and allowed to marry the daughters of their former adversary, a “very modern major general.”

5. Pirate Festivals and Other Commercial Applications

So popular are pirates today that some communities and schools have held pirate festivals, pirate costume parties and pirate days (Perdomo 2012). Quite possibly the oldest of these events is the Contraband Days Festival in Lake Charles, Louisiana. Since 1957 Lake Charles has held its annual Contraband Days Festival in honour of Jean Lafitte each May (Lake Charles, La. 2013). Jean Lafitte was a real pirate and privateer, immortalized in fiction in Lyle Saxon’s 1930 novel, *Lafitte the Pirate*, and in film, first by Cecil B. DeMille in *The Buccaneer* (1938) with Fredric March as Lafitte, and again in 1958 with Yul Brynner as Lafitte. Lafitte, a hero of the War of 1812 and somewhat notorious privateer, has been the subject of many books, both historic and fictional, as well as films. The National Parks Service site in New Orleans recognizes his contribution to the defence of that city in 1815 (National Parks Service 2013).

The Blackbeard Pirate Festival in Hampton, Virginia has been an annual summer event since the late 1990s (2012), the John LeVique Pirate Days in Madeira Beach, Florida since 2000 (King 2012). A newer piracy event is the Annual Michigan Pirate Festival in Grand Haven Michigan, begun in 2007 (Michigan Pirate Festival 2012).

Many port cities in the United States have pirate cruises for tourists and party-goers, including many in Florida, including Clearwater, Destin, Fort Myers, Madeira Beach, Panama City, Riviera Beach, and Tampa. At the Walt Disney World Magic Kingdom Theme Park in Orlando one of the featured attractions is the “Pirates of the Caribbean” ride (Walt Disney World 2012). Pirate ships also sail from Plymouth, Massachusetts and Baltimore, Maryland.

American advertisers frequently use the pirate image to promote their products. Captain Morgan’s Rum is sold via TV commercials with brief pirate vignettes. Kellogg’s Corn Flakes once included a pirate mask cut-out on its boxes. A popular seafood fast-food restaurant chain calls itself “Long John Silver’s” and uses pirate motifs in its stores, and there is even a Mexican “El Pirata” restaurant in Florida. The pirate is a popular Halloween character and has been for many decades, and the pirate costume was the third ranking in popularity in 2012 (LATimes 2013)!

There is a sufficient following of pirates and piracy to support a popular magazine for piracy aficionados, *Pirates Magazine* (2011). There is even an annual “International Talk Like a Pirate Day” on 19 September.

Parker Brothers once marketed a board game, *Captain Kidd and His Treasure*, copyrighted in 1896. Today video games largely have replaced such board games. Kongregate.com offers a host of computerized piracy games, 93 listed as of early in 2013. *Battle Pirate*, the earliest of these, has been offered since 2006, and had been played by about 60,000 in 2013. Armor Games offers *Pirateers* for on-line play. Another contemporary computer game, *Seafight*, from BigPoint.com (2013), also can be played on-line.

6. Pirates as Sporting Mascots

The image of the pirate as a heroic figure to be emulated has been carried on by sports teams using the pirate as their mascots. The Pittsburgh Alleghenies took up the name Pirates in 1891 and have retained the name and image of the pirate ever since Pittsburgh Pirates (MLB.com 2012).

At least seven college football and basketball teams also call themselves “Pirates” and numerous high schools also have adopted the name. Other sports teams use the name Buccaneers, most notably the National Football League’s Tampa Bay franchise. Their name was chosen in a name-the-team contest sponsored by the *Tampa Tribune* in 1974 (Awosika and Zaloude 2003). Three or more college teams calling themselves the Buccaneers, as do numerous high schools.

Although some might argue that Vikings were not pirates, the people who endured their raids or perished in their attacks likely would disagree. Yet we have sports teams also named after these notorious sea raiders. In the National Football League we have the Minnesota Vikings, so named in 1960, supposedly to reflect upon and honour the Scandinavian heritage of so many of the residents of the greater Minneapolis area (Wikipedia-Minnesota Vikings 2012). At least seven colleges and universities use the Viking for a mascot. In Ireland the University of Limerick also uses the Viking as its sports mascot. And as with Pirates and Buccaneers, many high schools also use the name Vikings for their team identities.

The symbolic meaning of a mascot has been hotly debated in recent years as Amerind groups have objected to their tribal names and images being used as college and professional mascots. Those who have defended their use often argue that no insult or degradation is intended or implied, and that such names are chosen to reflect on the positive attributes of the mascot named after the tribe. If this is so, what are the positive attributes of the pirate, the Viking or the buccaneer? Do we honour and hope to emulate aggressiveness, wanton violence, pillaging, arson, robbery, rape and murder? Or do we admire only the freedom, independence and adventure-seeking that the pirate lifestyle implies?

7. The Mythology of Benevolent, Chivalrous Pirates. Robin Hood at Sea

Popular fiction often portrays the pirate captain as chivalrous toward women and generous to the poor. While some pirates may have acted chivalrously in some rare cases, the fate of most women captured by them was far more likely to be gang rape and subsequent sexual enslavement. The wives and daughters of the very rich and the very powerful might be kept for eventual ransom, but even they might be used sexually while in captivity. Edward Teach reportedly took, literally, fourteen wives, so-called, some of whom he prostituted out (Johnson 2002:50).

Some pirates did place restrictions on themselves regarding captive women, as Captain John Phillips imposed in 1723, “If any of you meet with a prudent Woman, that Man that offers to meddle with her, without her Consent, shall suffer present death” (quoted in Burgess 2010:70). But it is far more likely that it was the prudent women, resisting such “meddling,” who met with present death.

When Errol Flynn played Captain Blood on the big screen in 1935, the plot was a close match to his subsequent 1938 portrayal of Robin Hood in film. An honourable man is wronged. He turns to crime (piracy or banditry) to fight the oppressor. He rescues and defends a threatened noble lady. He shares the wealth with his comrades and the poor and oppressed. In the *Crown’s Spies* Series novels of Julie Garwood (1990), the pirate Pagan is portrayed as a

Robin Hood figure, sharing the riches taken from the wealthy merchants and elites with the poor. In the contemporary film series *Pirates of the Caribbean*, the pirate Captain Jack Sparrow (Johnny Depp) repeatedly rescues the damsel in distress and does battle with the unjust. With pirates such as these, it is no wonder that the word pirate has lost its fearful connotations and in today's popular culture the pirate can be seen as an heroic figure.

The image of the pirate as a benefactor of the poor had some basis in fact, but for the most cynical of reasons. Pirates needed bases of operation ashore and the friendship of the people in those communities where they took shelter and reprovisioned their ships. To acquire this friendship, they would be generous in the division of their spoils, and paid fair prices for produce, marine stores and other wants. Their protectors gained access to stolen luxury goods, captive women and, in some places where they would be valued, slaves taken from the crews and passengers of captive ships. This was certainly the case of Mediterranean pirates from European countries in the 17th and 18th centuries who took refuge in North African ports. However, for every beneficiary ashore there had to be many "bill payers," those people who were robbed at sea or had their homes and businesses ashore looted by sea raiders, and whose assets were taken so that the pirates could be selectively generous with their allies.

Pirates occasionally may have resisted tyranny and redressed popular grievances, but this was far from common. Yet their popular image suggests that it was their primary purpose. There are some who would cast the pirate as a sea-going "social bandit" on the model first presented by Eric Hobsbawn (1959). As Hobsbawn (1965:23) described the concept, "The fundamental pattern of banditry, as I have tried to sketch it here, is almost universally found in certain conditions. It is rural, not urban. The peasant societies in which it occurs know rich and poor, powerful and weak, rulers and ruled, but remain profoundly and tenaciously traditional and pre-capitalist in structure." But pirates do not fit the mold cast by Hobsbawn. They were not rural peasants driven into the ranks of criminals as a consequence of some minor infraction; were far from traditional, and were, after a fashion, venture capitalists operating in the cosmopolitan world of international trade and commerce, and they were aggressively seeking a thick slice of that commerce for themselves.

8. Conclusions

So what may account for the American love affair with the pirate? Is it their independence? Is it their willingness to confront oppressive authority? Is it their pillaging, violence, and brutal criminality? Do Americans really find this deviant lifestyle appealing? Or do we simply need to experience more *Maersk Alabama* events to see piracy for what it is? And what is it? It is a violent, avaricious practice which results in deaths of some, kidnappings of others, and great economic loss to the victims of the pirates. It disrupts commerce and drives up costs for all consumers. It is profoundly evil and should not be romanticized. But it will be romanticized as long as the public entertainment media choose to present pirates and piracy as a socially acceptable, heroic outlaw, battling injustice and taking up the cause of the downtrodden.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0023

IDENTIFICATION THROUGH TECHNOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY CRIME NARRATIVES

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***Abstract:** I propose a somewhat new approach to examine the characteristic epistemological concerns that can be witnessed in Detective fiction. An approach that takes into account a constituent of the said model and was not dealt with in depth previously: the inevitable technological mediatedness between the Subjects taking part in the interpretative process that defines the subject.*

***Keywords:** Contemporary Epistemology, Detective Fiction, Subject Theory, Surveillance Technology*

1. Introduction

A significant change took place around the turn of the new millennium regarding our understanding of acquiring knowledge. This change can be witnessed in the trends presented by contemporary Detective Narratives. An obvious influx of products of popular culture such as television series focusing on the phenomenon of detection implies that we have reached the next stage of a tradition that has worked as a model of our understanding of epistemological concerns for centuries now.

The aim of this paper is to provide supporting arguments for this shift and to propose an approach that can be used to examine these most recent developments of the Detective Fiction genre, such as the focus on technological mediatedness, the importance of infrastructure and providing a multifocal, comprehensive picture of the processes of detection and crime. This contemporary model can no longer be examined using the theoretical tools of the last paradigm – postmodern detective fiction – this is why I am confident that a further step is necessary in the tradition of academic examination of the genre. In the following pages I will present the new set of requirements regarding both the object of examination and methodology, and their supporting arguments, after addressing the historical, theoretical background of each above-mentioned development that differentiates Current Crime Narratives from Detective Fiction.

First, I will deal with the tradition of the classic tertiary categorization of Detective Fiction, with the hopes of providing an alternative, new constituent that is more suited to examine today's narratives focusing on crime and detection. The next step is to argue that, in order to be able to deal with the phenomenon at hand that is deeply rooted in praxis, it is necessary to include the findings, dominant trends of criminology, just as it is similarly vital to take an interdisciplinary approach to examination. After providing a possible new step in the tradition of Detective Narratives and proposing a somewhat novel theoretical approach of examination, I will focus on the inevitability of technological mediatedness. It is important to

address how strongly this phenomenon is intertwined with both the notion of technological devices as extensions of the human body and law enforcement strategies when dealing with organized crime, financial crimes and the trafficking of illegal substances.

Emphasizing the advantages of examining the drug trade as opposed to the classical topos of murder, highlighting the temporal, structural, technological and linguistic aspects that make this subset more fertile is the next vital step. In the last section I will propose an object of examination that lives up to the system of standards that are discussed in this paper.

2. The Next Step in the Tradition of Detective Fiction

I am confident that in order to be able to examine the contemporary epistemological discourse as it is presented by today's Detective Narratives we have to rethink our approach towards these texts, works of art. Even though the classical approach that relied heavily on the content and historical context of these works proved to be more than useful during the past century, it is my opinion that the last stage of academic interpretation within this now classical system of division is outdated. This categorization of texts distinguishes three models that can be witnessed in terms of dynamics in these types of narratives referred to as the British model, the Hardboiled model and the Anti-Detective or Meta-Detective model. The emphasis in all of these models rests almost solely on the mystery, the case and the method the detective applies in order to find the perpetrator. The focus remained the same throughout decades even though the methods utilized went through serious changes.

It is a widely acknowledged fact that Detective Fiction, due to its strict and stable structure, could always be looked at as a direct reflection of the epistemological concerns and standpoints of the respective historical era in which it was produced. The parallel between the positivistic expectations of the Enlightenment Project and the solely intellectual, hermeneutic and physically detached methods of protagonists like Sherlock Holmes (Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's (2011) *The Study in Scarlet*, etc.) and Hercule Poirot (Agatha Christie's (1934) *Murder on the Orient Express*, etc.) is obvious, just as the shift from this approach to a more cynic and therefore hands-on mode of detection exemplified by equally iconic figures such as Sam Spade (Dashiell Hammet's (2002) *The Maltese Falcon*, etc.) or Phillip Marlowe (Raymond Chandler's (1970) *The Big Sleep*, etc.). It is argued by theoreticians such as Scaggs that the reason for this transition is rooted in the general disillusionment brought on by the Great War, an event that shattered humanity's high hopes of perpetual peace and understanding through relentless dedication to scientific improvement and moral evolution. The heroes of Hardboiled Detective Fiction are no longer part of the elite, the case itself ceases to be a simple intellectual exercise and finding out the truth does not necessarily restore the status quo. The distinction between detective and perpetrator starts to weaken; the protagonist does not have the luxury of keeping his distance from the underbelly of society. He has to go under and when he reemerges time after time he brings back more and more of that undesired dirt. He himself ends up becoming a stranger both to the elite, which he is supposed to protect, and to the criminal elements, which he is supposed to be fighting. Stuck in this liminal position, the only thing he can count on is himself but no one is inerrable. This is a clear-cut example of how humanity lost a great amount of hope in itself, due to the violent and previously unthinkable events of the beginning of the 20th century.

The next significant shift took place after the Postmodern Turn. This event was brought on by the introduction of new and, up to this day, highly debated ideas into dominant Western Thought. Rooted in the works of radical thinkers like Derrida, Barthes and Lyotard among others, postmodernism as a school of thought problematizes the potentiality of the Enlightenment Project. Lyotard (2004:8) questions the possibility of acquiring objective and impartial knowledge and instead proposes that knowledge itself should be understood as a

narrative that is the product of multiple, simultaneous discourses. The dynamic of discourse implies that knowledge can be generated through dissent, questioning the dominant views; in other words, knowledge should not be fixed. On the contrary, a certain amount of openness has to be maintained. This set of ideas, along with Deconstruction, Post-Structuralism and other inherently postmodern approaches, led to considerable conflicts within the academic community, for they openly defy the basic assumptions on which Western Thought was built. These ideas represent a sort of disillusionment similar in degree to the one that took place after the Great War, but this time it is not morality that is questioned, but the possibility to acquire incontrovertible knowledge in any field, be it the social or natural sciences.

It is a widely accepted notion that this shift in the general climate of everyday thinking led to the conception of the Anti- or Meta-Detective Fiction. Thomas Pynchon's *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966) and Paul Auster's *New York Trilogy* (1987) are two trademark works that demonstrate the dominant underlying issues that characterize this subgenre of Detective Fiction. Using the strict structure of the genre, these authors could address newly raised questions regarding narratology and the idea of gaining knowledge, taking developments of the Postmodern Turn into consideration. These works can be understood as stylistic and narratological experiments rather than conventional stories. In each case the protagonist is doomed to fail due to the circumstances that are presented by the authors. The stories defy the basic rules of storytelling, the correct order or even presence of a beginning, a middle and an end, or the governing rules of causality, etc. Contingency, fragmented elements, the complete and obvious absence of conventionally mandatory elements of narratives define these works, serving as testaments to the unfixed nature of knowledge and structure in general.

If we accept the classical tertiary classification of Detective Fiction, the Anti- or Meta-subgenre is the latest development in the long line of models mirroring our standpoint regarding knowledge in general. The problem with this standpoint is that, in a way, it entails the acceptance of inevitable failure.

We can witness basic notions – such as the parallel between the methods of detection and our understanding of knowledge – that remained the same throughout the centuries, carried on by the next historical model. Other notions went through a transformation in order to be applicable in the changing intellectual climate, questioning the goals and later the very possibility of detection. It is my opinion that it is time to recognize that there is an undeniable shift taking place once again, which requires the introduction of the next step in the tradition of Detective Narratives.

If we take a look at the present dominant trends in contemporary Detective Narratives, it is easy to see that recent works from the genre either go back to the British Model or the Hardboiled Model in a nostalgic attempt to revive these subgenres, or they mix the characteristic elements of these two models to create an amalgam. Instead of reaching back to these past models, I would like to introduce two subgenres that are not included in the classical division even though their first appearance predates Anti-Detective Fiction. These subgenres, the Police Procedural and the Crime Thriller are dealt with in detail in the textbook *Crime Fiction the New Critical Idiom* by John Scaggs (2005).

Police Procedurals such as Hillary Waugh's *Last Seen Wearing* (1952) and Ed McBain's 87th Precinct novels (1950's 1960's such novels as *Big Bad City*, etc.) emphasize the importance of the institutional nature of the police. The lone detective's place is taken by an institution with significant resources such as manpower, finance, access to high level technology. Internal dynamics, structure, like the chain of command, or the notion of the partner, and complex relationships with other institutional organizations for example federal law enforcement agencies, correctional facilities and the judicial apparatus. Certain similarities can be pointed out with the British Model for the cases are no longer unsolvable, but in these narratives intellectual superiority is replaced by team effort and the use of

technology. Even though this subgenre breaks from the total hopelessness of the Anti-Detective Fiction, it is still very far from the positivistic approach of the Enlightenment due to “its commitment to social, structural, and thematic realism” (Scaggs 2005:94). Still, this is a noteworthy step forward in my opinion for once again there is a definite chance of success.

Crime Thriller focuses on the other side of the subject matter: the side of the perpetrator. Just think about Mario Puzo’s *The Godfather* (1969) or Thomas Harris’ *Red Dragon* (2009), *The Silence of the Lambs* (2002) or *Hannibal* (2000). The most important characteristic of this subgenre is its focus on the personality of the criminal, “the motivation for crime, and its after-effects” (Scaggs 2005:4); a factor that has been entirely left out or underemphasized at best in other subgenres.

What I want to propose is a model that takes these findings one step further and combines Police Procedurals and Crime Thrillers in order to create a more comprehensive model of crime and detection: Current Crime Narratives. This way we could examine the phenomenon of committing a crime, and the investigation that follows as it should be: as a set of multiple opposing interpretative processes instead of the classical approach that only takes one interpretative process into account. This way the model would no longer be prone to be oversimplified, or to be exclusive and thus not open enough to examine this complex social and theoretical phenomenon in depth.

Another important aspect of examining a complex phenomenon like the one at hand is to include theories, approaches from fields of science that deal with practice. This is especially important in the case of Detective Narratives, for both crime and the methods of detection are deeply rooted in praxis. To fulfill this expectation, I intend to incorporate the textbooks published as part of the *Cambridge Studies in Criminology* series (Blumstein and Farrington 1996-2011). These books will prove to be vital because they are based on actual case studies and give comprehensive accounts of different areas of crime and police work. The financial background of police forces, the most recent trends in criminology, the topos of murder, law enforcement and gangs, retaliation in the criminal underworld and white collar crime just to name a few. I am confident that these books can provide the practical side of the arguments that will have to be dealt with during the course of the examination. Besides, I think it would be faulty to exclude the findings of a field of science whose sole focus is the object of my examination. Postmodernism has a significant place along other approaches in criminology also; therefore, incorporating the methods and patterns found in criminology into an examination that primarily rests on literary theory is not just possible but desirable.

3. Technological Mediatedness

Taking the above-mentioned multiple-sided analytical approach leaves us with the other significant aspect of contemporary Detective Fiction that I feel is underrepresented: the inherent technological mediatedness of the present era. It is self-evident that everyday life today is more saturated in terms of technology than ever before. The abundance and ease of access to sophisticated machinery that would have been unimaginable just a few years ago is blatantly clear. In first world societies it is fairly safe to assume that any citizen above the poverty line has some means of recording, storing and sharing audio and video material at any given moment. Smartphones, digital cameras, and the internet are definitive constituents in our lives. Social networks provide a platform to share and gather all kinds of information on others without much effort, or specific skills. This development in personal life is still dwarfed by the extent of surveillance that is utilized by government and private agencies. In the post 9/11 US and UK, CCTV cameras became as common as phone booths or traffic lights. According to a 2007 article in the *Daily Mail* there were around 4.2 million CCTV cameras working in the UK alone, one for every 14 citizen and this number keeps growing

steadily (“UK has 1% of world's population but 20% of its CCTV cameras”). This obsession with constant surveillance as a way to protect the citizens is justified by the notion of the War on Terror.

But the roots of surveillance go back much further. To investigate the historical background of this topic I will rely on the textbook *Understanding Surveillance Technologies – Spy Devices, History and Applications* by J. K. Petersen. The first documented interception of a transmission, according to Petersen (2007:125), took place as early as 1858 and can be attributed to a man called Anson Stager. According to the accounts of the events, Stager was travelling by train in the USA when the train broke down due to engine malfunction. It would have taken too much time to walk or ride to the next town and order a replacement, but Stager had some pressing business to attend to so he took matters into his own hands. Being familiar with the Morse code, he cut down the telegraph wire and sent a message requesting a new engine by tapping the bare end of the wire with a stick to transmit, and by putting the wire on his tongue to receive small electrical shocks that he could decode. This event is a graphic depiction of how technological devices can serve as prosthesis to the human body, providing access to a network of communication that can bypass temporal and spatial difficulties. In this way technology has made everyday life easier but it also holds its fair share of difficulties as well. Since their invention, communication technologies have served as an extension of the human body, expanding the number of ways in which we communicate, but this development has also opened up a whole new set of possibilities for abuse.

Besides the purely technological aspects, the other important historical and methodological root of surveillance can be traced back to criminology, and law enforcement tactics. The first unsanctioned wiretap by a law enforcement agency can be dated to 1916 (at the time, issues of regulation regarding such actions were not in place yet), when “a New York mayor authorized wiretapping of Catholic priests in a charity-fraud investigation, without demonstrating that there was sufficient cause to initiate the action” (Petersen 2007:131). It was only in 1967 after the trial of *Katz vs. United States* that probable cause was mandatory to tap public phones. By 1968 organized crime has spread to such an extent that, in order to gather reliable information, listening devices became a necessity after “a number of studies concluded that the impenetrability of criminal groups justified wiretapping and bugs in law enforcement” (Petersen 2007:143). In 1970 all telecommunication service providers had to start using hardware and software that was in accordance with the devices used by law enforcement for surveillance, making wiretaps and other forms of interception and monitoring faster and considerably easier (Petersen 2007:146).

Petersen (2007:137-139) also finds it important to mention some of the most notable advantages of using bugs (listening devices), and intercepting communication as opposed to relying on informants or undercover officers. First of all, electronic devices are far more reliable than informants. The information they provide is objective. On the other hand, informants have shown tendencies to make up stories and hold back information in order to maintain their position within the law enforcement agency, or the criminal organization they are in connection with. Using bugs instead of undercover officers largely reduces the risk taken by said undercover officer, and it is also a solution to the ever present problem. In order to keep their cover, officers of the law often had to engage in criminal activities to gain the trust of their targets and these activities then jeopardized the success of the investigation.

In short, it would seem that electronic surveillance is a reliable method of gaining objective information regarding a case, but due to the complex set of regulations that have to be taken into consideration, and the inherent possibility of malfunction or simply the loss of information due to the physical circumstances (distortion, interference), the information gathered through this method is often incidental and/or fragmented. This presents a whole set

of difficulties to the parties engaged in surveillance, but is also in accordance with the postmodern assumptions about the nature of information.

After presenting a list of requirements in terms of the content and approach of Current Crime Narratives, it is still necessary to designate a sub-set of criminal activity, and detection that serves these expectations the best. In my opinion, we have to replace the topos of murder – the most conventional focus of Detective Fiction – with the topos of trafficking of illegal substances for the following reasons: the drug trade implies a set of features that allow a deeper and more complex examination; this particular type of activity prevalingly takes place over a period of time, utilizing repeat offenders who work in a network, as opposed to a single perpetrator committing a single crime; the nature of this business requires regular back and forth communication between the members of the organization, elevating surveillance into a position of inevitable importance. Another noteworthy characteristic of the investigations regarding the sales of illegal substances is that money and product is in focus and not the body as in the case of classical murder investigations. This is important because money and crimes of financial nature transgress the boundaries of class, thus creating a bridge between blue collar and white collar crime. In the case of murder no such investigative opportunity is guaranteed. Besides, homicides are regular byproducts of the drug trade, just as many other forms of street crime. This radical change in the baseline of our moral and ethical expectations regarding society is, in my opinion, a clear-cut example why it is justified to talk about a next step in the tradition of Detective Narratives.

4. An Ideal Object of Examination

Now that this set of expectations based on the trends witnessed in current Detective Narratives is in place, the next step is to find an object on which these expectations can be examined in depth. To recap my previous arguments: the model has to include points of view from both sides of the law ideally simultaneously; both sides have to be represented in a comprehensive manner based on either actual events or dynamics that mimic actual events; otherwise, the stress on including criminology in the interpretative approach would be inconsequential.

The above-mentioned elements are easy to find in a subset of the last decade's popular TV series, specifically the ones that are focusing on the themes of crime and detection. The *CSI* (Zuiker 2000-) franchise clearly emphasizes the importance of utilizing technology as the sole viable tool of detection but does not include the point of view of the perpetrator. In the television show *Dexter* (Colleton 2006-) the audience is presented with a comprehensive picture regarding crime and police procedures, for the protagonist is a serial killer who is working for the Miami Dade County Police Department as a forensic analyst, but the importance of technology is underrepresented in the favor of hands-on investigation. The emphasis on team effort taking over the role of individual investigation is the central motif that can be found in most – if not all – current narratives focusing on crime.

My proposition is to examine the TV series titled *The Wire* (Simon 2002-2008) for it treats fully and simultaneously all the different requirements of Current Crime Narratives that I voiced earlier. It was written by a former homicide detective of the Baltimore Police Department with extensive background in surveillance cases, and a former crime reporter of the *Baltimore Sun*. Based on their firsthand experience, it provides a comprehensive multiple-sided picture of the inner city drug trade, and the complex socio-economic and technological connotations that surround this phenomenon.

It is also important to briefly define my standpoint regarding the analysis of television series. Instead of relying on the earlier approaches popular within the field, I agree with the analytical position outlined in Kristin Thompson's (2003) book on the subject *Storytelling in*

Film and Television. Thompson argues that television shows can be examined as standalone products in order to be able to focus on their narrative and aesthetic values instead of the aspect of reception. This former approach can be attributed to Raymond Williams who coined the term *flow* to describe the experience of watching television. The term *flow* is also used to describe “a sequence or set of alternative sequences of these and other similar events, which are then available in a single dimension and in a single operation” (Williams 2003:87). In his opinion, the truly postmodern characteristic of television is that the different programs follow one another creating a sort of weave that engulfs the viewer. The problem with this notion is that it supposes that viewers either cannot or will not differentiate between different programs, commercials or public announcements. While certainly being interesting and novel, this approach does not take into account the intelligence of the viewers, depicting them like automatons that consume any and all data without question or common sense. Still “the concept of flow” became so popular “that television theorists often seem unable to conceive of an approach that does not rely on this root metaphor” (Thompson 2003:8). John Fiske, another prominent thinker of the field still did not consider individual programs as organic units, but in his model “the viewer ‘enters the text’ in an imaginative and creative way” (Fiske 1987:102). The audience has the capacity to change channels, thus providing them with the possibility to assert some degree of control over the flow of information. Still, Fiske was mainly interested in reception, and not the material broadcasted. What Thompson points out is that if we assume that television programs are organic units, then it is fairly easy to support this argument, for the basic narrative structure of these programs is analogous with the structure of any narrative that follows the Aristotelian traditions.

Accepting this analytical position opens up the possibility to examine television programs that fall into the category of contemporary detective fiction in terms of narratology, underlying logic, and their relationship with the phenomena they try to depict. In this way, we treat these products as any other textual narrative because the focus is no longer on something that is outside of the narrative worlds – such as reception, or their respective place in the TV Guide – but on these texts and their connotations.

5. Conclusions

The subset of popular TV series of the last decade focusing on the theme of crime and detection provide an excellent example of how shifts in our general understanding of abstract or very concrete concepts bleed into arts, popular culture. In order to be able to examine this new standpoint we need to assume a new theoretical, academic approach.

As I pointed out previously, Current Crime Narratives include elements which make the use of the tools of examination of the Anti or Meta-Detective Fiction model – the last classical step in the tradition – insufficient. What I propose is not a radical break from this tradition, rather a next step in accordance with it, a step that fulfills the requirements raised by these narratives.

The examinational method I propose is based on the notion of comprehensive depiction of the phenomenon of crime, multidisciplinary approach, and a strong emphasis on the inevitability of technological mediatedness. It is my firm opinion that Current Crime Narratives represent a significant change in the tradition of Detective Fiction and our understanding of acquiring knowledge in general. This shift is characterized by radical displacements – from focusing solely on the interpreter, to focusing on the network that connects all the participants of this complex dialogical process – and by the possibility to deconstruct the central position of the topos of murder and to address it only as the byproduct of a much more complex network of crime.

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DE GRUYTER
OPEN

DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0024

CITIZENS' CONSULTATIONS – PUBLIC SPACES OF ARGUMENT EVALUATION? A VIEW FROM CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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***Abstract:** The article applies a recently developed framework for the reconstruction and evaluation of arguments based on practical reasoning (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012) to the analysis of a public consultation session organised by the Romanian Ministry of Environment and Forests in 2011, which made partial use of digital media. The session is concerned with the Environmental Impact Assessment report in a case of public notoriety in post-communist Romania: the gold-mining project at Roșia Montană. The findings indicate that the critical questioning by the public is aimed at rebutting the corporation's main claim and proposed course of action, but its final outcome is conditioned by the institutional context and the steps that follow the consultation session.*

***Keywords:** argument evaluation, critical discourse analysis, practical reasoning, public consultation, Roșia Montană*

1. Introduction

Premised on the use of the internet to boost citizen engagement in public debate and open up the government to the forces of civil society, e-democracy has by now attained a well-established place in deliberative democracies worldwide. It has attracted special attention from policy-makers as well as from scholars, generating a flourishing field of studies (Coleman and Götze 2001; Dalghren 2005; Macnamara 2010; Wright 2009). The perspectives that frame various analyses of the phenomenon, though numerous, may be divided into two widely acknowledged “camps”: the enthusiasts and the sceptics of public deliberation supported by information technology tools. The former applaud the potential of the virtual medium for increasing active citizenry participation across geographical and social boundaries, under conditions of freedom of speech, equality of status in communication and advanced technological support. The latter point to the persisting “digital divide”, reflected in differentiated access due to inequalities based on age, education, computer literacy, income, ethnicity and gender. They further raise the issue of the control exerted by discussion hosts in such matters as web design and regulation of interaction (on both aspects, see Albrecht 2006; Janssen and Kies 2004; Jensen 2003, among others). A growing number of studies, however, agree on the possibility of e-democracy producing effects that can be either beneficial or detrimental to the political process, depending on a range of institutional and sociopolitical factors. Macnamara (2010) groups them

broadly under policy, culture, resources and technology. They include the planning of consultation sessions, the timeframe necessary for feedback, design, moderation, bureaucratic culture, linguistic register, the institutional provenance of discussion hosts, and the tools used for mapping out and processing data (see also Albrecht 2006; Coleman and Gøtze 2001; Janssen and Kïes 2004; Tomkova 2009). The outcome of public deliberation hosted online is shaped, to a large extent, by the influence of such factors: they may constrain or, on the contrary, foster critical discussion in view of decision-making.

In contrast with the free-floating type of debate encountered in forums set up by citizens, e-consultation is a channelled and more strictly regulated form of online deliberation, entailing “asymmetric relations” between representatives of political institutions and experts and the general public (Tomkova 2009:2). This may well impinge upon transparency and equality in participation, but has the great merit of guaranteeing focused input, and, at least on the surface level, of empowering citizens to set the political agenda. The distinction between the discussion spaces oriented towards opinion formation, i.e. without immediate or decisive effect on policy (but still crucial for shaping public opinion in the long term), and those specifically targeted at decision-making is framed in literature as “minor” vs. “major” (Janssen and Kïes 2004; for a different understanding of “minor” and “major” applied to the same distinction, see Hendriks 2006). If scholars stress the importance of both “the anarchic case” (citizen forums) and “the government-sponsored case” for a well-functioning deliberative democracy (Jensen 2003), the stakes involved in the formal, structured type of interaction are generally higher and the intended citizen engagement in deliberation is expected to be more meaningful and effective. Fears run deep, nonetheless, that e-consultations, the main genre associated with e-government, only pay lip service to the democratic exercise and fulfil the mere role of tick-boxes for the authorities (Tomkova 2009; see also Quittkat 2011). The jury is still out on whether e-democracy lives up to the ideals it espouses or is severely limited in its capacity to effectively integrate the feedback from the public. The outcome varies from case to case, with respect to both the critical assessment undertaken by the public and the institutional frame wherein discussions take place.

The present study, which is exploratory, looks at the evaluation of arguments facilitated by a public consultation session on a gold-mining project with a long and controversial history in post-communist Romania (introduced in Section 3). Throughout the transition years, Romania has made efforts to fall in line with the EU and international trends in “good governance” and participatory democracy (for example, it is currently a member of the Open Government Partnership scheme, officially launched in September 2011). Between March 1 and May 5, 2011, the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MEF, at the time) invited concerned citizens to send in by email or snail mail their objections to and comments on the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) report resubmitted at the end of 2010 by the Roșia Montana Gold Corporation (RMGC) and made available online. The report was prepared in compliance with the requirements of Romanian legislation on the environment, aligned to the Environmental Assessment Council Directive 85/337/EEC (1985), in particular with the Governmental Decision No. 445/2009 on the assessment of the impact of private and public projects on the environment; the consultation of citizens is a mandatory stage stipulated therein. The 2011 session, occasioned by additions/modifications to the initial gold-mining project, was a follow-up to a much ampler one, including face-to-face debates, conducted in 2006 (according to the information available on the Ministry’s site in the section dedicated to Environmental Protection).

The Ministry made use of digital media to provide access to documents and of the e-mail as one of the communication tools, but the session cannot be considered an instance of fully-fledged e-consultation. The set-up did not include forum interaction proper, being thus closer to

traditional, standard public consultation, but was based on asynchronous exchanges with feedback time included (Macnamara 2010; Tomkova 2009) and did allow for the critical questioning of the project by the general public with the help of information technology. It therefore illustrates an early phase of e-democracy in Romania, which has, however, moved beyond the passive, one-way relationship with the public towards more active forms of citizen involvement. The public's comments to the report were collected and processed by MEF, and then forwarded to RMCG as proponents of the project. The corporation's answers, also posted online, were inserted in the report, to be assessed by a Technical Analysis Committee together with the entire documentation. Further specifications from RMCG were deemed necessary and another session of public consultation was organised in 2013, with the final assessment still pending at the beginning of 2014. The Ministry acted as a mediator between the public, the corporation and the technical board whose official role is to evaluate the EIA report.

From an argumentation viewpoint, the deliberation stage of the public consultation session discussed in this article is that of *consideration* of the protagonists' arguments (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012, based on van Eemeren 2010). It engages Romanian citizens in a debate aimed at normative decision-making, with significant consequences for the future of Romanian society. Specifically, it offers citizens and other representatives of the civil society the opportunity to formulate questions and counter-arguments which shift the burden of proof back to the corporation and may, in the long run, rebut its principal claim. The study carries out an exploratory survey of the arguments put forward by members of the public and discusses them from the perspective of their dialectical force, but also, to a smaller extent, in light of the institutional context and the specificities of the public consultation in question.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Broadly speaking, deliberative democracy situates political practices within the scope of public deliberation, of weighing reasons with a view to taking informed, reasonable and legitimate decisions, or reaching agreement or compromise on a course of action (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012; Hendriks 2006). The analytical framework I employ in this study has been recently developed in Critical Discourse Analysis by Isabela and Norman Fairclough (2012). In an Aristotelian vein, it regards political discourse as a form of "*practical* argumentation, argumentation for or against particular ways of acting" in relation to goals (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012:1, original emphasis), a view shared with other proponents of the argumentative turn in policy analysis (Fischer 2007). It incorporates concepts from pragma-dialectics and informal logic, abiding by specific standards of critical discussion, reasonableness and premise acceptability (see also Garssen and van Laar 2010). Practical reasoning arguments are considered "plausible arguments" (Walton 2007:29-30; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012:38-39), i.e. the claim is reasonably acceptable on the basis of existing evidence, after undergoing thorough, systematic critical questioning. If new knowledge emerges in relation to the premises, the argument needs to be re-evaluated.

Starting from the basic practical reasoning scheme, the scheme proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012:40ff.) integrates more closely normative and instrumental considerations by introducing a circumstantial and a values premise which, together with the goal premise, ground the social actors' claims for action:

Goal premise (specifies an "imaginary" or a "future state of affairs" the agents want to achieve; it is a normative premise, rooted in a set of values);

Circumstances premise (introduces the current state of affairs, considered problematic in some way; “natural, social and institutional facts”);
Values premise (specifies the values and concerns that inform the agents’ goals);
Means-Goal premise (proposes a means of action leading from circumstances to the desired goal);
Conclusion (claim for action).
(after Fairclough and Fairclough 2012:45ff.)

This approach to argumentation gives equal weight to the logical, rhetorical and dialectical dimensions woven into the reconstruction and evaluation of arguments. The dialectical framework, however, holds centrality in the process of verifying if the argument stands up to critical scrutiny. Three different types of questions may be asked: “[c]ritical questions that challenge the rational acceptability of the premises (or their truth),” which may prove that the argument is unsound; “[c]ritical questions that defeat the argument,” aimed at checking the validity of the argument; “[c]ritical questions that rebut the claim,” which focus on negative consequences that “undermine the goal or other goals” that agents have (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012:66-67). It is only questions in the last category that may result in the rejection of the claim, whereas the first two types simply demonstrate that the premises do not support the claim. Distinct sets of questions have been devised for testing the rational acceptability of each of the premises and of the conclusion of a practical reasoning scheme (see Walton 2007:32-33; see also discussion in Fairclough and Fairclough 2012:61-62).

The main objective of my analysis is to apply this analytical framework to the contributions of the participants in the public consultation session hosted by the Ministry of Environment and Forests in 2011. Is the citizens’ evaluation concerned with defeating the argument or with rebutting the corporation’s claim (and thus proposal for action)? Do the institutional context and the frame of discussion enable or disable the critical questioning of the RMGC argument?

3. General Background

The Roșia Montană case is well-known in the Romanian public sphere, having been on the agenda, on and off, since 1995, and, more visibly, since 1997, when the joint venture Euro Gold Resources S.A. was created (it changed its name to Roșia Montană Gold Corporation in 2000). Through it, the Romanian state entered a public-private partnership with Gabriel Resources Ltd., in which Romania, represented by Minvest Deva S.A., has a stake of 19.31%, while the Canadian corporation owns the rest of 80.69%. In 1999, the Romanian Agency for Mineral Resources transferred the mining licence from Minvest to Gabriel Resources, Minvest remaining affiliated to the licence (“the concession licence for exploitation no. 47/1999 for the exploitation of gold and silver ores in the Roșia Montană area,” according to the RMGC website). The document has been contested as illegal by many NGOs and other representatives of the civil society (a public bid should have been organised), while the terms of the agreement are protected by a confidentiality clause (see discussion in Goțiu 2013:61ff., among others). The licence gave the corporation a legal basis to begin exploring the gold and silver reserves in the area and to pursue the project that would turn Roșia Montană into the biggest open pit gold mine in Europe, where cyanide-leaching technological procedures would be employed on a large scale. Long before obtaining the environmental permit (the final hurdle to pass), the corporation proceeded with the plan for the relocation and resettlement of the Roșia Montană commune,

dividing the community and putting the inhabitants under constant pressure. (In Romania, a commune is an administrative unit that comprises several villages.) If the project is carried through, the estimated quantities to be extracted from four mines over approximately 16 years are 314 tons of gold and 1,480 tons of silver (according to RMGC). The average concentration is 1.46g/t Au and 6.9g/t Ag.

In the time that has elapsed since the project was first submitted for analysis and public scrutiny, a strong anti-Roșia Montană opposition has been formed: NGOs, the best-known being Alburnus Maior with its “Save Roșia Montană” Campaign; a group of representatives of the Romanian Academy of Economic Studies; the Romanian Academy; the Ad Astra Association of Romanian Scientists (see their “Public Statement” 2010) and many other Romanian and international researchers (archaeologists, engineers, etc.). In 2006, when the first public debates were organised, a large number of comments and protests exposed the many controversies and drawbacks of the mining project. In the autumn of 2007, the Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development suspended the technical review of the corporation’s Environmental Impact Assessment report, after the General Urbanism Plan no. 105/2007 was cancelled *de jure* by the Alba County Court (see the history of the EIA for Roșia Montană on the Ministry’s website). The technical review was resumed in 2010 and is still underway at the beginning of 2014.

Due to heavy publicity campaigns led by RMGC in favour of the project, a discourse pro-Roșia Montană has also taken shape, highlighting the benefits to the Romanian economy, the opportunities for local development and the company’s commitment to environmental safety and sustainability. The discourses for and against the project have gained increasing strength over the years and the Romanian public appears to be familiar with their themes and claims. In the opinion of many activists and NGOs, the corporation’s chief argument and proposed course of action have been successfully and quantifiably defeated in the debates with representatives of the civil society.

In 2011, the Roșia Montană case entered a new stage, which started taking contour in 2008 and was brought about by the economic recession and financial crisis. Institutionally, it was marked by “the Alba County Directorate for Culture issu[ing] the archaeological discharge certificate for one side of the Carnic massif,” as stated on the RMGC website. At discursive level, a shift of focus occurred from the emphasis on the environmental and cultural heritage aspects (which remained in place, but took a step back) to an emphasis on the contribution of the project to the Romanian economy and to the development of the Roșia Montană community. This framing was echoed by the Romanian President Traian Băsescu when he publicly declared himself in favour of the project and pointed to the national interest Romania has in exploring gold and creating employment opportunities as a measure of overcoming the recession. He also suggested the renegotiation of the agreement, so that the Romanian state might receive a bigger stake in the overall profit (Vintilă 2011). A 2010 survey by Greenpeace and the Sociological Research and Branding Company (qtd. in Albișteanu 2011) shows that only 9% of Romanians declared themselves for the project, while 38% were against. Subsequent to a new General Urbanism Plan, an updated Environmental Impact Assessment report was submitted for technical evaluation and the public was consulted in March-May 2011. The company seemed to display openness to dialogue with the civil society, but at the same time it started an aggressive advertising campaign, entitled “Scrisoare către România” (“Letter to Romania”). The campaign played upon the drama of the local community, underdeveloped and deprived of work opportunities. The slogan of the campaign was “The people in Roșia Montană only ask to work.” According to media watch organisations (Toma, qtd. in Bunea 2012; cf. Naumovici, *ibidem*) and

civic journalists and activists (Goțiu 2013), the corporation grossly manipulated public opinion through publicity, disproportionate presence and biased coverage in the mainstream media.

4. Argument Reconstruction

The reconstruction of the RMGC argument presented below draws upon the information made available on their website (presentation of the project, press releases, News Feed, accessed in March-June 2012). There are four different premises brought together in support of the corporation's principal claim, namely that the implementation of the RMGC project is the right course of action for Romania: the project is beneficial from an economic, environmental, cultural and local development point of view. Each of the four premises is identifiable as the conclusion of a separate (though interrelated) argument, but the overarching claim in favour of the project derives its strength from all four of them. As noted earlier, since 2011, the local community development and the economic growth related claims have acquired prominence in the Romanian public sphere. In the RMGC framing, the preservation of cultural heritage and the development of tourism in the area are themselves conditioned by the implementation of the project. I have reconstructed the argument as follows:

Goal Premise: RMGC intends to bring significant economic and financial benefits to the Romanian state at a time of crisis (approx. 4 billion US dollars, including investments and “indirect benefits”; in 2014, the figure has increased to 5.3 billion US dollars), to contribute to the sustainable growth of the local community and to the preservation of its mining tradition (the area was declared a mono-industrial area), to protect and promote the cultural heritage at Roșia Montană, and to clean and safeguard the environment (the area is described as heavily polluted by previous mining activities).

Circumstances Premise: national—the economic recession; local—unemployment in Roșia Montana; lack of infrastructure; poverty (underdeveloped area); pollution of the soil and surface waters from previous mining; lack of investment in cultural heritage; lack of facilities for tourism.

Values/ Concerns/ Commitments Premise: RMGC is concerned with the well-being of the Romanian state (exploitation of raw resources) and with the well-being of the local community, in particular the right to work, tradition and sustainable development; it is committed to norms of environmental protection and rehabilitation, and to the preservation of Romania's archaeological and cultural heritage in the area; it is committed to respecting the Roșia Montană's inhabitants' right to property.

Means-Goal Premise: The proposed project is necessary and sufficient to achieve the intended goals.

Claim: The implementation of the project is the right course of action.

Due to changes in legislation between 2006 and 2010, as well as ongoing debates and renegotiations, the RMGC had to revise and introduce changes to its initial project (many of a technical nature), which is why a new session of public consultation was deemed necessary in March-May 2011.

5. The Corpus

The centralised list provided by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, available online (“Formular pentru consemnarea observațiilor publicului privind completările la documentația inițială de evaluare asupra mediului depuse de RMGC S.A. la sfârșitul anului 2010 pentru ‘Obiectivul minier Roșia Montană’”), registered and processed 392 questions and comments from Romanian citizens, even though the total number mentioned on the MEF site is 517. A number of contributions (not clear how many) were left out on grounds of anonymity, illegibility, offensive language or declared refusal to enter a dialogue with the corporation. The Ministry thus exerted its function of host and moderator of the consultation session. It further restricted the availability of the comments to the general public by presenting only excerpts, many of which verbatim quotes, from the citizens’ queries and objections (but RMGC received the full texts and attachments). The Ministry’s centralised list constitutes my corpus, but, for the purposes of this study, I have only looked at the first 100 entries, of which 98 are against the implementation of the project. I have excluded from the final analysis those emails that simply endorse or reference other documents, without dwelling upon the arguments: 24 emails have been excluded, leaving a total of 76 entries. I have considered that the complexity of such documents, highly relevant otherwise, often makes them worth being examined independently—for example, the Romanian Academy of Economic Studies report (Bran et al. 2003), cited by several participants, is a scientific study that brings detailed evidence against the RMGC project and claim for action.

6. Findings and Discussion

Participants identify themselves mostly by name and, occasionally, by institutional affiliation, making it hard, if not impossible, to draw any definite conclusions about the sociological profile of the group. When mentioned, the professions and occupations encompass architects, engineers, lawyers, academics, researchers, PhD students, members of the Romanian diaspora abroad or pensioners. This indicates a mixed composition of the group as well as the existence of expert input (possibly predominant). Representatives of NGOs and other associations that argue against the implementation of the project also sent in their input.

In their evaluation of the argument, 51 of the 76 entries analysed raise questions or provide counter-arguments targeted at rebutting the claim for action made by RMGC. This can be achieved by demonstrating that the negative consequences of implementing the project clash either with its declared goals or other, at least equally significant or “non-overridable,” goals (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012:155). What citizens uphold in their critical assessment of the RMGC project is that the permanent destruction of the environment, the risks of heavy pollution and ecological disaster, the erasure of unique cultural heritage, the desecration of cemeteries and churches, and the costs of environmental rehabilitation (once the corporation leaves) outweigh by far the benefits of a relatively small number of medium-term jobs for the local community and of insignificant profit for the Romanian state. Particularly compelling are the citizens’ claims that the development of agriculture or tourism, which the company ranks at the top of their objectives list, is impossible in an area threatened by environmental accidents and pollution:

... The opening of the exploitation site at Roșia Montana would be a disaster, even in conditions of 100% safety. Not only tourism, but all the sectors that rely on local resources would be affected, with a direct impact on the development of the entire Apuseni region. [...] Whoever would choose to take their family on

vacation to an area they know is contaminated with toxic substances? (Q12, Dr. Mircea Rastei; my translation)

My reasons [against] are:

The local environment would be irreversibly polluted with cyanide.

A mountain together with archaeological remains valuable for both Romania and the international heritage would be lost forever.

All the economic benefits envisaged by RMGC for Romania do not outweigh the disadvantages above. (Q16, Delia Mihalache from București; my translation)

The critical questions and counter-arguments formulated by the public have a twofold purpose. Firstly, they show that, inasmuch as RMGC cherishes the same values as Romanian citizens (i.e. sustainable development, protection of the environment, preservation of cultural and architectural legacy, well-being of the local community), the implementation of the project in the manner suggested by the corporation would seriously compromise them. Secondly, a number of contributions attach significance either to other goals or to the same goals, but reinterpreted from distinct perspectives, linked with radically distinct visions of the future. While supporters of the project are motivated by the (alleged) need to survive the economic recession and rescue the Roșia Montană area from social and economic decline, its opponents advance the goal of saving up Romania's resources for future generations (as part of the sustainable development plan). This goal is bound up with the value of responsibility towards the next generations, responsibility not only for passing on a green country, but also for the inheritance they are entitled to:

I think this PROJECT should be rejected. Why? Because the technology is highly polluting.

We don't have to exploit these ores. Are there no proper conditions? Fine. We'll have to wait for future generations of ROMANIANS, who will be equipped with superior technology, to exploit them. THIS IS OUR LEGACY TO OUR SUCCESSORS!!! (Q 25, Domnica Ghiuta; my translation, original emphasis)

A discourse of national identity and patriotism takes shape in many entries, pitted against the global capitalism embodied by RMGC. It is a discourse that does not envisage deriving immediate profit from massive gold mining:

A certain amount of patriotism and a long-term vision are necessary when it comes to using up Romania's riches. (Q30, Dr. Gheorghe Ionascu; my translation)

In keeping with the alternative set of goals and values, RMGC opponents offer solutions that discard from the very beginning the thought of cyanide-based gold processing. They range from developing tourism and agriculture in the region with the help of EU funds to having it declared UNESCO-protected patrimony. Such objectives, however, are incompatible with the present mono-industrial orientation of the area and are feared to downgrade the centuries-old mining tradition cherished in Roșia Montană. RMGC has adapted very well to the expectations of an audience that sees mining as the only viable solution for itself, both in developmental terms and in the light of tradition. The alternative solutions are therefore not particularly appealing or feasible in the eyes of many members of the local community. The miners' families and the unions often point an accusatory finger at the lack of involvement on the part of the Romanian authorities and the clash between what comes to be defined as "the public interest" in this matter and "the interest of the community". Whenever other options are considered, a controversy arises surrounding the right of the general public to decide over the fate of the local community of miners. Alternative means for alternative goals or alternative means for the same goals (continue

to mine, but with non-polluting tools) or even a proposal of the type “wait until cutting-edge technology for gold processing is developed” fail to solve the urgent problems the Roşia Montană community is faced with. This is one of the major weaknesses of the counter-argument.

Nine comments underscore that the course of action proposed by RMGC is insufficient in view of meeting at least two of the corporation’s alleged goals: the economic prosperity of the Romanian state and the development of the local community:

This project seems to me all the more absurd as the benefits of the Romanian state from this deal are minimal (the Romanian state has a low stake in the RMGC shares, its only benefits being taxes and royalties, which cannot exceed a MAXIMUM of 2%). (Q71, Alexandru Popa, PhD student; my translation, original emphasis)

Several participants do not claim that the RMGC proposal for action should be outright rejected but that the terms of the agreement have to be renegotiated to the advantage of the Romanian state and made public (the renegotiations that followed in 2013 did raise the value of royalties to 6% and the overall profit for the Romanian state to 5.3 billion US dollars). They similarly criticise as insufficient the technical and legal conditions that RMGC purports to have fulfilled. Eighteen entries highlight the fact that not enough environmental and financial guarantees are being offered and bring to the public attention potential flaws in the technical structure of the project. When they are not correlated with the negative consequences of opening the mine, such contributions are better attuned to the general frame of the public consultation session, which is focused on allowing the corporation to revise its project.

Several citizens voice their suspicions that the corporation and the Romanian authorities do not sincerely hold the values they declare themselves committed to. This means that their arguments are rationalisations (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012:96). Even though evidence in this respect is hard to produce, contributors to the discussion refer to the corporation’s past record of destruction in other countries and its attempts to manipulate public opinion in Romania, as well as to the Romanian post-communist authorities’ corruption (18 entries reveal mistrust in RMGC’s promises):

The Environmental Impact Assessment is not complete or *sincere*! (Q30, Dr. Gheorghe Ionascu; my translation, my emphasis)

...you only have to look at what this firm has done in all the other countries and at its total contempt for the state authorities [there] ... you should be aware that all those involved are no better than CRIMINALS and everything has a price sooner or later... (Q65, Iuli Tacu; original emphasis, my translation)

The pursuit of self-interested objectives by the corporation and the authorities is linked with accusations of false estimates of the Roşia Montană situation in entries that question the acceptability of the circumstantial premises.

Overall, the critical evaluation of the RMGC argument is geared towards rebutting its principal claim and changing the terms set by the authorities for the public consultation. Whereas the official expectations of the citizens’ feedback are concerned mostly with the means to the proposed goals (e.g. suggestions for improvements of the project), participants are not in agreement upon the goals of the action undertaken by RMGC. Five entries require the organisation of a national referendum to sort out the matter (but, as RMGC representatives indicate in their responses, it is not for the corporation to decide upon that), two entries express their distrust in the public consultation session (efficiency, representativeness), and one

participant, in a well-documented counter-argument, pins down the chief institutional constraints on the process of deliberation for the whole duration of the controversy:

In 2006, [RMGC] submitted the 33 volumes of its Environmental Impact Assessment. Thousands of negative comments poured in, from various specialists, NGOs, etc. Instead of having the project rejected, for non-compliance with environmental legislation, RMGC was asked to revise it by taking the feedback into account. Now we're discussing the improvements that were made and, probably, following criticism, they will be allowed to revise it yet again, and so on, until they get the green light? [...] We consider this procedure of the Ministry of Environment to be unacceptable and inconsistent with existing norms, and biased towards the foreign corporation. (Q86, Mircea Medrea; my translation)

Some of the contributors thus openly associate the public consultation in the Roşia Montană case more with a box-ticking exercise than with deliberation, given that the goals and even the principal means of action seem to have already been established without due public participation. While public consultation sessions facilitated by information technology tools create considerable opportunities for citizen participation in decision-making (and the citizens' contributions regarding the RMGC project are critical and highly relevant), how much this weighs in the final outcome is ultimately decided in the realm of institutional constraints.

7. Conclusions

The study has demonstrated the applicability of the framework for the reconstruction and evaluation of arguments based on practical reasoning (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012) to the activity type of public consultation, starting from a session organised by the Romanian Ministry of Environment and Forests in 2011. The critical questioning of the corporation's arguments by concerned citizens and other representatives of the civil society has disclosed the orientation of the public towards rebutting the RMGC claim and rejecting their proposal for action. Less clear in the Roşia Montană EIA public consultation is what happens in the following stages, how the input from citizens is incorporated in the decisional process within an institutional frame. The counter-arguments advanced by the participants in the 2011 session restate viewpoints and scientific objections already expressed in public contexts. The 2006 public consultation eventually resulted in 91 volumes and annexes with answers from RMGC. The reiteration in 2011 of similar questions and comments points to the participants' dissatisfaction with or sustained disagreement to the solutions envisaged by RMGC.

Another weakness of the 2011 public consultation session (and of the other sessions) is its format, in spite of its openness to a wide public via the online medium. The corporation has to respond to the participants' queries, but in fact addresses the Technical Assessment Committee in charge of the final decision. The ways of re-entering the debate for the public, if they consider the RMGC's response unsatisfactory, are not specified, and, for the time being, neither are the grounds on which RMGC has been asked to supply additional information in some respects (see the Chapters on Water and Biodiversity) but not others. As the process of evaluation is ongoing, it remains to be seen if the exercise of consulting the public is a mere formality (see, for example, discussion in Goţiu 2013:151ff.) or the critical questioning by the public could successfully rebut the corporation's claim for action. It is, however, incontestable that the Roşia Montană case has awakened the civic spirit in Romanian society, helped to build resistance and sparked off the strongest (peaceful) civic protests in post-communist Romania, staged in the autumn of 2013.

Acknowledgement

A draft of this article was presented at the Interpretive Policy Analysis Conference, *Understanding the Drama of Democracy*, in 2012. I am grateful for feedback to Norman Fairclough, Isabela Fairclough and Brian Coffey.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0025

**CIRCUMVENTING CULTURAL REIFICATION:
A STUDY OF CHIMAMANDA NGOZI ADICHIE'S
*THE THING AROUND YOUR NECK***

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Abstract: *Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie argues in her 2009 collection of short stories that in as much as brutal dictatorship together with extreme underdevelopment propel young Nigerians for immigration, inaccurate and often scandalizing media portrayal also has nonetheless an important share in the sad drama. Her drama proposes way of circumventing cultural reification caused by inaccurate media representation.*

Keywords: *cultural reification, dictatorship, immigration, underdevelopment*

1. Introduction

The young Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (1977-) instantiates in *The Thing Around Your Neck* (2009) the corollaries of cultural reification on Nigerians in particular and Africans in general. It is not necessarily that cultural reification materializes only when Nigerians relocate to the United States. Adichie advances the idea that even when they stay back in the homeland, Nigerians are unconsciously engrossed in an exteriorizing process whereby they ultimately become estranged from themselves. Exposure to American movies and television reality shows implies propulsions towards crude capitalistic mores and norms that have become more and more transnational in scope and nature. The writer finds exceptionally intriguing and culturally eroding such an unsolicited exposure to mass media. Adichie's stories show that nearly all parties, American nationals as well as Nigerian immigrants, and even non-immigrant Nigerians cannot but stimulate overall cultural reification. Accordingly, the promise for a materially stable and satisfying life as circulated publically through the media hides a nefarious call for false ideals and self-estrangement.

2. Method Deployed and Its Advantage

For purposes of elucidating reification, Adichie seems to jettison the insights of the major Frankfurt School thinkers like Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno in regard to the tantalizing and homogenizing reflexes which embed cultural modernity. Adichie's selected short stories do not propose a superficial depreciation of modern capitalistic values like consumerism the way this is handled by the Ghanaian novelist, Ayi Kwei Armah in his celebrated works, *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1968) and *Fragments* (1970). Following a trajectory slightly different than other writers, Adichie's stories have moved from the early visceral attacks on the material aspects of modernity, blaming Africa's ills on the

colonial past. Instead, Adichie is more in favour of an erudite self-examination of global capitalistic culture; she dispenses however with the call for a mythical return to an ancestral past in order to face the present cultural malaise.

To begin with, for the purposes of this article, reification is the situation where a given character who is always an immigrant or a candidate for immigration is unable to think of his/her wretched circumstances in a coherent and rational manner. Readers find that instead of approaching tight economic and political conditions in Nigeria on the one hand, and alluding to Hollywood media products as separate and isolated variables, on the other, Adichie, in her dramas, stresses the need to see the connection. To her, the connection is a relation of cause and effect. Rather than incite viewers or consumers to ways of answering their aspirations in a stable democracy and competent economy, media products confuse their African viewers by reifying their vision of the world and making them believe in banal ripostes to their complex situations like betterment through immigration. While communal development at home has been so far a fiasco, Nigerian youth seek individual salvation.

That cheap but alluring appeal of the movie industry for consumers, its conquest of African minds and markets in particular, confuses fact with fiction, falsifies historical dynamics and make the African youth gullible to effortless calls of individual success and economic freedom. The result is reification of life which translates subsequently in disappointment and failure, as historical dynamics and social contexts do not matter. Immigration in the African context appears like a spontaneous choice of self-redemption, while in fact it is portrayed by the author as resulting from cultural reification. In short, reification tends to blind Nigerians from locating the exact source of their maledictions. Military dictatorship and massive fraud at home together with alluring Hollywood films and songs conspire and ridicule the typical Nigerian and cheat him or her in a legitimate pursuit for a better life. In the end all he or she gets is a fetish.

Adichie's principal characters in the selected three stories are all immigrants or potential immigrants; nevertheless, the author's subject matter undeniably delineates how immigrants' modes of perception are largely shaped by the totalizing dimension that characterizes the media. Differently put, uncritical exposures to Hollywood movies, cartoons and TV documentaries at home, translates in massive circulation of pipe dreams and empty promises for a better life. As a result, almost all Nigerians are transformed into potential immigrants. Given the Nigerian experience, the media industry feeds on and practically exacerbates the frustrations caused by military dictatorship, massive fraud and abject poverty. In this context, the media-related reification takes the shape of coercive manipulation, otherwise it could not have such a phenomenal impact. Interestingly, this author's narrative offers both a solid and a complex approach whereby one can review modern Nigerian reality.

As is often the case, observers might be drawn to think of immigration as a spontaneous choice of the Nigerian youth, who in an attempt to better their living standards, look for immigration to extricate their legitimate frustrations from the political and economic performance at home. Instead of this reductive understanding, Adichie in her *The Thing Around Your Neck* illustrates that far from being a spontaneous embrace of the immigration-as-the-answer, the fetish aspects of the culture industry involuntarily intimidates a typical Nigerian to revert to immigration as an illusory answer to vindicate his or her dreams. In this sense, entertainment in terms of hit movies and songs are never processed as value free; they are made significant only in so far as they hypnotize the youth (the potential immigrant) into a mode of Utopic existence. Differently put, the entertainment of the media industry takes place in a highly charged context; dictatorship and impossible living conditions are not left at the back stage when consuming the entertainment products. Thus, Adichie's collection stipulates the pressures the media exercises, ending in African youth embracing irrational choices, and confusing them even further all towards dystopic alternatives.

Indeed, such depth and relevance have escaped the attention of early reviewers; the most noticeable finds only “inspired critiques of Britain and America” (Madera 2009, online) or simply “...uncontrollable desire to live in America” (Asoo 2012:15). Other commentators have spotted only a “three-fold concern with ethnicity, colonization and migration...” (Tunca 2010:293). Daria Tunca assumes that Adichie is famously credited with founding a genre called ‘diasporic literature’ as “several of her short stories indeed feature Igbo characters who have left Nigeria to settle in the USA and occasionally in Britain” (Tunca 2010:295). Other readers appreciate Adichie’s attempt to highlight “...the need to understand the varied and changing ways in which people strangers to themselves” (Miller and Onyeoziri 2014:199). This last study takes a psychological edge that typifies immigrants as deranged cases in need of help.

One critic explains the Nigerians’ frenzied determination to leave home on existential grounds:

People who are used to being politically and economically deprived, typically are not driven to escape their dismal, although they may be faced with unfamiliar circumstances, it is only when everyday deprivation becomes conspicuous and measurable, relative to some other imagined or experienced state that it can impel people to act in order to change their lives. (Wirngo 2012:18)

Remarkably, Wirngo never listed details as to what pushes these youth for immigration. If tight economic and political conditions are not the sole reason for people, extreme cases of such tightness cannot exclusively be a reason. The role of reifying media seems to be missing from Wirngo’s discussion.

“*The Thing Around Your Neck*, [...] like most colonial literature, aims to deconstruct colonial representations of “the African”, but in the process manages to bid Africa and the West even more tightly together” (Warah 2001:187). Such accentuated connections construe the need for a contrapuntal reading in order to appreciate Adichie’s insights. Towards this end, it is interesting to observe that Adichie evokes parallel standpoints with the German cultural theorist and art critic, Theodore Adorno (1903-1966) in regard to America, and in the context of high capitalism. During his exile years from Nazi Germany in the United States, Adorno expressed deep distrust in the ideological reification embedded in what he and his colleague termed as the “culture industry”. In its supposedly forward march towards the liberation of man from myth and fear, the Enlightenment has witnessed a relapse into a new kind of myth and fear, often of an unacknowledged dimension (Adorno and Horkheimer 1997 [1944]). The triumph of science has been marked by the fact that reason has abandoned critique leaving only understanding as a proxy of reason. Adorno calls this latter instrumental reason. Named as such, this variation of reason is a sort of a blinded mechanism whose ideals generate only exchange value and commodity fetishism and the primacy of commodities.

Given its complicity to bourgeois lifestyle, instrumental reason encroaches on the life of non-bourgeois populations through the culture industry. In his reading of “The Limits of Enlightenment” chapter of *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944), Karyn Ball finds out that the aim of that seminal study was “... to reveal the instrumental identitarianism underlying ‘efficient’ survival in an increasingly rationalized society, to expose the circular logic of positivism as the Janus face of the anti-Semite’s myth-prone Solipsism” (Ball 2005:118). Similarly, in “The Culture Industry” chapter of the same study, media and mass entertainment are approached as “...a totalizing and self-reproducing economy that regulates reception by replacing spontaneous thought with formulaic consumption” (Ball 2005:125) The few remaining pre-capitalistic residues of culture are thought to have been eroded as a result of ‘the culture industry’. Likewise Adichie, through this collection, reports the same level of alarm and distrust in American culture due to its self-erasing potential, particularly for immigrants, which characterizes mainstream American culture. Like Adorno, Adichie is vocal

when it comes to the ways in which American culture, defined principally as excessively materialistic, develops into the singular model for success upon which Nigerian immigrants measure their daily performance and success.

To ensure his or her effective survival, a Nigerian immigrant under the hypnotic influence of the mass media trusts the homogenizing ideology of the cultural industry. Through the dramas in “The American Embassy”, “The Arrangers of Marriage” and “The Thing Around Your Neck”, Adichie skilfully portrays the cost of such an excessively materialistic view of culture to her compatriots living in the United States. These stories are chosen on the ground that they handle Nigerian immigrants’ life situations. These latter are portrayed as initially ‘ensnared by’ America. Their passion for America slowly degenerates into cynicism which is but the expression of their impairment with their initial expectations. As such, the present reading of Adichie’s short stories dispenses with the classical feminist taxonomies as these are judged to be shortsighted. In order to uncover the pathologies that mark capitalistic culture, Adichie deploys disturbing devices varying between the grotesque, abjection, disgust, irony. These are narrative devices serving to destabilize readers and situate them in a more receptive position where they can reflect on reification together with its far-reaching costs and dynamics.

3. The Inflammatory Role of the Media

What distinguishes the stories under consideration in this article is their thematic harmony with one another. Probably, the first aspect which only a few people can miss is that in as much as conditions of life in Nigeria during the 1990s worsened, an unprecedented fever for immigration to America was underway. The way Adichie’s narrative makes meaning is that America, for a large section of young Nigerians, represents a promise to vent off their media-induced dreams in a better life. An initial contradiction, caused by the amount of reality TV shows, commercials and movies Nigerians have been exposed to, marks their life. The more this “better life” seems attainable and ready at hand, the more they do not realize the extent to which it stays capricious and reductive. “Films and radio no longer need to present themselves apart. The truth that they are nothing but business is used as an ideology to legitimize the trash they intentionally produce” (Adorno and Horkheimer 1944:121). In this, Adichie is in line with a number of other writers to whom cogitating on the reasons, as well as the implications behind young Nigerians’ choice of America as an ideal destination for fleeing the motherland comes as a first concern. One can highlight in this regard other fiction writers like Ike Oguine, *A Squatter’s Tale* (2000) as both Adichie and Oguine share the same preoccupations.

4. Political Dictatorship in “The American Embassy”

In a story entitled “The American Embassy” readers find out that the brutal dictatorship of General Sani Abacha (1993-1998) impairs their legitimate aspirations to live under the auspices of a truly stable and egalitarian democracy. Indeed, that dictatorship, readers cannot fail to note, is responsible for the long queuing line outside the American embassy in Lagos. At the centre of the drama lies the narrator of the story, an anonymous mother who has just buried her four year old son. Because of her husband’s pro-democracy newspapers, her apartment was only a couple of days earlier stormed by furious and revengeful government soldiers seeking to arrest the husband. As she is sexually harassed by those soldiers, she impetuously jumps from her second storey balcony forgetting meanwhile all about Ugonna, her son. Asleep, that son receives a bullet when the safety of one machine gun goes off. The assaulting soldiers express no regret for the death of the little boy; on the

contrary, the drama portrays them caught in a festive spirit as they eventually realize how much they have to loot. In a long line outside the U. S. embassy, where the story starts, the mother's absent-minded demeanour and lack of focus speaks of the fact that she has been prescribed tranquilizers as the tragedy is still fresh. The story of her tragic loss is interspersed with her story first outside and later inside the U. S. embassy.

The exulting atmosphere surrounding the circumstances of the little boy's death heightens the mother's tragic loss. This is probably not the only element that lasts in the reader's mind. The incident brings in elements of "farce" and shows the extent to which the absence of law can exacerbate barbaric scales of existence, particularly when the military are in control. Despite all claims to the contrary, the Nigerian military has perpetuated acts of aggression and barbarity which, according to Adichie, no one can either dispute or contradict. As portrayed in the story, the country relapses into a state of lawlessness and overarching fear. As a result, civil Nigerians are forced to adopt a passive stance. Indeed, the festive air that besets the killing of the little boy provides a pertinent parallel between the works and also the historical contexts from which both Adichie and Adorno start their reflections. While Adorno remains haunted by the image of Auschwitz death camps, which served as the leitmotif for nearly all his sociological and philosophical reflections, Adichie's imagination is equally agonized by the figure of the little Ugonna. With this background in mind, readers can easily compare General Abacha's soldiers with Hitler's infamous SS men. What happens outside the embassy and later inside, as the interview goes on, seems to resonate with the hazards of having to live in Abacha's Nigeria. Bringing that sense of fear, intimidation and humiliation, lest one should have an end similar to the narrator's boy, encroaches on Adichie's drama as a principal motive. Indeed, Adichie is careful to provide a consistent background to such an unprecedented craze for fleeing Nigeria. She proceeds towards this end through a carefully studied handling of what appears at first only side stories or insignificant secondary plots. For it seems that the full purpose through such secondary stories that the full purport of the author's major preoccupation starts to gather momentum and be convincing.

The far reaching significance of "The American Embassy" should not be limited to a simple and probably an inconsequential step towards condemning the Abacha years. Asoo adequately notes the centrality of this story in Adichie's collection. For him, "'The American Embassy' serves as a canvas on which the entire Nigerian scenario is painted" (Asoo 2012:24). Indeed, the story aims higher than a condemnation of the military takeover and the bruises, both psychological and cultural, which that takeover leaves. Here Adichie does not succumb to the call of outlining only the failure of political independence, a narrative line often taken by first and second generation African writers. Wole Soyinka's fiction works an excellent demonstration. Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* too proves this point. Instead, the story seems to be more about the immeasurable degradation of the self-esteem of Nigerians that shapes this period (the 1990s) to the extent that any lie, any humiliation, becomes bearable as long as one's passport ends up stamped with the all-important American visa. After a night spent in the queue and after hours standing in the blazing sun of the morning before office time, only the first fifty applicants are granted access to the insides of the embassy premises. The embassy security guard informs dizzy applicants that fifty is the maximum number of files the personnel can take for the day.

Interestingly, newspaper vendors assault the long queue with their services. Beggars also flood the line and find it profitable; they sing their prayers "God bless you, you will have money, you will have good husband, you will have good job..." (Adichie 2009:138) This surreal ambiance of prayer chanting goes on in Pidgin English, Igbo and Yoruba where all languages are invoked in order to win favours and tokens from God-supplicating applicants. Similarly, quick camaraderie develops between visa candidates as they impatiently wait for their turns in the line. And in order to raise their dwindling morale, applicants try all frauds to

outsmart snob visa officers: while in line, they stage mock visa interviews and they match the stories they intend to fake with relevant forged documents so that they do not sound too naïve for American visa officers. In a detached interior monologue, Ugonna's mother accounts for the ridiculousness of the situation by detailing on how the killing of her boy is supposed to take the back stage while all attention has to be directed towards outsmarting the visa officer and gaining the status of an asylum seeker:

He sounded like the voices that had been around her, people who had helped with her husband's escape and with Ugonna's funeral, who had brought her to the embassy. Don't falter as you answer the questions, the voices had said. Tell them all about Ugonna, what he was like, but don't overdo it, because every day people lie to them to get asylum visas, about dead relatives that were never born. Make Ugonna real. Cry, but don't cry too much. (Adichie 2009:134)

Queuing in the long line outside the embassy, the anonymous narrator goes over the remarkably unrestrained and unsolicited advice advanced in good faith by family relatives, friends and various good wishers about the precariousness and uncertainty of asylum applications. The applicant behind her reconfirms what has been previously suggested, a little piece of information which indicates that every Nigerian is aware of the details of the visa regulations. This confirms the opinion that almost all Nigerians are potential candidates for immigration. Albert Memmi pertinently finds out: "... faced with a dead-end future, the decolonized dream of escape. They are, in effect, potential émigrés, virtual immigrants within their own country, which seems to them increasingly limited and oppressive" (Memmi 2005:67).

What cannot be downplayed from the drama of "The American Embassy" is that in the face of the large amount of lies and identity forgeries carried out by an excessive number of soliciting applicants, still good willing and envious relatives assume it is morally acceptable for the bereaved mother to make a gentle reference to her dead boy. The same caring relatives assume that if the tragic incident is not emphasized, her application might be rejected. The focus on receiving an asylum visa is processed in a Machiavellian dictum where the end, no matter how immoral, always justifies the means. Despite the humiliation that goes with the application, the visa remains the all important commodity. For the people around Ugonna's mother, there is no pang of conscience if the dead boy is referred to (for the mother, the boy is practically abused, if not actually killed twice) only to get an asylum status. That is probably why the bereaved mother finds making reference to her dead baby for the sake of winning an asylum visa too demeaning and in practice she recoils from it as immoral. She does not want to add insult to injury and turn her dead boy into a fetish. Alternatively, the boy would be turned into a ticket for entry to the U.S. Before the visa officer, Ugonna's mother cannot add another statement beyond: "Yes, but I buried it yesterday. My son's body" (Adichie 2009:140).

One can notice how Adichie shows the extent to which the promise fostered by the irrational influence of the media that life can be all restarted cannot be appealing for anyone with dignity. That capacity of undoing one's past in the United States where all past misfortunes can be 'magically' reversed remains a gross distortion. Ugonna's mother could not sustain the lie and walk away from the visa interview judging her application and her attempt for an escape as worthless and self-degrading. She proves her point in circumventing cultural reification by simply resisting the urge to turn her dead boy into a fetish.

5. Domestic Dictatorship in "The Arrangers of Marriage"

Similarly, in "The Arrangers of Marriage", Adichie introduces a distinctive agency behind Nigerians' relocation to America. Beyond simply political violence and instability of civil life caused by the military, there lies the extent of what can be referred to as domestic

dictatorship. As it can be guessed from the title, Chinaza Okafor, the narrator and the principal character of the story has been subject to a marriage arranged by foster parents. Trusting that they have acted from the best of intentions, as the husband is introduced as a doctor in America, Chinaza cannot but accept the arrangement. She *ipso facto* has no say in a decision that not only will touch but ultimately recast her life for ever after. As Chinaza's trustees, they have introduced this marriage as a final achievement carried out by dutiful and loving spirits, and with which they are to culminate their guardianship. Reification is here showcased as crude unthinking, which massively diffuses the idea of America as a worry-free country. Uncle Ike, the narrative points out, actually was "beaming" as he stresses Ofodile's job for the first time to Chinaza. Aunty Ada spices her intense excitements over the groom with: "What have we not done for you? We raise as our own and then we find you an *ezigbi di!* It is like we won a lottery for you!" A doctor in America!" (Adichie 2009:170).

At repeated readings, the narrative makes no allusions that the people in charge of Chinaza were not genuinely overjoyed over the prospects of having Chinaza marrying in America. Readers have the feeling that even the elderly Uncle Ike and Aunty Ada wish they had struck similar luck themselves. According to them, they feel no twinges of conscience or second thoughts about what might await their orphan as all possible scenarios are processed as better than if their trustee had stayed at home in Nigeria. They eliminate all possible adversity and hardship. America is approached as the last place in the world where Chinaza could be harmed or that could ever be a source of worry. Such a wide circulating assumption annuls spontaneity and introduces America as a worry free location. Obviously, this sorry state of affairs can be traced to the unreasoning influence of the media which keep perpetuating effective and enslaving myths.

Indeed, it is the media that makes it possible for Chinaza's foster parents to believe, despite the astounding lack of evidence, that any fate, any prospects awaiting any Nigerian in America are as a matter of course better than when having to stay home. Adichie's drama supplies plenty of evidence to the contrary. Her works indicate on a number of occasions that she is horrified at people who look sometimes incapable of considering the striking evidence that contradicts or limits their media-induced and over generalized assumptions. And here lies the central argument introduced in the first part of this article. In the absence of a stable democracy and equal access to wealth, the media continues to inflame ordinary Nigerians' imagination and induce them to try their luck somewhere else, preferably in America. Near the end of "The Arrangers of Marriage", when Chinaza shows her anger about why she has not been informed very early about Ofodile's paper marriage with the American woman, the latter answers in a flat and self-righteous voice: "It wouldn't have made a difference. Your uncle and aunt had decided. Were you going to say no to people who have taken care of you since your parents died?" Ofodile soon adds: "Besides, with the way things are messed up back home, what would you have done? Aren't people with master's degrees roaming the streets, jobless?" (Adichie 2009:183) Very possibly, readers cannot fail to notice that political dictatorship is but one side of a multifaceted cultural phenomenon that can be referred to as domestic dictatorship.

The net result of such a murky situation, together with the misleading influence of the media, leaves everyday Nigerians engaged in self-flattery scheming to relocate to the United States so that, once there, their lives start to be served better. 'How better' remains unanswered because it is not thought to be important. With the help of her African American friend, Chinaza leaves Ofodile's apartment. As she does not expect her foster parents to take her back, she decides to stay in America, find a place of her own and free herself from the fetish that she was meant to be. The open-ended termination of the story suggests that Adichie is aware that breaking free and circumventing cultural reification cannot be an easy task. But the writer portrays it as an act of will that is vital for one's self definition and peace of mind.

6. Chattel Slavery all over again in “The Thing Around Your Neck”

Absence of democracy and family constraints are not the only driving motives impelling Nigerians to flee their country. “The Thing Around Your Neck” is yet another example in Adichie’s short stories where the narrative opens with a widely-circulating assumption Africans make in regards to life in America. “You thought everybody in America has a car and a gun; your uncles and aunts and cousins thought so, too” (Adichie 2009:115). The opening sentence’s apparent simplicity soon gives way to the value laden implications regarding the nefarious role of the media, mainly the movie industry, in disseminating superficial and sometimes banal portrayals of how life in America is easy and how all dreams of self-improvement get fulfilled. This reified understanding (a proxy for reason) is brought on equally by both the media reifying influence and tense economic conditions, like the ones readers come across in “The Thing Around Your Neck”. Akunna, the protagonist of this story, comes from a family not only of no means but of appalling poverty. She tells her white American boyfriend the incident of that rainy day back in Lagos when her father bumped the old Peugeot 504 against a colossal car belonging to one newly rich junky:

The roads became muddy ponds and cars got stuck and some of your cousins went out and made some money pushing the cars out. The rain, the swampiness, you thought, made your father step on the brakes too late that day. You heard the the bump before you felt it. The car your father rammed into was wide, foreign, and dark green, with golden headlights like the eyes of a leopard. Your father started to cry and beg even before he got out of the car and laid himself flat on the road, causing much blowing of horns. Sorry sir, sorry sir, he chanted. If you sell me and my family, you cannot buy even one tire on your car. Sorry sir.

The Big Man seated at the back did not come out, but his driver did, examining the damage, looking at your father’s sprawled form from the corner of his eye as though the pleading was like pornography, a performance he was ashamed to admit he enjoyed. At last he let your father go. Waved him away. The other cars’ horns blew and drivers cursed. When your father came back into the car, you refused to look at him because he was just like the pigs that wallowed in the marshes around the market. Your father looked like *nsi*. Shit. (Adichie 2009:122)

The imagery of “the pig wallowing in the dirty marshes around the market” is by no means intended only to be rhetorically impressive, for the circumstances where Akunna recalls this car incident at this stage in the story suggest the abominable conditions ordinary and hard working Nigerians are reduced to. The writer wants to highlight the inhibitive circumstances without which Akunna would not have even tried the U. S. lottery visa program. Much as Akunna loves and esteems her father, she detested him that day of the accident. When moral values are reversed in a society, a ‘Big Man’’s car is much more valued than a head of family with no means. One needs to pay attention to the ways in which Adichie stresses the reaction of the driver who enjoys the despicable performance. Akunna qualifies her father’s excuses as a shameless scene that is as abominable as pornography. The mixture of chanting, pleadings and cravings at the centre of the muddy road, and the pleasure derived from that scene on the part of the driver takes its toll on Akunna. What should not be missed is the fact that not only is the driver a certifiable lunatic, but the reaction Akunna adopts is similarly paranoiac. She decided that she should not miss any opportunity coming her way for the sole purpose of bettering her family’s material condition. Despite the fact that her decision to leave Nigeria looks motivated by the best of intention, deeper in her heart she only emulates that arrogant and sick driver by succumbing to his false purchase power. Akunna’s case speaks of a situation similar to the return of the repressed; at best it is a momentous resolution to reverse roles. Under such circumstances, the American visa lottery is unconsciously processed as a phantasmal relief from the daily humiliation. It shines as an occasion for a mythical revenge

on the humiliation caused by that arrogant driver or the precariousness of any similar situation.

Adichie makes sure that Akunna's conditions are exceptional and in tune with most Nigerians who experience a life that lacks in dignity day in, day out. In the above excerpt, readers can still find out that Akunna's cousins make extra money on the road when it rains, by helping drivers of battered cars out of the road. Some people's misfortunes work to the advantage of some other people. Sitting alone in her small Connecticut room, Akunna cannot help thinking about:

...aunts who hawked dried fish and plantains, cajoling customers to buy and then shouting insults when they didn't; your uncles who drank local gin and crammed their families and lives into single rooms; your friends who had come out to say goodbye before you left, to rejoice because you won the American visa lottery, to confess their envy...your mother whose salary was barely enough to pay your brothers' school fees at the secondary school where teachers gave an A when someone slipped then a brown envelope. (Adichie 2009:117-118)

Here the writer draws attention to the seamy side of contemporary Nigeria where abject poverty remains the primary motive behind what seems at first people's unreasonable resolve to leave home. Envy is the last emotion which Akunna remembers drawn on her relatives' faces when they come to wish her goodbye. Witness also the fact that without practically cajoling passers-by, a performance that is little different from harassing them with stuff they apparently have neither the desire nor the means to buy, managing a small income-generating activity becomes more and more a herculean undertaking. And even though it requires so much entreating and self-abasement, the deal is never certain. Similarly, the fact of bribing teachers in order to have high grades signals another variation on the theme of systematic poverty, as the education staff need to generate some extra money to ensure that they can meet certain ends.

Amidst such degrading levels of poverty, it is interesting to note that falsified media portrayals about America have been processed by Akunna as the only way out. This could not be the case if Nigeria has been keen or a little too kind to Akunna. Similarly, nearly all of Akunna's extended family members are brainwashed as to the difference immigration to America can do to their dejected existence. The envy in their eyes and their request for petty gifts—as the quote from the early part of the story—suggest their familiarity with big cars and houses only through screen TV.

You thought everybody in America had a car and a gun; your uncles and aunts and cousins thought so, too. Right after you won the American visa lottery, they told you: in a month, you will have a big car. Soon, a big house. But don't buy a gun like those Americans. They trooped into the room in Lagos where you lived with your father and mother and three siblings, leaning against the unpainted walls because there weren't enough chairs to go round, to say goodbye in loud voices and tell you with lowered voices what they wanted you to send them. In comparison to the big car and house (and possibly gun), the thing they wanted were minor—handbags and shoes and perfumes and clothes. You said okay, no problem. (Adichie 2009:115)

The media-induced opportunities which America seems to offer for Nigerians are processed by these same frustrated Nigerians not as prospects that one can seize and that in due time, coupled with hard work, may lead to some relative success. Instead, they are approached as self-evident truths or facts of nature that guarantee material extrication towards the American heaven. For by virtue of having made it to the U.S., all past misfortunes disappear and finally this Nigerian can gain the reward he or she has longed for and which he or she fully deserves. This biblical or millennial approach draws a caricatured image of success, which the writer stresses as originating in reification. It is so because it ignores a set

of historical variables that are indispensable for a pertinent discussion how and why the conditions of Nigerian youth are murky and desolate.

In order to counter this cultural march towards myth and fetish, Adichie makes sure that two conditions are there: falsified media portrayals uncovered, in addition to exasperating economic and political conditions eased. Only when too late, Akunna realizes in real terms the perplexity and precariousness of her situation. Her course of action is never to fail in helping her immediate family with all what she can afford, but remarkably, too, she never attempts to explain her exact situation even to those immediate family members. This is what accounts for her sending half what she earns each month to parents, but "...you didn't write a letter. There was nothing to write about." (Adichie 2009:118). Akunna's abstention from writing an explanatory note while "sending crisp notes in an envelope" features the futility of all explanations in the context of reifying media coverage. However eloquent and extended her explanations would be, she cannot shake off her people's consciousness from the effects of decades of media fetishizing influence:

In later weeks, though, you wanted to write because you had stories to tell... you wanted to write that rich Americans were thin and poor Americans were fat and that many did not have a big house and car; ... It wasn't just to your parents you wanted to write, it was also to your friends, and cousins and aunts and uncles. But you could never afford enough perfumes and clothes and handbags and shoes to go around and still pay your rent on what you earned at the waitressing job, so you wrote nobody. (Adichie 2009:118-119)

"The Thing Around Your Neck" is probably the most daring story in the collection, and for this reason Adichie dedicated its title to the entire collection. In the face of the impossibility of explanation, a situation that translates into being denied a chance to be appreciated, understood and thus possibly pitied, Akunna experiences loneliness that is reminiscent of old chattel slavery. She seems to communicate that 'you could have my money as you expect me to contribute to your table, but you cannot have my news because you lack the means whereby you could genuinely understand my situation'. Readers can note the author's decline to deploy first and third person type of narratives. For the sake of efficacy in handling such an exceptionally intriguing experience like Akunna's, the narrator cannot manage herself as a know-all figure; meanwhile, she cannot stay an outside observer. Thus, the choice of the limited omniscient point of view spells a loving keenness and early awareness with the principal character's exilic experience. While Omowumi notes Adichie's use of this narrative technique, he stays silent as to its convenience (Omowumi 2011). Again, this type of narrative can register the author's consciousness of the need to circumvent cultural reification.

7. Conclusion

When circulated in massive proportions in Africa, inaccurate portrayals of realities in America can only lead to African youth embracing irrational choices and mythic fantasizing. Instead of elevating the African youth's consciousness with the world and forging communication between peoples and nationalities, the media stigmatizes these same social groups and erodes their respective experiences. The inflicted punishment on Nigerians is this involuntary recourse to myth, which is yet another manifestation of barbarity at the political, social and moral levels.

Equally valid is that through *The Thing Around Your Neck*, Adichie has been able to effectively evoke and thus convince readers how cultural reification remains still a critical issue today, exactly like when it was noted with the Marxist cultural critic George Luckács back in the 1920s. The issue that Adichie addresses is that while the task of outsmarting colonialism has been successfully carried out, Africans still have to outsmart the reifying compulsions of the media industry if they ever aspire to meaningful freedom and look for a

truly egalitarian society. Positive discourses, like immigration to the U.S., and the U.S. as a utopia for societal and economic organization, have been shown to be imprecise overgeneralizations, lacking concrete evidence. By perpetuating such ‘instrumental reason’ the media emits African unhappiness and misery as fate. For instead of inaugurating the precept of a happily functioning society, the same media celebrates the flattening of ideals, madness and dystopia. In Africa, such determinist trend of thinking has spelt incompetent, corrupt and bloody leaderships of which Sani Abacha’s is but the tip of the iceberg. What Adichie’s readers most likely retain from the stories of *The Thing Around Your Neck* is the conviction that what stimulates dictatorship as a mode of social organization on the one hand and the long queue outside the U.S. embassy in Lagos on the other is principally the same mindset. Critically reflecting over self and that same self position in history implies a way, probably the only way, of breaking with the present cultural dyad. In line with the insights brought by major Frankfurt School thinkers, Adichie ascertains that media consumer products in Africa have demonstrated unmistakable drifts towards perversion, myth and barbarism.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0026

FUTURE EXPRESSIONS FOR LEARNERS OF BASIC ENGLISH: AN ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS FOR THE 3RD – 6TH GRADES USED IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: The paper analyses the presence of future expressions ('be going to', 'will', 'shall', the Present tense progressive and Present tense simple with future uses) in the English textbooks for levels A1 and A2 recommended by the Romanian Ministry of Education for use in the primary and lower secondary classes in Romania.

Keywords: future expressions, English textbook, basic level, national syllabus

1. Introduction

The paper looks at how future expressions are presented in English textbooks in common use in Romania: whether future forms are taught in the textbooks for levels A1 and A2, how they are taught and to what extent these textbooks' contents match the requirements of the national syllabus. The necessity of introducing future expressions, and the kind of future expressions that are recommended, are clearly mentioned in the national syllabus. Therefore, we can consider the presence (or absence, for that matter) of these expressions as being symptomatic for the degree of adequacy of the textbooks to the syllabus requirements. Moreover, based on these forms, we could speculate on the quality and up-to-dateness of these textbooks.

By basic English are understood levels A1 (breakthrough/ beginner) and A2 (waystage/ elementary) of the language, as defined by the Common European Framework of Reference (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/elp-reg/cefr_EN.asp).

Most international learning materials include *going to* future at level A1, with A2 level materials recycling *going to* future and introducing *will/ won't*, and the Present progressive with future meaning.

While we estimate that level A1 can be reached in grades 3 and 4, Cambridge ESOL claim that level A2 is reached after 180 – 200 guided learning hours, that is, roughly after grade 5 for English as the first foreign language (L1), while 5th and 6th graders with English as a second language (L2) are expected to reach level A1 after the first two years of study. However, many children who study English as L1 in grades 3 and 4 continue to study it as L2 in grades 5 and 6. In what follows we analyse some of the English textbooks recommended in the catalogues issued by the Ministry of Education for grades 3 – 6.

2. Textbooks for the Third Grade

No mention of future expressions is made in the English syllabus for the third grade.

(1) *Firm Steps* by Comişel and Pîrvu (2008), and (3) Ellis and Bowen's (2008) *Way Ahead 1* comply with the requirements of the national syllabus strictly and introduce no expression of future.

(2) *Set Sail 3* by Dooley and Evans (2005a) does not introduce future expressions, either; however, it uses *will* in the presentations that precede each module: "In this module you will learn, read and talk about...". This is unlikely to be useful to many pupils.

(4) *Splash! 1* by Abbs, Worrall and Ward (1997a) teaches *be going to* and *shall*. *Be going to* is taught only in its contracted positive statement form for the first person singular (e.g. *I'm going to look after him*), with promising overtones, and in *wh*-questions (e.g. *What are they going to take?*). *Shall* appears in a positive *yes/no* question with the subject *we*: *Shall we go by bus?* used as a suggestion, and in the *wh*-question *How shall we go?* *Will* is not taught.

Table 1: Synopsis of future expressions in the textbooks for the 3rd grade
(given between brackets are the numbers of the textbooks analysed)

		<i>will</i>	<i>shall</i>	<i>going to</i>
statements	Positive (uncontracted)			
	Positive (contracted) <i>I'm going to look after them.</i>	(2)		(4)
	Negative (uncontracted)			
	Negative (contracted)			
questions	Positive y/n <i>Shall we go by bus?</i>		(4)	
	Negative (contracted)			
	Elliptical			
	Wh- questions <i>How shall we go?</i> <i>What are they going to take?</i>		(4)	(4)

In conclusion, in spite of the fact that the syllabus does not require the teaching of expressions of future to third graders, *Splash! 1* (1997a) introduces future expressions with *shall* and *going to*. *Set Sail 3* (2005a) offers clarifications in English using *will*, but these are unlikely to be read by the learners.

3. Textbooks for the Fourth Grade

The syllabus mentions *will* future and the time adverbial *tomorrow*.

(5) Gray and Evans' (2008) *Welcome 2* introduces *going to* future in positive statements (e.g. *We're going to go camping*) and positive *yes/no* questions (e.g. *Are you going to take your camera with you?*).

(6) *Splash! 2* by Abbs, Worrall, and Ward (1997ba) introduces the use of *will* in both uncontracted (e.g. *Zack will find the Angel of the Forest*) and contracted positive form (e.g. *You'll be a famous scientist*) for future predictions. *Will* also appears in a *there* existential construction in an indirect question: *Do you think there will ever be hotels in space?* *Shall*, used in *Splash! 1* (1997a) for making suggestions, is recycled in *What kind of music shall we have?* *Where shall we have the party?* with a prediction meaning. It is also used in a strange suggestion (or offer?) formulated as a positive *yes/no* question: *Shall I steal the capsule at the airport?* For the first person singular and plural statements, the textbook gives only contracted forms: *We'll have a beautiful Christmas* and *I'll help you clean the house*. *Will* appears in *wh*-questions such as *What will the robbers do?* *Going to* future appears only at the end of the textbook, in a unit which recycles *shall*: *What kind of music shall we have?* *Where shall we*

have the party? It is used only once in a context where *shall* is not present: *What are we going to drink?*

(7) *Set Sail 4* by Dooley and Evans (2005b), although removed from the most recent official catalogues, is still in common use. It introduces only *going to* future for the first person contracted form in statements (e.g. *I'm going to go to Australia*) and two interrogative forms: the positive *yes/no* question *Is he going to go with you?* and the *wh-* question *Where are you going to go on holiday?* We find it strange and, maybe, misleading to teach *going to* future forms only in combination with *to go* as main verb.

(8) Gooday and Gooday's (2005) *Messages 1* introduces four ways of expressing future: the Present progressive used to talk about arrangements for the future (e.g. *I'm having a party on Saturday*), the *going to* future used to describe future plans and intentions (e.g. *I'm going to write to the President*), *shall* used for making suggestions for future activities (e.g. *Shall we go to the skate park?*) and the Present tense simple with future reference (e.g. *Tomorrow is Tuesday* and *In Module 6 you study...*). The latter is taught explicitly only in connection with the days of the week. Other uses are found in the instructions referring to the content of various modules and are likely to be ignored by the learners. The Present progressive with future value is presented in positive contracted statements (e.g. *I'm/ She's/ They're having a party this evening/ tomorrow*) and in *wh-*questions (e.g. *What's Anna doing on Saturday? What time is Kim meeting Lucia?*). The authors insist on the contrast between the two values of the Present progressive, by offering more than once related examples. The *going to* future is introduced in positive contracted statements such as *I'm going to draw that dinosaur*; in positive *yes/no* questions (e.g. *Are you and the White Lady going to come with me?*) together with matching positive and negative short answers, and in *wh-* questions (e.g. *What are you going to do?*).

(9) *Way Ahead 2*, by Bowen and Ellis with Buciu (2006), introduces 'll as a marker of the future in positive contracted statements for the first persons singular and plural (e.g. *We'll have a beautiful Christmas* and *I'll help you clean the house*) and the contracted form *won't* for the same persons in sentences with the function of promises: *We won't open the presents until tomorrow* and *I won't eat any of the cake until tomorrow*. Another negative statement, *But I won't clean the house*, sounds like a refusal or rejection. The authors also introduce the elliptical forms for the first persons singular and plural, before the corresponding uncontracted sentences: *We won't. We won't open the presents until tomorrow* and *I won't. I won't eat any of the cake until tomorrow* in sentences with the same overtone of promise. The uncontracted forms are not given. The interrogative forms taught are *yes/no* for the second person singular (e.g. *Please, Uncle Bob, will you let me put the lights up on the tree?*) and the elliptical *Will you?*, which is ambiguous between a future and a willingness reading after a negative statement: *But I won't clean the house. Will you?*

To sum up, the syllabus for the fourth grade requires that learners become familiar with *will* future. *Welcome 2* (2008) and *Set Sail 4* (2005b) make only sporadic use of *going to*. *Splash! 2* (1997b) introduces *will* in statements and interrogative sentences, continues using *shall* in questions and introduces *shall* for offers of services. *Set Sail* introduces only *going to* future. *Messages 1* (2005) introduces four ways of expressing future: the Present progressive used with future time expressions for arrangements, the *going to* future for plans and intentions, *shall* for suggestions, and the Present tense simple with future reference in connection with the days of the week. *Way Ahead 2*, by Bowen and Ellis with Buciu (2006), is the only textbook that introduces *will* future only, complying with the requirements of the syllabus.

At this juncture we can draw a few conclusions on the presence of future expressions in textbooks for the primary school.

The users of *Firm Steps* (2008) and *Way Ahead 1* (2008) may finish the third grade without being exposed to expressions of futurity unless the English teacher decides differently. However, the third graders who use *Splash! 1* (1997a) are taught future expressions with *going to* and *shall*. The users of *Set Sail 3* (2005a) are offered descriptions and instructions in English using *will*, although these are unlikely to be actually read by the learners.

For the fourth grade, where the syllabus recommends the use of *will* and *tomorrow*, only two textbooks introduce *will*: *Splash! 2* (1997b) and *Way Ahead 2* (2006). Consequently, if a teacher chooses *Welcome 2* (2008) or *Set Sail 4* (2005b), after having used *Firm Steps* (2008) or *Way Ahead 1* (2008) in the third grade, the learners may finish primary school without having learned *will* future (as the syllabus requires) and having used *going to* future only sporadically. On the other hand, *Messages 1* (2005) users are exposed to four different expressions of futurity: *will*, *going to*, the Present progressive and the Present simple with future values but we may wonder if this is not too much for them.

Table 2: Synopsis of future expressions in textbooks for the 4th grade

		<i>will</i>	<i>shall</i>	<i>going to</i>	Pres. progr.	Present simple
statements	Positive (uncontracted) <i>Zack will find the Angel of the Forest.</i> <i>Tomorrow is Tuesday.</i>	(6)				(8)
	Positive (contracted) <i>You'll be a famous scientist.</i> <i>We'll have a beautiful Christmas.)</i> <i>We're going to go camping.</i> <i>I'm going to go to Australia.</i> <i>I'm going to write to the President.</i> <i>I'm having a party on Saturday.</i>	(6)		(9) (5) (7) (8)	(8)	
	Negative (uncontracted)					
	Negative (contracted) <i>People won't throw all their rubbish away.</i> <i>We won't open the presents until tomorrow.</i>	(6) (9)				
	Existential there <i>Do you think there will ever be hotels in space?</i>	(6)				
	questions	Positive y/n <i>Please, Uncle Bob, will you let me put the lights up on the tree?</i> <i>Are you going to take a camera with you?</i> <i>Is he going to go with you?</i> <i>Are you and the White Lady going to come with me?</i> <i>Shall I steal the capsule at the airport?</i> <i>Shall we go to the skate park?</i>	(9)		(5) (7) (8) (6) (8)	
Negative (contracted)				(8)		
Elliptical <i>(But I won't clean the house.) Will you?</i>		(9)				
Wh- questions <i>What will the robbers do?</i> <i>What shall we do first?</i> <i>What are we going to drink?</i> <i>What are you going to do? (8)</i> <i>Where are you going to go on holiday?</i> <i>Where shall we have the party?</i> <i>What's Anna doing on Saturday?</i>		(6)	(6)	(6) (8) (7)	(8)	

4. Textbooks for the Fifth Grade, English as L1

For the fifth grade, the syllabus requirements for English as L1 are the introduction of *will* future (affirmative, negative, interrogative), and *going to* future (affirmative, negative, interrogative).

(10) *Pathway to English. English Agenda* by A. Achim et al. (2008) starts with an address in English which contains several expressions of future with *will*: *You'll have to work hard; Your teacher will ask you to learn actively*, etc. Throughout the book, the pupils are given explanations in English using *will*: "This year you will work in groups and you will do different things together. The result will go into a nice notebook that will become your 'group agenda'" (Achim et al. 2008:20), in which a combination of uncontracted and contracted *will* future forms are used. As limited as the impact of this language of instructions may be on the learners, it may raise their awareness of the use of *will*. Examples with the contracted form 'll can be found in the lessons (e.g. *I'll have a lot of guests*). *Will* appears in a non-conditional *if* sentence in combination with *going to*: *If you're going to have guests, you will want the house to look at its best*. This may mislead learners as to the use of future expressions in *if* sentences, as long as the difference between conditional and non-conditional *if* clauses has not been made clear.

The "Grammar Compendium and Practice" at the end of the book (Achim et al. 2008) focuses on the meaning of both *will* and *going to* future. *Will* is said to express future events and predictions and decisions taken instantly (a use that is not presented in any text in the textbook). Mention is also made of the use of *will* in conditional sentences without any exemplification. The forms *shall* and *shall not* (*shan't*) are mentioned, without any matching examples. The form 'll in *I'll have a lot of guests* is not explained as being a contraction of either *will* or *shall*. However, *shall* is mentioned in the Compendium as being used for the future in the first persons singular and plural. The use of *going to* future is illustrated in both uncontracted positive statements (e.g. *We are going to have a big Christmas party*) and *wh*-questions (e.g. *What are you going to do first?*).

(11) Tom Hutchinson's (1985) *English Project 1* presents *will* as marking the Future tense both in the lessons and in the "Grammar Review" of the Future Tense (in tabular form) offered at the end of the textbook. *Will* is presented in uncontracted positive existential statements (e.g. *There will also be...*), and in elliptical constructions such as: *Professor Krantz thinks they will*. *Shall* is also used in its uncontracted form: *Now I shall travel in Time and Space*. Both contracted negative forms of *will* and *shall* are taught, too: *No, you won't* (elliptical) and *We shan't come back*. *Will* is used in *yes/no* questions and in existential constructions with *there*: *When will there be a parade?* Both *will* and *shall* appear in *wh*-questions: *What day will it be?* and *But what shall we do with him?*

Although some linguists consider *will* a marker of the Future tense, others consider it a marker of modality. Hutchinson (1985) stands apart as the only author of basic English textbooks who presents *will* and *shall* as Future tense markers.

(12) Nolasco's (1990) *Wow!* does not include *will* future. It introduces *going to* future, the Present progressive with future meaning, and *shall* for suggestions. *Going to* future forms are illustrated only in questions: *Is he going to drive a car?* and *What are we going to do?* The Present progressive with future meaning is illustrated in positive statements (e.g. *On Monday I'm flying to America*) and questions (e.g. *What are you doing this morning?*). The verb *to do* in the Present progressive tends to appear alongside *going to* forms of the same verb: *What are we going to do?*; *What are you doing this morning?* in spite of the possible confusion this may create. Suggestions formulated with *shall* are also present in the text (*Shall we go to a concert?*). No uncontracted negative verb form is taught.

Table 3: Synopsis of future expressions in textbooks for the 5th grade, L1

		<i>will</i>	<i>shall</i>	<i>going to</i>	Present progr.
statements	Positive (uncontracted) <i>There will also be...</i> <i>Now I shall travel in Time and Space</i> <i>We are going to have a big Christmas party.</i> <i>Philip is going to America next week.</i>	(11) (11)		(10)	(12)
	Positive (contracted) <i>I'll have a lot of guests.</i> <i>On Monday I'm flying to America.</i>	(10)	(10?)		(12)
	Negative (uncontracted)				
	Negative (contracted) <i>No, you won't.</i> <i>We shan't come back.</i>	(11)	(11)		
	Elliptical <i>Professor Krantz thinks they will.</i>	(11)			
	Existential there <i>Do you think there will be hotels in space?</i>	(11)			
	if sentence (non-conditional) <i>If you're going to have guests, you will want the house to look at its best.</i>	(10)			
questions	Positive y/n <i>Will people live on the Moon?</i> <i>Shall we go to a concert?</i> <i>Is he going to drive a car?</i>	(11)	(12)	(12)	
	Negative (contracted)				
	Elliptical				
	Existential there <i>When will there be a parade?</i>	(11)			
	Wh- questions <i>What day will it be?</i> <i>But what shall we do with him?</i> <i>What are you going to do?</i> <i>What are you doing this morning?</i>	(11)	(11)	(10)	(12)

In brief, the syllabus requirements for the fifth grade, English as L1 are: *will* future (affirmative, negative, interrogative), and *going to* future (affirmative, negative, interrogative). The only textbook that meets the syllabus requirements is *Pathway to English. English Agenda* (2008), which introduces these expressions of future and offers practice in the use of *will*, *shall* and *going to* as future markers. Hutchinson's (1985) *English Project 1* treats *will* and *shall* as Future tense markers and ignores *going to* future. *Wow!* (Nolasco 1990) does not introduce *will* future. Nolasco prefers to deal with *going to* future and the future use of the Present progressive. The number of future forms recycled in the text is rather limited.

The textbooks for English as L1 for the sixth grade take pupils to the next level of study: threshold or (pre-)intermediate; therefore they are not within the scope of this analysis.

5. Textbooks for the Fifth Grade, English as L2

The syllabus does not make any specific requirements regarding expressions of future.

(13) Derkow Disselbeck, Woppert and Harger's (2003a) *English G 2000* introduces only *going to* future in its very last unit (Unit 8). The text offers examples of *going to* future in positive statements (e.g. *I'm going to try it*), contracted negative forms (e.g. *I'm not going to*

go on the treasure hunt), interrogative *yes/no* and *wh-* constructions (e.g. *Are you going to do karaoke, too, Ben?*, *Which four items is he going to take?*) and even a *wh-* question with negative polarity: *What isn't he going to do?* The presentation of *going to* future and explanations in Romanian can be found in the Grammar section, where short answers, positive and negative, to *yes/no* questions are also given.

Table 4: Synopsis of future expressions in textbooks for the 5th grade, L2

		<i>will</i>	<i>shall</i>	<i>going to</i>	Present progr.
statements	Positive (uncontracted) <i>One day they are going to be world champions.</i> <i>She is going to explore the Amazon jungle in August.</i> <i>He is planning to take a trip to the Amazon jungle.</i>			(14) (15)	(15)
	Positive (contracted) <i>I'm going to try it.</i> <i>I'm going to take a sleeping bag, a torch, food...</i>			(13) (15)	
	Negative (uncontracted)				
	Negative (contracted) <i>I'm not going to go on the treasure hunt.</i> <i>He isn't going to watch TV on Tuesday.</i>			(13) (15)	
	Elliptical <i>No, I'm not.</i> <i>Yes, he is. / No, he isn't.</i>			(14) (15)	
	Existential there <i>if sentence</i>				
questions	Positive y/n <i>Are you going to do karaoke, too, Ben?</i> <i>Are you going to wear jeans to the disco?</i> <i>Is he going to take a map?</i>			(13) (14) (15)	
	Negative (contracted)				
	Elliptical				
	Existential there				
	Wh- questions <i>So, what are you going to wear?</i> <i>Which four items is he going to take?</i> <i>Which isn't she going to do?</i>			(14) (15) (15)	

(14) *Snapshot Starter* by Abbs, Barker, and Freebairn (2001a) introduces *going to* future forms “for plans and intentions” both in the text of the lesson and in the “Grammar Snapshot” at page 85, and offers practice in the subsequent units. *Going to* is presented in positive statements, with both uncontracted and contracted forms, in negative statements, and in *yes/no* questions with matching short answers. Less well represented are the *wh-* questions, although they are not completely absent (e.g. *So, what are you going to wear?*).

(15) *Fountain*, by Jim Lawley and Roger Hunt (2001), introduces Present progressive and *going to* forms with future values concomitantly: *He is planning to take a trip to the Amazon jungle. Which four items is he going to take? Is he going to take a map? Yes, he is. No, he isn't.* While *going to* forms are recycled and recontextualised, the Present progressive appears only once.

Although the syllabus does not require the learning of future forms in the first year of study of English as L2, these three textbooks contain expressions of future: *English G 2000* (2001a) and *Snapshot Starter* (2001a) teach *going to* future forms, while *Fountain* (2001)

introduces Present progressive with future value in a seemingly incidental manner, in the unit where *going to* forms are first introduced.

6. Textbooks for the Sixth Grade, English as L2

The syllabus requirements specify future expressions with *will* and *going to*.

(16) *English G 2000* for the sixth grade, by Derkow Disselbeck, Woppert and Harger (2001b), amply illustrates the use of future expressions. *Going to* future was introduced in the textbook for the 5th grade by the same authors in the very last unit and is systematically recycled in the first five units of the book for the 6th grade. It is practised again in activities that appear after the “Looking at language” grammar section on page 93, in units six and seven. It is even used in an indirect question on page 97: *Decide what you’re going to do on Friday evening.*

In the “Looking at language” grammar section in unit six, the learners are given the explanation that *will* future is used “for what I know or think about the future” and *going to* “for what I want to do in the future”. *Will* future is then amply used in all its forms. The contracted negative form *won’t* appears in all persons: *But I won’t win the competition* and *You won’t find many [books]...* *Will* for prediction is used in all persons, including the first person interrogative: *Will I be pretty, will I be rich?* and *What will I be?* while the use of *shall* for suggestions, restricted to the first person singular, is also repeatedly illustrated (e.g. *Shall I phone the newspaper?*). Combinations of *will* and modal substitutes such as *be allowed to* and *be able to* can be found in unit seven: *When will we be allowed to? What will you be able to do there?* *English G 2000* also introduces the use of Present tense with future value in time clauses: *What will Susan do after the kids go to school?* The language summary on page 147 clarifies (in Romanian) the potential misunderstanding of the use of *will* as verb of willingness and *will* for futurity. The authors also give explanations for the use of the Present tense simple with future meaning (in time clauses) and for the contrast between *will* future and *going to* future (presupposition and certainty vs. intention).

(17) Cumino’s *Excursion 2* (1997) contains no future expressions.

(18) *Snapshot Elementary* by Abbs, Barker and Freebairn (2001b) recycles *going to* future, introduced in *Snapshot Starter* (2001a; Cf. (14)) by the same authors. The textbook first introduces the Present progressive with future meaning in the “Grammar Snapshot” on page 37, offering both contracted and uncontracted affirmative forms and question forms: *We’re going to a football match tonight, Liverpool are playing Barcelona tomorrow* and *Who are Flamengo playing next?* In this context, *I’m going to get a programme* (Abbs, Barker and Freebairn 2001b:97) may seem ambiguous between Present progressive and *going to* future readings. Most of the contracted forms are illustrated by the sequences personal pronoun + *be going to*, but we can also find the indefinite pronoun *everyone* followed by the uncontracted form of *be going to*: *Everyone is going to pay separately for his/her meal* (Abbs, Barker and Freebairn 2001b:114). *Going to* future appears quite unexpectedly and without any kind of explanation in a past context as *I knew it was going to bite me again [the white shark]* on page 61. The Present progressive with future meaning is used again only at the very end of the book (Abbs, Barker and Freebairn 2001b:118): *The London train is leaving in a couple of minutes. Are you coming with us, Joe?* The use of *will* and *won’t* “for predictions and decisions” is illustrated in statements such as: *I’ll take a photo. Say ‘cheese’* and *It won’t be long now*, and questions: *Will he be all right?* The “Grammar Snapshot” (Abbs, Barker and Freebairn 2001b:78) offers both uncontracted and contracted forms: *We’ll (we will) carry him.* Here are also taught questions with *will* and matching short answers (positive and negative): *Yes, he will* and *No, he won’t. Will* and *won’t* also appear in elliptical sentences: *Don’t worry, we won’t. Don’t worry, I will. Will* appears in questions referring to the weather with “dummy

it” as subject: *Will it be cold in Spain in November?*, a sentence with existential *there* (taken from a song of the Troggs, a British rock group): *There’s no beginning, there’ll be no end* (Abbs, Barker and Freebairn 2001b:91), and in conditional sentences: *If you go now, you’ll have lots of time*. A special communication function of *will* – that of ordering food in a restaurant – is also illustrated in *I’ll have the fish cakes, please*. *Shall* is used in asking for and making suggestions: *What shall we do now?*

Table 5: Synopsis of future expressions in textbooks for the 6th grade, L2

		<i>will</i>	<i>shall</i>	<i>going to</i>	Pres. progr.	Pres. simp.
statements	Positive (uncontracted) <i>Jenny and I are going to ride our bikes to the country.</i> <i>Dan is going to take me down the freeway to a hamburger restaurant.</i> <i>Tomorrow’s world will be fantastic!</i> <i>What will Susan do after the kids go to school?</i> <i>The London train is leaving in a couple of minutes.</i>	(18) (16)		(16)	(18)	(16)
	Positive (contracted) <i>I’m going to eat my sandwiches now.</i> <i>We’re going to have lunch now.</i> <i>He’ll help you, I’m sure.</i> <i>I’ll take a photo. Say ‘cheese’</i>	(18) (18)		(16) (18)		
	Negative (uncontracted)					
	Negative (contracted) <i>You won’t find many [books] and you won’t win that competition.</i> <i>But I won’t win the competition.</i> <i>I won’t let you leave my love behind.</i>	(16) (16) (18)				
	Elliptical <i>Don’t worry, we won’t. Don’t worry, I will.</i>	(18)				
	Existential <i>there</i> <i>... there’ll be no end</i>	(18)				
	<i>if</i> sentence <i>If you go now, you’ll have lots of time.</i>	(18)				
questions	Positive y/n <i>Shall I phone the newspaper?</i> <i>Will I have a better life on a space station?</i> <i>Will life be better or worse?</i> <i>Will it be cold in Spain in November?</i> <i>Are you coming with us, Joe?</i>	(16) (16) (18)	(16)		(18)	
	Negative (contracted)					
	Elliptical					
	Existential <i>there</i>					
	Wh- questions <i>How are they going to go home?</i> <i>What are you going to have?</i> <i>Who’s going to do that?</i> <i>What will life be like?</i> <i>What will I be?</i> <i>What shall we do now?</i> <i>What is she going to be like...?</i>	(16) (16)		(16) (18) (16)		
			(18)	(18)		

While the syllabus for the sixth grade for English as L2 requires the study of *will* and *going to* future expressions, there are striking differences between the contents of the recommended textbooks: Cumino's (1997) *Excursion 2* includes no future expressions while *English G 2000* (2003b) and *Snapshot Elementary* (2001b) teach more future expressions than is recommended. Thus, *English G 2000* recycles *going to* and introduces *will* future and the Present tense with future value. *Snapshot Elementary* deals not only with *going to* and "will" future but also introduces *shall* for requesting and making suggestions, and the Present progressive with future meaning.

Table 6: Future expressions in textbooks for basic users of English

Syllabus requirements	textbooks	<i>will</i>	<i>going to</i>	<i>shall</i>	Pres. progr.	Pres. simp.
3 rd grade: future not required	(1) <i>Firm Steps</i> (2) <i>Set Sail 3</i> (3) <i>Way Ahead 1</i> (4) <i>Splash!</i>	(2)	(4)	(4)		
4 th grade: <i>will</i> future	(5) <i>Welcome 2</i> (6) <i>Splash! 2</i> (7) <i>Set Sail 4</i> (8) <i>Messages</i> (9) <i>Way Ahead 2</i>	(6) (9)	(5) (6) (7) (8) (9)	(6) (6)	(6)	(6)
5 th grade L1: <i>will</i> and <i>going to</i> future	(10) <i>Pathway to English. EA</i> (11) <i>English Project</i> (12) <i>Wow!</i>	(10) (11)	(10) (12)	(11)	(12)	
5 th grade L2: future not required	(13) <i>English G 2</i> (14) <i>Snapshot S</i> (15) <i>Fountain</i>		(13) (14) (15)			(15)
6 th grade L2: <i>will</i> and <i>going to</i> future	(16) <i>English G 2</i> (17) <i>Excursion 2</i> (18) <i>Snapshot E.</i>	(16) (18)	(16) (18)	(16) (18)	(18)	(16)

Table 6 summarises the presence of future expressions in the textbooks for learners of basic English.

7. Conclusions

a) Two of the four textbooks recommended for the third grade comply with the requirements of the syllabus. *Splash* (1997a) introduces *going to* and *shall* while *Set Sail 3* (2005a) introduces *will*.

b) The syllabus for the fourth grade mentions *will* future and the time adverbial *tomorrow*. Only *Splash! 2* (1997b) and *Way Ahead 2* (2006) introduce *will*.

c) The only textbook for the fifth grade, English as L1, that introduces *will* and *going to* future, as the syllabus requires, is *Pathway to English. English Agenda* (2008).

d) For the fifth grade, English as L2, the syllabus does not require future expressions. However, *going to* future is introduced by all three textbooks.

e) Future expressions with *will* and *going to*, as recommended by the syllabus for the sixth grade, English as L2, can be found in *English G 2000* (2003b) and *Snapshot Elementary* (2001b). *Excursion 2* (1997) does not deal with any future form.

f) There are big discrepancies in the number of expressions of future presented in the textbooks and the complexity of structures in which they are presented in textbooks. If a primary school teacher chooses *Welcome 2* (2008) or *Set Sail 4* (2005b) for the fourth grade, the learners may finish primary school without having learned *will* future (as the syllabus

requires) and having used *going to* future only sporadically. If pupils continue to study English in the fifth grade as L2 using *English G 2000* (2003a), *Snapshot Starter* (2001a) or *Fountain* (2001), they may finish their third year of study without having used *will* future unless the teacher uses supplementary materials. On the other hand, many textbooks expose the learners to more different expressions of futurity than recommended.

If not all the textbooks recommended follow the requirements of the national syllabus, then the questions that need to be addressed by the authorities are: To what extent do the classroom teachers comply with the syllabus requirements? Do they follow the syllabus or the recommended textbook they have chosen? Is the national syllabus mandatory? Why are these textbooks recommended? Do the national syllabi need updating?

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0027

THE CONCEPT OF GENRE IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDENTS' INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

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Abstract: In order to communicate effectively with people belonging to different social or ethnic groups, any language user is supposed to have not only a good command of the language code involved, but also what is generally known as “intercultural knowledge.” As a consequence, the development of the students' cultural competence is perceived today as a major aim of the foreign language education. Starting from this hypothesis, the paper discusses the manner in which the concept of genre can provide students with insights into cultural expectations of creating a text in both spoken and written English.

Keywords: genre, genre conventions, intercultural awareness, teaching productive skills, teaching receptive skills

1. Introduction

At a time when it is widely agreed that the role of learning a foreign language is that of preparing the students for living in a multicultural world, methodologists emphasize the importance of intercultural understanding as an important goal of language education. This is one of the reasons why the more recent models of language instruction have been trying to shift away the focus from the language as an abstract entity and to place it on the manner in which language is used in actual communication. The principles of such pedagogical models of language are frequently materialized in the requirements stated by the national curriculum for foreign languages. Thus, in many countries, the language curriculum is based on a number of competences defined as sets of knowledge and skills that students are supposed to acquire during a particular cycle.

In Romania, for example, the language competences that students should acquire at highschool level are (cf. <http://curriculum.edu.ro>):

- Reception of oral and written messages sent in various situations of communication
- Production of oral and written messages which are adequate to given contexts
- Interaction realized by means of oral and written communication
- Transfer and mediation of oral and written messages

It is obvious, therefore, that, conceived in this way, language instruction is meant to prepare learners to function effectively and to participate actively in the society in which the foreign language is used. This general objective implies that an extra emphasis should be laid on two elements of the language competence, elements which are, however, inter-related: intercultural awareness, on the one hand, and discursal ability, on the other. I consider that

one of the approaches to teaching which offers language instructors the opportunity of providing their students with training in the case of both these elements is the genre-based approach. The main idea put forward by my paper is that, by using a genre-based approach, or, more specifically, by offering our students training with regard to the conventions of language use in various contexts of communication, we increase their inter-cultural awareness. This awareness represents an important gain, because it is a skill for life and not just a notion acquired as part of a course and forgotten later on.

2. The Genre-Based Approach to Teaching a Foreign Language

Genre, which is a familiar concept in disciplines like literature or rhetoric, has been gradually extended to various fields of applied linguistics during the last few decades. But genre studies is far from being a unitary discipline, since it is considered to comprise theoretical and applied approaches that belong to three different traditions: English for Specific Purposes (ESP), North American New Rhetoric Studies, and Australian systemic functional linguistics (cf. Hyon 1996). Even if there does not seem to be general consensus on what exactly genre is, I will define this concept by briefly outlining the contributions made by two of the most influential genre theorists, namely Swales (1990), on the one hand, and Bhatia (1993, 2004), on the other.

Focusing on the ESP perspective of genre, Swales (1990:58) describes it as a class of communicative events characterized by some shared set of communicative purposes, which are recognized by the members of the professional community where the genre occurs. These purposes constitute the rationale for the genre, determining the schematic structure of the discourse and influencing the choice of content and style.

Bhatia (1993, 2004) expressed his agreement with the stand taken by Swales, and further tried to bring together the three traditions of genre theory in a comprehensive definition of genre:

Genre essentially refers to language use in a conventionalized communicative setting in order to give expression to a specific set of communicative goals of a disciplinary or social institution, which give rise to stable structural forms by imposing constraints on the use of lexico-grammatical as well as discursal resources. (Bhatia 2004:23)

Such definitions of genre reveal two features that are considered to play a very important role in the understanding of this notion. Firstly, the particular nature and the makeup of a genre are mainly determined by the communicative purpose that it is meant to fulfil. The second important feature refers to the essential role played by the related concepts of constraint and convention, which induce the specific lexico-grammatical and discursal format of the genre-text. In fact, the use of the highly conventionalized knowledge of linguistic resources represents a *sine qua non* condition for the successful achievement of the specific communicative purpose of any genre.

Starting from the assumption that a genre comprises texts that share similar textual features and that serve the same function, it is obvious that such texts are characterized by recurring syntactic, semantic and pragmatic patterns. It is precisely the presence of these specific text forms that make the concept of genre a valuable tool in the process of teaching and learning a foreign language. Harmer (2007) is one of the main foreign language methodologists who acknowledged the importance of genre knowledge, viewing it as one of the reasons why we can communicate successfully. In his definition, genre is “a type of written organization and layout (such as an advertisement, a letter, a poem, a magazine article, etc.) which will be instantly recognized for what it is by members of a *discourse community*–

that is any group of people who share the same language customs and norms” (Harmer 2007:31).

Even if the genre approach to teaching English is traditionally associated with English for Specific Purposes, I strongly believe—in line with various methodologists, such as Agustien (2008) or Harmer (2007)—that it can also be successfully used with general English students, even at beginner or intermediate levels, if we want them to be able to produce effective communication in a wide range of real-life situations.

It is obvious that the purely theoretical knowledge with regard to the linguistic format characterizing various genres is not enough. If the teacher intends to train students in the correct choice and use of the linguistic features that ensure the achievement of particular communicative purposes, then those students must be familiarized with the concept of genre and helped to acquire the necessary skills in this respect. In fact, the important role played by the teacher in the context of genre pedagogy is very well expressed by the concept of “scaffolding”, introduced by Vygotsky (1978, in Chaisiri 2010), which implies that the teacher’s task is that of supporting students in learning through raising their awareness of target genres and available language choices.

But what are the concrete ways in which teachers can help their students acquire generic knowledge and experience? In order to offer an answer to this question, I will start from those aspects that can be considered essential for the specific makeup of any genre: the socio-cultural situation which normally imposes the use of that genre, and the conventions which determine both the structure and the linguistic format of the genre texts. I consider that these aspects also determine the general directions that genre training is supposed to follow if the teacher intends to develop the students’ cultural competence in this way. In more specific terms, the use of genre as part of the foreign language teaching involves raising the students’ awareness with regard to three elements: situational considerations of the genre-texts, organizational structure, and linguistic features. In what follows, I will discuss the manner in which these elements can be used as part of the English language lessons, pointing to the specific aspects involved in the training of the productive skills, on the one hand, and in the training of the receptive skills, on the other.

3. Using Genre in the Process of Teaching the Productive Skills

Even if writing is the language skill which receives the greatest amount of attention in the genre pedagogy (e.g. Chaisiri 2010, Lin 2006), many of the principles stipulated by the genre theorists are also valid for its oral counterpart, speaking. The truth is that, while speaking and writing are substantially different in many ways, they are both used for the same purpose—to communicate.

The traditional writing and speaking activities used during the English language classes most commonly take the form of guided or free compositions, isolated de-contextualized sentences, dictation, guided or free role-plays, simulations, discussions, etc. Even in the case of the creative communication activities, the scenario is generally suggested by the teacher, and the focus is on the linguistic content. The problem is that the language production involved in such activities does not always keep account of all the features presented by the real contexts of communication, and, consequently, does not make a full contribution to the students’ communicative competence. As an alternative to this type of activities, the genre-based approach represents an opportunity for purposeful speaking and writing, facilitating clear links to the students’ purposes for using the language outside the classroom (cf. Lin 2006:230).

A particularity presented by the teaching of the productive skills is that the genre approach is useful at two different, but inter-related stages of the instructional process: a) *the*

pre-writing/ speaking stage, when students analyze texts belonging to a particular genre, in order to get familiarized with various socio-cultural and linguistic aspects regarding its use, and b) *the production stage*, when students use the acquired generic knowledge in order to produce their own texts. In what follows, I will explain the manner in which the three elements mentioned above (i.e., situational considerations of the genre-texts, organizational structure, and linguistic features) can be exploited at each of these stages:

a) Developing the students' exposure to different genres

At this pre-writing/ pre-speaking stage, which is also referred to under the name of “modeling the genre” (cf. Derewianka 2003:147), students work on examples of written and oral texts belonging to a particular genre: e.g. leaflets, recipes, public notices, advertisements, weather reports, etc. They discuss the socio-cultural context in which that genre is normally used, taking into account details about the purpose that the text, as a representative of its genre, is meant to achieve, the socio-professional community to which the genre text belongs, the presence of the culture-specific elements and their relationship to the central idea that the original text producer is trying to convey. Then, teachers should draw their students' attention to the structural organization which is specific to the genre in which they are working, stressing the fact that the producers of texts belonging to a particular genre tend to be fairly consistent in the way they organize the overall message. In addition to getting familiarized with the macrostructural features of the genre, students must also be guided to identify the conventions regarding the linguistic features of the genre texts, and to discuss the contribution of these features to the genre purpose.

b) Assisting the students' construction of various genre texts

After the students become aware of the main communicative purpose determining a particular genre, of the socio-cultural context in which it is normally encountered, and of the conventions which govern the structure and the linguistic makeup of its representative texts, they can go on to create their own oral (e.g. role play, announcement, news item, advertisement, etc.) or written (e.g. job application, tourist brochure, instructions for use, review, etc.) texts in that genre. At this stage, the teacher's main role is that of helping the students use the language appropriately, in accordance with the genre purpose. This means that, on the one hand, students must respect issues related to the specific structural organization, and, on the other, they must select those linguistic forms—of discoursal (e.g. cohesive devices, thematic patterns, speech acts), syntactic (e.g. sentence structure and complexity, typical phrase structure) and lexico-semantic (e.g. neologisms, formal/ informal lexical items, terminology, specific expressions) nature—that best contribute to the achievement of the generic purpose. Such activities are meant to make students aware of the cultural specificity presented by certain linguistic structures and forms, and, in this way, make an important contribution to their intercultural competence.

4. Using Genre in the Process of Teaching the Receptive Skills

The genre approach to language teaching can also be very useful in the case of the receptive skills, i.e. reading and listening. The principles of the genre pedagogy find application in this case especially in the light of the more recent methodological models (cf. Carrell 1998 for a review of these models), which claim that, even if called “receptive”, reading and listening actually represent active processes. More specifically, it is considered that the correct understanding of a particular written or oral text is based on a constant

interplay between the writer's perspective, ideas, development of arguments, intentions and conclusions, as they are reflected by that text, and the reader's experiences, cultural background and biases.

In line with this trend, Carrell and Eisterhold (1998) propose a model of foreign language reading pedagogy in which an essential role is played by the concept of schema. This concept, whose origins are to be found in the fields of Psychology and Philosophy, can be defined as "a mental representation of a typical instance which helps people to make sense of the world more quickly because people understand new experiences by activating relevant schema in their mind" (Cook 1997:86). In Carrell and Eisterhold's view (1998:82), "reading comprehension depends crucially on the reader's being able to relate information from the text to already existing background knowledge". This might explain why a reader's or listener's failure to activate an appropriate schema (formal and content) during the process of language reception may lead to various degrees of non-comprehension.

Unfortunately, there are many situations when students fail to comprehend a reading or a listening text, even if they understand every word and every grammatical item in it. One explanation for this situation is that the formal and/ or content schema is not part of their cultural background. It is here that the genre approach can bring its contribution to improving the foreign language learners' receptive skills, and, implicitly, to increasing their intercultural competence. By becoming aware of the socio-cultural and linguistic specificity of the genres in which they are supposed to work, the students get equipped with appropriate schemata that they can subsequently activate during the process of reading and listening comprehension.

Just like in the case of the productive skills, teachers are supposed to raise their students' awareness with regard to the three elements which create genre specificity (i.e., situational considerations of the genre-texts, organizational structure, and linguistic features) at two different stages of the instructional process: a) *the pre-reading/ listening stage*, when students are prepared for the actual work with the text by means of activities meant to interest them in the topic and, at the same time, to familiarize them with the genre in question, and b) *a combined while- and post-reading/ listening stage*, when students use the acquired generic knowledge for a full comprehension of the written or oral text. The activities specific to each of these stages are briefly presented below:

a) Preparing students for the reading/ listening of the genre text

At this stage, teachers help their students get familiarized with the situational context specific to the genre of the text to be read/ heard by means of discussions, question-and-answer sessions, or other types of activities meant to reveal culture-related background information. The preparatory activities should focus, first of all, on details about the circumstances under which texts belonging to that genre are normally produced: the author of the text, intended audience, the socio-professional group which uses that genre, etc. The purpose of the text as a representative of its genre must be highlighted. Additionally, the students' prior knowledge of the topic under discussion must be activated, so that they can consciously use it as they read/ hear the text.

The activities carried out at this initial stage also regard aspects related to the linguistic format of the reading/ listening text, even if these aspects are given more attention during the following stage. Thus, teachers may draw attention to the general structure of the particular genre text, because, in this way, students can map the information they obtain from the text to the pre-existing structure of text organization, and, thus, get a logical comprehension of the text. Specific vocabulary and structures (e.g. culturally loaded concepts, specialized vocabulary and structures, etc.) are also frequently taught to students before reading/ listening, so that new words, background information, and comprehension can improve together.

b) Assisting the students' processing of the written/ oral text

While and after reading the text, teachers are supposed to help students gain a deep comprehension of the manner in which the organizational structure, on the one hand, and the linguistic choice, on the other, contribute to the central idea of the text, and, implicitly, to the main communicative purpose of the genre that it represents. Consequently, during this stage, students should be involved in activities focused on the analysis of the text structure, with a view to identifying the main idea in each text segment and the contribution that each segment makes to the generic purpose. Additionally, students should receive tasks related to the linguistic features displayed by the text they have read/ listened to at discursal, syntactic and lexico-semantic levels. The teacher can either guide the students through all these levels, or choose to focus on a particular one at a certain point of the training process. In this way, genres represent good opportunities for teaching lexical and grammatical structures in context. The important thing is that the language activities used by the teacher should make the students aware that the linguistic features which are regarded as conventions for a particular genre represent formal traits that have been sanctioned by the community that uses them, to the detriment of others which would be linguistically acceptable but do not fit the previously agreed patterns.

5. Conclusion

The theoretical and the practical aspects discussed in this paper are meant to highlight the fact that the genre approach has implications for the language learners' cultural competence, because people belonging to a certain culture have shared knowledge regarding the type of linguistic format that they must use in order to achieve particular social purposes. Consequently, when they receive training in the genres of a new culture, our students actually learn how to become active participants in that culture. Moreover, by being focused on the creation of meaning at the level of discourse and not on the acquisition of syntactical forms, the notion of genre increases the learners' ability to produce written and oral texts which fulfill the expectations of their addressees in terms of lexical choice, grammar, organization, and context.

The main benefits brought by the use of genre in the context of foreign language teaching are summarized by Hyland (2007:150), who presents genre pedagogy as being *explicit* (making it clear what is to be learned for the acquisition of various language skills), *systematic* (providing a coherent framework for focusing on both language and contexts), *needs-based* (ensuring that course objectives and content are derived from the students' needs), *supportive* (giving teachers a central role in scaffolding their students' learning and creativity), *empowering* (providing access to the patterns and possibilities of variation in valued texts), *critical* (providing the resources for students to understand and challenge valued discourses), and *consciousness-raising* (increasing students' awareness of certain specific elements of the foreign culture).

However, it must be also mentioned that the genre approach is not free from a number of potential problems and difficulties. On the one hand, it is obvious that students cannot be provided with training in each and every of the genres that they might encounter when they communicate in real-life contexts. On the other hand, there is also the problem that establishing the limits of certain genres is sometimes a difficult task, or that there are some categories of texts which are difficult to be included in one genre (e.g. the "docudramas" mentioned by Derewianka 2003:149). However, I consider that, if the English learners are given the basic skills in this respect, they will be able to resort to them in any situation in which that might prove necessary.

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THE PROBLEM OF SYNFORMS IN SERBIAN EFL LEARNERS REVISITED

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Abstract: *This paper will explore the issue of similar lexical forms (Laufer 1991) as a potential problem in vocabulary acquisition of Serbian EFL learners. Building on previous research (Kocić 2008), we collected data from two groups of undergraduate students at the Faculty of Philology and Arts in Kragujevac (lower- and upper-intermediate), and attempted to identify the factors that contribute to synform confusions.*

Keywords: *lexical confusions, L2 acquisition, synforms, vocabulary learning*

1. Introduction: Similar Lexical Forms and Their Effect on L2 Acquisition

For the past twenty years or so, the field of L2 vocabulary studies has attracted numerous researchers who have strived to investigate various aspects that the concept of a word encompasses (e.g. form, meaning, use) as well as their contribution to lexical learning. Their findings concerning L2 vocabulary learning difficulties have, inter alia, shown that words which sound and/or look alike are especially prone to causing lexical confusions in foreign learners of English. For instance, on his word-association test, Meara (1982) found that English learners of French as L2 confused the stimulus word ‘béton’ (concrete) with a similarly sounding ‘bête’ (beast). In a recent study involving Serbian EFL learners, Danilović and Grujić (2013) noticed, by means of a word translation test, that *assess* was occasionally misunderstood as *assassinate* or *access*, *publish* as *public*, *color* as *collar*, *tense* as *intense* or *approve* as *improve*. A wealth of evidence (e.g. Dušková 1969; Myint 1971; Henning 1973; Laufer and Sim 1985; Zimmerman 1988; Hulstijn and Tangelder 1991), thus, clearly indicates that not only similarly sounding but also similarly looking word pairs can present a problem in both L2 recognition and production, as learners experience interference – they associate new words or those whose features are not fully familiar to them with the already known ones (Laufer 1997:147).

The first to pay close attention to the existence of similar lexical forms, by conducting a thorough exploration of their effect on both native and non-native speakers of English, was Batia Laufer (1991). She defined synforms as lexical forms which share certain characteristics, such as: (1) the target word and its synform pair often have the same number of syllables (e.g. *industrial/industrious*), or differ in only one (*economic/economical*); (2) most of the forms belong to the same syntactic category, i.e. they are nouns, verbs or adjectives; (3) synforms share most of the phonemes, that is, differ in no more than three (e.g. *passion/compassion*); (4) synform pairs usually have the same stress pattern (e.g. *effect/affect*,

simulate/stimulate). Moreover, lexical confusions are attributable to one of the following modes: substitution, omission or addition of phonemes (vowels and consonants), that is morphemes (prefixes, suffixes). By taking these modes into consideration, Laufer (1991:47-48; 1997:147-148) further classified synforms into ten categories:

Category 1: synforms have the same root, productive in present-day English but different suffixes (e.g. *successful/successive, considerable/considerate*)

Category 2: synforms have the same root, unproductive in present-day English but different suffixes (e.g. *capable/capacious, numerous/numerical*)

Category 3: synforms differ in a suffix, present in only one of the forms (e.g. *historic/historical, project/projection*)

Category 4: synforms have the same root, unproductive in present-day English but different prefixes (e.g. *attribution/contribution/distribution, compress/repress/suppress/oppress*)

Category 5: synforms differ in a prefix, present in only one of the forms (e.g. *fault/default, mission/commission*)

Category 6: synforms are identical in all the phonemes, except one vowel/diphthong (e.g. *launch/lunch, affect/effect*)

Category 7: synforms differ in a vowel, present in only one of the forms (e.g. *quiet/quite, cute/acute*)

Category 8: synforms are identical in all the phonemes, except for one consonant (e.g. *price/prize, extend/extent*)

Category 9: synforms differ in a consonant, present in only one of the forms (e.g. *ledge/pledge, simulate/stimulate*)

Category 10: synforms are identical in consonants but differ in vowels (e.g. *embrace/embarrass, manual/menial*)

By testing more than 300 foreign learners and circa 200 native speakers on all possible synformic confusions, Laufer (1991) established that synforms presented a factor of difficulty in vocabulary learning for both native and non-native speakers of English. For later result interpretation it is important to mention that the number of participants in her study was, in total, more than 300 (approximately 20-30 per test targeting each synform category), and not that there were 300 participants each from the various tested groups of learners (learners of Germanic, Romance and Semitic L1 backgrounds). She came to the conclusion that the postulated categories induced varying amounts of difficulty for learners: the most problematic were found to be synforms differing in suffixes (categories 1 and 2), as well as synforms differing in vowels (category 10). She also noticed that the L1 of the testees had an effect on the results: of the three tested groups of learners of Germanic, Romance and Semitic L1 background, the Semitic learners were the most susceptible to synform confusions, followed by the Germanic testees and then the Romance. It seems, therefore, that the L1 proved to be a facilitating component in this aspect of L2 acquisition for speakers of German and French, i.e. languages related to English, whereas it was a hindrance for speakers whose L1 was unrelated to it. To improve learners' awareness of confusing lexical forms, as a pedagogical treatment, Laufer (1991:195-196) proposes numerous exercises that could be introduced in the L2 classroom, ranging from multiple choice blank filling to correctness judgment.

It is worth pointing out, nevertheless, that the L2 proficiency level of learners selected for the purpose of Laufer's (1991) seminal study was B2 (CEFR), and that she did not compare their achievement on synform tests with that of either lower-level (e.g. B1 CEFR) or higher-level L2 learners (e.g. C1 CEFR). In other words, the aim of her research was to compare synform confusions between two groups of subjects, young native speakers of

English and foreign language learners, but not L2 learners themselves. It is possible that L2 learners of various proficiency levels would require instructional guidance on different synform categories.

2. Research Background

In 2008, Kocić decided to examine the effects of synforms in the Serbian EFL teaching/learning context. Unlike Laufer (1991), she intentionally selected her sample among students of English language and literature at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš. These students (N=20) were enrolled in their third year of studies at the university, and thus considered advanced L2 learners. In line with Laufer's research (1990), Kocić intended to verify the notion about the two final phases of the developmental process of vocabulary acquisition: that vocalic synforms (category 10) are likely to cause less confusion than synforms differing in suffixes (categories 1 and 2). Bearing this in mind, she designed two versions of the synform test, targeting 14 category-10 synforms pairs, as well as 14 category-1&2 ones.

Although a detailed account of the results obtained on the two tests is not presented in her paper, Kocić reports that the frequency of errors on synforms belonging to categories 1 and 2 was significantly lower than that observed by Laufer (1991) in her research on native and non-native speakers. However, version B of the tests (no contextual clues provided) did turn out to be more challenging than version A (contextualized sentences offered), as students made more synform errors on it. This was interpreted by the author as another confirmation of the developmental route of vocabulary acquisition—recognizing the correct item in context does not automatically entail the ability to appropriately use it. As far as errors related to synform category 10 are concerned, Kocić found that they were not numerous. In fact, they were comparable to those obtained by Laufer (1991) for native speakers, which Kocić attributes to her learners' advanced knowledge of English. When the results on the errors caused by category-10 and categories 1 and 2 synforms are contrasted, it becomes clear that Serbian EFL learners had more difficulty with the latter. Consequently, suffix synform pairs can indeed be viewed as a potential difficulty factor in L2 acquisition, regardless of the learners' proficiency level. Moreover, this finding suggests that both native speakers and L2 learners could be following a similar path with regard to vocabulary development. As Kocić herself admits, though, more conclusive evidence is needed to prove this point.

3. The Study

Inspired by the work of Laufer (1988, 1991) and the fact that her research was not conducted on B2-level (CEFR) EFL learners of Slavic background, which was acknowledged by Kocić (2008) in her small-scale study of advanced L2 English majors, we sought to further investigate this issue by broadening the number of subjects and varying their L2 proficiency level. Given that Kocić (2008) noted that her participants did not experience serious problems with synforms, probably due to the fact that their L2 competence was nearing the level of native speakers, we expected of our learners to face more difficulties in this regard. Moreover, if Kocić's results are to be interpreted as an indicator that the more advanced L2 knowledge of a learner is, the less susceptible s/he is to lexical confusions, we should be able to detect a difference in lower-intermediate and upper-intermediate learners' achievement on synforms. Building on Kocić's (2008) methodological instruments and findings, we formulated the following research questions:

1. What are the effects of synform categories 1, 2 and 10 on intermediate Serbian L1 English L2 learners?
2. Are lower-level intermediate learners going to experience more difficulty with synforms than upper-level intermediate learners?
3. Are suffixal synforms (categories 1 and 2) going to be more problematic than vocalic synforms (category 10)?

3.1. Participants

Two groups of students enrolled in the first year of their studies at the Faculty of Philology and Arts in Kragujevac, Serbia, participated in this research:

- 55 English majors, whose level of English proficiency was assessed as B2 (CEFR) by means of the entrance exam which they had successfully passed in June 2012, and
- 40 non-English majors, students of other philological programs (e.g. French, Spanish, German, Serbian), whose level of English proficiency was estimated as B1 (CEFR) by means of an introductory placement test taken in October 2012.

All of the participants were, without exception, native speakers of Serbian, who had been learning English for a minimum of four years prior to enrolling in their studies at the university level.

3.2. Research Instruments

The participants completed two different, multiple choice tasks for the purpose of this study, both of which were either borrowed from Laufer (1991:212-233) or developed in accordance with her guidance. Given that Kocić's work (2008) had focused, following Laufer's findings (1991), only on the influence of synform categories 1, 2 and 10, which were expected to be the most problematic for L2 learners, we also decided to pay heed only to the aforementioned synform categories. To be precise, we included in our tests the following synform pairs:

- categories 1 and 2:

<i>considerable/considerate</i>	<i>virtually/virtuously</i>
<i>capacious/capable</i>	<i>respective/respectable</i>
<i>integration/integrity</i>	<i>exhausted/exhaustive</i>
<i>imaginative/imaginary</i>	<i>numerous/numerical</i>
<i>credulous/credible</i>	<i>tolerable/tolerant</i>
<i>sensible/sensitive</i>	<i>respectable/respectful</i>
<i>comprehensive/comprehensible</i>	<i>industrious/industrial</i>

- category 10:

<i>base/bias</i>	<i>morale/moral</i>
<i>propose/purpose</i>	<i>fiery/fairy</i>
<i>legible/eligible</i>	<i>embrace/embarass</i>
<i>manual/menial</i>	<i>quit/quite</i>
<i>merely/merrily</i>	<i>human/humane</i>
<i>cancel/conceal</i>	<i>defiance/defence</i>

dairy/diary

spilt/split

On one of the tests (version A), synforms were offered alongside contextualized sentences, whereas on the other, the same synforms appeared out of context, in a matching format (version B). In other words, the first test required the participants to select the correct word in order to complete a given sentence, e.g.

Test version A (Laufer 1991:212)

Only a very _____ writer could write in such a beautiful way.

- a. imaginable
- b. imaginative
- c. imaginary
- d. impatient

The second test, on the other hand, required the participants to select the appropriate definition of the provided word, i.e. target synform, e.g.

Test version B (Laufer 1991:215)

IMAGINATIVE

- a. that can be imagined
- b. having imagination
- c. existing only in mind, unreal
- d. having no patience

As we can see, the two tests both contained a combination of 14 items belonging to synform categories 1 and 2, and 14 items pertaining to synform category 10. Moreover, the definitions a-d offered on test B corresponded to the answers which appeared on test A. Thus the same distractors were actually employed twice for each synform, in two different formats. Since not all of the questions could be borrowed from Laufer (1991) in their entirety, we constructed some of them by ourselves. Contextualized sentences, appearing in version A of the tests, were extracted either from Collins Cobuild's *Advanced Learner's English Dictionary* or *Merriam-Webster Online: Dictionary and Thesaurus* so that they would be authentic and representative samples of language use. The same sources were used for short definitions of synforms/distractors featuring on test version B. The distractors for synforms (test version A) were, on the other hand, selected according to the criterion of formal and/or semantic similarity.

It is worth noting that the rationale behind applying two testing instruments (variants A and B) is validity—by providing different elicitation methods, Laufer (1991:60) was hoping to obtain more reliable results. The tests should, therefore, not be viewed as a means of exploring the influence of context on causing synform confusions, but rather as a safeguard against the effect of a particular testing format.

3.3. Procedure

The two tests were administered by one of the researchers in her regular classes during the month of March 2013. To minimize the possibility of the participants guessing that the same words appeared on both tests, the testing sessions were held two weeks apart. The same students first completed version A of the test, and then version B. At the beginning of each session, they received a brief explanation in Serbian about the contents of the test, followed

by a few examples illustrating the manner in which the blanks should be filled (i.e. teacher's demo). No dictionaries or other helpful sources or explanations were provided during the testing. It was pointed out to the participants that the data were being collected solely for research purposes, and that the results would in no way affect their course grades. Though there was no time limit for the completion of the tests, the students managed to complete them in 15 minutes' time in both testing sessions. Subsequent quantitative analyses were performed by means of the statistical program SPSS 21.0.

4. Results and Discussion

Once all of the participants had completed both tests, the data were coded for correct/incorrect answers by the researchers. The data were further analyzed using descriptive statistics/frequencies and an independent sample t-test, in order to test for any possible statistically significant differences between the two groups. For the purpose of clarity, the results that both groups achieved are given in table form in Tables 1 and 2. The percentages shown in the tables represent the percentage of incorrect answers provided for the second word in the pair of synforms, i.e. the synform that was not the target form in that task.

Table 1. Synform error frequencies for categories 1 and 2

Correct answer	Expected synform error	% of synform errors Test version A		% of synform errors Test version B	
		Upper-intermediate Group	Lower-intermediate group	upper-intermediate group	Lower-intermediate group
considerable	considerate	5.6%	0%	27.8%	52.6%
integrity	integration	1.8%	7.5%	28.3%	27%
credulous	credible	20.8%	32.5%	66.7%	64.9%
comprehensive	comprehensible	17.3%	28.2%	88.7%	76.9%
respective	respectable	28.8%	33.3%	35.2%	40%
tolerant	tolerable	31.5%	20.5%	23.6%	32.5%
industrious	industrial	19.2%	25%	41.5%	41%
capacious	capable	13.2%	17.5%	27.8%	25.6%
imaginative	imaginary	1.8%	2.5%	25.5%	25%
sensible	sensitive	44.4%	66.7%	29.6%	30.8%
virtually	virtuously	11.8%	12.8%	30.2%	34.3%
exhaustive	exhausted	16.4%	40%	59.3%	38.5%
numerous	numerical	0%	5%	1.8%	7.5%
gracious	graceful	52.8%	38.5%	33.3%	45%

Table 2. Synform error frequencies for category 10

Correct answer	Expected synform error	% of synform errors Test version A		% of synform errors Test version B	
		upper-intermediate group	Lower-intermediate group	upper-intermediate Group	Lower-intermediate group
fiery	fairy	22.9%	13.5%	22.6%	21.6%
morale	moral	56.9%	35.9%	24.1%	3.5%
defense	defiance	3.8%	0%	5.5%	2.5%
split	spilt	9.8%	7.7%	0%	13.2%
conceal	cancel	4%	28.2%	0%	5%
menial	manual	28.9%	22.2%	57.7%	65.8%
propose	purpose	3.8%	10%	5.5%	15%
quiet	quit	0%	5.1%	0%	0%
humane	human	16.3%	43.6%	7.3%	27.5%
embarrass	embrace	3.7%	7.5%	10.9%	27.5%
dairy	diary	39.6%	53.8%	1.9%	13.9%
merely	merily	11.8%	23.7%	3.7%	16.7%
eligible	legible	7%	10.8%	11.3%	23.1%
bias	base	39.5%	7.7%	27.3%	40%

The percentage of correct answers for both groups of participants on both test A and B, according to the types of synforms, is shown in the following table (Table 3).

Table 3. Percentage of correct answers on both versions of the test

Group	Categories 1 & 2		Category 10	
	Version A	Version B	Version A	Version B
Upper-intermediate	66%	47%	63%	62%
Lower-intermediate	31%	30%	35%	33%

Prior to proceeding with an account of the participants' performance, it is important to comment on the data distribution as determined during the course of the data coding. Namely, in the case of the results offered by the lower-intermediate participants, a greater diversity in terms of possible solutions provided for each individual task was found. In other words, the upper-intermediate group of participants usually opted for either the target synform or its pair. However, the lower-intermediate group often chose one of the distractors included in the task, which would account for the occasional 0% of incorrect answers that are noted in the preceding tables. For the purpose of this study, these answers were not deemed relevant and will therefore not be commented upon. The lower-intermediate students were, accordingly, not less susceptible to synform confusions but, in line with their general lexical knowledge, less confident in the choices they made – given that they were probably less familiar with the offered items, they opted for the answers which seemed appropriate to them. This is further corroborated by the discrepancy between the number of correct answers scored by the two groups on both versions of the test which we will comment on now.

Overall, the data in tables 1-3 show that the lower-intermediate group consistently had a higher error frequency rate than the upper-intermediate group. Translated into their respective production on tests A and B, the former had a distinctly higher percentage of errors

on test A, while the latter scored a higher error percentage on test B for category 1 & 2 synforms. The discrepancy in the performance of our group of upper-intermediate students in the case of suffix synforms could be accounted for by the conclusions provided by Kocić (2008): that knowledge of a particular word form is not directly indicative of the participants' ability to use it correctly. The results also indicate that while the upper-intermediate group performed better when contextual clues were provided on the test, the lower-intermediate group, on average, scored the same percentage of errors on both tests, irrespective of whether any contextual clues were provided.

Furthermore, the results indicate that certain pairs of synforms should be set apart for potential additional work in the EFL classroom. In the case of suffix synforms, the *numerous/numerical* pair was the least confusing one for the participants whereas error frequencies were highest for the *respective/respectable*, *comprehensive/comprehensible*, *sensible/sensitive*, *gracious/graceful* and *credible/credulous* pairs of synforms. In the case of vocalic synforms, the participants as a whole did not frequently confuse *quit/quite* as well as *defense/defiance*, and had the highest error frequency for the *menial/manual* and *bias/base* pair of synforms (see Tables 1 and 2).

The performance of the participants viewed as two separate groups seems to indicate that the groups are internally relatively unified in regard to their respective levels of knowledge of English (see Table 3). In the case of the type of synforms (categories 1 & 2 or 10), on average both groups performed better on the tests involving synforms belonging to category 10. In terms of the type of test, that is, the presence or absence of contextual clues, while the performance of the lower-intermediate group was on average consistent, the upper-intermediate group of participants performed better on the tests that provided contextual clues. The performance of the upper-intermediate group of participants on test B involving synform categories 1 & 2 seems to offer further support for both claims.

However, the differences between the two groups were extensive, with the upper-intermediate group outperforming lower-intermediate group by almost 2:1. It would therefore seem that the difference in the level of L2 proficiency (lower vs. upper intermediate) has an undeniable impact on knowledge of synforms, irrespective of the fact that the members of a more proficient group did not score perfect results on all of the synform tests. Thus, it was necessary to determine whether the determined difference was not only great but also statistically significant.

The obtained results were further processed using an independent-sample t-test ($p=.05$). The results indicated a statistically significant difference in the student responses for 16 out of the 28 pairs of synforms in favor of the upper-intermediate group, in terms of the correct answers.

Nine of the pairs of synforms in question were found on the test which offered contextual clues, and the rest were on the tests without them. In addition, the majority of these pairs belonged to category 10 synforms. Moreover, certain pairs of synforms proved to be difficult for our lower-intermediate group of learners, irrespective of whether contextual clues were present on the test or not. These pairs include the category 10 synforms *morale/moral*, *conceal/cancel*, and *humane/human*, where the differences between the two groups were, for the most part, statistically significant on tests A and B in favor of the group of upper-intermediate students (.000 and .035; .000 and .13; .002 and .001 respectively). The other significant differences ranged from values of .000 (*quiet/quit*) to .050 (*credulous/credible*) and included the following pairs: *capacious/capable*, *sensible/sensitive*, *exhaustive/exhausted*, *bias/base*, *propose/purpose*, *dairy/diary*, *considerable/considerate* and *eligible/legible*.

These findings are comparable with the results obtained by Kocić (2008), even though the participants in her research were classified as advanced learners of English, and

irrespective of the fact that the participants in the current research made significantly more mistakes on both versions of the test due to their lower level of L2 knowledge. The similarity lies in the fact that synform pairs from categories 1 and 2 tended to be more problematic than synform pairs from category 10 in both studies. In addition, both groups of participants performed better on the tests providing contextual clues, which may, as suggested in Kocić (2008), have influenced the participants' sense of confidence, as opposed to the tasks where the target forms were viewed 'in isolation'.

Moreover, in her study, Laufer (1991) found category 10 synforms, or synforms that differed in more than one vowel but had the same consonants, significantly problematic for non-native learners. In the current study, and that of Kocić (2008), however, synforms belonging to this category did not represent a major difficulty factor for Serbian advanced or, in this case, intermediate learners. The inconsistency between these studies may be accounted for by the acquisition order of synform categories or the influence of L1. Namely, the results could be conditioned by the participants' learning to distinguish between synformic contrasts following different patterns. On the other hand, we could speculate that the difference could be accounted through the L1 of our participants (Serbian), a language not taken into account in Laufer's research.

The conclusions we have drawn regarding synforms belonging to category 10 could further be investigated by a comparison of our results and those published by Laufer (1991:147). We compared the average percentage of synform errors obtained on both test A and test B for vocalic synforms only, in relation to the participants' L1 background. As we can see, the differences are significant and the results of the participants with a Slavic L1 background differ from the other groups of NNS included in Laufer's study. Given that Serbian is, etymologically speaking, only distantly related to English, one would expect the results of Serbian EFL learners to be similar to those obtained from learners of Semitic L1 background. We must, therefore, assume that L1 cannot account for the remarkable discrepancy between Laufer's results and ours. The percentage of synform errors on the tests are shown in Table 4 below. For comparability, the percentages are averages that were obtained from Laufer's population of participants with various backgrounds (synform category 10 test was solved by 18 participants of Semitic L1 background, 5 of Germanic L1 background and 5 of Romance L1 background) and our population of participants whose L1 was a Slavic language (in total, 95 speakers of Serbian). Admittedly, our sample did contain a larger number of English L2 learners which only lends credibility to the obtained results.

Table 4. Percentage of synform errors according to L1 groups

L1 background		% of synform errors Test version A	% of synform errors Test version B
Semitic		35%	34%
Germanic		33%	25%
Romance		34%	42%
Slavic		18.5%	16.5%
Slavic	B2-level group	18%	13%
	B1-level group	19%	20%

5. Conclusions

In view of the research questions we started out to answer, the following should be highlighted as the main conclusions of our research:

- the type of synform category (namely be it 1, 2 or 10) does have an effect on the production of Serbian L1 English L2 learners in the sense that their performance was better on tests containing vocalic or category 10 synforms.
- the lower-level intermediate learners as a unified group experience more difficulty with the pairs of synforms included in the research than the upper-level intermediate learners, who scored a significantly smaller percentage of errors for most of the pairs of synforms.
- suffixal synforms in general were more problematic than vocalic synforms for our unified group of intermediate learners of English.

Overall, the test results provided both by our intermediate students and the advanced students in Kocić's research (2008) indicate persisting problems in terms of synform use. The fact that high percentages of correct answers were generally rare (occurring less than ten times on both tests), and did not persist over the two types of tests (with participants scoring differences in the percentage of correct results as great as 75% vs. 7.5%, or ten times less, on some of the synform pairs) indicates the need for further practice regarding these easily confused pairs. We could also put forward the claim that knowledge of a particular lexical item is precarious – knowing the word receptively, that is being able to recognize its meaning, is quite different from knowing it productively, that is being able to use the item correctly, as based on the presented results from tests A and B.

Furthermore, we could conclude that synforms should receive special treatment in the EFL classroom in the Serbian linguistic environment since they do pose a problem to NNS. One of the difficulties facing a project implementation of this kind is the lack of additional research that could further help in shedding light on the matter. In situations such as this, teachers themselves will have to take on the most important role in the implementation process, as their practice would show which synform pairs are most likely to be confused by the learners. It seems that Laufer's (1991) findings on the difficulty of individual categories of synforms should be tested in a particular L2 learning context as they may prove to be more/less problematic. The obvious recommendation would be that as English teachers in the EFL classroom, we should devote more time to suffix synforms (categories 1 and 2) as opposed to vocalic synforms (category 10) as they seem to be the most challenging for L1 Serbian/L2 English speakers and could be considered a part of the final phase of vocabulary acquisition among NNS of English.

Acknowledgements

This study was supported by project grant 178014 from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0029

WHY DO STUDENTS PLAGIARIZE? EFL UNDERGRADUATES' VIEWS ON THE REASONS BEHIND PLAGIARISM

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Abstract: *Cheating and plagiarism spread like pandemics in many educational contexts and are difficult to detect, fight and also to understand. The purpose of this exploratory study is to investigate what first-year students of English at a large Hungarian university believe to be the main reasons for plagiarism. Twenty-five students were asked to express their views in a free opinion essay. Perceived reasons were categorized into twelve main groups based on the literature and the reasons for plagiarism provided by faculty members at the same university. The most often mentioned reasons included saving time and effort and unintentional plagiarism.*

Keywords: *plagiarism, academic dishonesty, cheating, undergraduates, EFL context, English studies*

1. Introduction

Plagiarism is a highly debated and sensitive issue. Academic publishers and educational institutes all put great emphasis on academic honesty, have academic integrity policies, and threaten offenders with serious disciplinary actions; yet cases of plagiarism at all levels come to surface on a daily basis. Many researchers and instructors believe that the occurrences of plagiarized papers and assignments have multiplied as nowadays digital technology makes sources readily available and copy-pasting methods more tempting than in the pre-Internet age. Back in 1995 Blimling and Alschuler already talked about a *burbing plagiarism epidemic*. A few years later Anderson (1999) used the term *cyberplagiarism*, Auer and Krupar (2001) referred to *mouse click plagiarism*, McMurtry (2001) to *e-cheating*, and Szabo and Underwood (2004) discussed *cybercheats*. Nevertheless, plagiarism is not only an academic integrity issue that involves students, but also scholars and people outside of schools, such as politicians, novelists, or song writers. Every so often scandals come to the surface and the general public sees prominent public figures fall to the ground with plagiarism charges.

The question raised in the title may seem to be an easy one. Everyone involved or not directly involved in higher education has some general ideas about the motives of plagiarism done by students, such as finding the easy way out of an assignment, being under pressure to get good grades, facing time constraints, and receiving too demanding tasks. However, the picture may be more complex. Large scale survey studies also inform us about tendencies, especially those found in North-American academic settings (see e.g. McCabe [2005] for data from over 80,000 students and 12,000 faculty members and the Penn State Pulse surveys on academic integrity). However, local views, attitudes, cases of plagiarism, policies and actions are also important to be analyzed in order to handle the local cases both at individual and

institutional levels and assist students and faculty to adopt the best possible strategies to respond to the plagiarism epidemic.

The aim of the present study is to explore how first-year Hungarian undergraduates of English view the reasons behind plagiarism committed by students in their own educational context. These views reflect their ideas on the topic in general, while this study does not investigate whether the participants have engaged in some form of plagiarism or not or to what degree they find certain types of cheating acceptable. Based on the author's experience of reading plagiarized papers at all academic levels and for all types of assignments and the conclusion of most recent studies that plagiarism and cheating are thriving, it can be expected that plagiarism does happen even when students, often in fear of being caught or negatively judged, under-claim such practices. Participants in this study were asked to freely express their ideas in a short opinion essay entitled "Why do students plagiarize at the university?". This method is hoped to provide richer qualitative data than what large surveys can offer, but do not threaten students or give them the impression of the obligation to report on their own practices as interviews may do. The given reasons for plagiarism are then matched against the views of local instructors on the same topic who teach the same or similar student populations. The perceived reasons from both sides may serve to better understand the reasons behind and attitudes towards plagiarism in an EFL higher education context.

2. Background

2.1. What constitutes plagiarism?

While there seems to be some general agreement in the academic world and among the general public of what constitutes plagiarism (using someone else's ideas or texts as your own without appropriately crediting the source), plagiarism is far from being a black and white matter. Gray areas exist for many reasons, first of all because definitions of plagiarism vary. According to the online Merriam Webster dictionary, to plagiarize is "to steal and pass off (the ideas or words of another) as one's own: use (another's production) without crediting the source" and also "to commit literary theft: present as new and original an idea or product derived from an existing source". The International Center for Academic Integrity refers to plagiarism as an act that happens when "someone uses words, ideas, or work products attributable to another identifiable person or source without attributing the work to the source from which it was obtained in a situation in which there is a legitimate expectation of original authorship, in order to obtain some benefit, credit, or gain which need not be monetary". The main points in these two definitions are claimed authorship and desired gain. These both presuppose that the committed plagiarism is an intentional act. Other definitions and views, however, make a distinction between intentional and unintentional or inadvertent plagiarism (for some recent discussions see e.g. Ballantine and McCourt Larres 2012, Teh and Paull 2013). Pecorari (2003, 2008) refers to the intention to deceive as *prototypical plagiarism* and marks unintentional textual borrowing as *patchwriting*. Although patchwriting by some experienced writers may be a conscious, deliberate choice of strategy use, Howard argues that it is a frequent, tolerable stage in the process of learning how to write from sources. Howard (1993:233) defines *patchwriting* as "copying from a source text and then deleting some words, altering grammatical structures, or plugging in one-for-one synonym-substitutes". While the understanding and acceptance of patchwriting generate debates, plagiarism, being a much broader category, is even more unlikely to be viewed homogeneously. The picture is made complex also by the fact that there are various degrees of plagiarism, from leaving out quotation marks or references, patchwriting from various sources on the sentence or text level, lifting sections of texts into one's own paper, downloading full materials from paper

mills or asking someone else to writing the paper. Moreover, some authors use these strategies consistently and systematically, while others have only a few sections or sentences in their paper that can be considered illegitimate borrowing. The Harvard Guide to Using Sources distinguishes, by providing explanations and clear examples, between the following six forms of plagiarism: *verbatim plagiarism*, *mosaic plagiarism*, *inadequate paraphrase*, *uncited paraphrase*, *uncited quotation* and *using materials from other students*. It advises students to use clear note-taking techniques, carefully compare their final paper with the source texts, give credit to the main ideas even if the text itself is paraphrased and indicate sources so that the reader can trace the original work if needed. Park (2003: 475) discusses the following main ways students commit plagiarism:

- a) Stealing or presenting a work of others as your own, such as submitting another student's paper, buying the paper from paper mills and essay banks, asking someone else to write your paper, copying the whole text without acknowledging the source;
- b) Providing references but leaving out quotation marks from the lifted chunks, using very close reuse of text, thus giving the impression of the appropriacy of referencing;
- c) Patchwriting, excessive paraphrasing from various texts, usually on a sentence level, without the indication of the sources.

Furthermore, while e-cheating is getting more widespread, detection devices are also gaining ground in academic institutions. Yet, playing detective may be costly, time-consuming and energy-burning from the part of academic institutions, professor, editor and reviewers. General search engines, as well as plagiarism detection devices are used to screen papers for academic dishonesty. McCullough and Holmberg (2005) analyzed 210 MA theses using Google and concluded that this globally available search engine is an effective and quick alternative to plagiarism detection devices. Nevertheless, many universities subscribe for some kind of detection software (such as Turnitin), and there is continuous exploration by researchers and computer specialists to build newer, quicker and more reliable tools.

Most of the time, however, in the lack of an automated plagiarism check, whether the reader (instructor, editor, reviewer) suspects of plagiarism depends on various factors. The perception of what counts as plagiarism and other forms of cheating and how serious the offence is vary among both students and instructors. Roig (2001) gave texts to a group of professors and asked them to read and decide whether they were plagiarized or not. He found some variation among the participants, concluding that even expert readers may disagree on the degree of acceptability of a paraphrased text. In a parallel investigation, the author focused on the writing behavior of another group of professors, 30% of whom used sections of the original text themselves when asked to paraphrase. Since its publication this study has been cited many times when referring to the fact that instructors often judge students on negative behaviors they themselves commit or disagree on. Halupa and Bolliger (2013) surveyed 89 US private university instructors about their perception of students' self-plagiarism, namely the reusing of sections of their own papers or resubmitting their assignments in order to gain credit in other courses. What they found is that these instructors did not clearly understand the concepts of self-plagiarism (partly due to the lack of institutional guidelines) and believed their students also lacked information. McCabe (2005) analyzed data from various thousands of students and reported substantial differences between undergraduate, graduate and faculty groups in terms of their views on the degree of seriousness and acceptability of certain forms of cheating. For example, 14% of undergraduates considered acceptable to submit someone else's work as their own, while this ration was down to 7% among graduates and 2% among faculty members. A similar ratio was seen for buying papers from a paper mill (11%, 8% and 2%, respectively). In contrast, copying and pasting small chunks of texts from the Internet was considered a serious form of misconduct by 57% of undergraduates, 68% of graduates and 82% of instructors.

2.2. Plagiarism angles – causes, ways and the EFL context

A growing interest in the topic of plagiarism is seen from all participants in question. Numerous websites provide detailed information about the definitions, causes of plagiarism and advice on the ways how academic misconduct can be avoided. Some of these are independent (such as plagiarism.com), but most of them are tied to academic institutions, associations (e.g. plagiarismadvice.org run by the International Association for Academic Integrity) or research groups (e.g. The Citation Project). A boom in the discussion among scholars and researchers is also clearly reflected by the number of publications available on plagiarism-related topics. Google Scholar provides 232,000 hits for the word *plagiarism* (as of the end of August, 2013). As many as 18,300 are classified as “published since 2012”, and of these 10,999 have appeared since the beginning of 2013. This growing rate makes any attempt of a systematic review close to impossible. However, it can be concluded that an overwhelming proportion of the published research and discussion forums have a negative attitude towards plagiarism and have found that students have mixed views and insufficient knowledge about the topic and would need more guidance from instructors to avoid at least the inadvertent forms of plagiarism. The nature and complexity of the ongoing debate is nicely illustrated by the 2002 TESL-EJ forum discussion of researchers and professors entitled “Perspectives on plagiarism in the ESL/EFL classroom”.

The majority of studies published on cheating and plagiarism report data from US universities. Fortunately, a growing number of studies discuss educational settings outside of the Anglo-Saxon world. Rezanejad and Rezaei (2013), for example, found the easiness to plagiarize to be the main reason for cheating for their Iranian university student participants. Razera (2011) investigated the attitudes towards and understanding of plagiarism of Swedish and international graduate students at Stockholm University. The three most common causes of plagiarism were laziness, lack of interest in the subject and the difficulty of the assignments. The study stresses the instructors’ role in decreasing the prevalence rate of cheating by frequently redesigning their course and tasks so that they themselves remain attentive and motivated and with new assignments force students not to hand in work done by previous groups. Publications that emerge from contexts other than the North-American one underline the need to explore local scenarios as culture and the immediate educational setting may change the way plagiarism is viewed and practiced. Studies also point out that the mere knowledge of the plagiarism policies does not help student in avoiding pitfalls of intentional or unintentional plagiarism, often due to paraphrasing problems that need time and practice to improve (Pecorari 2003, Howard et al. 2010, Liao and Tseng 2010, Li and Casanave 2012).

When the Hungarian education context is scanned, an alarming tradition prevails. For decades cheating and plagiarism have been part of learning, teaching and research. Horváth (2012) reports on the views of eight of his Hungarian colleagues he interviewed. The participants drew a disappointing picture of a society and a system in which cheating is tolerated, overlooked and in some cases encouraged. This permissiveness may have also an important role in the way students view plagiarism. Participants also called for not only clearer policies at all levels (especially postgraduate), but a change in attitudes as well as immediate and more efficient responses to cheating. The anti-plagiarism policies introduced at all higher education institutes in the last few years will need time to reach public consensus.

Education in a foreign language may present students with additional factors of difficulty, including general language proficiency difficulties, academic writing challenges, the extra time needed to study the assigned learning materials, and possible differences in writing traditions. Understanding and following academic honesty rules may be more difficult under these circumstances (Li 2013, Zafarghandi et al. 2012). Insufficient language and

general study skills have been observed in the student populations that enter foreign language and culture studies programs at Hungarian universities. Apart from the everyday observation of instructors, studies also document that many BA level students of English have insufficient knowledge of general and academic English, have difficulty following classes, struggle with the study load and overall underestimate their levels of difficulties to complete the program (see e.g. Doró 2011, 2013). These factors may push students further to circumvent plagiarism policies and turn to cheating methods.

3. Methodology

This exploratory investigation involved 25 first-year undergraduate students of English at a large Hungarian university. In this introductory year of their study program they have a number of language skills seminars, and a few introductory lectures in English. Most of the writing they have to do is produced for their language seminars in the form of short opinion essays, expositions, summaries, short answers on the study sheets and the note-taking during classes. They are not yet required to write academic texts longer than a page. They have debriefings on academic honesty rules in their classes and are expected not to engage in intentional plagiarism. For this study the participants were asked to write a short opinion essay at the end of their first academic year on the following topic: Why do students plagiarize at the university? The essays were written as part of regular class work in two language skills seminars which discussed issues of education, cheating and plagiarism in higher education. This naturalistic setting was chosen over well-controlled, large-scale, quantitative data collection because it was expected that in this setting students would freely express their ideas and this preliminary inquiry would sign the road for further investigation. The texts were screened for the occurrences of main categories of reasons defined as a result of a parallel inquiry in which eight local faculty members who teach first-year students filled out a questionnaire about plagiarism. One item in this questionnaire was used here which addressed the same question as the one students received: Why do students plagiarize? General categories could have been defined based on the literature reviewed in the previous section, but it was believed that local instructors may put emphasis on aspects that other studies carried out in different educational contexts may marginalize, or, on the contrary, leave out factors that are more relevant elsewhere. The perceived reasons for plagiarizing indicated by the eight Hungarian instructors could be grouped under the following 12 categories:

- a) Demanding schedules, lack of time
- b) Economy of effort, perceived easiness of cheating
- c) Lack of information about what constitutes plagiarism
- d) Lack of citing and paraphrasing skills
- e) Lack of self-confidence: unable to state/paraphrase the source as well as the original
- f) Good grades, pressure to perform well
- g) Task too demanding
- h) Inadequate language and general writing skills
- i) Lack of ideas
- j) Getting away with it (beating the system, tricking the instructor, circumventing policies)
- k) Permissive plagiarism practice
- l) Desire to look smarter

The actual wording of the reasons indicated in the questionnaires could be different. The order of the categories in the above list is random and does not show their importance or perceived frequency. Not surprisingly, these categories largely overlap with the ones found in the literature. Interestingly, however, a lack of interest in the subject or uninteresting tasks

reported on in the Swedish study (Razera 2012) or the lack of clear rules discussed in many other studies were not mentioned by the Hungarian instructors, probably because these would constitute as self-criticism.

4. Results

The screening of the twenty-five essays indicates that the majority of essays mention multiple causes, often within the same sentences, as in the following examples:

- (1) Everyone likes getting good marks. There are people who are hard-working and there are [those] who are not. Hard-working people make an effort at least while lazy ones do not, they rather chose the easier way. That's why they cheat or plagiarize.
- (2) Copy-pasting doesn't take too much time and doesn't require any serious brainstorming.
- (3) Writing someone else's idea as your own makes you look very smart and intelligent and every student thinks that (s)he will be the one to get away with it.

The frequency of occurrences of the main categories is shown in Figure 1 below. *Economy of effort*, translated as the perceived *easiness of cheating* or the *laziness* of students was most often mentioned (in 13 of the 25 essays), followed by the indication of *time* in the form of lack of time or time-saving strategies (in 10 texts). See e.g. sample (4) below.

(4) ...they just realize that the deadline is so close and they don't have time to do proper job, so they choose to steal the works of others instead.

Categories c and d, namely *lack of information on plagiarism* and *lack of citing and paraphrasing skills* both refer to unintentional plagiarism. If merged into one main category of inadvertent plagiarism, they share second and third places on the list with ten occurrences. See samples (5) and (6) below.

(5) I think that the reason for plagiarism amongst students in most of the cases is that they're not aware of doing it. I didn't know much about this topic before I came to university and I think many students are like that.

(6) One can plagiarize in many ways without even noticing that what she or he is doing is a fraud that is forbidden. In most cases it is the misuse of sources that leads to plagiarism. Intentionally or unintentionally either way it is unacceptable.

Seven essays also mentioned that students plagiarize because they want to or hope to *get away with it*, hope not to get caught or even for the thrill of seeing if they can beat the system. See samples (7) and (8) below.

(7) There could be students who just think teachers won't find out. But they always do.

(8) Maybe because they think nobody will notice and they will manage to hand in a perfect work full of strangers' thoughts, which, in my opinion, is not reasonable.

The hope for *good grades* was indicated five times (e.g. sample 9), *lack of ideas* (e.g. sample 10) and *permissive plagiarism practices* three times (e.g. sample 11).

(9) Students think they get good marks and they will be successful in school life if they cheat. Although this success is only a short-term success.

(10) I think the most common excuse for plagiarising is that they don't know what to write but that's just stupid.

(11) It's of no importance in primary school and high school, but at university it is crime.

The remaining categories appeared only once, with the exception of the *insufficient language and general writing skills* that were not explicitly stated, which, in reality, could be a leading underlying factor.

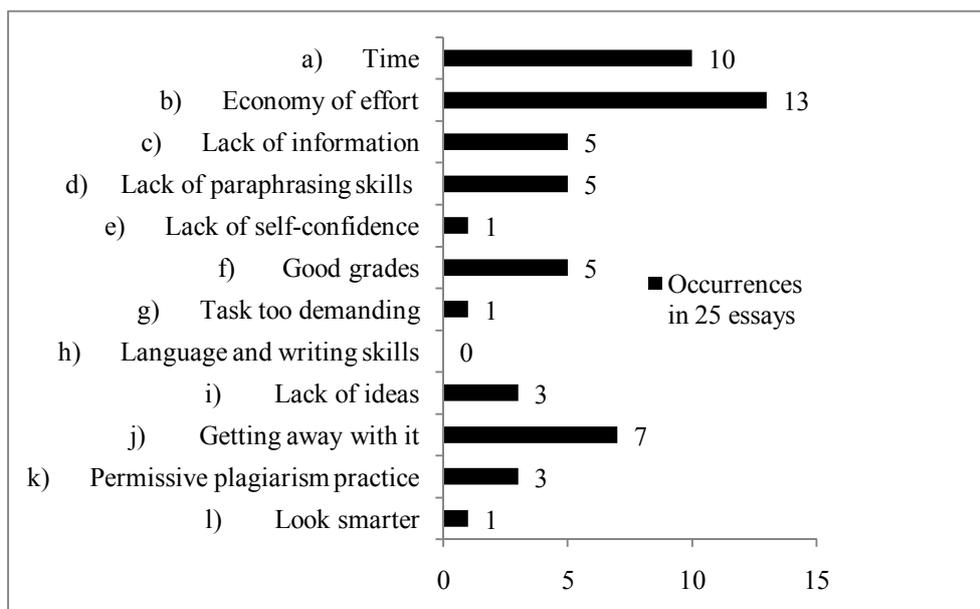


Figure 1. Reasons

for plagiarism indicated by first-year undergraduates

5. Discussion

Apart from the number of occurrences discussed above, some main tendencies can be seen. The most frequent reasons mentioned in the essays are connected to saving time and effort, suggesting that the participants either think that students are overwhelmed with tasks or that they are bad time managers. When minimized effort is paired up with the hope of slipping through, we get a picture of a student population that, as a whole, cares very little about knowledge and skills obtainable only through practice. Some students also recognize the need for clearer guidance, which echoes the findings of Razera (2011), although there is less direct criticism of instructors or (lack of) policies. One exception is found in the following essay:

(12) ...I guess at the first half year teachers try to make their students get used to university life, how things work, since it's very different from high school, so they don't really care if you hand something in without referrals or bibliography. In my opinion this is a big mistake because students can easily be careless, get used to something that is not right, maybe some even think: I didn't have to do this before and it was still fine, so why do it now? I remember at first I also thought that it's just a waste of time ...

Some students gave the impression that in theory students know about what constitutes plagiarism, but may feel that this knowledge is not sufficient or is difficult to turn into anti-plagiarism practice. This is in line with the findings of research done in other EFL/ESL contexts (e.g. Howard et al. 2010, Li and Casanave 2012, Liao and Tseng 2010, Pecorari 2003). Excellent plagiarism definitions were provided, such as the following:

(13) In most cases it is the misuse of sources that leads to plagiarism. Intentionally or unintentionally either way it is unacceptable. When one uses someone else's ideas or words but fails to credit that person, then the writer is committing plagiarism.

Some students embedded their discussion in the broader question of cheating and draw a picture similar to the one found by Horváth (2012), namely that cheating is deeply rooted in the Hungarian education system (see sample 14).

(14) Plagiarism is a serious kind of cheating, however, in my opinion there can be occasions when a little cheating that would cause no harm might be acceptable. Important tests, exams and the[s]ses should reflect [on] one's knowledge and competence on a given subject, still, quizzes and tests with less importance can be backed up by the use of helping materials occasionally...

(15) Preparing a good cheat sheet can be even the sign of resourcefulness, which is very important in everyday life. I don't say it should be allowed, but shouldn't be forbidden either... Talking during exams is also more like a proof of teamwork and cooperation than an offence.

While in the large-scale American study reported by McCabe (2005) a certain proportion of both students and instructors accepted some basic forms of cheating, sample (15) gives credit to cheating as an indication of “resourcefulness” and “talent for innovation”, and not misconduct that warrants immediate disciplinary action.

6. Conclusion

This exploratory inquiry investigated students’ views on possible reasons behind plagiarism in a Hungarian EFL higher education context, about which very little has been published. The generalizability of the results is limited due to the exploratory nature of the study. Clearly, more research into the reasons behind plagiarism, students’ attitudes about their studies in general and their writing practices in particular is needed in order to see which approach to writing instruction best fits the needs of various student populations. Nevertheless, what is echoed in other research is also evident here: a) hearing about policies and rules will not sufficiently assist students in avoiding plagiarism pitfalls even when they try, b) teaching writing skills, but also study and time management skills are important, and c) the survival of the fittest rule is interpreted by many students in higher education as the most gain by the least possible effort, which attitude is very difficult, but not impossible to fight.

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DE GRUYTER
OPEN

DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0030

CHINESE AND SAUDI ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICIES: A WORLD SYSTEM PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: *The paper contends that the English Language Education Policies (ELEP) of a state depend largely on its movement in Wallerstein's world system. To test the hypothesis, ELEPs of China and Saudi Arabia are compared and found to be similar due to the states' parallel journey in the world system.*

Key words: *China, English Language Education Policies, Saudi Arabia, World System*

1. Introduction

The People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are poles apart in terms of politics, culture, religion, and language, but they had to adopt almost the same kind of English Language Education Policies (ELEP) being goaded on by a common urge to move from the *periphery* to the *core* zone of Wallerstein's modern *world system* as quickly as possible. To find out the similarities between the Chinese English Language Education Policies (CELEP) and the Saudi English Language Education Policies (SELEP), the paper draws a comparison between them in terms of the "status of English", the "objectives of English language teaching (ELT)", and the "preferred variety of English". The paper also traces different phases of symbiotic relationship between these states and their ELEPs to find out whether the ELEPs have emerged in response to the states' integration with and movement inside the capitalist *world system*. To this end, the history of both China and Saudi Arabia are discussed in the framework of Wallerstein's analysis of the *world system*.

Modern *world system* is a large geographical area divided into *core*, *semi-peripheral*, and *peripheral* zones. In these zones, a number of unequally powerful competing political units who might be different from each other in terms of the political system, culture, religion and language, are "knitted together by the skein of economic interdependencies" (Wallerstein 2006).

To be in the *core* zone or to move towards it, the states have to have developed technology and higher skill to produce more capital-intensive, complex and sophisticated products than the countries at the *periphery* and *semi-periphery* zones so that they can take advantage of monopolizing the world market. On the other hand, the economies of the *periphery* or *semi-periphery* states depend either on their raw materials or the erstwhile monopolistic leading industries "relocated" from the *core* zone. However, the *world system* is dynamic. The European states and North America (the states where the core-like processes tend to group themselves) which have managed to be in the *core* zone since the beginning of the world system

in the 17th century are now being challenged by states like India, China, Brazil, etc. (Wallerstein 2006).

2. ELEPs and the states in the *world system*

In this section I will draw a comparison between CELEP and SELEP in order to find out the similarities between the language policies and trace them back to their respective states' integration with and movement inside the *world system*.

2.1 A comparison between CELEP and SELEP

CELEP and SELEP are compared to each other in terms of “status ascribed to English”, “objectives of ELT”, and the “preferred variety of English”.

2.1.1 Status of English in China and Saudi Arabia

Status planning is usually defined as the planning of a national government regarding the recognition of one language in relation to others. The status of English in China is indeed very high as the Chinese foreign language education policies have had ELT at the center, in the last three decades (Lam 2005). Similarly, Saudi foreign language policies revolve around only one language—English (Alamri 2008:1). The reason why English has occupied such a central position in both the foreign language policies is somewhat political in the case of China and religious/political in the case of Saudi Arabia. In China, teaching/learning English was encouraged by the state as a means of checking imperialism in the late 19th century (Pan 2011:253) while in Saudi Arabia, since the inception of Islam, English or any other foreign language has been encouraged by Hadith, a spiritual guide for the Muslims, to check the foreign aggressors (Elyas and Picard 2010:141).

Notwithstanding this major role assigned to English by these states, it could not win the hearts and minds of the Chinese and Saudi peoples before and long after their integration with the *world system*. In spite of the political and religious support mentioned above, large sections of people in both the countries were apprehensive of the impact of English language learning. However, in China, since the middle of the 1980s, the issue of the so-called negative influence has been “shelved” (Pan 2011:256) while in Saudi Arabia, though in the overt language policy the issue of negative influence has not been ignored (Alamri 2008: 11-12), in the covert policy, more often than not, it is overlooked.

At present, in both the foreign language policies, English has become an important language for informatization of social life and economic globalization as English is considered to be the most widely used language in different sectors of human activity. For example, in China, in *English Curriculum Requirements at Compulsory Education Stage* (for students aged 7-16), the status ascribed to English is the following:

The informatization of social life and economic globalization have increased the importance of English. As one of the most important carriers of information, English has become the most widely used language in various sectors of human life (Pan 2011:249)

At the next level of education, in *English Curriculum Requirements at Senior High Education Stage* (for students aged 16-18), the status of English is laid out in a similar vein:

Language is the most important tool for human beings to think and to communicate; it is also the prerequisite for people's social activities and it is significant for people's all-around development. With the globalization of social and economic activities, foreign language competence has already become a basic requirement for people around the world. Therefore, learning and mastering foreign languages, especially English, is of critical importance (Pan 2011:249).

On the other hand, "The Educational policy in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia" (The Ministry of Education 2004:6) states that the students should be provided with:

...proficiency in another modern language [English] as a means of acquiring knowledge in the fields of sciences, arts and new inventions, and of transferring knowledge and the sciences to other communities, and in an effort to contribute to the spread of the faith of Islam and service to humanity.

In this and many other documents, English is given a very prestigious status: it can be used to spread "the faith of Islam" and to serve all mankind. English is also seen as a means of "acquiring knowledge in the fields of sciences, arts and new inventions", and as a means of "transferring knowledge and the sciences to other communities." Similarly, English is eulogized as "one of the most widely used languages in the world" or as an "international language of communication" in the Minister of Education's address to English language teachers printed on the second page of the elementary, intermediate, and secondary schools English textbooks (Alamri 2008:11). Hence, enhancement of ELT has become one of the development strategies in Saudi Arabia (Faruk 2013: 77-78).

The kind of ideologies mentioned above—English is the language of "critical importance" in the age of globalization (CELEP)/ an important "means of international communication (SELEP), or English is "one of the most important carriers of information" (CELEP)/ the means of "acquiring [and transferring] knowledge in the fields of sciences, arts and new inventions" (SELEP)—is usually promoted by a *peripheral* or *semi-peripheral* state to "reinforce the long term linkage" with the English speaking world hegemons—UK and US (Wallerstein 2006: 55).

2.1.2 Objectives of ELT in China and Saudi Arabia

As I have already mentioned, large sections of Chinese and Saudis were apprehensive of the socio-cultural values that English could bring. This is the reason why English was taught as a foreign language rather than as a means of communication till 1986 in China (Hu 2005; Wang and Lam 2009) and until the 1970s in Saudi Arabia (Al-Abed Al-Haq and Smadi 1996). After that with the advent of new socio-economic challenges, some new objectives were set for ELT in both these countries. Now English is seen as a tool to bolster economy, improve education, facilitate communication, raise cultural awareness, and to speed up the process of modernization.

Both CELEP and SELEP emphasize the development of students' competence in comprehensive language use. For example, in *English Curriculum Requirements at Compulsory Education Stage* and at *Senior High Education Stage*, the overall objective for English education is stated below:

The overall objective for English education at the basic education stage is to cultivate students' comprehensive comprehension in language use. This comprehensive language use competence is formed on the overall development of students' language skills, language knowledge, a positive attitude, study strategies and cultural awareness. Language knowledge and skills are the basis for developing comprehensive competence in language use, cultural awareness will guarantee the appropriate use of

language; a positive attitude is a crucial factor for students' study and development; and study strategies can improve students' study efficiency and develop their competence in self-study (Pan 2011:251).

At the college level, the objectives are slightly different. According to *English Curriculum Requirements for University Students (non-English majors)*:

The objective of College English is to develop students' ability to use English in a well-rounded way, especially in listening and speaking, so that in their future studies and careers as well as social interactions they will be able to communicate effectively, and at the same time enhance their ability to study independently and improve their general cultural awareness so as to meet the needs of China's social development and international exchanges (Pan 2011:251).

On the other hand, in Saudi Arabia, according to the curriculum document published in 2001, the overall objectives of teaching English are:

Students should be able to:

1. develop their intellectual, personal and professional abilities.
2. acquire basic language skills in order to communicate with the speakers of [the] English language.
3. acquire the linguistic competence necessarily required in various life situations.
4. acquire the linguistic competence required in different professions.
5. develop their awareness of the importance of English as a means of international communication.
6. develop positive attitudes towards learning English.
7. develop the linguistic competence that enables them to be aware of the cultural, economical and social issues of their society in order to contribute in giving solutions.
8. develop the linguistic competence that enables them, in the future, to present and explain the Islamic concepts and issues and participate in spreading Islam.
9. develop the linguistic competence that enables them, in the future, to present the culture and civilization of their nation.
10. benefit from English –speaking nations, in order to enhance the concepts of international cooperation that develop understanding and respect of cultural differences among nations.
11. acquire the linguistic bases that enable them to participate in transferring the scientific and technological advances of other nations to their nation.
12. develop the linguistic basis that enables them to present and explain the Islamic concepts and issues and participate in the dissemination of them.

(Alamri 2008:12)

In both the ELEPs “comprehensive language use competence” is based on English language skills and knowledge. However, the two ELEPs have slightly different approaches to “cultural awareness” and “positive attitude” towards English. In CELEP the “cultural awareness” and “positive attitude” towards English are the necessary preconditions for effective English language learning. On the other hand, in SELEP, this is simply the other way round: students' competence in English is supposed to raise and grow “cultural awareness” and “positive attitude” towards English. Here, SELEP's handling of the “culture issue” is obviously more delicate than CELEP's.

To sum up, in both countries, the students are learning English in order to fulfill their intellectual and emotional needs, get jobs, enhance their further education, spread their culture (CELEP), spread the faith of Islam (SELEP), and develop their countries in terms of technology

and economy. It is to be noted here that all the objectives, except spreading the culture and faith of Islam, are set to push the states harder along the trajectory towards the *world system*.

2.1.3 Preferred variety of English

Both CELEP and SELEP distance themselves from any particular variety of English. By “English”, they mean “the language in English speaking countries”. The students are supposed to be able to use “correct, natural, appropriate fluent pronunciation and intonation”, but it is not clear which pronunciation and intonation are considered to be correct or standard. For example, CELEP set the following objectives for Senior High Education Stage (pp. 13-22) without specifying any particular variety:

Band 4: have correct pronunciation and intonation

Band 5: have natural, appropriate pronunciation and intonation within proper context

Band 6: can use appropriate pronunciation and intonation to express ideas and intentions

Band 8: can use appropriate intonation and correct rhythm in speech

Band 9: can read general English newspapers and magazines—read general English literary works in their original form (Pan 2011:254)

Similarly, no variety of English is privileged in SELEP. It seems the teachers/students can choose any variety they like. For example by the end of the secondary stage the students should master the following skills:

- Listening with understanding to spoken English [sic];
- Speaking current English correctly with the proper stress and intonation;
- Reading with understanding English texts that vary in difficulty from adapted and simplified material to the original in an abridged form;
- Writing a connected passage of up to a full page on a subject of a descriptive or a discursive nature

It is probably in order to gain the consent of the people who considered English to be a “spiritual polluter” in China (An 1984; Yue 1983) or the “language of the infidels” in Saudi Arabia (Al-Brashi 2003 quoted in Elyas and Picard 2010:141), the ELEPs neutralize English by presenting it as a language to be used only for practical purposes. In both these language policies, English is only a tool for international communication, education, employment and socio-economic development. To establish the neutrality of English, the policies even ignore the existence of “China English” or “Arab English”, although they do exist and are defined and discussed by scholars (McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008; Atwell *et al* 2009). According to Adamson (quoted in McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008:112), in the case of China, this is an “ideological politicking around English” because, he argues, “accepting China English officially would be an open acknowledgment that English has expanded into non-pragmatic and social-cultural spheres”.

However, in spite of this willful avoidance of any particular variety in the written documents, the education authorities of both countries clearly believe that the native speakers of English are the best teachers and either USA or UK sets the standards (Pan 2011:254).

2.2 ELEPs and the states’ trajectory in the *world system*

In the following, I will show how both CELEP and SELEP surfaced in response to the states’ evolutionary change from the *peripheral* towards a *core* country.

2.2.1 China

At the end of the dynastic rules i.e. at the end of the Qing Dynasty (from the mid-1800s to 1911), when China came closer to the modern *world system* headed by the then world hegemon—United Kingdom, ELT was introduced. However, it was introduced only for a utilitarian purpose, being divorced from any cultural and ideological implications (Pan 2011:256). Between 1912 and the mid-1980s China experienced some significant turns of political events—foundation of the Republic of China under Sun Yat Sen in 1912; foundation of the People’s Republic of China under Mao Zedong in 1949; and the beginning of enactment of the Reform and Opening policy in the late 1970s and the 1980s. However, China’s attitude towards English remained the same: though English was no longer seen as an immediate threat, it was still regarded as a potential source of spiritual pollution (Yue 1983).

In the mid-1980s China embraced rapid modernization and internationalization, which were accelerated in the late 1990s and at the beginning of 21st century, when the country witnessed a further integration of interstate relations in the *world system* through the massive expansion of “relocated” industries. The booming economy and integration with the modern *world system* brought forth a substantial growth in ELT (Yue 1983). English was introduced in primary schools and regarded as a separate compulsory subject from class 3 in 2001 (Pan 2011:258) and considered as the better language of instruction for selected subjects in higher education (Mok 2007:445), shelving the negative attitude towards English and placing it in the background (Hu 2007). Now China is trying to build a “knowledge-based economy”, which badly needs further expansion of ELT, in order to move to the core of the *core zone* very quickly by 2016 (Weisbort 2011).

In short, the more China moved towards the *core zone* of the world economy the more English it needed, and so did its citizens. From around 1911 to the mid-1980s, China had to introduce ELT in its formal education system to make a space for itself in the *periphery zone* of the capitalist world economy; in the period between the mid-1980s and 2001, China had to expand ELT to enter into the *semi-periphery zone* and sustain its status of a middle-income country attained through the establishments of relocated industries and from 2001 onwards, the state has further expanded ELT to achieve its ambition of building up the knowledge-based economy enabling it to move to the center of the *core zone* of the modern world system by 2016.

2.2.2 Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia’s formal integration with the *world system* began by a 1915 treaty between King Abdul Aziz and the UK. In 1926, Britain recognized King Abdul Aziz as the king of Hijaz and Najd and English was introduced in Saudi public schools in 1924, nine years after the treaty and two years before Britain’s recognition of King Abdul Aziz. Later on, after the Second World War, Britain was replaced by the US in Saudi foreign policy as a consequence of change of power in the world system. However, ELT did not lose momentum as the new world hegemon was also an English speaking country. On the contrary, it picked up steam in the 1960s, as during 1960-2004 Saudi Arabia went through a remarkable change: the erstwhile *peripheral* country dramatically moved towards the *semi-peripheral zone* as a consequence of three factors: a) windfall huge oil revenue; b) massive legal and administrative reformations; and c) institutional expansion. The striking transformation from a *peripheral* to a *semi-peripheral* state had an immense impact on ELT. During 1960-2004, English was given more importance through: a) the curricula of public and private education; b) English TV channel KSA-2; c) three English daily

newspapers; and d) its use as the only means of communication between Arabs and the huge number of non-Arab migrant workers and pilgrims (Niblock 2006; Al-Abed Al-Haq and Smadi 1996: 457-84).

During 2004-2012, Saudi Arabia took a new turn in terms of economy and ELT. At present, to be a *core* country by 2024, it is trying to lift its dependence on oil revenue and build a “knowledge-based economy” (The Ministry of Economy and Planning 2006:87-105). This is the reason why the education sector has been massively expanded during this period (2004-2013) with a concomitant effect on ELT. English has spread its wings over almost all levels of education: on the one hand, English has been introduced from Grade 4 since 2012 (The Ministry of Education 2011) and, on the other, it has become the medium of instruction in almost all the science colleges in Saudi Arabia defying the state’s overt language policy which states that Arabic should be the medium of instruction at all levels of education in Saudi Arabia (The Ministry of Education 2004:6).

In brief, Saudi Arabia’s ELT expanded as it gathered pace in its journey towards the *core* zone of the *world system*. In 1924, the state had to introduce ELT in its formal education system to enter into the *periphery* zone of the capitalist world economy; during 1960-2004, it had to expand ELT to sustain its status of a middle income country attained suddenly by the huge oil revenue; and from 2004 onwards, Saudi Arabia has further expanded ELT to achieve its ambition of building up the knowledge-based economy enabling it to be a “developed state” by 2024.

3. Conclusion

Both China and Saudi Arabia adopted the top-down approach in formulating CELEP and SELEP but not without gaining the people’s consent. As they entered the *world system* at around the same time, as they have the same ambition of moving towards the core of the *core* zone as soon as possible, and as they had to deal with similar antipathetic attitudes towards English, they needed similar ELEP to realize their aspiration.

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ELECTRONIC LEARNING OF BUSINESS ENGLISH

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Abstract: This paper deals with one approach to organising electronic learning of a Business English language course. The paper will explain the basic structure of electronic learning, explore its principles and focus on the effects of this type of learning, trying to make English language teachers aware of the possibilities that this system has to offer to its users.

Key words: business English, electronic learning, e-material, feedback information, teaching principles

1. Introduction

E-learning is a term used to signify the application of Web and other internet technologies which offer the possibility of distance learning. Its origin dates to the appearance of cheap personal computers in the late 80s and the spread of the internet. In its more than thirty-year-long history, e-learning has gone through a series of different stages: from computer based trainings, to learning progress-monitoring systems and comprehensive systems for managing different courses. Nowadays e-learning encompasses a wide range of applications and activities.

However, even after more than thirty years of use, in certain parts of the world e-learning is still not fully recognized as a means of learning. For instance, in Serbian educational system, which I as a teacher of English am part of, there are just several institutions, both public and private, which offer the possibility of e-learning in the form of on-line courses. On-line learning has not yet achieved its popularity, even though hybrid learning, which is the combination of regular teaching methods and the use of internet resources is nowadays quite common in Serbia.

The reason for the lack of interest in e-learning lies in the fact that the public is not well informed about the opportunities of e-learning as an educational tool and all the advantages it has to offer. Unawareness of the concept of on-line, e-learning and the lack of adequate IT skills are the greatest obstacles that need to be overcome before e-learning becomes a fully recognised learning method in Serbia.

So far e-learning has proved to have many advantages which have been acknowledged by scientists. The theory of e-learning, formulated by Skinner and Crauder, for example, has emphasised that e-learning is the only means to adopt information received during the learning process in a more qualitative and quantitative way. The first researches of computer use in teaching have also shown that students are more motivated to learn and more ready to take a positive attitude to e-learning than towards regular tuition. This can be contributed to the fact that the computer, more than any other machine for learning so far, is capable of having a *dialogue* with the student. The material can be studied even three times faster, knowledge is

permanent and the student is trained for individual work, which are just some of the advantages of e-learning.

Undoubtedly, e-learning has brought many benefits to students and other users of this system. Potential users can start on-line courses, take on-line exams, receive feedback information from teachers and instructors and send their projects and seminar papers to be marked. Peer interaction is also encouraged in e-learning through different tools for communication and collaboration (by means of Wiki or special chat rooms). The system can be adjusted to the multi-user needs and provide additional services, or it can reduce the number of its activities if demand for them decreases.

Not only students but also teachers can have benefits from this system of learning. They can prepare and exchange on-line tests, create new material resources for students, have access to students' homework assignments and their projects, post notices for students, view students' statistics, send feedback information and communicate with students through on-line forums.

A progress in Serbia has been made since 2010 by introducing a Moodle network within the academic network AMRES, which is a good way to make e-learning popular across the country. There is a dozen faculties in Serbia which provide on-line courses over Moodle software package for distance learning but most of them are situated in the capital city.

Moodle is currently one of the best system packets used for creating on-line learning sites, which is downloadable free of charge, installable on a web server and quite easy to use after a short training (even in the do-it-yourself variant), which makes it an ideal tool for English teachers who would like to start broadcasting their teaching materials on-line.

Although traditionalists do not speak in favour of e-learning, their attempt to discard e-learning as an additional opportunity for learning has not been quite successful. Masud and Huang (Masud and Huang 2012:75) are just a pair of scientists who speak in favour of e-learning, trying to point out that it should not be seen as a replacement for traditional education institutions and educators, but as a "new approach to learning which can open new perspectives since e-learning uses internet technology to design, implement, select, manage, support and extend learning." If understood this way, e-learning is not considered a threat to traditional methods and the profession of teachers.

On-line BE courses have been just a thing of a recent past in Serbia. This paper is trying to achieve the goal of spreading information on e-learning among the English educators who are facing the same problem of distrust in promoting e-learning and need help in starting and organising their own site for learning, of, for instance, a business English course.

2. Principles of e-learning

The main principle of e-learning applied to any kind of curriculum or course implies that a teacher in mass teaching conditions, transmits one part of his/her functions to special devices for learning, which enables fulfillment of all the important conditions which are otherwise possible just in individual work. The following processes, which cannot be simultaneous under normal conditions, become simultaneous in the area of e-learning:

1. reception of pieces of information from each student, their analysis and comprehension;
2. student tutorship by using the methods which are optimal for each individual student;
3. tuition which is suitable for each individual student;
4. decision-making process based on optimal ways for teaching different profiles of students;

5. student supervision and notification on accuracy of responses, creating positive motivation for each student to explore the study material;
6. repetition of information after which each individual student has given a wrong answer, as many times as it is necessary for each student to understand the problem (information) and respond to the given questions correctly;
7. checking the progress of individual students and
8. avoidance of subjective teacher's factors which have influenced examination and evaluation of students' knowledge.

When preparing on-line material for studying it is necessary to solve two basic problems: to create a programmed coursebook and create a program which will operate the on-line course. The first task is the task for the teacher, the second one for the programmer.

The teacher has to devote a lot of time and energy to prepare such a teaching aid. For a teacher to make a high quality study material, it takes competence, creativity and ambition to achieve good outcomes of learning. However, the result of such work is a long-lasting material which is reusable with certain adaptations after a period of time when some parts of the material become outdated.

Although a regular business English coursebook is sometimes difficult to grasp due to the way in which the material is presented, a programmed study material will not become easier or more understandable just by being programmed. The teacher has a task to create a better study material which will be suitable for programming. Of course, there must be a progressive feedback between the teacher and the programmer.

In order to satisfy the needs of a Business English on-line course users, teachers have to be careful with organising, planning and presenting the teaching material in order to find the right measure of knowledge in the world of business, language competences and the functional register of common business situations.

Simon Clarke, the editor, gives a good tip in the introduction to the second edition of *In company series* for treating Business English learners when saying: "It is English, not business, they they have come...for help with. They want to be able to actually do business with their English rather than just talk about it." (Clarke 2010:2-3)

In creating a Business English e-learning material, the emphasis should be placed on increasing the lexical range, building up competences for handling both professional and social situations and using the language in the context. The vocabulary should focus on communication skills used in the workplace, and the language and skills needed for typical business communication such as presentations, negotiations, meetings, small talk, correspondence, report writing, human resources, curriculum vitae or accounting, sales and marketing, project management, interviews, information technology (IT), import/export issues, insurance, etc. All the topics which are covered by regular Business English books can be more effectively presented in the area of e-learning, more interactively practiced and perhaps even more easily learned in the multi-media environment which can have an impact on several of our senses at once, making the material easier to memorise.

Through such an e-coursebook it is possible to put emphasis on the material which has real importance, eliminate the redundant material, point out crucial language units and focus on concrete language problems. Only then can such an e-book truly satisfy the needs for employment-related teaching.

The teacher should be fully aware that a programmed coursebook becomes a half-automatic device for learning, which can adjust the material to the student's needs. Students on their part should know that they can receive feedback information on their learning progress in the e-learning environment, which can be a good signalling to them which material requires additional work and effort and which material has been successfully mastered.

When preparing on-line study material it is also very important to keep in mind the basic pedagogical and behavioural principles. For example, learners should be aware of the learning outcomes so that they could control their own learning process and make periodic self-evaluations. Then, organisation of the study material within the unit or units within a coursebook should be logical and gradual in order to guide students from less to more difficult material. Tests of students' knowledge after each unit are essential for checking whether the learning outcomes have been achieved, and the last but not the least, feedback to the student is needed so that he/she can plan his/her further studying activities. A great advantage of e-learning is that it actually allows a student to determine his/her own pace of learning in the interactive approach to the study material.

Cognitive capacities of students should be taken into consideration as well. Information should be presented in such a way that it can be properly perceived and then stored in memory. For instance, the text should be placed in the center of the screen, the size of letters should be appropriate, the colour of the text can be used to mark pieces of information that are important, etc. Moreover, units should be carefully designed with respect to the student's precognition. The material should stimulate students to activate the knowledge they already possess in order to acquire new information more easily.

Also, it is important that in the process of e-learning, attention of the students is kept at the high level all the time. That is why the students must be motivated to work on various interesting and attention-occupying activities which will keep them focused and alert. One of the main principles of e-learning actually is that learning is an interesting and active process which places the student in the center of the learning process. And if the material can be related to the personal experience and real-life situations which will help learners use their newly acquired knowledge in context, the material can be learned even better.

When a teacher has taken all these principles into consideration, he/she can start making an e-learning material, which solves the first problem in the e-learning environment.

2.1. Programming solutions

The second problem is how to create the operational program and achieve its algorithmic and logical accuracy.

The misconception is that creating an e-learning material is reserved just for experienced programmers. Teachers, who use Power point presentations in classes can easily convert them to the HTML format which is supported by all the platforms for e-learning. Power Point has the option for saving the material in HTML, which makes it ideal for presenting e-learning materials. Once the material is prepared, it can easily be placed, for example, on the school's web site and become material for e-learning. The more computer-literate teachers can even add multi-media contents, which can be a very good starting point for preparation of e-learning material.

However, in order to make much more complex learning courses, it is necessary to know how to deal with the architecture of e-learning. Of course, to implement such an idea it is necessary to have adequate knowledge of programming to obtain the system functionality. The task of a programmer thus is very important since it implies creation of a logical matrix as a framework in which the student will move on his/her way of gaining knowledge.

Luckily, to a great exhilaration of teachers, a powerful tool has been already made. Moodle is a ready-made application designed by professionals which can be used by teachers and students with no difficulty. Moodle, as a virtual learning environment, makes it possible for teachers to put their e-learning study materials into practice and make them available to all interested students who would like to take courses on-line like a business English on-line course.

On the Moodle course page it is possible to add, delete, hide, move and edit activities like lessons, assignments, quizzes and questions. Each of these activities can be accompanied by audio-video material created within the Moodle or elsewhere and inserted as a resource which will be operated by HTML editor.

The teacher should just be aware that the teaching material must be divided in a series of small logical units (units of information) for easier approach to learning. After each unit of information, the student must have a chance to give response either in the form of a multiple-choice type of exercise or by writing down his/her own textual answers in the given textual boxes. In Moodle, it is possible to organise true/false questions, matching questions, descriptions and random questions as well. The Moodle package is also valuable since it enables work with the already existing data bases and the learning materials, which is beneficial both for students and teachers who need additional teaching materials in their teaching process.

Having in mind that the comprehension and acquisition of the study material depends largely on the precognition of each individual student, the way in which the units of information are presented, their length, the length of the steps (intervals) between them, must also be taken into consideration carefully, which the following algorithm with the multi-level structure as an explanation of the Moodle system is trying to show.

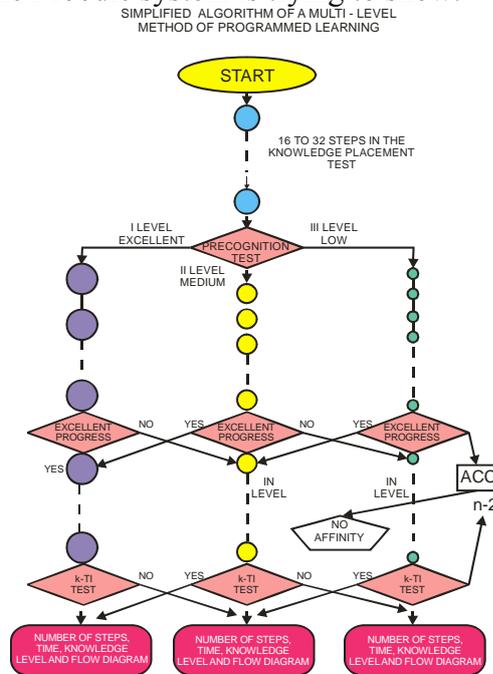


Fig. 1. Algorithm

In the first and the most difficult level, the study material is divided into a small number of difficult units of information with the great interval, by the principle of a branchy programmed book. For the second level suitable for an average student, a special program containing the information of normal difficulty and interval is created. The third level offers the material by using a great number of units of information of little difficulty and small interval, which suits a student of weaker potentials. This way it is possible to monitor the work of individual students, while they have the possibility of making progress at individual pace.

The positive side of virtual learning environment (VLE) like Moodle is that students receive feedback information on response accuracy immediately after a task has been completed. This is followed by a new unit of information from the logical series providing the answer is correct, or the information on the nature of mistake after which the student goes back to study the same information. This allows the student to stay on the same page to

complete the task or jump to another page, next in the series, in forward and backward movements.

The Moodle program is easy to use since it is made in one of the open interactive languages and presumes work on the display and the keyboard, as input-output devices.

Output data, which are available after each studied body of material or at the end of the program, contain as well, apart from the report on mistakes, number of passes through the programmed material and the time spent studying (to determine the progress level in e-learning). These are the diagnostic data which serve to determine the shortcomings of the program by analysing students' answers. On the basis of these data, the computer can make a diagram of the student's progress through the programmed material, fig.2:

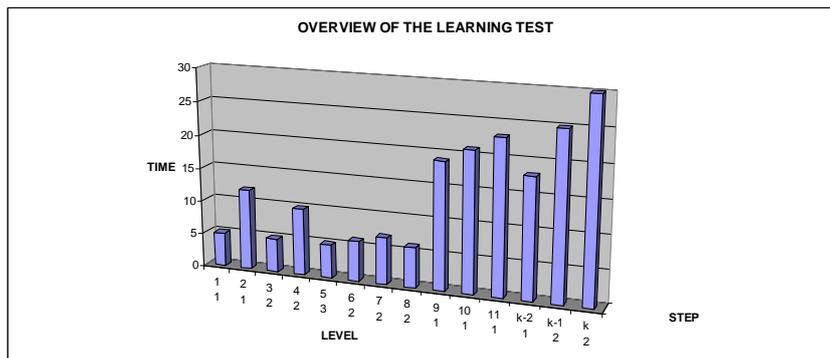


Fig.2. Overview of the learning test

By comparing several such diagrams, the teacher can see where the learning program must be changed. The teacher can decide where to increase or decrease the difficulty of information and the length of the steps. Thus more optimal programs can be made for students to memorise the programmed material with the maximum efficiency and the minimum time.

Once both problems are solved, students can get on to work. E-learning can be carried out in computer equipped classrooms where each student will have access to his/her personal computer and handle the study material on his/her own. In this case, the teacher has the role of a supervisor. Or, another possibility is that a student can study from the comfort of one's home in interactive exchange of information with the computer application. The role of the teacher in this process is still important since he/she is needed to monitor the exchange of opinions among students, to model their discussions, or to ask and answer questions to each individual student, thus still being responsible for guidance in the process of learning. Computers do not know how to make creative decisions in situations which are not covered by the teaching material, how to provide a role-model for students or how to have an insight in the psychological processes which are operating inside the student's mind and thus illuminate the *black box* of thinking processes in each phase of learning. That is why the teacher is still an essential figure in the process of learning.

3. Conclusion

Although the program for e-learning has its disadvantages in comparison to the classic teaching method, it can be very useful and significant for particular groups of users. The target groups undoubtedly include business people who cannot attend regular classes, or do not have the opportunity to attend a business English course in their environment. Based on all of the mentioned examples it can be concluded that e-learning can be in different ways adjusted to the needs of students and their predispositions, which makes it an ideal environment for student-oriented learning.

Moreover, e-learning is a proof that “Learning is breaking out of the narrow boxes that it was trapped in during the 20th century;” since “VLEs” (virtual learning environments) are helping that “learning is not confined to a particular building, or restricted to any single location or moment.” (Johnes and Dudley- Evans 1991:298)

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WORDS USED IN THE CLASSROOM. A CONTRASTIVE LEXICAL ANALYSIS OF TWO INSTANCES OF ORAL DISCOURSE

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***Abstract:** The paper looks at the oral exchanges between two teachers and their B2-C1 level students (Common European Framework of Reference) in a particular EFL classroom, from the perspective of the Cambridge examinations assessment standard for the category of “lexical resource”. Since teachers are the role models in terms of language production in the classroom, this research focused on revealing lexical features which characterise the classroom discourse of two teachers of English and the impact this exposure has on their students’ lexical production. This research is part of my doctoral research, which is a multifaceted analysis of authentic oral classroom exchanges in order to determine patterns and practices at the level of developing speaking skills in the EFL context.*

***Keywords:** accuracy, idioms, lexical collocations, grammatical collocations, lexical resource, range*

1. The Bigger Picture

In the context of the widely spread English language examinations and the favoured teaching methodology of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) at the basis of the majority of textbooks used in the Romanian educational system, I have chosen to investigate the language teachers use and favour to be used in class in order to determine whether there is any relation between the language learners produce, and are expected to produce as advanced speakers of English, and the language teachers model in class. This paper focuses only on one linguistic aspect, namely lexical production, in order to take a closer look at both the teacher’s and students’ vocabulary in class. This unique focalisation was possible since, for my doctoral research I have focused on the different features which build the discourse of an advanced speaker of English, by closely following the assessment criteria for the speaking performance of candidates in the Cambridge examinations, namely: Lexical Resource, Grammatical Resource, Discourse Management, Pronunciation and Interaction (ESOL 2012:65).

Therefore, the starting point for my research was the profile the student participants in my research were aiming for, that of a C1 user of English – CAE level, or “good operational command of spoken English” (ESOL 2008:96); an exam for which the two teachers, whose lessons I have observed, were training their students. (Although the aim of the lesson was not the exam, they were building language skills with this exam in mind). In order for such a learner to obtain the highest score for vocabulary resource in a Cambridge examination s/he must “use a

range of appropriate vocabulary to give and exchange views on familiar and unfamiliar topics” (ESOL 2012:66). In the Handbook for teachers preparing students for the Cambridge in Advanced English Exam these terms describing a C1 level of speaking performance are further defined as follows:

Appropriacy of vocabulary [is] the use of words and phrases that fit the context of the given task. For example, in the utterance *I'm very sensible to noise*, the word *sensible* is inappropriate as the word should be *sensitive*. Another example would be *Today's big snow makes getting around the city difficult*. The phrase *getting around* is well suited to this situation. However, *big snow* is inappropriate as *big* and *snow* are not used together. *Heavy snow* would be appropriate.

Flexibility [is] the ability of candidates to adapt the language they use in order to give emphasis, to differentiate according to the context, and to eliminate ambiguity. Examples of this would be reformulating and paraphrasing ideas.

Range [is] the variety of words and grammatical forms a candidate uses. At higher levels, candidates will make increasing use of a greater variety of words, fixed phrases, collocations and grammatical forms. (ESOL 2012:67, emphasis in the original)

2. Research Methodology

2.1. Participants and Data Collection

My research is a qualitative analysis of data, which I have collected by means of direct classroom observation of lessons taught in a school in Romania; the lessons were recorded and then transcribed using the simplified transcription convention put forwards by Paul Ten Have (2007:215). Thus, the corpus consists of eight transcripts of lessons taught by two teachers of English, four lessons each, with an average of about 4,286 words/ transcript; the duration of most lessons being 45 minutes. The coding which follows the examples indicates the lines where the structure occurs and the lesson, for example, L40,41/A3 stands for line(s) 40,41 lesson Anne 3. The eight lessons focus on grammar and vocabulary, writing skills, and some speaking.

The two teachers work in general with the same groups of students: one of them follows an integrated skills textbook, the other teaches a class focused on building specific skills (writing and vocabulary), and both teachers mentioned that helping students obtain a language certificate was one of their aims. The two participant teachers could be characterised as follows:

Anne	60+ years old, has been teaching English and French (within the same school) for more than 10 years Uses English even outside the class to talk to or respond to students' questions Is humorous and occasionally sarcastic Keeps to the lesson while also making numerous references to cultural and social realities Tends to provide longer explanations and often speaks rather fast
Tom	32-40 years old, teaches English in this school as a substitute teacher (less than 10 years' experience in teaching) Good pronunciation but sometimes theatrical (alternating high low pitch too often, stressing various words, using nasal sounds) Is rather humorous and occasionally sarcastic Generally keeps to the lesson, with very few remarks to expand the discussions to other topics Tends to provide short explanations and generally speaks at a normal speed

The student participants are in secondary school, grades 9 (Anne's group) and 12 (Tom's group), studying at a bilingual school in Romania, with an average of seven 45-minute classes of English as a foreign language per week. Most of the students choose to obtain an English language certification before graduation, usually in grade 11, and the exam most of them choose to sit is the Cambridge Advanced English Language Exam (CAE). The students work in smaller groups based on their level of English; thus a 30 student class is usually split into two groups. The students' level of English ranges between B2 and C1, depending on the year of study, however, the groups are rather homogenous since admission to this school includes having passed a language test.

2.2. Working with the Data

In order to conduct a more detailed analysis of naturally occurring lexical structures, I have chosen to look comparatively at the language produced in two of the lessons, one lesson for each teacher, in order to reduce the data to a manageable size, but also because I intended to focus on lessons where greater interaction occurred (quantifiable in the number of teacher–student exchanges), irrespective of the topic of the lesson. Therefore, for the present study, I have selected Anne 3 – a lesson focused on building speaking skills, the students having prepared short presentations of a favourite period in history, and Tom 4 – a vocabulary lesson focused on acquiring idioms related to social types and new vocabulary on tools and equipment; Tom 4 was the lesson where the most natural conversation occurred. (For a more detailed explanation see Mureşan 2011).

3. Findings – Basic or Advanced Vocabulary

In reading the data for the lexical analysis of the two lesson transcripts I have used several filters which then led to an inventory of idioms, phrases and collocations. First of all, in the context of the ESOL assessment, I took into account the Cambridge descriptors for a successful C1 level speaker and the expectations regarding this higher candidate's lexical resource (ESOL 2012; Council of Europe 2009); therefore I have looked for lexical items which could be categorised as advanced level vocabulary. The rationale behind this move was to see if there was evidence of such vocabulary resource occurring in the teacher–student classroom exchanges while preparing for the test in question.

The first step in the lexical analysis of the two transcripts was to identify the lexical items which belong to advanced vocabulary; hence, a first filter was that of cross-referencing items against Academic English vocabulary Inventories, such as the one provided by the Exam English website (http://www.examenglish.com/vocabulary/academic_wordlist.html), or against the different academic vocabulary lists proposed by the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Wehmeier 2000). This move helped reduce the corpus to lexis expected from a user with fully operational command of English. I have then discarded the category of "lesson vocabulary", produced either by the teachers or by the students, which consists of lexical units to be introduced in the new lesson, or occurring as part of checking the homework, therefore items which could be argued to constitute rehearsed speech (Mureşan 2011). The resulting data was then read to identify patterns and similarities and the following categories and sub categories of phraseological units emerged: set phrases or idiomatic expressions, lexical collocations, grammatical collocations and sayings – categories under which items were then grouped in a

lexical inventory. Zoltan Dörnyei refers to structures such as lexical phrases, idioms, conventionalized expressions, collocations, etc. as “formulaic language” (Dörnyei 2009:39).

The number of advanced level vocabulary units in this lexical inventory is not symmetrically distributed between the four categories of participants, that is, Anne, Tom and the students in each of their groups. Thus, in the case of Anne, I have identified about 83 units, for the students in her class about 61, whereas Tom has produced a number of 35 units and his students 30. The understanding of “unit” here is a lexical combination from one of the above mentioned phraseological categories, but also a string of individual lexical units, which belong to the same semantic field and are uttered within one turn, as this usage is indicative of lexical cohesion (ESOL 2012:67). This imbalance in the number of analysable lexical units can be explained by contrasting the very nature of the two lessons – presenting the historical period of one’s choice versus vocabulary learning, but another possible explanation may lie in the teacher’s personal characteristics, the type of classroom interaction and the roles the teacher assumes (from introducing the new lesson, error correction, expanding the conversation to other topics of interest, introducing cultural elements belonging to L2). Another significant quantitative difference was an imbalance in the number of turns, as both teachers had fewer turns than their students (Tom 224 turns, his students 270; Anne 155 and her students 180), although in terms of extent a greater number of turns is indicative of shorter turns (generally 1-5 words in Tom’s case), while the longer teacher turns (Anne) also received longer student turns.

One of the largest emerging categories from the selected lexical units of the teacher–student classroom conversation was that of *collocations*, words which tend to “keep company with each other” (Halliday and Yallop 2007:15), or, according to Pungă (2011:103), “words that co-occur in a language in a way that sounds natural to a native speaker”, and which contract meaning relations with the co-occurring words (Jackson and Zé Amvela 2007:131). Irrespective of the description of linguists, the English speaker’s ability to use them is essential to reclaim the status of competent or advanced user, since mastery of the language also implies usage of more complex vocabulary, including structures such as collocations (ESOL 2012:67).

In the present research the greatest occurrence of collocations was found in Anne’s discourse (25 items) and that of her students (30 items), although admittedly these include both accurate and inaccurate collocations, this matter being further discussed in section four of the paper. Since the emerging category of collocations comprised a rather diverse set of word combinations, there appeared the need for further classification; a subdivision of this group was necessary and the adopted view followed the Benson, Benson and Ilson’s (2010) classification put forward in the *BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English*, who distinguish between lexical and grammatical collocations. The Bensons and Ilson propose the following distinction between different multi-word structures:

[T]hese recurrent, semi-fixed combinations, or *collocations*, can be divided into two groups: *grammatical collocations* and *lexical collocations*. Grammatical collocations consist of a dominant word – noun, adjective/participle, verb – and a preposition or a grammatical construction. Lexical collocations, on the other hand, do not have a dominant word; they have structures such as the following: verb + noun, adjective + noun, noun + verb, noun + noun, adverb + adjective, adverb + verb. (Benson, Benson and Ilson 2010: xiii)

In the case of grammatical collocations the authors of the *BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* describe eight major classes, referred to as G1, G2, G3, G4, G5, G6, G7 and G8; the last type (G8) consisting of eighteen verb patterns, ranging from A to S (Benson, Benson and Ilson 2010:xix-xxx). It must be mentioned that not all linguists agree with the Bensons and Ilson

classification, and that lexical inventories, such as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* qualifies structures which include prepositions differently; for example, verb + preposition constructions, such as “rely on” (L40,41/A3), are considered phrasal verbs.

The findings of the present research reveal that the classroom oral discourse is rather complex and different patterns of lexical collocations are easily identifiable (as can be seen in Table 1 below). The most numerous collocations were identified in Anne’s classroom discourse and that of her students, Tom and his students only using a limited number of collocations. The most productive collocation patterns were verb + noun and adjective + noun, while the most infrequent types of collocations used in classroom exchanges were noun + noun (with only two examples from the oral discourse of Anne’s students) and adverb + adjective collocations (two examples in Anne’s discourse).

Collocation type	Anne	Anne’s students	Tom	Tom’s students
Vb+ n	Speak nonsense (L11/A3), Stepped over the border (L12/A3), Utter remarkable things (L14/A3), Use the proper structure (L32/A3), (history) is in a <i>constant process</i> of being rewritten (L89/A3), have fun (L105/A3), Establish a timeline (L115/A3), Develop a bit (the argument) (L176/A3), (was) destroying autonomies (L261, 262/A3) Take a detour ... (L288/A3), stop over for a century (L288/A3), Relax, charge batteries (L289/A3), Read interpretations (L337/A3)	Travel in time (L24,25/A3) Build the atomic bomb (L59/A3), Build weapons (L129/A3), Made fire (L179/A3), Cultivated the land (L180/A3), Ruled over the land (L201/A3), Won their immortality (L228,229/A3), Survive without technology... from PCs to radio, music, games (L244, 245/A3), Make me a hero (L311/A3), Lead their lives (L325, 326/A3) Be a witness at the birth, life death and resurrection of Christ (L367,368/A3)	Make up a sentence ... (L136/T4), Writing with chalk (L168/T4) Attends all grand festivities and occasions (L222/T4), Mend the road (L369/T4)	Derives from the man’s dream (L84/T4), Get the party started (L95/T4) Lost his job ... moved in with his parents (L117/T4), Spoils your mood (L152/T4), Accepts special treatment (L262/T4)
Adj+n	(history) is in a <i>constant process</i> of being rewritten (L89/A3), Traumatic experience (L370/A3), Extended prison (L439/A3), Reasonable argumentation (L452/A3), Heavy artillery (L127/A3), common sense (L334/A3), Convoluted things (L338/A3), idyllic period (L432/A3)	specific period (L278/A3), One of my greatest curiosities (L286/A3), Original dress (L392/A3), Special charm (L375/A3)	Such a good mood (L157/T4), grand festivities and occasions (L222/T4)	Posh car (L203/T4)
N+vb	(<i>history</i>) is in a constant process of <i>being rewritten</i> (L89/A3), rheumatism transmitted through (L16/A3), humanity evolved (L132/A3), Idyllic period (L432/A3)	Knights fighting on horseback (L162/A3) something good will follow (L291/A3)		
N+n		Atomic bomb (L59/A3), time machine (L111/A3) Battle dancing (L164/A3), the end of the world (L314/A3)	Theme song (L94/T4) Go on to the (L114/A3), At the height of fashion (L199, 200/T4), Be bound to do (L237/A3)	
Adv + adj	Dramatically important (L13/A3), completely void of events (L264/A3)			Special treatment (L262/T4)
Adv + vb	Start with the beginning chronologically (L116/A3), live very naturally (L243/A3),	People were treated the same (L410/A3)		

	(lead their life) properly (L341/A3)			
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Furthermore, the data reveals that a small number of *grammatical collocations* are used by the two teachers and their students. A number of patterns identified by the authors of the *BBJ Combinatory Dictionary* are evident in the investigated classroom discourse; the grammatical collocations which occurred in the two lessons correspond to the following patterns: G1 (noun + preposition), G4 (Preposition + noun), G5 (adjective + preposition), G8 pattern D (transitive verbs with specific prepositions followed by objects) (Benson, Benson and Ilson 2010: xix-xxx).

Type of grammatical collocation	Anne	Anne's students	Tom	Tom's students
G1		<i>Predictions about the end of the world</i> (L314/A3)		
G4	<i>People in confusion</i> (L39/A3), <i>On horseback</i> (L221/A3)	<i>on horseback</i> (L162/A3)		<i>By his appearance</i> (L171/T4)
G5		Get them <i>acquainted with ...</i> (L291/A3)		
G8	<i>Rely on</i> the other group... (L40,41/A3), <i>Check on</i> you (L92/A3), Have been <i>dealt with</i> in communist prisons (L95/A3), <i>Came across</i> (L137/A3), Somebody was after power (L261, 262/A3), <i>stop over</i> for a century (L288/A3), End up with that many wives (L297/A3)	Couldn't <i>decide on</i> a specific period (L278/A3), When dinosaurs <i>were about</i> (L279/A3), <i>Bring back</i> (Michelangelo) (L290/A3), The state would have <i>provided with</i> one (L408/A3)	<i>Remind me of</i> myself (L11/T4) <i>Bickers about</i> something (L31/T4), Is very much into the party (L100/T4) <i>Revolves around</i> football (L506/T4)	

Another important category of lexical structures was that of *set phrases or idiomatic expressions*, that is a “type of multiword lexeme”, a fixed lexical unit, a phrase “the meaning of which cannot be predicted from the individual meanings of the morphemes it comprises” (Jackson and Zé Amvela 2007:77). According to the CEFR’s relevant qualitative factors for reception, a C1 listener should have “a good command of a broad lexical repertoire. Good command of idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms” (Council of Europe 2009:143). Thus at the level of understanding, a C1 level student should be able to recognise and probably attempt to use such structures. Celce-Murcia (2007:47, 48) underlines that the ability to use idioms helps establish formulaic competence in the revised communicative competence model she proposes. Zoltan Dörnyei argues that “competent speakers of a language are in command of thousands (if not tens of thousands) of language chunks and use them as basic building blocks in their speech and writing” and continues by adding that “formulaic language competence is directly linked to automatized, fluent language production” (Dörnyei 2009:40).

The findings revealed that the occurrence of such “frozen” lexical structures was rather limited, Anne using the largest number of idiomatic expressions (“Let you know” (L12/A3), “[first round is] On me” (L48/A3), “For sure” (L243/A3), “If nothing else [wars]” (L258/A3), “Make up your mind” (L298/A3), “Far from this” (L447/A3)). Generally, these idioms could be placed at rather the less opaque end of the continuum mentioned by Cruse (1986:39) and are easily understood by the users. Furthermore, it must be remarked that Anne is the only one to use another type of multiword unit, sayings, which are paralleled here by famous quotes from literature; these frozen structures occur very naturally in the classroom conversation and their usage is usually justified by a humorous intent. Thus, when talking about time travelling a student mentions that he would travel to the future to see “if the prediction [about the end of the world] is true. Teacher: If we *perish by fire or by ice*. Yes? This is a poem written by this err American poet – Robert Frost, who says: should we perish by ice or by fire” (L321-324/A3). Next, talking about the communist period, the teacher responds to a student’s comment with: “But you know according to the famous book everybody was equal, but *some people were MORE equal* (laughter). You have to know the book or at least the CARTOON. Yes. *Animal Farm*” (L421,422/A3). Since both references are well known and, in this sense, inseparability of the constituent elements is their main characteristic, we can mention these quotes alongside the usage of proverbs. Anne does make use of one proverb in class – “it was curiosity which killed the cat” (L446/A3), which she mentions in her response to a student’s positive comments and remarks about the communist period in Romania. Since proverbs “allow for little variation and are therefore perceived as readymade units of language” (Pungă 2010:127), they belong to the category of multiword units.

Usage of idioms and set phrases by the other participants was very limited, thus the findings reveal one example in the case of Anne’s students – “in its own little way” (L281/A3) –, two examples in Tom’s classroom discourse – “so on and so forth” (L101/T4) and “you know” (L153/T4) –, and finally Tom’s students produced “a fly on the wall” (L46/T4) and “by the power invested in me” (L171/T4). In Tom’s case, the idiomatic expressions function as conversation fillers, which serve to gain and keep attention on the speaker by signaling that some sort of clarification is going to follow. The students’ usage of the phrases here is not indicative of having a certain level of communicational competence, but it is rather linked to language acquisition, functioning as a means of validating acquired vocabulary; the students are reminded of a phrase stored in their passive vocabulary and then they decide to use it, to validate its accuracy.

So far the analysis has focused on usage of complex English vocabulary rather than basic vocabulary and in doing so the ESOL speaking assessment criteria for lexical resource have helped to distinguish the multi-word-unit categories, however, a discussion about the lexical complexity of the teacher–student oral exchanges would not be complete without considering the category of *related vocabulary*. Although it does not fall under the assessment criteria for lexical resource, but it is described in more detail under discourse management, usage of related vocabulary is a very important lexical dimension of discourse coherence and cohesion. Related vocabulary refers to usage of several “items from the same lexical set *e.g., train, station, platform, carriage; or study, learn, revise*” (ESOL 2012:67), that is words from the same semantic field or words from the same synonymic series.

The present research reveals that the highest occurrence of such lexical strings is found again in Anne’s classroom discourse and that of her students – as can be seen in Table 3 below. The tendency of using related vocabulary or synonyms seems to be the strongest when providing explanations, correcting factual inaccuracies, asking for or providing clarifications or introducing

new vocabulary. Although Tom’s lesson focuses on lexical acquisition, Tom relies more on examples elicited from the students and then validates or invalidates the accuracy of their usage and hence only rarely resorts to providing longer explanations; but when he does, he, too, makes use of related vocabulary.

	Anne	Anne’s students	Tom	Tom’s students
Related vocabulary	Take a detour ... stop over for a century (L288/A3) Techno ... house music ... beats ... gracefully (L385/A3) Revolutions... not a good time to be around ... bloody (L394, 395/A3) Twilight ...love stories with vampires ... tasty ... delicious ...so much blood (L400 - 402/A3) Get ripe ... ripeness ... good climate (L424/A3)	tournaments ... Knights (L160-162/A3) Made fire ...kill mammoths ...cultivated the land L179,180/A3) Knights ... round table ... Noblemen ... Minstrels (L200 - 204/A3) No pollution... no cars No technology ... everything natural (L153/A3) Chores ... Household (L376- 377/A3) Not much technology in the household No fridges ... only iceboxes (L377 – 380/A3)	Impress the ladies ... womanizer ... Sexist (60- L89/T4) Like an old tv ... chatterboxes ...like two old women ... (L138/T4) In boxing ... assistants get off the ring (L516/T4)	Lost his job ... moved in with his parents (L117/T4) Thinks he is better than anyone ...thinks everything is beneath him (L258,265/T4)
Synonymic series	Relax, charge batteries (L289/A3), Part of their job ... part of their role to entertain (L206/A3)	Balls and masquerades (L389, 390/A3) People were kind of equal Had almost the same amount of money (L405, 406/A3)	arrogant... pretentious (L268/T4)	Wants to impress ... Seduce (L57- 59/T4)

4. Lexical Accuracy or Fluency

Although a number of lexical errors occurred in the two lessons under observation, error treatment was consistent with the adopted current CLT approach and fluency is generally preferred over accuracy. As Richards (2006) points out in his overview of teaching methodologies, a set of guidelines and principles are presently followed by the teachers in order to develop communicative competence, one of which is the view that “language learning is a gradual process that involves creative use of language, and trial and error. Although errors are a normal product of learning, the ultimate goal of learning is to be able to use the new language both accurately and fluently” (Richards 2006:23). In addition, we must also consider another important principle of current CLT, namely that “second language learning is facilitated when learners are engaged in interaction and meaningful communication” (Richards 2006:22). The implication is therefore that many of the errors produced by the students are ignored and only some of the inaccuracies are corrected. Thus, inaccurate use of lexical units and structures (lexical collocations or different patterns of grammatical collocations involving prepositions) produced by Anne’s students were ignored so that fluency would not be affected. Lexical inaccuracies, such as in following examples, either passed unnoticed, or were deliberately ignored by the teacher: “milkmen would come in every morning and *give* milk” (L379, 380/A3) – confusion between *bring milk* and *give milk*; “*restrictions to* food” (L409/A3) – instead of *rationalization of food*; “knights *from* the round table” (L200/A3) – rather than *of the round table*; “many discoveries *from* Leonardo da Vinci” (L170/A3) – instead of *by*; “after *doing* this mission” (L313/A3) – instead of *going on/ carrying out a mission*; “lead their lives *as good as* we can” (L325, 326/A3) – instead of the adverb *lead their lives as well as they can*. However,

inaccurate lexical units, which generally occurred towards the end of one's turn or during shorter turns were corrected by the teacher and on one occasion by another student. Thus, "*humans evolated*" (L130/A3) was corrected with "humanity evolved" (L132/A3), "tourniers" (L160/A3) with "tournaments" (L161/A3), "cave men *invented* fire" (L177/A3) with "invented or discovered?" (L178/A3), "noblemen and noble woman" (L202/A3) with "noble women" (L203), "went *by on by err horse on horse*" (L221/A3) with "on horseback" L221/A3), and "leader of *destrymment*" (L336/A3) was corrected by another student with "destruction" (L336/A3).

There were no detectable lexical errors in the discourse of Tom's students, but the two teachers themselves have used some collocations which can be arguably considered accurate in standard English language. Anne's "die *out* of boredom" (L250/A3), "do a kind of apprenticeship" (L350/A3), "happy to have *inhabited* such a period" (L433/A3) and Tom's "make up an example" (L136/T4) cannot be found in standard English dictionaries (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Oxford Collocations* 2002) or reliable English language databases (such as the British National Corpus). However, "do an apprenticeship" and "make up an example" can be found on the internet to occur in quotes from books written in English.

5. Topic variation

The last element to be considered in the analysis of the two pieces of classroom discourse from the perspective of the lexical resource component in speaking assessment is the ability to "use a wide range of vocabulary to give and exchange views on *familiar and unfamiliar topics*" (ESOL 2012:65, my emphasis). From this point of view, Anne's discourse is more complex than Tom's, as she makes reference to very different social realities during the lesson. Anne expands the discussions to aspects of the real life that students did not consider when deciding to present a certain period in history; thus, over a few turns, topics vary from the communist regime to the danger of not making up one's mind, predictions about the end of the world, Nostradamus, the Spartans, oldies but goldies, music, *Vampire Diaries* (film), concentration camps and *Animal Farm*. Admittedly, the very nature of her lesson created a favourable context for these shifts in conversation, but we have to mention that Anne refers to aspects of social reality, cultural elements, literature and other fields, as the other observed lessons were conducted in an identical manner.

6. Conclusions

As my investigation of the lexical dimension of English language usage in the EFL classroom from the perspective of the ESOL speaking examination requirements has shown, there is evidence of complex vocabulary usage in the case of one teacher (Anne) and there is also evidence of more lexically complex language used by the students in her class. Conversely, Tom's oral classroom discourse can be characterized as rather succinct, displaying a limited range of complex lexical structures. The students in Tom's class use very few complex structures in contrast with Anne's students, who attempt to use new lexical structures even at the expense of accuracy.

I admit that teacher input or lexical model may not be the only explanation for this response; 12th grade students (Tom's group) are typically more apathetic, less responsive, and usually do not volunteer to participate in class. The teaching approach may also trigger different responses on the student's part, yet there are enough similarities in this respect between the two teachers in order to expect similar student output.

Although I agree with Dörnyei (2009:36) in that “mere exposure to L2 input accompanied by communicative practice is not sufficient” and that explicit learning procedures are needed to “push learners beyond communicatively effective language towards target-like second language ability”, I argue that a difference in the quality of the teacher input is reflected in a corresponding student output.

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DOI: 10.2478/rjes-2014-0033

TESTING AND ASSESSING ENGLISH WORD-FORMATION

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***Abstract:** The paper discusses the testing/assessment of word-formation skills in threshold-level (B1) learners. To determine the suitability and use of productive gap-fill exercises at this level, an example of a word-formation exercise is addressed from the following perspectives: word frequency (corpus data), morphological complexity (morpheme types and word-formation processes), syntactic environments (typical sentence and/or phrase patterns), analysis of statistical data (facility values) and test-takers' errors. The text also addresses some implications of the findings for the instruction of lexis.*

***Keywords:** assessment, CEFR, error analysis, testing, word-formation*

1. Introduction

Vocabulary is a basic element of language proficiency, yet it has not always been given the attention it deserves. The explicit instruction of vocabulary has been described as unfashionable (Nation 1990) since some believed that the acquisition of lexis occurs naturally, and consequently does not necessarily require explicit instruction (Moir and Nation 2008). Such views have been challenged by a number of authors (for instance, Alemi and Tayebi 2011; Nation 2001; Schmitt 2008; Schmitt and Zimmerman 2002), who claim that L2 instruction should take into consideration both intentional and incidental vocabulary learning.

With regard to derivation and word families, it has been established that learners' productive knowledge of the derivative forms of a word family is an essential part of vocabulary knowledge (Nation 1990, Schmitt and Meara 1997) and that gaining such knowledge does not seem to occur incidentally. Thus, Schmitt and Zimmerman (2002: 145) suggest that there may be "a need for more direct attention to the teaching of derivative forms." In fact, they even claim that learners essentially have to memorize these forms because they are so inconsistent in English.

This article builds on the above research by addressing various aspects of assessing and testing English word-formation and by examining a widely used word-formation task type: a productive gap-fill exercise that has the aim of assessing learners' productive knowledge of the derivative forms of a word family. An example of such an exercise is used to explore a set of factors that might facilitate or hinder L2 learners in their production of derivative (and, as the analysis shows, also inflectional) forms within a word family. The discussion is inspired by the wide-spread use of this task type in international examinations (for instance, FCE, CEA, CP), and the recent removal of a similar exercise from one of the nationally administered secondary-school-level examinations in Slovenia.

By analysing a productive gap-fill exercise and some common types of learners' errors, the paper aims to show how the data on word frequency (corpus data), morphological

complexity (morpheme types and word-formation processes), syntactic environments (typical sentence and/or phrase patterns) and statistical data (facility values) may be employed to improve the ways of assessing and testing L2 learners' skills related to derivation and inflection, to reflect on the approaches and materials used in teaching word-formation, and to facilitate both incidental and intentional learning of vocabulary (Schmitt 2008; Alemi and Tayebi 2011).

2. The research

The research is an investigation of learners' productive derivational (and inflectional) knowledge of seven words which were chosen as testing items as part of one of the Slovenian national examinations for professional secondary schools (the examination is usually referred to as the "vocational *matura*"). The research questions were as follows.

- a. Do the morphological processes involved in the production of correct answers affect the facility values of test items?
- b. Do various syntactic patterns affect facility values?
- c. Is there a correlation between word frequency and facility values?
- d. Do items placed at higher CEFR levels show lower facility values?
- f. Do items with lower facility values exhibit a more extensive range of answers?

The study included 200 non-native learners of English, all of them students taking the national examination in English after completing their education at one of the Slovenian professional secondary schools. By the time the test-takers qualified to take the examination, they had had at least eight years of ESL instruction. The school-exit CEFR level (Council of Europe 2001), as defined in the English curriculum aims for Slovenian professional secondary schools, is B1.

The word-formation task analysed is based on a 300-word authentic English text on the topic of health. There are eight gaps in the text: the first one is provided as an example (*significant > significantly*), while for the rest of the gaps, the test-takers were instructed to use the word given in capitals to form a word that fits in the gap. The task was devised independently of this study by a committee of five item writers – all of whom are teachers of English, three of them teaching at professional secondary schools. It should also be noted that the task was devised when some of the online tools presented in subsequent sections were not available to item writers. Also, they had not received any specialist training with regards to CEFR levels. Their selection of the items was thus based predominantly on their teaching experience and their prior experience as task writers. No piloting scheme was in place for the examination, even though such practices are encouraged by experts in the field of testing (cf., for instance, Alderson, Clapham and Wall 1995). The word-formation task was part of a longer, 120-minute written examination that included an additional section on language and separate sections on reading and writing.

The seven prompt words in the task were as follows: *low*, *bleed*, *harm*, *health*, *different*, *participate*, and *normal*. The answers that the test-takers were expected to produce were: *lower*, *blood*, *harmful*, *healthy*, *difference*, *participants*, and *normally*.

A statistical analysis of the data provided information on the facility and the discrimination values for individual items. Also, word frequencies for both prompts and answers were examined (The British National Corpus 2007), as well as CEFR levels according to the Cambridge Dictionaries Online website (2013). Statistical analysis was conducted to investigate correlations between facility values, word frequencies and CEFR levels.

3. Results and discussion

Table 1: Facility and discrimination values (items are listed from least to most difficult)

	Prompt	Answer	Facility	Discrimination
Item 1	low	lower	0.64	0.78
Item 5	different	difference	0.60	0.82
Item 4	health	healthy	0.55	0.60
Item 2	bleed	blood	0.38	0.73
Item 3	harm	harmful	0.32	0.55
Item 7	normal	normally	0.31	0.58
Item 6	participate	participants	0.16	0.42
Average	-	-	0.42	0.64

Table 1

shows that facility and discrimination values fall within expected ranges. Item 6 (*participate* > *participants*) is the only one with a noticeably low facility value. The presented values also reveal that Items 2, 3 and 7 were the most challenging for the 200 test-takers. The average item difficulty of 0.42 indicates that the task was quite demanding. On the other hand, the discrimination indices are relatively high, suggesting that the task was a reliable indicator of the differences between weak and strong students.

3.1 Morphological Processes

Table 2: Morphological processes involved in word-formation

	Prompt	Answer	Types of Morphemes
Item 1	low	lower	stem + comparative derivational affix; zero derivation (adjective to verb)
Item 2	bleed	blood	stem (vowel change; OE)
Item 3	harm	harmful	stem + derivational affix
Item 4	health	healthy	stem + derivational affix
Item 5	different	difference	stem + derivational affix
Item 6	participate	participants	stem + derivational affix; inflectional affix
Item 7	normal	normally	stem + derivational affix

As

indicated in Table 2, most of the items require the formation of derivatives by suffixation. The exceptions are Items 1, 2 and 6. For Item 1, the etymology of the verb *lower* reveals that it comes from the comparative of *low*, so to get the correct answer, a two-step process is required from the test-takers: the formation of the comparative with the suffix *-er*, followed by zero derivation (Partridge 1983: 352). To continue, the move from *bleed* to *blood* in Item 2 does not involve derivation – in fact, the verb was derived from *blōd* in the Old English period (Partridge 1983: 49). And, finally, the correct answer *participants* involves both derivation and inflection since it consists of the derivational morpheme *-ant* and the inflectional plural morpheme *-s*.

Items 3, 4, 5 and 7 all involve derivation. The adjectival derivational suffixes *-ful* and *-y* in Items 3 and 4 are among the most common such suffixes in English (cf. for instance Biber et al. 2004: 531; Adams 2001: 36). Similarly, the nominal ending *-ence* in Item 5 is listed among the most common derivational morphemes in nouns (Biber et al. 2004: 321), and the adverbial suffix *-ly* in Item 7 as one of the most common English adverbial endings, especially in news articles (Biber et al. 2004: 540; Adams 2001: 38-39).

The evidence suggests that the complexity of morphological processes required in the formation of answers does not necessarily influence item difficulty. This can be exemplified by a brief comparison of Items 6 and 7. Item 6, which involves both derivation and inflection,

is the most difficult item in the test (cf. Table 1) and thus supports the prediction of complex morphological processes affecting item facility values. Yet, Item 7, which involves straight-forward affixation with a very frequent suffix, is, contrary to expectation, the second most difficult item in the test.

3.2 Syntactic Patterns

Table 3: Test items in their syntactic environments

	Context
Item 1	... make a big enough change to LOWER the risk of ...
Item 2	... decreased their total BLOOD cholesterol by ...
Item 3	... HDL is protective rather than HARMFUL.
Item 4	... the two kinds of cholesterol are considered to be HEALTHY.
Item 5	... to see a DIFFERENCE between the two doses ...
Item 6	At the start of the study PARTICIPANTS ate an average American diet ...
Item 7	... antioxidant NORMALLY found in dark leafy vegetables.

Table 3

provides context to present the syntactic environments where the gaps were placed. The items (correct answers) are capitalized.

In Item 1 the pattern is “verb + nominal phrase + to-infinitival clause”. According to Biber et al. (2004: 698-9), this is the second most-common pattern for infinitive clauses; it is most typical in written registers, in particular in news articles. Corpus data show that the frequency of such structures is 500-1000 per 1 million words.

Item 2 is a nominal premodifier in a complex nominal phrase headed by a common noun. Such structures are not rare, especially in written registers (Biber et al. 2004: 581). Nouns as premodifiers are not as common as adjectives; however, they still account for 30-40 percent of all premodifiers in news and academic prose.

Items 3 and 4 contain linking structures introduced by the very common copula *be*. The copula in Item 3 is followed by a frequent, albeit complex adjectival complement, while in Item 4 it is embedded in a – much rarer – complement clause (Biber et al. 2004: 446).

Item 5, is placed in-between an indefinite article and a preposition, which clearly signals that a nominal element is required to fill the gap.

In Item 6 we see that the missing word is the subject of the sentence. However, the gap is preceded by a complex adverbial. According to Biber et al. (2004: 772) in less than 15 percent of circumstance adverbials appear in the sentence-initial position. Furthermore, that the last word of the adverbial is a noun and the six-word adverbial structure is not separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma does not make this structure any easier to process.

Finally, Item 7 is an adverb modifying a verb in a restricted relative clause; this is a frequent position for adverbs.

The above indicates that Items 3, 4 and 6 might present a challenge for test-takers due to the syntactic complexity of the structures that they are part of. However, the facility values in Table 1 do not support such a prediction fully. Whereas Items 3 and 6 are indeed among the more demanding ones, Item 4 is has a high facility value.

3.3 Word Frequency, CEFR Levels and Facility Values

As facility values in Table 1 indicate, Items 2, 3, 6 and 7 were the most challenging for test-takers. We have shown that the difficulty of the items can be only partly accounted for by the morphological and syntactic processing involved in the production of answers. This

section will attempt to provide more conclusive observations by shedding some light on the impact of word frequency and CEFR levels on item difficulty.

The British National Corpus (2007) and Cambridge Dictionaries Online (2013) were used to determine word frequencies and CEFR levels of the test items. Table 3 below repeats the information on facility values and adds the information on word frequency and CEFR level.

Table 3: Facility values, word frequency and CEFR levels

	Difficulty	Answer Frequency	Prompt CEFR Level	Answer CEFR Level
Item 1	0.64	12263	3 (B1)	4 (B2)
Item 5	0.60	11167	1 (A1)	2 (A2)
Item 4	0.55	3528	2 (A2)	2 (A2)
Item 2	0.38	9778	3 (B1)	2 (A2)
Item 3	0.32	813	4 (B2)	4 (B2)
Item 7	0.31	8130	2 (A2)	3 (B1)
Item 6	0.16	2227	4 (B2)	5 (C1)
Average	0.42	-	2.71	3.14
Correlation	-	0.63	0.62	0.52

With regard to word frequency, it can be observed that the word with the highest frequency is in fact the word with the highest facility value, in other words, the easiest item (cf. Item 1 (*low* > *lower*)). Similarly, the words with lower frequency counts tend to be more difficult as test items (for instance, Item 6 (*participate* > *participants*)). The moderately high correlation between the frequency counts for answers and the facility values (0.63) suggests that word frequency can serve as a relatively reliable predictor of item difficulty. The exceptions are Item 4 (*health* > *healthy*) and Item 7 (*normal* > *normally*).

The data on the CEFR levels show that the prompts are placed slightly below the B1 level, while the answers, on average, are above this level. What is also noticeable is that only one of the answers is on the B1 level, while the rest of them are either lower or higher on the CEFR scale. Especially noticeable are three items at the A2 level and one item at the C1 level. The prompts are more balanced in this regard. Furthermore, our statistical analysis shows that the correlations between CEFR levels and item difficulty are slightly lower than those for frequency. However, they remain relevant – for more than half of the items, the CEFR word level seems to be a relevant predictor of item difficulty. Additionally, the analysis also suggests that the CEFR level of prompts is a better predictor of difficulty than the level of the answers: the correlations are 0.62 and 0.52, respectively.

The frequencies of Items 3 (*harm* > *harmful*), 6 (*participate* > *participants*) and 7 (*normal* > *normally*) are comparatively low; they are also placed at higher CEFR levels. The facility values confirm the relevance of these factors. On the other hand, Item 4 (*health* > *healthy*) did not represent a substantial challenge for the test-takers despite its relatively low frequency count. Its facility value can be explained by its low CEFR placement – the item is simply not demanding enough for the B1 test-takers.

We can conclude that word frequency and CEFR levels exhibit a moderate correlation with facility values.

3.4 Range of Answers and Error Analysis

The analysis shows that six of the seven items elicited between 20 and 26 different answers each. For instance, among the 20 different word forms provided for Item 1 were *lowed*, *lowly*, *downlowed*, *lover*, *significant* and so on. One of the items, however, stands out with regards to the variety of answers – the test-takers were most creative when dealing with Item 6 (*participate* > *participants*): they provided 51 different word forms as their answers.

Not surprisingly, the correlation between the number of answers and item difficulty is moderately high at 0.63.

The correct answers were typically the most numerous ones. The only exception is Item 7 (*normal* > *normally*) since the most common answer for this item was *normaly* (spelled with a single *l*).

Table 4: Types of answers

	Types of Answers	Percent	Example
Group 1	Correct answers	42	<i>lower</i>
Group 2	Wrong answers but correct part of speech	22	<i>lowed</i>
Group 3	Wrong answers and wrong part of speech	19	<i>lowest</i>
Group 4	Wrong spelling	14	<i>lover</i>
Group 5	Answers belong to some other word family	1	<i>reduce</i>
Group 6	No answer	2	-

Table 4

shows that among the wrong answers the most numerous are those that suggest that the test-takers were aware what part of speech was required, but they did not know what suffix to use to form the correct answer (cf. Group 2; 22 percent). To exemplify, the analysis of wrong answers for Item 3 shows that 41 percent of students provided wrong answers that still included typical adjectival endings such as *-y* (*harmly*). This finding supports the claim by Schmitt and Zimmerman (2002) about the English derivational system being deceptively regular. Furthermore, the test-takers' ability to discern from the context the syntactic and morphological requirements while still providing a wrong answer indirectly shows that although there is a correlation between suffix knowledge and total vocabulary size (Schmitt and Meara 1997), the correlation is not necessarily high.

A group of test-takers that is almost numerically equal to the previous group includes answers that suggest their inability to identify even the part of speech (cf. Group 3; 19 percent). It is safe to assume that this is the group showing the weakest proficiency with regards to word-formation, and, indirectly, syntax and morphology.

Also numerous is Group 4, which includes the test-takers who only had problems with spelling (14 percent).

If the above numbers are considered from the perspective of English sentence structure and morphology, the result for the test is not necessarily as poor as the average facility value of 0.42 might suggest (cf. Table 1). In fact, a closer look at groups 1, 2 and 4 in Table 4 reveals that 78 percent of test-takers knew what part of speech to use. Furthermore, since our students are often described as digital natives (Bennett, Maton and Kervin 2008), who have been immersed in technology since they were born and regularly use tools such as spell-checkers and autocorrect, and since the test in question was a paper-to-pen test, perhaps the causes of the spelling mistakes themselves should be reconsidered. Specifically, are answers such as *normaly* in Group 4 not higher on the cline of correctness than answers such as *normales*? Admittedly, both are incorrect; yet disregarding the wrong spelling for Item 7 (*normal* > *normally*) would substantially alter its facility value: the change from 0.31 to 0.87 would make it one of the easiest items in the test.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of a productive gap-fill exercise and some typical errors observed in the group of 200 test-takers revealed a number of factors that influence test item difficulty. The research questions focussed on aspects of word-formation tasks related to morphological processes, syntactic environments, word frequency, CEFR levels and range of answers. The findings suggest that morphological processes involved in the formation of correct answers and the syntactic environments in which the items are placed are not reliable indicators of

item difficulty. Naturally, they should be taken into account when testing, assessing or teaching word families; however, the factors that allow test writers or teachers to predict the suitability of a word-formation task more accurately seem to be word frequency and CEFR levels. Relying on corpora and vocabulary profiles should also help reduce the range of test-takers' answers, since a link has been established between the difficulty of the item and the number of different (wrong) answers provided by test-takers. It can be concluded that when devising or analysing a word-formation test, all of the above factors should be considered – but with an important caveat: since the study is based on the analysis of only seven test items, further research is required to obtain more conclusive findings.

The discussion has also brought to light a number of other relevant issues that should affect the testing, assessing and teaching of vocabulary. Firstly, with regards to good practices in language testing, the need for piloting and pretesting should be mentioned – such procedures enable test writers to remove overly demanding items before administering the test (Alderson, Clapham and Wall 1995). Secondly, the facility values reveal only partial information on the test-takers' vocabulary knowledge: a more thorough error analysis sheds some light on the types of mistakes they make. For instance, the analysis suggests that the majority of test-takers have a thorough knowledge of syntax and morphology, i.e. they are able to identify the correct part of speech and select a suffix that is typical for the identified word class. Another relevant observation is that spelling errors have a substantial effect on test results, which should be taken into account when focussing on word families in the classroom.

As mentioned above, studies have shown that instructed vocabulary learning is important (Alemi and Tayebi 2011, Moir and Nation 2008; Nation 1990; Schmitt 2008; Schmitt and Meara 1997; Schmitt and Zimmerman 2002), so the role of the teacher is not only to facilitate incidental learning but also to identify students' needs and provide opportunities for intentional learning. With regards to productive gap-fill exercises, teachers should learn from the mistakes of their students and, for instance, rely on intentional learning when explaining to their students that a certain suffix is correct for the desired word class but not for every word belonging to that class. Only in this way will the learners' knowledge of English word-formation steadily progress from *wonderfull* to wonderful.

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