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I

CULTURAL STUDIES

RETRIEVING RIGHTFULNESS – *THE WHITE MOOR* FAIRY TALE COMIC STRIP AND THE ACNOWLEDGMENT BY POSTMODERNIST READERS OF AN EMERGING GENRE

ANDREEA-NICOLETA CATALINA, MONICA BOTTEZ

University of Bucharest

Abstract: *The paper presents the impact of the Romanian The White Moor fairy tale adaptation into comic strip format on its various readers. The results of a well-developed questionnaire, randomly sent to some of the graphic version readers, are interpreted and unforeseen results thereafter highlight the weightiness of comics, despite steady disesteem and recurrent association with low-culture.*

Keywords: *The White Moor, Ion Creangă, adaptation, fairy tale, comics, comic strip*

1. Introduction

According to *Oxford Concise English Dictionary*, a fairy tale is “a children's tale about magical and imaginary beings and lands; an untrue account” (Pearsall 1999:510), which indicates something viewed as magical and idealized. Given that in the past people didn't have access to technology and modern means of communication, they could hardly be warned about the various dangers in the world. Entertainment lacked as well, so authors would address those risks in the shape of a fairy tale such as *Little Red Riding-Hood*, *Beauty and the Beast*, *Snow White*, warning people about the dangers in this world by adding a moral ending. Except for bringing amusement to children, adults find it also pleasant to remind themselves of the reality of everyday life and more genuinely differentiate between good and bad. Whether fairy tales are that some greater-than-themselves-things that give hope to those with no faith or religion, or just a reason to disconnect from reality and plunge into another world for a short time, “toutes les grandes personnes ont d'abord été des enfants. Mais peu d'entre elles s'en souviennent”, as Antoine De Saint Exupery would say, meaning that all grownups once were little children but few remember this. That's why not only children, but grownups, too, read fairy tales, their format being nowadays only a matter of trend or favoured perspective: fairy tales books, comic strips, video and computer games etc.

2. Comics and Literature

The relationship between literature and comic books has been pointed out repeatedly by Versaci - “if literature is an art that brings about new understanding and insight – as I believe it to be – then comics certainly fit the bill” (Versaci 2007:210). In what concerns fairy tales and folktales, over the years people have used sequential art forms - graphic novels and comics - in

various ways, although the material was treated differently most of the times. There were distinguished three different categories of retelling the original material: direct retellings, adaptations and pastiches. The simplest format is direct retelling, rendering the precise location and characters of the original source as, for example, Walt Kelly's *Gingerbread Man*, the graphic version. This type of retellings does not change the stories, but effort to authentically retell them into the new medium. Adaptations, though, are inspired by fairy tales and folktales, adjusting somehow the setting or the characters. At this level the mixture of different medium conventions occurs, whether it involves the style or the form, such as expanding the content - more detailed scenes inserted, changing the focus etc., (Hasse 2008:419) for example *Scary Godmother* (1997-2006) by Jill Thompson - a modern adaptation of Cinderella or *Books of Faerie* (1998-1999) which employs characters from William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Another example of adaptation is *Grimm Fairy Tales*, an intriguing and provocative horror comic book series which comprises adaptation of fairy tales written by renowned authors such as Grimm Brothers, Charles Perrault, or Hans Christian Andersen. These stories explore a more obscure side of the tales we knew as a child and are re-imagined, this time with a scary turn. However, because the graphic art here often reveals pictures of very sexual female characters, together with a considerable amount of explicit violence, the series doesn't target children as main audience. The series is particularly interesting for young adults, especially because it creates a bridge between old days' stories and their morality and adolescents' nowadays concerns. For example, after a young girl hesitates about losing her virginity to her aggressive boyfriend, she reads a story about Little Red Riding Hood in a book found beside her bed (Figure 1); as she goes through the story, she feels that the life of the fairy tale character parallels her own and the ending of the story teaches her a lesson, which feels extremely real. Likewise, Cinderella pursues a dreadful revenge for the years of agony suffered, while Hansel and Gretel realize that running from the problems they left at home will eventually bring them more pain and terror on their reckless journey. Although the characters are portrayed in their original fairyland, they appear quite contemporary. This is reflected in both their actions and vocabulary, and even some instances of subtle humour are found throughout the stories.



Figure 1 - Adaptation of *Little Red Riding Hood* fairy tale in *Grimm Fairy Tales* horror comic book series

The recent adaptation of the well-known Romanian fairy tale *The White Moor* into the comic strip *The White Moor Continues* has some noticeable differences from the original tale, too. The characters are all identified by names, not nicknames; there are also background stories for each of the White Moor's companions, explaining their actual state and the source of their special abilities; extra scenes are inserted (e.g. White Moor's short stay in the Purgatory), eliminated, or slightly twisted (e.g. the Red Emperor's daughter being credited for obtaining herself the Living Water). However, the major change operated is the actual continuation of adventures, as the title of the comic strip points out. While the adaptation is divided into four parts that preserve the basic narrative thread of the original fairy tale, each part being contained in one comic strip issue, the comic strip series has reached so far twelve numbers in total. The popularity of the comic strip is undeniable, the number of fans having grown rapidly, this fact being more visible on social networks - from 97.000 fans on Facebook in December 2013 to 142.000 in August 2014 (Figure 2 and Figure 3).

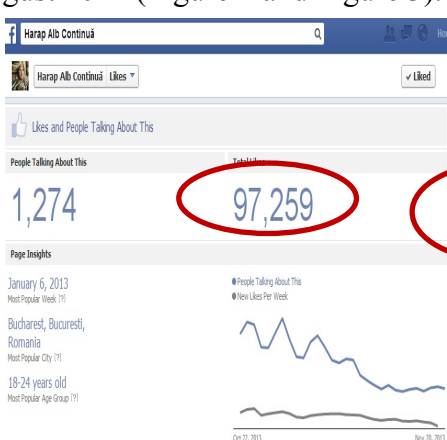


Figure 2 - FB statistics, Dec. 2013



Figure 3 - FB statistics, Aug. 2014

3. Survey and Results

In order to gain insight on the readers’ motivation towards reading comics and particularly this fairy tale adaptation, a well-developed questionnaire was randomly sent to *The White Moor Continues* comic strip’s readers and 80 respondents provided information on some of their personal details and on their opinion regarding the adaptation in relation with the original fairy tale. Responses concerning information on their gender, age, educational background, reading habits, impressions and comparative aspects with the original fairy tale were obtained and thus, several conclusions were drawn as follows. Nearly two thirds of the readers are males, while a third are women. This result is comparable with the US 2013 survey on the same gender matter. DC Comics, one of the most successful comics companies worldwide carried in 2011 a reader survey, which showed a low number of American females among comics readers, only 7%. However, the methodology of the DC study was questioned by many, while the online branch of the survey, on the other hand, pointed a greater number of female readers - 23%. Also, using social network statistics as the main research tool, a famous US comics blogger, revealed in 2013 that as much as 40% of US comics fans are women and that eighteen to thirty is the predominant age range for both males and females - male audience leading in each age group (Schenker, 2013), information in agreement with the result of the survey presented in this paper (Figure 4 and Figure 5).

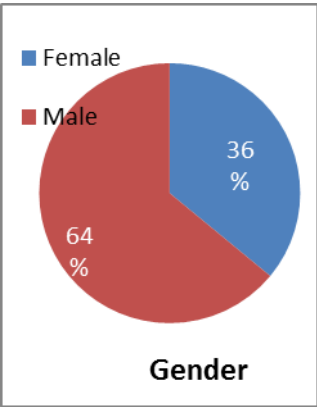


Figure 4

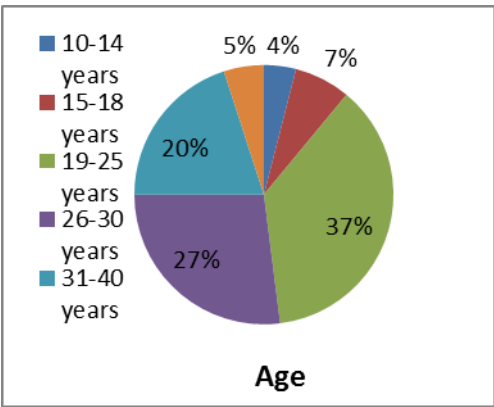


Figure 5

Another interesting aspect of the finding concerns determining the extent to which comic book reading varies with social class and educational background. The results of this paper’s survey conclude that two thirds of the readers have university or postgraduate studies, while the other third are secondary students or below. (Fig. 6)

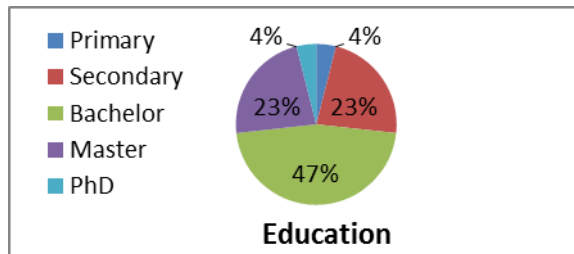


Figure 6

Unlike, for example, the view of the German-American psychiatrist Fredric Wertham (Wertham, 1954), extended research indicates that comic book readings does not replace other kinds of reading. According to numerous writers, comic book readers, in general, read as much as non-comic book readers (Witty, 1941; Heisler, 1947; Bailyn, 1959; Swain, 1978) and even the results of another study suggest they even read more (Blakely, 1958). The survey on *The White Moor Continues* comics' readers reflects indeed that half of the respondents are active readers and do intensive reading in general and another third is represented by passive readers. Less than 20% of the respondents seem to occasionally read or dislike reading in general (Figure 7). Even though comic books haven't even by far reached the level of popularity of traditional lecture, a third of the respondents are not at their first contact with this genre, a third of them having been reading comics for some years now (Figure 8). There are studies which suggest that some readers acknowledge comics as being a very useful starting point tool for approaching more difficult texts (Mathabane, 1986), as light reading may stand as a significant connexion from daily "conversational" language (Krashen, 1993) to "academic language" (Cummins, 1991).

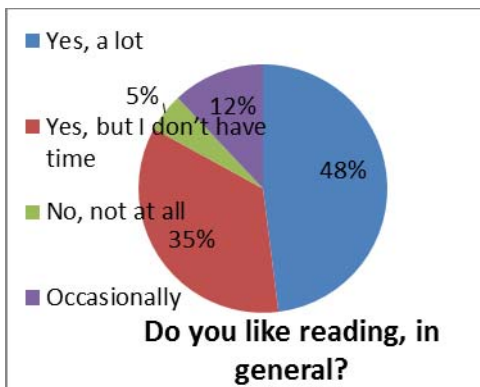


Figure 7

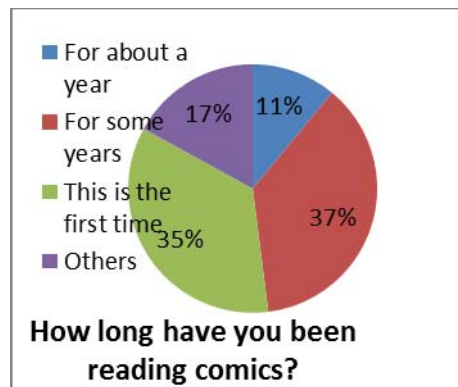


Figure 8

The study further examines the relationship between the classic fairy tale and its adaptation. Though 93% of the respondents have read the original fairy tale (Figure 9), the adaptation undeniably lacks Ion Creangă's original

style: the humour, the proverbs, old sayings, regionalisms and archaisms, author’s direct intervention and his irony, long dialogues and the descriptive passages. Even so, more than half of the respondents don’t seem disturbed by these deficiencies (Figure 10) and more, regardless the huge linguistic drawbacks, 88% still appreciate the new graphic character given to the original fairy tale (Figure 11).

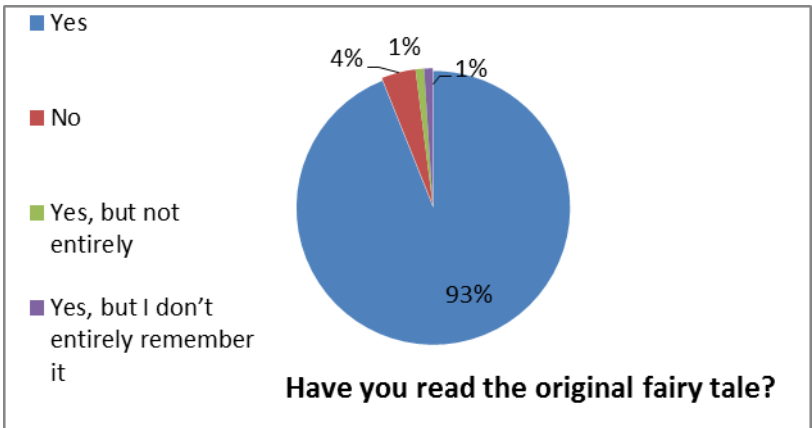


Figure 9

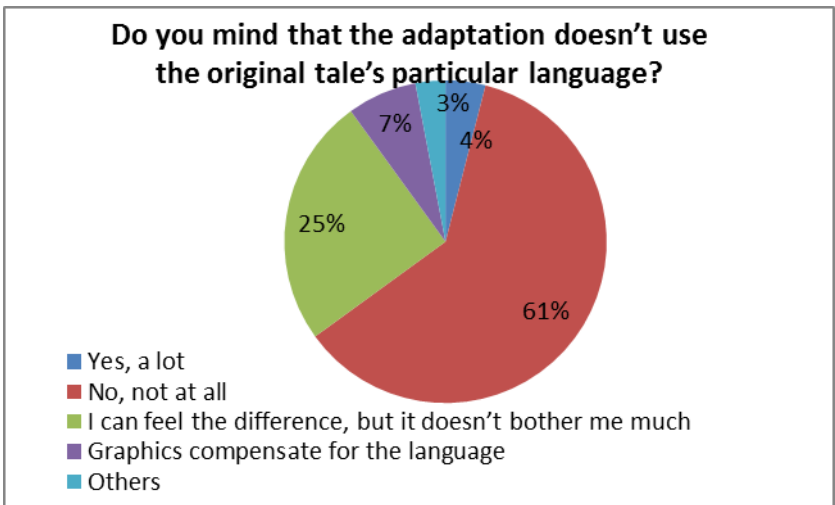


Figure 10

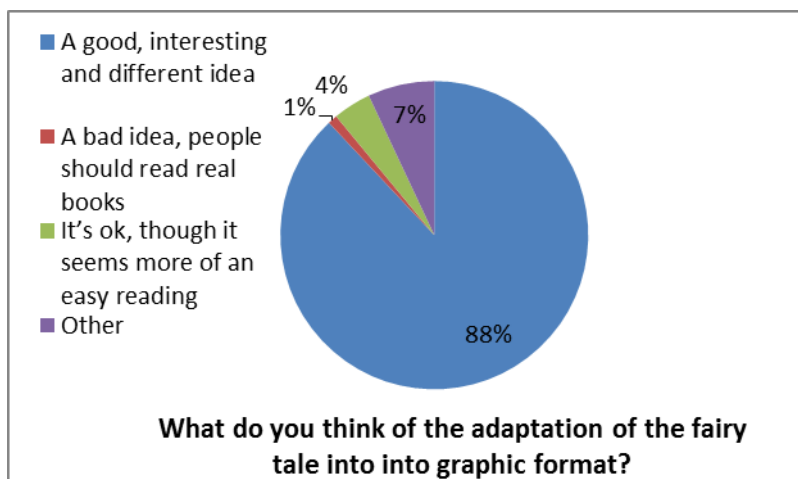


Figure 11

The acoustics, though, is the most important device used instead, by employing numerous onomatopoeic words to add the intended emotional effect (Figure 12). (Catalina 2013: 268) (Eisner 1985:18)



Figure 12. The use of onomatopoeia (*Harap Alb Continuă* – Album)

Also, Rosen suggests that

there is a tendency for readers who come from literary backgrounds to read over design, as though the artwork existed only to render the plot visible and move protagonists from place to place, while readers with design backgrounds often see the art as existing in a narrative void, an end in itself. Yet in the best instances, the design of a comic is inseparable from the narrative (Rosen 2009:58).

However, in the case of *The White Moor* adaptation, only 10% are attracted by the graphics and the accessibility of the text, while more than a half seems to appreciate the idea of adaptation into comic strip in its entirety. (Figure 13)

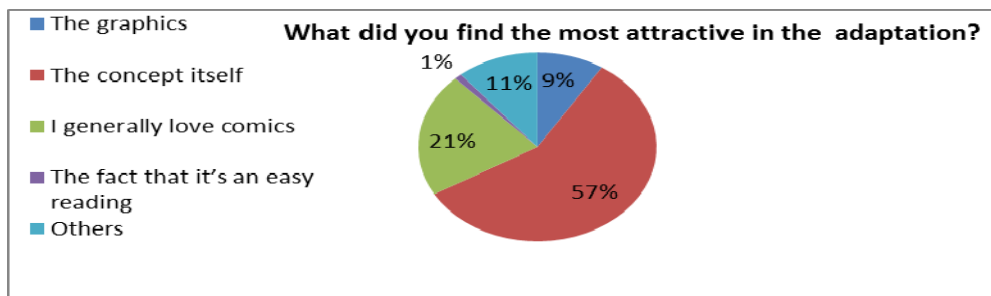


Figure 13

As Kukkonen states, when talking about differentiating between words and images in comics,

these different modes work together in their storytelling, and this suggests that they are perceived in a dynamic process of narrative cognition, rather than in a piecemeal combination of non-commensurable semiotic resources (Kukkonen 2011:39).

Sequential art has gradually changed the topics tackled, from war to sexism, violence, crime, drugs and family and consequently the comics fans have also changed. Therefore, the new graphic adaptations bring out not only attractive colours and imaginative techniques displayed by the artists in the story, but also the very current trend in the readers' motivation to choose particularly this kind of reading: a plot with modern twist, good confronting evil, mystery, action, blood, the presence of *femme fatal*, and the omnipresent supernatural element. More, these features are all backed by the reputation already gained by the title of the story itself, over-publicized through various media over the years, particularly for commercial purposes. In *The White Moor Continues* the females and their outfit denote passion and eroticism; history is present in shaping weapons and clothing, Romanian mythological influences are felt in presenting the story behind the characters, and in the choice of character names. (Catalina 2013:265). That is why it is not surprising that more than 70% of the questionnaire's respondents are dedicated to reading even the continuation of the comic strip series, which goes far beyond the original fairy tale with new unforeseen adventures and surprising characters. (Figure 14)

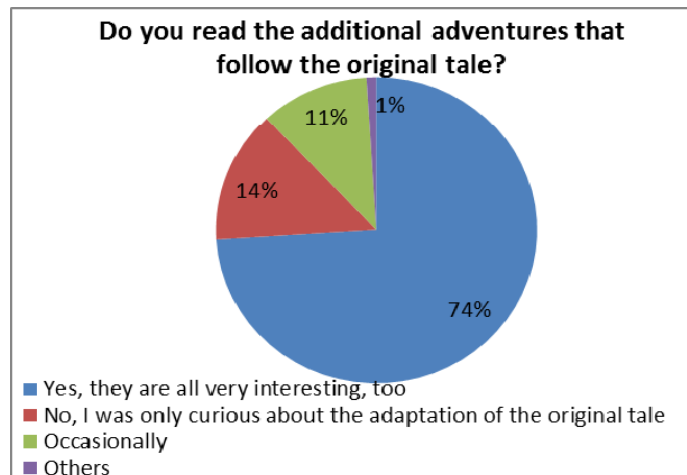


Figure 14

Also, the new media gives anyone the possibility to access various kinds of information, offering new kinds of connections and creativity, while also demanding more attention to visuals, prints and acoustics working together. In addition, the interest in comics could also be exploited within literature classes in schools, given that in America and Western Europe, comics are nowadays already regarded as an alternative method of learning. The respondents of this study also show great interest in comics and graphic novels being introduced in school as an alternative educational resource, as well as other classics being translated into graphic format. (Figure 15 and Figure 16)

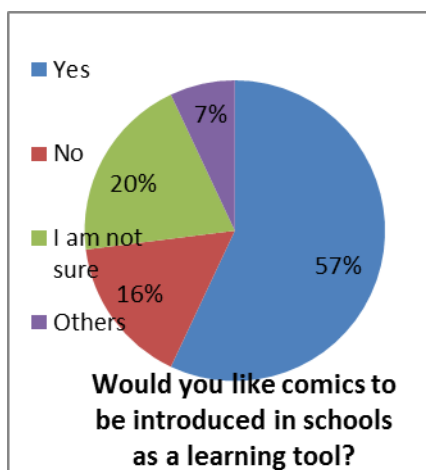


Figure 15

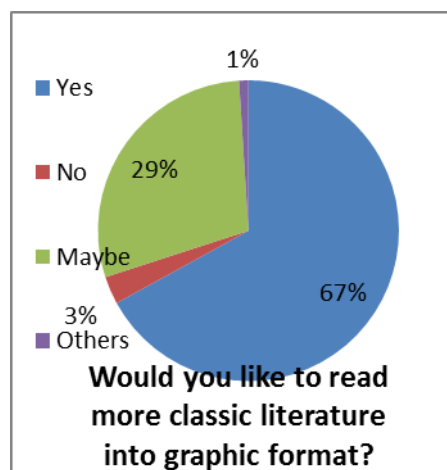


Figure 16

4. Conclusions

Comics have become a new art form, found almost worldwide, comprising innovative work and modelling the thoughts and images of the contemporary culture, having reached even the most remote and conservative

audiences in a country still reluctant to exit the shadow of cultural commitment as Romania is. However, another response to the survey confirms that culture indeed has undergone “the broad move from the now centuries-long dominance of writing to the new dominance of the image” (Kress 2003:1). The slow but sure transition towards a literature dominated by the image is eventually acknowledged by *The White Moore Continues* comic strip’s readers. (Figure 17)

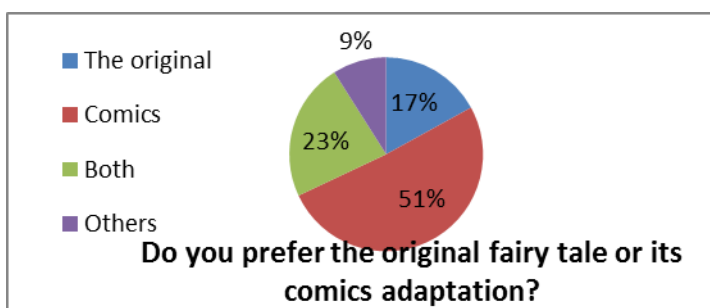


Figure 17

There is no doubt that we can conclude, even about the Romanian public, adding *comics* to the following enumeration, too, that

we are in the midst of a cognitive shift and reading today has become a hybrid textual-visual experience, as witnessed by the inescapable presence of the Internet, PowerPoint, cell phone screens, and the numerous full-colour illustrations and photographs now found in newspapers (Tabachnick 2009:1-4).

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ANGLOBALISATION AND THE MAKING OF THE THIRD WORLD. THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA

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***Abstract:** The world as we know it is, in a large measure, a product of what Neill Ferguson calls “anglobalization.” Even today it is difficult to assess the legacy of the British Empire. My article focuses on the great famines in British India. It attempts to look at assertions about the Empire’s good work in India through the prism of the research carried out by the leftwing historian Mike Davis, whose seminal 2001 study *Late Victorian Holocausts. El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* launched a debate on the human costs of anglobalisation.*

***Keywords:** British India, conflict, famines, imperialism.*

1. Introduction

The world, as we know it today, is in a large measure, a product of the British Empire. British imperialism contributed to mapping out of new countries, drawing new borders, creating arbitrary states and artificial nations. It forged long-lasting alliances and provoked bloody armed conflicts.¹ It is also responsible for the displacement of millions of people and for great migrations that have radically changed the ethnic make-up of many societies in the contemporary world. The remains of the British Empire can also be seen in the recognizably British political institutions and hybrid cultures that have survived the demise of the Empire. In the countries where the British ruled, they left not only infrastructure, such as railways, telegraph lines, canals, water supplies etc., but also they disseminated a distinctly British culture: the English language, Protestantism, English forms of land tenure, the banking system, the common law, representative assemblies and the ideology of liberty as the crown of life.

Even today all attempts to assess the history of the British Empire give rise to many heated debates and controversies, though it is clear that the ranks of the admirers of the British rule are gradually shrinking, at least in the academic circles. Paul Gilroy, an academic who can be considered a spokesperson for the Black British community, observes that on the whole British society reveres the legacy of British Empire. He accuses white Britons of “post-imperial melancholia,” and argues that the white British society “found [itself] oddly unable to mourn and work through [its] loss of the Empire” (434)

¹ The map of Africa and Middle East: Palestine, Nigeria, Iraq. Some ethnicities with different values, beliefs rituals were thrown together whereas others such as Kurds were separated and divided among different states. which are torn apart by conflicts among their ethnically diverse groups

or come to terms with “the shame that attended the exposure of Britain’s colonial crimes” (431). Tapan Raychaudhuri, an Indian historian who also noticed that “it is difficult for an average British person to take a negative view of the past” (1996:357), offers an interesting explanation of the British postcolonial malaise. He quotes a Japanese historian, who while commenting on the Japanese post-war reckoning of their history, “pointed out that nations do not assess their historical past radically, unless they have gone through the experience of social revolution or crushing defeat in a war” (1996:357). Since Britain was spared such experiences, it is quite natural for its public opinion to turn a blind eye to the Empire’s crimes and lend an ear to historians who glorify its achievements. Among them the most is prominent is Niall Ferguson, an English professor of financial history at Harvard University, an author of many controversial books, among others *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (2003), *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (2006). In these books Ferguson claims that the flow of British culture and institutions under the Empire not only paved the way to modernity in the colonized countries, but also provided a framework for present day globalization that should be more accurately be called “Anglobalization.” The British Empire acted as an agency for imposing what Ferguson terms “the imperialism of free trade” on roughly a quarter of the entire world. In his opinion, no other “organization” in the world has done more to promote western norms of law, order and governance, as well as the free movement of goods, capital and labor. In the late 19th and early 20th century the Empire, Ferguson gloats, integrated the poor parts of the world into the global economy making them richer in the process.

The aim of this essay is to consider Neill Ferguson’s assertions in the light of the recent research on the history of India at the end of the 19th century, especially the work of another historian, an American, Mike Davis whose seminal 2001 study *Late Victorian Holocausts. El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* launched a debate on the different facets of *Anglobalization*. Whereas Ferguson voices the opinion of the radical right, Davis’s book combines environmental history with Marxist political economy. While Ferguson consistently argues that the Empire enhanced global welfare and the benefits of the Empire outweighed its drawbacks; Davis, conversely, asserts that the Empire was instrumental in creating the Third World, which, in his opinion, came into being at the end of the 19th century when great non-European peasantries were integrated into the global economy. Davis focuses on the underside of globalization and the human cost of the British fanatic adherence to the dogma of unfettered free trade. He particularly concentrates on the infamous Indian famines that swept across India in three waves in the years 1876-79, 1889-91, 1896-1902; exactly at the time when Ferguson envisaged such countries as India being incorporated into the global world market. According to different estimates, 12.2 to 29.3 Indians died of hunger (M. Davis

1951:7) in the process of becoming a “part” of the new economic world order. They died in spite of millions of tones of surplus grain in commercial circulation and in spite of the railroads that could be used to ship food to famine-stricken areas. According to the British, those millions perished as a result of extreme weather conditions and chronic destitution. Semi-arid India heavily depends on monsoons—if the monsoons fail, the argument goes, there are droughts and crop failure. But Mike Davis persuasively contends that the famines were not so much natural disasters as political tragedies that could have been avoided. His study tries to determine “to what extent did the colonial system of production changed the way in which climate factors could exert their influence” (1951:19).

Davis’s point of view is based on Rolando Garcia’s assertion that “climatic forces are not facts in themselves; they assume importance only in relation to restructuring of environment within different systems of production” (Garcia 1990:19). Likewise, Davis maintains that each pre-capitalist society had inner mechanisms of dealing with food shortages, but in case of India, this complex natural economy was destroyed by misguided efforts on the part of the British administration to subject India to modernization. The famines in British India were not merely food shortages but complex economic crises—they were “entitlement” crises—“people starved to death only because their wages could not be exchanged for minimum amount of calories to subsist on” (Garcia 1990:20).

2. History

The 1st wave of famine hit the districts of the Madras Deccan whose inhabitants died of hunger in their thousands. Millions reached the state of acute malnutrition which modern health workers call “skeletonization.” But the Vice-Roy Lord Lytton, who earned the unsavoury title of India’s Nero, and was a lesser-fair fanatic firmly believing in Smithian doctrines, gave orders to “discourage relief works in any possible way” because “mere distress [was] not a sufficient reason for opening a relief work” (qtd. in Davis 1951:152). Consequently in 1877 the Anti-Charitable Contributions Act was passed. It “prohibited at the pain of imprisonment private relief donations that potentially interfered with the market fixing of grain prices” (qtd. in M. Davis 1951:37). For Lytton the famine was caused by overpopulation, which “[had] a tendency to increase more rapidly than the food it raises from the soil” (M. Davis 1951:32). He was supported by Lord Salisbury—the Secretary of State for India and the grey eminence behind the British policies in India. Salisbury did not see why England should “pay tribute to India for having conquered her,” or why “rich Britain” should “consent to penalize her trade for the sake of poor India” (M. Davis 1951:33). In Salisbury and Lytton’s opinion, helping the starving Indians would mean setting a dangerous precedent: “[t]he doctrine that in time

of famine the poor are entitled to demand relief . . . would probably lead to the doctrine that they are entitled to such relief at all times, and thus a foundation would be laid for a system of general poor relief, which we cannot contemplate without serious apprehension” (M. Davis 1951:33). *The Economist* supported this “skinflint” reasoning, accusing Indians of indolence and asserting that “it is [not] the duty of the government to keep them alive” (qtd. in M. Davis 1951:37). It was commonplace to regard Indians as being responsible for their own privation.

The death toll of Indian famines would perhaps suffice to understand the scale of humanitarian crisis brought about by the cold-hearted treatment of Indians by the British administration. But in order to fully grasp the extent of human suffering one has to turn to reports of village officers or coverage by independent journalists travelling through India. Village officers from the stricken areas wrote in their correspondence that only the “pariah dogs” that fed on the corpses scattered across the Deccan were “fat as sheep”:

[After] a couple of minutes’ search I came upon two dogs worrying over a body of a girl about eight years old. They had newly attacked it, and had only torn one of the legs a little, but the corpse was so enormously bloated that that it was only from the total length of the figure one could tell it was a child’s. The sight and smell of the locality was so revolting, and the dogs so dangerous, that I did not stay to look for the second body; but I saw two skulls and a backbone that had been freshly picked. (qtd. in M. Davis 1951:35)

For the survivors Sir Richard Temple, the enforcer of Lytton policies and “the personification of free market economics as a mask for colonial genocide” (M. Davis 1951:37), set up work camps, which, as Davis writes, looked very much like 20th century concentration camps. They were organized in accordance with the Benthamite principle that relief should be bitterly punitive to discourage dependence of the poor on the government. As Dr. Cornish, the British administration in India’s most severe critic, pointed out, the monthly mortality in these camps was equivalent to an annual death rate of 94%, which was the effect of strenuous work on railroad or canal building, unfit for people in dying condition. In the camps the inmates received the so called “Temple wage”—the minimum diet established by Temple. It “provided less sustenance for hard job than the diet of the infamous Buchenwald concentration camp and less than half of the modern caloric standard recommended for adult males by the Indian government” (M. Davis 38). To become a recipient of “the British bounty” the starving peasants had to survive “the distance tests.” that is they had to walk for 10 miles to work camps situated outside settlements. They had to prove that, in spite of their almost terminal state, they were capable of hard work. Those who were too weak to work were turned away without much ado. Others went away of their own volition. One of the local officers was unnerved by the “obstinacy with which persons almost in dying condition

would go away anywhere rather than to a relief camp” (M. Davis 2002:43). Temple called it a “relief strike” and “passive resistance,” unconsciously adding to the colonial jargon an expression that was destined to become popular.

Not all peasants, however, were passive. There was a lot of inter-caste violence, as each caste tried to survive and the expense of the group below. Village mobs looted landlords and sometimes whole families were burned alive in their homes. Women and children caught stealing were “branded, tortured, had their noses cut off, ere sometimes killed” (M. Davis 2002 46). Women often offered their children for sale for a day’s substance (M. Davis 2002:45). Acts of cannibalism, very rare in India, were reported: “one madman dug up and devoured part of a cholera victim, while another killed his son and ate part of the body” (M. Davis 2002:47). In Madras city alone, 100,000 draught refugees dropped dead in front of the troops guarding pyramids of imported rice (M. Davis 2002:45). Robert Knight the publisher of *The Indian Economist and Statesman* for the first time in 1876 used the word “murder” to talk about the British famine policy (M. Davis 2002:53-4).

The 2nd wave (1896-97) of famine affected North Western provinces and the Punjab, and according to The Dufferin Enquiry (1887) the malnutrition reached levels unprecedented in Indian history, whereby “40 million people [went] through life on insufficient food” (qtd. in Davis 2002: 142). In words of William Digby, British journalist and humanitarian and one of the most staunch critics of British negligence, the second famine was the “price famine,” that is there was no real shortage of grain, but people died because they could not afford to buy it. The reason for that was that the drought in India coincided with the drought in the USA that had traditionally supplied Europe. Consequently all Indian crops were bought out to ship to Europe as a replacement for the American shipments:

The enormous European demand for wheat at a higher price induced the exporters not only to buy out all stocks but also to make “forward” purchases of wheat to be supplied from the new crop at similar prices. Thus an enormous amount of wheat was purchased at high price to be exported to Europe, resulting in general depletion of stocks within the province. One European company, namely Messrs. Ralley Brothers & Co. purchased even the standing crops for the purposes to export to Europe. The local trader or *bania* as usual raised the prices of grains, thereby causing distress in almost all the districts of the Punjab. (qtd. in M. Davis 2002:123)

Villagers who did not want to sell were coerced and beaten by the agents of Ralley Brothers. In response *zamindars* resorted to acts of violence against those creditors who pressed too much for payments, and murders were not infrequent.

Lord Elgin, the new Vice-Roy, like Lytton before him was averse to private charity. He was supported by popular opinion in Britain and some British newspapers, such as *The Spectator*, which warned its readers that if

India had the same poor law as England “there would be 80 million paupers in receipt of relief” (qtd. in M. Davis 2002:143). Lord Elgin refused to control grain prices or to give green light to private initiatives to import grain from Burma and run “fair price shops” for the poor (M. Davis 2002:145-6). Instead the British organized relief works for those capable of work and opened poorhouses for those who were too weak. Since Lord Elgin’s administration was broke because of the war on the Afghan frontier, the contribution to the famine fund was reduced. In consequence the poor were kept on the allowance of 1 rupee per person per month, which according to current exchange rates, amounted to 34 cents (M. Davis 2002:147). What is more, the poor were regularly defrauded of their meager rations by the British officers in charge. An American relief worker was shocked to discover that “the grain was adulterated with earth” (M. Davis 2002:147). With the return of rains in 1898, the poorhouses were shut down, and hundreds of the destitute and ravished people, without any means to benefit from the monsoons, were pushed out. In effect there were 6.5 millions deaths in 1898, making total death toll closer to 11 million. 12 to 16 million dead was the mortality rate commonly mentioned by the world press. The famine quickly acquired the title of “famine of the century” (M. Davis 2002:158), but as it turned out, the worst was yet to come.

The social unrest was higher than during the 1st famine, and an uprising was averted only by a Bubonic plague that came hard on the heels of the famine. It spread out, carried by the flees of black rats, from the slums of Bombay, where the British had blocked for decades increased taxation for water and drainage schemes. The plague, which could cause an international embargo on the shipments of grain from India, succeed in swaying the authorities into action, but the action was, as usual, inappropriate. The British organized a campaign to clear the slums whence the plague had emerged with the effect that the poor were deprived of any shelter while the contaminated rats got away unscathed. The most notorious campaigner in the war against slums was W.C. Rand: “Rand had summoned British troops to his aid and swept down on the slums like a proverbial wolf on the fold. Plucking out women, men and children from their homes, he burned their belongings and desecrated their shrines” (Goradia 123). At the same time “the government did nothing to control the explosion of the grain prices that was spreading the starvation faster than plague” (Davis 2002:149). It was clear that all actions were exclusively geared towards allaying the growing foreign fear of the plague. From the correspondence that went between the Secretary of State and Lord Elgin we can learn that “[the] Secretary of State was telling the Vice-Roy that he was most concerned about the plague than the famine because a market once lost, or even partially deserted, is not easily regained” (qtd. in M. Davis 2002:152). At that time the editor of the *Indian Spectator* counted that probably 18 million people, including the plague victims, might have already died (Davis 2002:152).

The British were condemned for their mismanagement, fraud, and corruption even by those commentators who in the past had usually praised philanthropy of the colonial government officials. F. Merewether—Reuter’s famine commissioner (and ardent imperialist) reported that:

[the] actual inhabitants of Bilaspur were dying of starvation, while under the supposed aegis of the government and within their very gates. . . I collected tangible proofs [of mismanagement] . . . which showed only too clearly that the officials and those responsible had not . . . fully recognized the gravity of the situation. With the reference to the poor-house, there can be no doubt that in addition to supineness and mismanagement, there was decided fraud going on, and poor hopeless and helpless inmates were being condemned by a paternal Government to a slow, horrible death by starvation. (qtd. in M. Davis 2002:154)

In another report F. Merewether writes about famine victims in terminal state who were suffering from what he calls “famine down”:

I here came across the first specimens of “Famine Down,” which is produced by long-continued starvation. At certain stages of want, a fine down of smooth hair appears all over the bodies of the afflicted . . . There were more than a score of souls who have reached this stage, and their bodies were covered from head to foot with the soft-looking black fur. (qtd. in M. Davis 2002: 154).

The American journalist Julian Hawthorne (son of the famous American writer Nathaniel Hawthorne), who went to India as a correspondent of *Cosmopolitan*, was horrified by the families of corpses sitting in the shade of occasional desert trees: “[t]here they squatted, all dead now, their flimsy garments fluttering around them, except when jackals pulled the skeleton apart in the hopeless search for marrow” (155). After a visit to a poor house Hawthorne wrote about the inmates:

They showed us their bellies—a mere wrinkle of empty skin. Twenty percent of them were blind; their very eyeballs were gone. The joints of their knees stood out between the thighs and shinbones as in any other skeleton; so did their elbows; their fleshless jaws and skulls were supported on necks like those of plucked chickens. Their bodies—they had none; only the framework was left. (qtd. in M. Davis 2002: 155)

Even more shocking revelations were produced by a visit to an orphanage where Hawthorne found neglected children in the last stages of starvation and disease:

We went towards the sheds, where were those who were too enfeebled to stand or walk. A boy was squatting over an earthen saucer, into which he spate continually; he had the mouth disease; he could not articulate but an exhausted moan came from him over and anon. There was a great abscess on the back of his head. (qtd. in M. Davis 2002: 157)

Hawthorne did not mince his words about the corruption of the British relief workers, suggesting that many children might have been saved:

Another in the final state of dysentery, lay nearly dead in his own fifth; he breathed but had no strength to moan. There was one baby which seemed much better than the rest; it was tended by its own mother. . . . Now, this child was in no better condition than the rest of them when it came, but its mother's care had revived it. That meant simply, that it has received simply its full allowance of the food which is supposed to be given to all alike. Why had the others—the full orphans—not received theirs? (qtd. in M. Davis 2002: 157)

The third famine of 1899-1902 was of an unprecedented scale—it affected 2/3 of the subcontinent: Gujart, Rajputana, Berar, central India. This time it was “water” famine—wells and rivers that had never failed in the living memory went dry. Some rivers, like Godavari, totally disappeared. India was prostrated after the previous famine and its economic aftermath. The surplus crop of 1898 was confiscated by money lenders and British tax collectors.

Due to the unexpectedly difficult struggle to subdues the Boers (Dutch farmers in South Africa), the famine was ignored by the press and the famine relief was severely restricted by financial stringencies. The help came not from London but from Kansas farmers, Native American tribes and Black American churches, which send grain that was promptly taxed by British officials, to the utter horror and outrage of the American benefactors. According to the India Office, 1.25 million people died, but according to independent commentators 10 million people was a more likely death toll. William Digby commenting on the estimates of the mortality made by the leading British medical journal *The Lancet*, wryly observed that it meant disappearance of “one half of the population as large as that of the United Kingdom” (qtd. in M. Davis 2002: 74). By 1914 the number of victims further grew by 8 million of those who perished due to the Black Death. In Gujartat by 1900, there were so many cholera victims that local water supplies were poisoned by the putrefying corpses (M. Davis 2002: 170). Dr Louis Klopsch of *The Christian Herald* reported:

The heat was intense; the thermometer indicated 108 degrees. A hot, blinding sandstorm filled our eyes and nostrils with microbe-laden dust, and the all-pervading stench of putrefying bodies, impregnated clothes, hair and skin. Cholera had broken out a short time before and 2,400 famine sufferers had died within a few days and had been buried in shallow ground. Decomposition speedily set in and impregnated the ground with death dealing malodor. There were no disinfectants, hence the awful, sickening, disease-spreading, suffocating stench . . . Millions of flies were permitted undisturbed to pester the unhappy victims. (qtd. in Pepper 1910:170)

Some villagers, knowing the Christian missionaries' “hunger” for new converts, resorted to selling their young children for a few days' supply of food. Dr Louis Klopsch wrote “repeatedly parents had offered me children for sale at a rupee

each, or about thirty cents. And they love them as we love our children. Children are now being offered for sale as low as four cents each, for a measure of grain” (qtd. in Pepper 1910:171). The British response was as usual. The Vice-Roy Curzon cut the rations to less than the infamous Temple wage, restricted the relief eligibility by introducing the equally infamous Temple test, deported the refugees into the British India back to neighboring states, where puppet governments, totally dependent on the British, could not cope with the humanitarian disaster.

The total death toll of all three waves of famine and famine-related diseases, according to Mike Davis:, “could not have been less than 30 million people. Fifty million dead might not be unrealistic” (2002:7). The survivors of the famines were struck by locust, malaria, bubonic plagues, dysentery, smallpox and cholera. Sometimes it was virtually impossible to distinguish famine victims from epidemics victims. The reason for that was that malnutrition and unsanitary conditions of work camps combined to increase the mortality. Often deaths were misinterpreted to disguise the true magnitude of famine. The epidemics and famines formed a vicious circle—even when rains came back, there was often an outbreak of malaria and the villagers were dying in their thousands, which further delayed the resumption of agricultural practices. Owing to the lack of plough animals, eaten during the famine, the cultivation of land was not very productive, and often the first good crops were ruined by locust, which also had a tendency to appear with terrible vengeance after each wave of famine.

Those millions of people died, as Mike Davis: contends, “not outside the ‘modern world system’ but in the very process of being forcibly incorporated into its economic and political structures. They died in the golden age of Liberal Capitalism” (2002:9). They died at the end of the 19th century when, as Niall Ferguson rightly claims, the global order, based the free trade and free market, was beginning to emerge. For India modernization meant a transition to commodity economy. Earlier, Indian peasants grew sustenance crops: coarse rice, barley and millet, but with the onset of commodity economy, they were encouraged to grow profit crops for export—cotton and wheat, which reduced food security. In fact the regions which adhered to commodity economy were the epicenters of mass mortality during the famines.

Huge shipments of grain were exported to Britain in the midst of the most horrendous starvation, for example in 1876 the record exports of 6.4 cwt. were shipped to Europe (M. Davis 2002:26). A journalist commented that “[it] seems an anomaly that with her famines on hand India is able to supply food for parts of the world” (qtd. in M. Davis 2002: 26). In 1876-77 poor harvests in England generated a demand that absorbed most of wheat surplus from the North Western provinces if India. The commercial exports were used to stabilize the prices of food in England and occasionally to speculate on the European market, but in India they drained the country of food. Profits from

shipments went to British intermediaries and to rich *zamindars* not to tenants. Between 1875 and 1900, the years that included the worst famines, exports increased from 3 million to 10 million tons (a quantity that, as Digby calculated, was equivalent to annual nutrition of 25 million people).

The odds were always against the peasants. When the crops were bad the grain prices rocketed as a result of speculation, which was a natural reaction of the market to shortages. Price regulation could have reduced the frenzy of speculation, but it was an anathema to the British administration, whose officers were raised on the concepts of Smith, Mill and Bentham. Often producers had to go into debt to buy additional grain at extortionate prices to resume production next year. But when crops were good, the prices of grain were so low that the producers could not sell their crops with a profit or pay off their debts. The local producers of wheat, cotton or opium (sold by British to China to make it docile) did not have any bargaining power. Crops were sold at fixed prices and producers had no chance to exploit auspicious price trends. The middlemen, conversely, made enormous profits, which they later could use for usury. Many lenders often bought crops at half price, but lent money at usurious 38% interest (M. Davis 2002:325).

Moreover the international grain markets were very volatile. Often the British buyers suddenly switched to more attractive markets (for example Argentina), where the grain was cheaper, with disastrous results for the Indian producers. For example, during the Civil war in the USA, the Indian producers were encouraged to convert vast acreages to cotton production, but when the US export of cotton resumed, the prices of cotton plummeted below the cost of production. Another recession that affected India was brought about by the fall of the Jay Cooke Company, which entailed a decline in demand for colonial products. It affected the market prices of cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar. The New International Gold standard introduced in 1870s was the beginning of a new international monetary system. It caused devaluation of the silver rupee and cost India around 105 million pounds between 1874 and 1894 (M. Davis 2002:303).

Shipments were made even from the drought stricken districts to central depots for protection from rioters. Indian railroads, which the British advertised as their great gift to the country, integrated thousands of villages into the international trade. Paraded as “institutional safeguards against famine,” together with the free market policy, the railroads sped up the spread of famine (an occasionally also disease as for example in 1889-91 when the trains carried from Bombay grain contaminated with bubonic plague) (M. Davis 2002: 150). William Digby calculated that in the Bombay and Madras Deccan “the population decreased more rapidly [23%] where the districts were saved by railways than where there were no railways [21%], This is a protection against famine in the entirely wrong direction” concluded Digby (qtd. in M. Davis 2002:111). Railroads would not bring food into districts whose inhabitants did

not have the sufficient purchasing power. Pierre Loti, a French novelist and naval officer, travelling on train through India during the second wave, wrote:

Even now there are four wagons of rice coupled to the train behind, the loads pass daily, but no one would give anything to the children, not even a handful, not even the few grains on which they might survive for a little more. These wagons were reserved for the inhabitants of those towns where people still have money and can pay (qtd. in M. Davis 2002: 169).

As Pierre Loti observed, for the English administration the free grain market was more important than the life of children crying of hunger.

Thus Gandhi was right when he claimed that railroads “depleted the countryside of its [food] stocks and killed the handicrafts” (“Discussion with Woodrow Wyatt” 404-5). India’s incorporation into the world economy ruined her industries because she was a “captive market,” where English goods (mostly cotton) were sold. According to Cain and Hopkins (296) and Marcello de Cecco (298), the Indian market helped to postpone the decline of British capitalism, which at the end of the 19th century could not compete on more demanding markets. In India to eliminate competition the British discouraged the rise of industries by keeping the tariffs on their own imported cotton goods low. Consequently British products were very cheap, which put out of business not only local Indian manufacturers but also local artisans for whom weaving had been an additional source of income, protecting them from sustenance instability. Punitive taxes were imposed on the local woven goods.

The British Empire was also responsible for the disruption of pre-capitalist social relations and the destruction of the “corporate life” in India (M. Davis 2002: 339). The British efforts to modernize India, by means of British laws of land tenure and methods of agricultural production, ripped the old social fabric of the country and turned its castes into antagonistic groups, no longer mutually interdependent. The British put an end to the traditional system of household and village grain reserves, replacing it with cash nexus and merchant inventories. They also removed patrimonial obligations, whereby the dominating castes exercised managerial control over the complex network of social production and public works such as weaving or irrigation. The breakdown of this system made it possible for the richer castes to abandon investment in agriculture for the sake of usury, which was much safer and more profitable than agriculture. The richer, freed from their traditional obligations towards the poor, could exploit whatever limited resources they had for their own selfish advantage (M. Davis 2002:339). For instance, the change in the system affected the distribution and access to the most important common good—water. In pre-British India water had not been anybody’s property, but under the British, water was the property of the person who owned the land, and it had to be purchased as any other commodity. The former rulers of India, Mughals, who were often criticized by the British, had used taxes to promote

water conservation, and tax-concession was granted to those villagers who build wells and irrigation systems. But in British India, *ryots* who built wells were punitively taxed 12 rupees per year (M. Davis 2002:335).

“The British complained about the ‘inertia’ of India,” writes Davis:, “but when it came to potentially life-saving local, public works, they themselves were the embodiment of decisive inaction” (2002:338). To make matters worse they could be very profligate with money even in the midst of the most horrendous humanitarian crises. In the middle of 1876 famine, for example, the Vice-Roy Lytton organized the Imperial Assemblage in Delhi to proclaim Queen Victoria as the Empress of India. The week-long feast for 68 thousand officials was “the most colossal and expensive meal in world history” (M. Davis 2002:28). During the second famine, the acute distress in the country did not prevent the British from organizing Jubilee Ceremonies to celebrate 60th anniversary of Queen Victoria’s rule. Julian Hawthorne claimed that 1 000 000 000 \$ was spent on the preparations (M. Davis 2002:157-8). Finally during the third famine, the Vice-Roy Curzon was raising private money for the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta rather than for the starving victims.

The war with Russia in Afghanistan cost India more than soil conservation or irrigation works. British hypocrisy reached its apogee when “famine insurance” was introduced. In theory, its purpose was to raise money for irrigation works, while in fact, it was a cynical façade for raising money for the Afghan war (the evidence comes from Vice-Roy Lytton correspondence qtd. in M. Davies 57). Military expenditures amounted to 25% of India’s annual budget (by comparison in Victorian England—3% of net national product was allocated to navy and army), less than 2% went to agriculture and education, while 4% went to public works. The Indian army took part in various imperialist military operations, such as the sacking of Beijing (1860); the invasion of Ethiopia (1868), the occupation of Egypt (1882), the conquest of the Soudan (1896-98). The railroad system, in contrast, consumed up until 1880 thirteen times as much money as investment in hydraulic works (M. Davis 2002: 325).

The agricultural expansion also flew in the face of common sense and went beyond limits of ecological sustainability. The British agricultural experts believed that “rain follows the plough,” and that the semi-arid lands can be turned into fields with profitable crops, which of course did not happen. On the whole the irrigation improvements lagged behind the agricultural expansion pushed by cotton and wheat demand into areas vulnerable to ENSO² cycles. As far back as 1785, Edmund Burke indicted the East India Company for its neglect of irrigation, whereas at the end of the 19th century C. J. O’Donnell, an experienced administrator, complained that despite the British desire to “[broaden] the basis of taxation” any investment in irrigation is a “hateful” idea

(qtd. in M. Davis 2002: 334). The few British efforts to improve irrigation were simply misguided. The much celebrated canals built in the Punjab, served first and foremost, like the railways, to rob the country of its produce. Moreover, this investment brought about unforeseen consequences: the area was blighted with salinity, the rising water tables caused seepage from irrigated fields and dried the wells, while mosquito-born diseases like malaria decimated the local population.

The desire to increase the acreage for export crops was also the main reason of the enclosures of common pastures and forests. These enclosures contributed to the ecological disaster that was the root cause of the subsequent waves of famine. The enclosures of pastures brought about a decline in plough cattle and the cattle manure used for fertilization. That, in turn, caused the exhaustion of soil (sped up by the cotton production), and consequently a decrease in productivity. By the end of the colonial period, 38% of soil was highly eroded (M. Davis 2002:332). The enclosures had also serious social outcomes. Nomadic cattle breeders, described by the British as “criminal tribes,” were squeezed out of economy and doomed to die. The forests and common lands (“wastes” in the official British terminology), which in times of austerity in pre-British India used to provide for free 55% of the fodder requirement for the poor, were transformed into a taxable private property or state monopolies where the poor were denied access (M. Davis 2002:326). “Even dung was turned into a revenue for Queen Victoria,” caustically commented Davis (2002:326-7).

The famines were “engines of historical transformation” (Arnold 15) in yet another sense—each global drought was the green light for the intensification of Christian proselytism and imperialist land rash. The famines were a chance to increase the number of converts and strike against the native landowners, whose lands were mercilessly confiscated for outstanding debts and taxes. In pre-British India Mughal officials reduced peasants’ obligations towards the state, if their own survival was at stake. But in British India, as Davies documents, taxes were fixed with scant regard for climate variations, and occasionally they were raised in the middle of the worst distress to facilitate the takeover of lands. Lt.-Col. Osborn, a British Army officer in India, who was continual at odds with Lytton’s policies, said that the British rule in India was “so hard and mechanical in character” that “to the great mass of people, the English official is simply an enigma . . . a piece of machinery possessing powers to kill and tax and imprison” (M. Davis 2002:325).

Was then the British rule in India “the most extraordinary act of charity in world history,” (Davis 2002:331) or are we to consider the British in the Raj as “the Nazis of their time,” as Nirad C. Chaudhuri asserts (357)? In words of Sir Richard and Sir General John Starchey “India has received to a degree unheard-of and unthought-of before protection for life and property,” and a generous investment in its infrastructure (“9000 miles of railway and 20 000

miles of telegraph”) (qtd. in M. Davis 2002:331). “The accomplishment of this work, and the expenditure of all this,” according to Sir Richard and Sir General John Starchey, “have increased to an extent absolutely incalculable the wealth and comfort of the people of India,” and all this with “[adding] nothing to the actual burden of taxation” (qtd. in M. Davis 2002:331). Mike Davis writes in response to this assertion: “if the history of British rule in India were to be condensed into a single fact it is this, there was no increase in India’s per capita income from 1757 to 1947. Indeed in the last half of the 19th century income probably declined by more than 50%” (311). The research undertaken by Indian historians also bears witness to the galloping pauperization of Indians at end of the 19th century. Prasannan Parthasarathi, for example, claims that Indian laborers in the 18th century had higher wages than their counterparts in Europe, but as Romesh Chunder Dutt points out, by 1900 the average British household’s income was 21 times higher than Indian (qtd. in Parthasarathi 1998:292).

Thus as Mike Davis 2002: argues, the British sowed the seeds of underdevelopment in India making it a part of the Third World. By 1947 India had not developed industry to compensate for the poverty of countryside. When the power was transferred from the British 53% of the rural population lived below the poverty line. (Raychaudhuri 1996:262-3). “Moreover , in the age of Kipling . . . the life expectancy of ordinary Indians fell by a staggering 20 precedent, a deterioration in human health probably without precedent in the subcontinent long history o war and invasion” (Davis 2002:312). When India gained independence, “the average life expectancy was 29 years,” and “nearly half population could not afford the minimum amount of food required to sustain the human body” (Raychaudhuri 1996:262-3).

3. Conclusion

The human loss caused by the great famines in India ought to be sufficient to annul any accolades for the Empire. But if they were enough it might be illuminating to look at other achievements of the Empire that Niall Ferguson points out. As for the British institutions implanted in India, they indeed survived—the administrative and judiciary system were extended and modified and the parliamentary rule was sustained. “But it is not . . . the end result of smooth or continuous developments sponsored by the Raj” (Raychaudhuri 264), as Niall Ferguson would like to think. The representatives institutions were introduced by the British to merely mitigate opposition, and in 1919 only 2% of the population had the right to vote, while in 1937, ten to 13 % of the population was enfranchised (K. Davis 2002: qtd. in Raychaudhuri 265). In the sphere of education after 180 years of exposure to the British civilization 88% of the population was illiterate, and schools and colleges were few and far between. Still the westernization of the elites of the Raj has widened the gap

between these elites and the masses with the effect that even today “[the] elite’s way of thinking remains incomprehensible to the masses” (Raychaudhuri 1996:369). The partition of India, in which, according to different estimates, from several hundred thousand to a million people lost their lives, also was a direct effect of the British policy of “divide and rule” in India. Thus Indian nationalism and the Indo-phobia that it induces in Pakistan and Bangladesh must also be included amongst the negative inheritance of the colonial past.

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II

ELT STUDIES

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE CELTA SYLLABUS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF SAUDI ARABIA

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***Abstract:** The focus of this paper is on the cultural aspects of the internationally, well-recognised and accepted international teacher training course known as Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA), or rather, the lack of it. In what follows, we will first discuss the various aspects related to the importance of culture and its inclusion in the field of English Language Teaching (ELT). Next, we will discuss the main highlights of the CELTA course and its main components and present a practical suggestion for implementing a short ‘culture’ component that can be easily integrated into the course where it will increase cultural awareness amongst new teachers embarking on a career abroad in a foreign country and hopefully achieve pedagogical competence when working abroad.*

***Keywords:** CELTA. Culture. ELT. EFL. Saudi Arabia*

1. Introduction

Considered to be a short, initial training program for those with limited experience teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), the international teacher training course known as Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA) aims to equip ESOL teachers to teach in a variety of contexts around the world. However, a close examination of the CELTA syllabus indicates that practical teaching skills and teacher behaviour are predominant features of its curriculum, while cultural aspects of English language instruction are often neglected or overlooked. Ideally, training programs for language teachers should prepare teachers “not only in the technical knowledge of language of various discourses of related fields, but [should also focus on] the cultural and socio political issues that come with teaching English” (Troudi 2006:119). With such cultural awareness, teachers can ensure that every aspect of their practice is informed by a deep understanding of students’ local culture, students’ approaches to learning English, and students’ identities as second or foreign language users.

This paper questions the absence of cultural aspects in the CELTA syllabus in the light of international teaching contextual features. It argues that CELTA course designers and other educators of novice English language teachers need to consider including some cultural knowledge components in their curricula. It is my contention that the introduction of these elements can help these teachers to prepare lessons that address their students’ sociolinguistic and communicative language needs based on their own contextual learning culture. Also, having a thorough understanding of such cultural knowledge

issues can improve teachers' ability to fulfil their purpose of students learning of English language as well.

To achieve this end, I shall first define the concept of culture in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) instruction and explain its importance. Following a general description of the CELTA syllabus, I shall explain how CELTA attempts to produce robotic teachers who often follow prescribed teaching strategies in order to be successful in their classrooms, without taking the local needs of their students into consideration. Lastly, I shall suggest the introduction of postmethod pedagogy principles in the CELTA syllabus as an effective means for offering EFL teachers' better understanding of cultural knowledge issues, and I argue that greater awareness of the potential advantages of these pedagogical principles in their EFL teaching contexts can help to improve their routine teaching practice.

2. Cultural Knowledge

2.1. Definition of Culture in ELT

The term *culture* in English Language Teaching (ELT) includes cognitive, affective, and behavioural components (Kumaravdivelu, 2003a). The cognitive component includes knowledge about the geography, lifestyle, values, and attitudes in the second language (L2) learners' community. The affective component refers to empathy for the L2 learners' culture. The behavioural component is related to the ability to interpret culturally relevant behaviour, and behave in culturally appropriate ways.

Troudi distinguishes between what he calls large and small cultures. According to him, "large culture refers to entities such as ethnicity, national and geographical boundaries, religion, language and their effects on people's everyday lives. In contrast, small culture refers to any type of cohesive behaviour and shared definitions within a social group" (2005:121). The classroom is an example of small culture. Troudi views the classroom as a sociocultural community where students and teacher create shared goals and patterns of interaction. Such a project requires teachers to integrate both home-language culture and target-language culture in their classrooms. More precisely, teachers and students need to develop their own critical culture.

The concept of critical culture is based on the idea that "every cultural community has virtues to be proud of, and every cultural community has vices to be ashamed of" (Kumaravdivelu 2003a:284). In a classroom context, participants develop their own culture that incorporates all the best of the different cultures learners bring with them into the classroom. Highlighting the advantage of implementing the critical culture, Arffin (2006) argues that making use of both cultures in the classroom is valuable because students will

be encouraged to discover similarities between their own and the target culture, rather than focusing on differences.

Many EFL teachers are concerned about the best way to understand culture. I have the exact same opinion as Liu, “the best way to understand a culture is to be immersed in it” (1998:8). Approached in this way, culture is not viewed as a collection of static facts or discrete items but rather as a process, i.e., as a way of perceiving, interpreting, feeling, understanding, and being in the world.

2.1.1. The Importance of Culture in ELT

Kumaravdivelu (2003a:252) states that “no classroom is an island unto itself. Every classroom is influenced by and is a reflection of the larger society of which it is a part”. This means that culture plays a significant role in language classrooms. How a learner learns the second language and uses it highly depends on the sum of the learner’s prior experiences, the sociocultural contexts in which the learning takes place, and what the learner wants, needs, and/or is expected to do with that knowledge (Johnson 2009).

Culture plays a vital role in language classrooms for two reasons. First, cultural knowledge provides the basis for the content and topics used in classroom instructions and discussions. Second, teaching strategies are frequently chosen based on particular cultural models (McKay 2003). In my Saudi teaching context, for example, communicative language teaching (CLT) is met with resistance from students most of the time. Saudi students perceive the teacher as a figure of authority and a source of knowledge, but CLT methodology leaves students feeling that the teacher is not doing his/her job properly. This proves that imposing a certain teaching methodology without considering the ways and minds of local people or respecting the culture of learning will trigger a rejection of the lesson that immediately hinders learning the second language.

By contrast, awareness of the L2 learners’ culture will help the teacher design activities that accommodate students’ personal differences and help them develop their individual identities. More than that, it allows learners to use the language to express their own cultural identity, in their local contexts, and on their own terms. In more accurate words, associating culture to ELT will give L2 learners the chance to become bilingual without being bicultural. Alpetkin and Alpetkin (2013) confirm that there has been an increase in disassociating the learning of the English language from its nationality-bound cultural contexts. In my Saudi context, for instance, L2 learners reject the norms and values of the English-speaking cultures, but still acquire English satisfactorily. They are motivated to use the English language to express their own ideology, assumptions, and cultural basis rather than of the Englishmen. In this way the English language classroom is not just a context for the learning of isolated

language skills, but a community where ideologies and meanings are co-constructed and individual personalities are developed.

Another example of the phenomenon of bilingualism without biculturalism in ELT is TESOL Islamia. The organization is developed by a group of ELT professionals in the Middle East in order to promote ELT in ways that best serve the socio-political, sociocultural and socioeconomic interest of the Islamic world (Kumaravdivelu 2006a). One of their main goals is to promote and safeguard Islamic values in the ELT in the Muslim world.

3. A General Overview of the CELTA Course and its Components

Syllabus Overview

Cambridge English for Teaching describes CELTA as “an introductory course for candidates who have little or no previous English language teaching experience” (2010:2). The syllabus covers five specific topic areas:

- Topic 1 Learners and teachers, and the teaching and learning context
- Topic 2 Language analysis and awareness
- Topic 3 Language skills: reading, listening, speaking and writing
- Topic 4 Planning and resources for different teaching contexts
- Topic 5 Developing teaching skills and professionalism (ibid).

These topics are delivered via lectures, tutorial support, supervised lesson planning, supervised teaching practice, and teaching feedback (Hobbs, 2013). The course involves 120 hours of tutor contact e.g. input, supervised lesson planning and feedback, six hours of assessed teaching practice for each trainee, and six hours of observation of experienced teachers.

3.1. Topic Descriptions

The first topic, *Learners, teachers, and the teaching and learning context*, provides candidates with a general understanding of the range of backgrounds and experiences that adult learners bring to their classes, including the different motivations and expectations that adults bring to learning English. In particular, it seeks to raise awareness of the ways in which personal factors may affect language learning, and of the different learning styles and preferences that adults bring to learning English (Cambridge English for Teaching 2010).

Topic 2, *Language analysis and awareness*, provides a framework for grammatical rules, word formation, and English phonemes. Topic 3, *Language*

skills: reading, listening, speaking and writing, introduces the basic features of written texts, spoken English, and listening texts. It also introduces key teaching strategies and approaches for developing learners' receptive and productive skills. Topic 3, *Planning and resources for different teaching contexts*, introduces principles of effective planning and teaching and encourages candidates to select, adapt, and evaluate materials and resources in planning. Finally, Topic 5, *Developing teaching skills and professionalism*, explores the practical skills required for teaching at a range of levels, the use of teaching materials and resources, and the evaluation of the teaching and learning process.

3.2. Assessment

Candidates are assessed by CELTA tutors throughout the course. There are two areas of assessment, written assignments and planning and teaching (Cambridge English for Teaching 2010).

Candidates are required to submit four written assignments, the first of which focuses on adult learners and learning contexts. The second assignment is focused on aspect of the language system of English, and the third on an aspect of language skills. The fourth and final assignment asks candidates to reflect on their classroom teaching and identify action points through which to improve and develop their learning and practice.

In addition to these four assignments, candidates must teach for a total of six hours, working with classes at two levels of ability (e.g., Elementary and Intermediate levels). Assessment is based on the candidate's overall ability in the classroom during the six hours of teaching practice.

4. The Neglect of Culture in the CELTA: The Pedagogical Outcome

Many international trainees are enrolled in the CELTA program. The program is offered by several Cambridge-accredited teaching training centres around the world. In spite of their different backgrounds and needs, these trainees are usually given the same training as their monolingual English speaking peers. They are introduced to many teaching methodologies that are dominant in Western-English speaking countries, but may be considered impractical in most non-English speaking countries (Liu 1998).

This unified training produces a gap between what multi-lingual trainees learn during the CELTA course and what they face in their real classrooms back home. This gap has a harmful effect on the local teaching environment of many trainees. As a consequence, CELTA holders often are confronted with two problems: first, the conflict between their newly acquired methodologies and those that are still firmly followed by local professionals and second, the dilemma of whether or not to compromise these methods and techniques to match the local needs of the learners.

My own experience of teaching English in a Saudi context illustrates this point. As in most non-English speaking countries, English is treated as a required academic subject in Saudi Arabia, rather than as a tool for survival in business and education. The language classrooms are large (a minimum of 30 students), the teacher is seen as a fount of knowledge, and the method of instruction is teacher-cantered. Considering these factors, a newly qualified, CELTA-holding teacher will face strong resistance from students when implementing Western-oriented methodologies such as communicative language teaching (CLT), for three reasons. First, students will not realize the need of communicating the language because they only need to understand how the language works in order to pass the subject. Second, monitoring and facilitating thirty students while communicating will be challenging, if not impossible, for an inexperienced teacher. Third, many students who are used to the traditional teacher-cantered way of instruction will complain that the teacher is not doing his/her job properly.

This view is shared by Pennycook (1989:589), who proclaims that the concept of method “reflects a particular view of the world and is articulated in the interests of unequal power relationship”. In my view, the teaching methodologies proposed in the CELTA program view teaching English as an inner-circle language rather than an international language. The problem of inner-circle ELT programs is that they prepare trainees to function in the inner circle countries, but not in a course that teaches English in the expanding circle countries (Matsuda 2003). For example, teaching inner-circle English in Saudi Arabia neglects the real linguistic needs of the learners, overshadows their Islamic culture, and fails to empower them with ownership of English.

Phillipson writes that “the professional discourse around ELT disconnects culture from structure by limiting the focus in language pedagogy to technical matters, that is, language and education in a narrow sense” (2008:48) and excluding social, economic, and political matters. Sharing this view, Murray (2009) criticizes the CELTA program for its focus on technical teaching strategies, leading to the neglect of the social and intellectual realms. In her view, the effect of this narrow focus devalues the teacher’s autonomy and creates a teaching framework which has no place in the local teaching context. Prabhu supports Murray’s call for teacher autonomy when arguing that teachers need to “operate with some personal conceptualization of how their teaching leads to desired learning” (1990:172).

From the above discussion of teacher’s autonomy it may be inferred that CELTA promotes robotic language teachers who often follow prescribed teaching strategies in order to be successful in their classrooms, without taking the local and cultural needs of their students into consideration. These robotic language teachers have adequate ability in terms of lesson planning, choosing activity, and imposing different teaching methodologies. However, despite the importance of these elements in teaching, their ability to make informed

pedagogical choices does not necessarily follow from them (Hobbs, 2013). CELTA robotic trainees do not have the ability to think critically about teaching and teaching contexts, and as a consequence they cannot generate innovative practices which are particular to their local classrooms.

5. The Postmethod Pedagogy: A Practical Way to Implement Culture in Teaching

Simply infusing an introductory course on cultural awareness into the CELTA syllabus is unlikely to bring about the kind of paradigm shift that is aimed for. Instead, along with the knowledge of the local culture, teachers must gain competence in constructing pedagogical practices that are sensitive to the local society, culture, and learners. One possible way to achieve this is to incorporate into teacher training programs such as CELTA a course on postmethod pedagogy. The postmethod signifies the possibility of incorporating the local culture into the EFL pedagogy. The concept of the postmethod can be summarized as follows:

The postmethod perspective seeks to equip student teachers with the knowledge, skill, attitude, and autonomy necessary to devise for themselves a systematic, coherent, and relevant theory of practice. It promotes the ability of teachers to know how to develop a reflective approach to their own teaching, how to analyse and evaluate their own teaching practice, how to initiate change in their classroom and how to monitor the effects of such changes (Kumaravadivelu 2012:10).

CELTA trainers introduce language teaching methods that are predominantly top-down -- i.e., the conception and construction of these methods “have been largely guided by a one size-fits-all-cookie-cutter approach that assumes a common clientele with common goal” (ibid). However, as the above quote suggests, the postmethod pedagogy is a bottom-up process. The process requires both language teachers and teacher educators to use their professional and personal knowledge in order to devise a pedagogy that is sensitive to local needs, wants, and situations (Kumaravadivelu 2003b).

The postmethod pedagogy consists of three parameters: particularity, practicality and possibility. The parameter of particularity calls for context-sensitive, location-specific pedagogy (Kumaravadivelu, 2006b). It emphasizes that language teaching “must be sensitive to a particular group of teachers teaching a particular group of learners pursuing a particular set of goals within a particular institutional context embedded in a particular sociocultural milieu” (Kumaravadivelu, 2001:538). The parameter of practicality refers to the relationship between theory and practice. It enables and encourages teachers “to theorize from their practice and to practice what they theorize” (Kumaravadivelu 2006b:69). The parameter of possibility seeks to empower classroom participants to reflect critically on their socio-political and cultural

knowledge. Such a reflection “should help [classroom participants] appropriate the English language and use in their own terms according to their own values and visions” (Kumararvadivelu 2003b:544).

6. Conclusion

Teacher education program designers in general and CELTA course designers in particular must take into account the cultural and socio-political issues that are relevant to the contexts of the second language learners. Incorporating cultural knowledge and socio-political issues into the CELTA syllabus not only would help language teachers acquire a basic starter pack of ELT methodologies, but it also would ensure that every aspect of the teacher’s teaching practice is informed by a deep understanding of students’ local intellectual conditions. Blending the postmethod pedagogy into the CELTA syllabus will facilitate teachers in devising a context-sensitive teaching practice, enabling “practitioners to generate location-specific, classroom oriented innovative practices” (Murray, 2009:23).

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ESP IN THE CLASSROOM: STUDENT AND TEACHER COMPETENCIES IN MODERN COMPUTER AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES

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Abstract: *This paper is going to present an approach to developing language competencies both in teachers and students on the example of the Technical College of Applied Sciences in Niš, Serbia at the departments of Modern Computer and Communication Technologies with the idea to draw attention to the advantages of this approach which has been tested in practice over the years.*

Keywords: *evaluation, skills, student competencies, teacher competencies*

1. Introduction

With rapid technological development, English for Science and Technology (EST) has become one of the areas in ESP that is constantly undergoing changes in its content, trying to keep up the pace with the trends in modern technology. Students who study at Modern Computer Technologies and Communication Technology Departments at the College of Applied Sciences in Niš, Serbia as members of the large EST family are also affected by the needs of the technological market which has a demand for highly skilled and competent young workers who among other qualifications should have high level of proficiency in English as lingua franca of today. Building student competencies in the second language thus proves to be the key component in EST quality tuition which is to enable students to take chances at the competitive professional market. In order to be able to provide good quality tuition, we as EST practitioners at the College know that we must be aware of our competencies as teachers all the time, striving to improve them in order to achieve better performances in the classroom. We are fully aware that teaching ESP requires a determination to get involved in a life-long learning process and start with constant work on developing personal language competencies and the competencies in methodology and techniques of ESP. However, there is a pedagogical obstacle which has paradoxically led to the phenomenon that ESP teachers are expected to design ESP courses and define student competencies although their personal competencies in ESP have not been firmly and clearly established at the level of higher education.

Defining student competencies is not a difficult task if there is a clear vision of the market needs and good collaboration between higher education institutions and the representatives of the market field. What is a more difficult task for us is to have a clear picture on teacher competencies in ESP, bearing in

mind that there is not even a specialised training in Serbian higher education system for the practitioners of ESP. Current education and training is available in the fields of linguistics, literature, methodology and translation studies but not in the field of ESP. Usually, the teachers who work in the area of ESP are forced to find out on their own how they should be teaching ESP courses, which gives them a lot of freedom on one hand but also brings many doubts and uncertainties on the other hand. An ESP teacher thus must develop his/her own set of competencies which is going to be tested in practice and get positively evaluated by students who give significant contribution to the quality assurance policy at the College through their feedbacks. The aim of this paper is to present a set of competencies developed both for teachers and students at the College of Applied Studies in Serbia first and foremost to inform newcomers in ESP on the topic of competencies but also to assist other practitioners who are facing a similar problem in their system of education.

2.Student and Teacher Competencies

2.1. Student Competencies

Although we as ESP teachers at the College insist on integrative methodology model proposed by Hutchinson and Waters (1990:140-160) which combines all the four skills in the second language acquisition, we put special stress on communication competencies of students.

Speaking skills of EST students after completing the course should be the following:

- to be able to start and lead conversation on professional topics
- to participate in debates and discussions on different professional topics providing enough arguments in conversation
- to be capable of giving oral presentations in English on job-related topics
- to be able to defend seminar papers on specialized EST topics
- to be able to use adequate registry, discourse markers and grammar constructions in professional communication
- to know how to describe processes, define terms, explain procedures, and give instructions related to the profession

To achieve this goal, students have a lot of practical activities in class which allow them to practise their conversation in English. Usually, students are given role-plays, for practice, or are expected to participate in discussions on case-studies, simulations and problem-solving tasks. To ensure the quality of their speaking skills, the students are exposed to authentic materials most of the time. All this is part of the strategy of the constructivist learning approach by Oleg Tarnopolsky (Tarnopolsky 2014:14-40) that we have tested in practice and

then decided to keep on using in our ESP tuition since the achieved results proved to be extremely satisfactory.

Another aspect to improving conversation in English is the insistence on close observation of peer performance. It can be very useful and instructive for students to listen to their peers when they give their presentations and defend seminar papers. This is a good way for them to learn how to avoid making similar errors and to acquire good language patterns. That is why oral presentations and seminar papers are always given in front of the entire class and not in isolated teacher-student situations.

Writing skills are the second most important skill for EST students at the College.

As far as this skill is concerned, the students should learn how to:

- write a CV in English
- write a project report in English
- prepare seminar papers
- write business letters
- summarize and retell the reading material
- exhibit variety of grammatical structures and lexical choices in their writing style
- describe the processes and explain how devices function in the written form

Although translation skills are a separate skill they are also found among writing skills for students since they are being given written texts for translation, from English into Serbian or vice versa.

In order to help students develop their listening skills, authentic materials such as audio-recordings or video clips which deal with Modern Computer and Communication Technologies are used in class.

These teaching aids are applied in the classroom to help students gain good quality listening skills and be able to:

- understand native speakers discussing professional topics
- search for specific information in the listening samples
- take notes on what they hear
- do comprehension exercises related to listening tasks

The last but not the least, the reading skill is developed through constant exposure of students to authentic reading materials to be found in the scientific magazines, textbooks, user manuals, web-sites, etc. These reading skills will eventually enable students to :

- read professional texts
- read info from graphics, diagrams and charts
- do comprehension check exercises after reading

Before their final exam, which consists of the written and the oral part, students have two prelims where they are supposed to present their seminar papers. Usually they are given five different professional topics, one of which is

a professional topic of their own choice. First they need to write their seminar papers at home and then they have to defend them orally in front of their peers during their prelims. The work of students is ;however, constantly been monitored. They are given special points for the activity in practical classes, their homework assignments and Power-point presentations. Mock tests are also organised on regular basis to check the students' progress in vocabulary, grammar, spelling and translation. All of the above mentioned teaching activities contribute greatly to the development of students' skills and competencies and expand their knowledge on the target language.

2.2 Teacher Competencies

Since a set of defined competencies for ESP teachers does not exist, we as ESP practitioners have developed our own set of competencies at the level of the College which we use for self-evaluation. With neither a systematic training in ESP during the process of obtaining diploma for English language teachers nor a pre-service training in ESP when becoming a teacher in vocational higher education, we felt a need to make a framework of our own in which to operate thus creating a system which can make our tuition purposeful, useful and beneficiary for the students and their target language needs. Due to the fact that ESP teachers are left on their own to design ESP courses, decide upon methods and techniques they will be using, generate and select specialised course materials, competencies of teachers to perform such serious tasks must be on a high level not only in organisation of an ESP course but also later on in conducting it as well. Let alone the high level of the language for specific purposes which is a prerogative for ESP teachers who teach it. Master (1998:27) claimed some twenty years ago that ESP was "concerned with needs analysis and materials development". As the recent research on ESP studies (Stojković 2014) shows, nothing has much changed since Master's statement in 1998. ESP practitioners are still facing the same problems. Thus the analysis of teacher competencies must be done regularly in order to increase self-awareness on skills, knowledge and performances to be exhibited in the classroom for the sake of assuring a good quality teaching process.

The ones who are competent enough to comment on our teacher competencies are of course our students. They state their personal opinion on their own competencies as well as ours as their teachers in a specially designed evaluation questionnaire which has been composed at the College.

Owing to the results of this evaluation, we as ESP practitioners can have an insight in students' confidence in their own skills and their personal level of satisfaction with the course but also we can get an idea where we as teachers make mistakes or fail to meet the students' needs and expectations. Thus, the set of teacher competencies that we have generated can be double checked through this evaluation which is administered to the students at the end of their

ESP course. We as ESP practitioners are trying to improve ourselves based on the results of evaluation, in belief that we must maintain the high level of the following competencies of ESP teachers:

Speaking competencies:

- to lead and facilitate communication activities
- to use exemplary ESP and academic language in the classroom
- to conduct discussions and debates on professional topics
- to conduct mock job interviews
- to teach students how to describe, explain and define certain processes and procedures related to the profession
- to explain technical terms
- to train students to develop professional English presentation skills

Reading competencies:

- to understand professional texts and be able to present them to students
- to identify the main ideas in the text on professional topics
- to teach and explain vocabulary items from the texts
- to be able to retell and summarize professional texts
- to be able to recycle and reuse the language from the reading samples
- to read and interpret graphic information

Listening competencies:

- to be able to understand native speakers discussing professional topics
- to recognise the information incorporated in intonation, pitch and accent of native speakers
- to listen for specific details, constructions or ideas
- to take notes on listening samples
- to prepare transcripts of the listening samples

Writing competencies:

- to train students how to write CVs, business letters, project reports, professional Power point presentations, seminar papers
- to teach students the specifics of the writing style commonly used in their profession

3. Conclusion

The competencies for teachers and their students that have been developed at the College of Applied Technical Studies in Niš in the field of EST specialised language can be applied with some minor changes or no changes at all to other areas of ESP teaching as well. For that reason these lists of competencies may serve as check lists for the ESP practitioners in the process of their self-evaluation which can help them to get a more clear picture of the effects and the results of their tuition. Personal development is a

necessity for ESP practitioners and this is one of the ways how to strive for that perfection.

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CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH CLIL

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Abstract: *The CLIL approach is a modern manner of teaching English, which has been adapted in Romanian schools and universities. An interesting aspect of learning a foreign language is the contact with its culture/s and the changes it produces in terms of identity. Therefore, a challenging question to be answered is whether a CLIL approach focusing on culture influences students' cultural identity.*

Keywords: *CLIL, cultural identity*

1. CLIL/Content and Language Integrated Learning

An educational approach that dates back in Antiquity, when Latin was used as language of instruction in European universities, being the language of law, science, theology, philosophy, this is what we nowadays call CLIL/Content and Language Integrated Learning. For a certain extent of time this type of teaching and learning has been out of practice, till recently, 1965, the date at which a language immersion programme in Canada was started. Its aims were to create bilingual citizens, to make learning languages easier and to improve the motivation of the students involved.

Content and language integrated learning is considered “a dual focused approach” (Mehisto, Marsh, Frigols 2008), “a fusion of subject didactics, leading to an innovation which emerged as education for modern times” (Coyle, Hood, Marsh 2010:ix), an umbrella term, used for bilingual education, language immersion, CBI -Content Based Instruction, EAL - English as an additional language, LAC - language across the curriculum, intercultural language teaching and learning in practice etc. The language employed is usually English, as the new lingua franca, therefore Dalton-Puffer (2011) proposed the term CEIL – Content and English Integrated Learning.

1.1. CLIL – Cultural Identity

The word *identity* can be traced back to the 16th century, coming from Latin *identitas*, from the latin *idem*, “same”, referring to the “characteristics determining who or what a person or a thing is” (www.oxforddictionaries.com). The concept has proven of great importance in the 20th century, when philosophers (Heidegger, Derrida, Foucault), psychologists and sociologists (Erikson, Barth, Tajfel, Bourdieu, Weedon, Hall) have defined and analysed it from multiple perspectives.

However, identity proves to be a shifting concept, an ambiguous one, impossible to give a sustainable definition. It is a product of the social as regarded by Tajfel and Turner (1979), being taken over by poststructuralists, Bourdieu (1992), Hall (1996), Weedon (1997). Theories coming from the field of sociology and psychology are of great interest to our subject: substantialist theories of identity, which focus on the objective features in defining identity (biological, social, historical) and interactionist theories which are based on the assumption that identity is the result of a process, determined by psychological, social, cultural and historical elements (Gavreliuc 2003).

This last type of theories are mentioned by Hall (1996) as well, discussing the change of identities in the modernity of the 20th century, old identities which are in decline, “giving rise to new identities, and fragmenting the modern individual as a unified subject” (Hall 1996:596), the crises of identity so specific for the modern age. Modern identities are de-centered, fragmented, dispersed, as a result of the transformation of the society:

A distinctive type of change is transforming modern societies in the late twentieth century. This is fragmenting the cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race and nationality which gave us firm location as social individuals. These transformations are also shifting our personal identities, undermining our sense of ourselves as integrated subjects. This loss of a stable “sense of self” is sometimes called dislocation or de-centering of the subject. This set of double displacements – de-centering individuals both from their place in the social and cultural world, and from themselves – constitutes a “crises of identity” for the individual. (Hall 1996:596-597)

Identity is also seen as “subjectivity”, in relation to the thoughts and emotions of the self, giving a new way of understanding the world, being “precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly reconstituted in process each time we think and speak” (Weedon 1997:32), the perspective of feminist theoretician.

Sociological theories mention the influence of the “significant others”, who influenced the self through their culture (values, meanings, symbols), identity being conceived as a result of the interaction between self and society (Mead, Cooley, apud Hall 1996). Therefore, our post-modern identities will not be permanent, unchanging, but constantly changing, a person assuming different identities in different contexts, experiencing contradictory, multiple identities, as “The fully unified, completed, secure, and coherent identity is a fantasy.” (Hall, 1996).

Individuals are defined by categories based on social class, religion, education, family, peer groups, but, most of all, “they are shaped and formed by their “culture” (Block 2007: 12). Cultural identity, part of social identity, has been given many definitions, the focus being on the distinctions between the two. However, nowadays this distinction has been rediscussed and the similarities have become more important than the differences (Norton 2006).

The five more important characteristics of identity as a sociocultural construct are summed up by Norton: identity is dynamic, constantly changing; it is multifaceted; “identity is constructed and constructs by language”; “identity construction must be understood with respect to larger social processes”, there is a coherent link between identity theory and classroom practice. (Norton 2006:3).

In the context of the modern world the students’ cultural identity, is viewed as a “sum of characteristics given by place, gender, age, history, nationality, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, orientation, ethnicity “(Meyer, 2008). From the psychological perspective, cultural identity can be seen as an “individual’s self-concept deriving from his/her awareness of membership in a particular social group” (Miville, Koonce, Darlington, & Whitlock 2000).

The identity of learners has been a subject of interest for some time, derived from poststructuralism, considered to be influenced by the social and cultural context (Norton 2008, Ortega 2009). The problem has been widely studied, especially with reference to ESL settings, due to the multicultural and multilingual situations: Norton (2000), Miller (2003) focussed on the study of immigrants’ identities in English speaking countries and Kanno (2003) brought more evidence to the fact that identities are constructed in relation to language and society.

Furthermore, the issue of identity in EFL classes has been discussed by Giampapa, Lamoureux (2011), who investigate the relationship language-identity-power in multilingual societies, in Canada, Spain, China and the United States. Intercultural learning, highlighting issues of identity, are topics researched by Menard-Warwick, Heredia-Herrera, Soares Palmer (2013), on students from Chile and the United States, observing the local and global perspectives.

However, there are few connections between cultural identity and CLIL, this being an interesting aspect to investigate. Arranz (2013) discusses the relationship between identity and culture in CLIL contexts, focusing on aspects related to culture, identity, ideology. He starts from the statement that “culture is a form of knowledge” and an intrinsic part of our culture, language being an important part of an individual’s identity, transmitting cultural elements, which are ideologically laden. Arranz connects SLA to identity issues, stating that there are “reasons to believe that SLA (especially if understood through the prism of EIL), may have potentially powerful effects on the learner’s identity” (2013:154), reaching the conclusion that no consistent empirical data are to be found and that the issue needs to be thoroughly researched.

The social dimension of learning in CLIL contexts has been disregarded until recently – there are just a few accounts of it, most research on CLIL focusing on aspects related to language/cognitive /didactical aspects. Based on Krashen’s ideas that the affective filter is of great importance in such contexts and the research that has shown that CLIL students are more motivated than

EFL students (Arranz 2013), we consider that there are many aspects related to the socio-psychological elements which contribute to the formation of students' identities and which are an interesting subject to be researched.

2. Case Study

The research topic refers to the connections between CLIL programmes studied in school and the manner they have influenced students' cultural identity. Participants in the study were 24 students in English, 2nd year at the West University of Timișoara, who have experienced such courses. The data collection methods were questionnaires, containing both qualitative and quantitative elements.

2.1. Results

The answers to the first question were surprising and relevant for the sample chosen: being students in English, the respondents have studied programmes more complex than students who attended only regular English classes. The proportion of students who studied CLIL subjects was 80%, whereas the ones who did not study such subjects were only 20%.

The content subjects integrated through English which were employed in schools by students were: History 16%, Literature 58%, Culture and civilization 62%, all of them being connected to the English language classes.

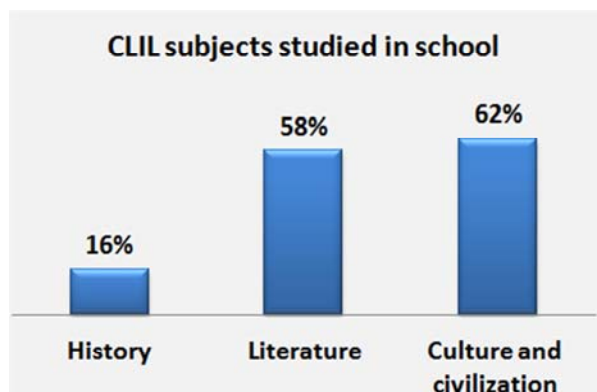


Figure 1: CLIL subjects studied in school

The advantages of CLIL programmes mentioned by students referred mostly to language and to the cultural aspects that proved interesting, attractive and therefore motivating:

- improving language (vocabulary);
- improving speaking skills;

- understanding language better (“something different than grammar”);
- interesting topics; variety;
- becoming aware of other cultures;
- improving historical knowledge; literary knowledge;
- motivating way to learn English;
- motivating students to read.

There were disadvantages of the programmes, as well:

- subjects were difficult;
- uninteresting lessons;
- not enough speaking activities;
- topics not clearly explained.

The next question referred to the identity of the participants in the study, regarding elements belonging to their family background, and the answers showed that all were Romanian, some coming from a family with a different background, as well: Hungarian 8%, Serbian 8%, Ukrainian 1%.

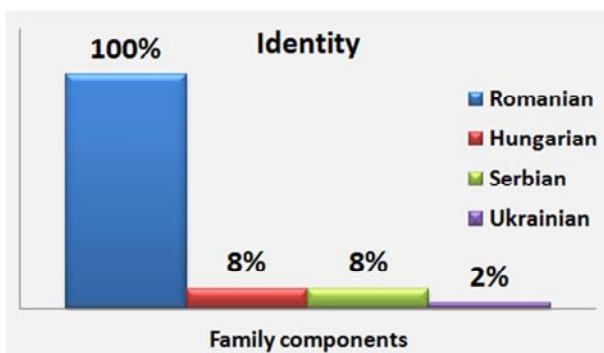


Figure 2: Students' identity – family components

The languages students speak, as part of their formation and influencing their identities, are: Romanian 100% and English 100% for all respondents, Spanish 37%, German 33%, French 25%, Hungarian 12%, Serbian 8%, Italian 4%, Serbian 4%, Russian 4%. All students speak Romanian and English, the next lot of languages spoken being modern ones, learnt in schools (Spanish, German, French), the last group of languages being the ones which were learnt in family contexts: Hungarian, Serbian, Russian.

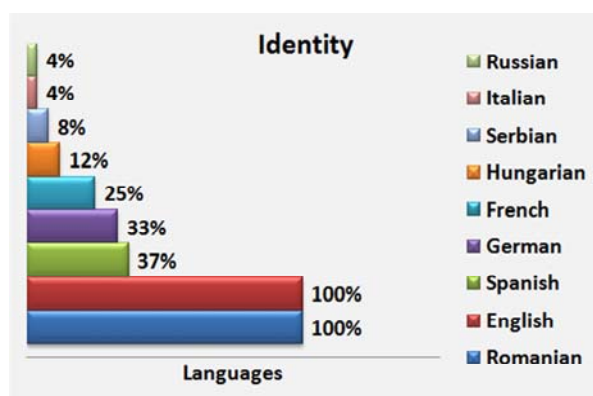


Figure 3: Students' identity: languages spoken

Besides the elements of culture and the languages spoken, participants were asked to define their cultural identity. As a result, 21% of the students mentioned an element of cultural identity when asked to describe it – Romanian. Just one student mentioned another cultural element: Serbian culture: “I consider myself Romanian because my mother is Romanian but I was born and live in Serbia. And it is a strange thing that in Romania I am Serbian, but in Serbia I am Romanian”, response which reveals a split identity.

When asked to give five key words that describe their cultural identity, 21% of the students mentioned that they are European, 13% Romanian, one Hungarian and one referred to a regional identity, mentioning Timișoara and Banat. Therefore, besides the traditional elements, regarding their families, they have not perceived other influences that shaped their identity.

The elements that influenced students in defining themselves as European were education 75%, travelling 62% and the direct contact with other cultures 66%.

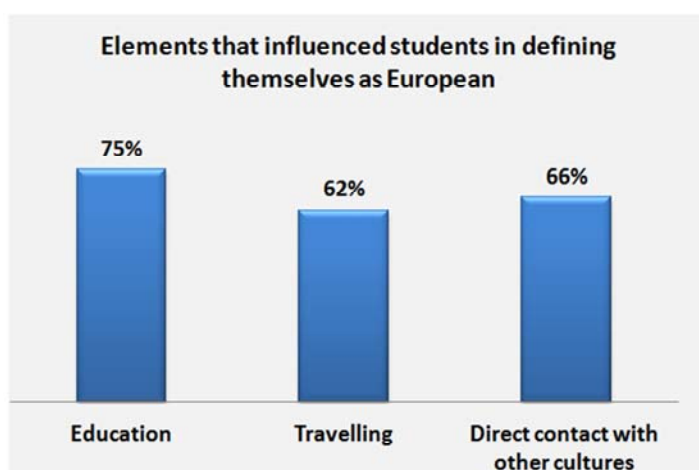


Figure 4: Elements that influenced students' Europeanness

The belonging to the European space was more evident, 50% of the students considering themselves European. The student with a Serbian origin considers herself European but says she is not a European citizen due to the fact that Serbia is not part of EU. Two students state they are European as Romania is part of Europe and of EU, but they do not feel European, without stating their reasons clearly.

3. Conclusions

When describing their cultural identity, students did not mention English elements. However, there were multicultural and multilingual features: the learning of the English language and culture has led to developing cultural/intercultural awareness, expanding their horizon, teaching them about the differences between cultures. Moreover, education is the factor that influenced them the most in attaining Europeaness.

Students' description of identities recalls Hall's theory (1996) of the dispersed, multiple, split identities, as many of them have not mentioned anything related to the subject and some of the respondents have mentioned the fact that they have more than one identity. In relation to Norton's theory, the study also proves there is a close link between language (which could be widened to family background and culture) and identity, as participants in the study relate to their mother tongue and family background when asked about identities.

As Arranz (2013) specifies, language is the means of transmitting, both being closely connected to identities. This is obvious in the case of the participants, as their mother tongue and their original culture are defining for their identities. There are no clear answers that could point to an influence of the foreign language, English in this case and the CLIL programmes students have studied, on the participants' identities. However, the elements that refer to education, Europeaness, intercultural awareness, are clearly influenced by education and by these types of programmes, as well.

In conclusion, the importance of elements such as cultural identity, intercultural communication, intercultural awareness is great in the field of research in the CLIL area, but just at the beginning, the perspectives varying according to the area covered and the interest of the researcher. One innovative aspect of the CLIL approach consists in the development of the cultural component, as mentioned by Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010) who, when discussing different aspects of the approach, introduce the 4C's Framework: content, communication, cognition and culture. The link between culture and identity is emphasized with the accent on global education: "As the twenty-first century begins, cultural boundaries and identities are becoming increasingly blurred and intermingled. A transcending of cultural categories, rather than

rigidly-defined unique and distinct traits, seems to be the global norm.” (Guest 2002:155)

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MORPHOLOGICAL ERRORS MADE BY JORDANIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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Abstract: *This study tries to identify, classify, describe and find out the causes of the morphological errors made by the fourth year university students majoring in English in Jordan. The students who participated in the study were 20 students from Al-Zaytoonah Private University of Jordan. The procedure followed was essay writing. After analyzing the errors, the study shows that (a) the students' competence in English morphology is poor and (b) The errors are caused by some factors such as the inconsistency in English as well as misapplication of rules. Interference and overgeneralization are also other causes. Since the course of morphology is selective in the university plan, it is also considered as an important cause. In order to reduce their errors, the researcher has suggested some remedies.*

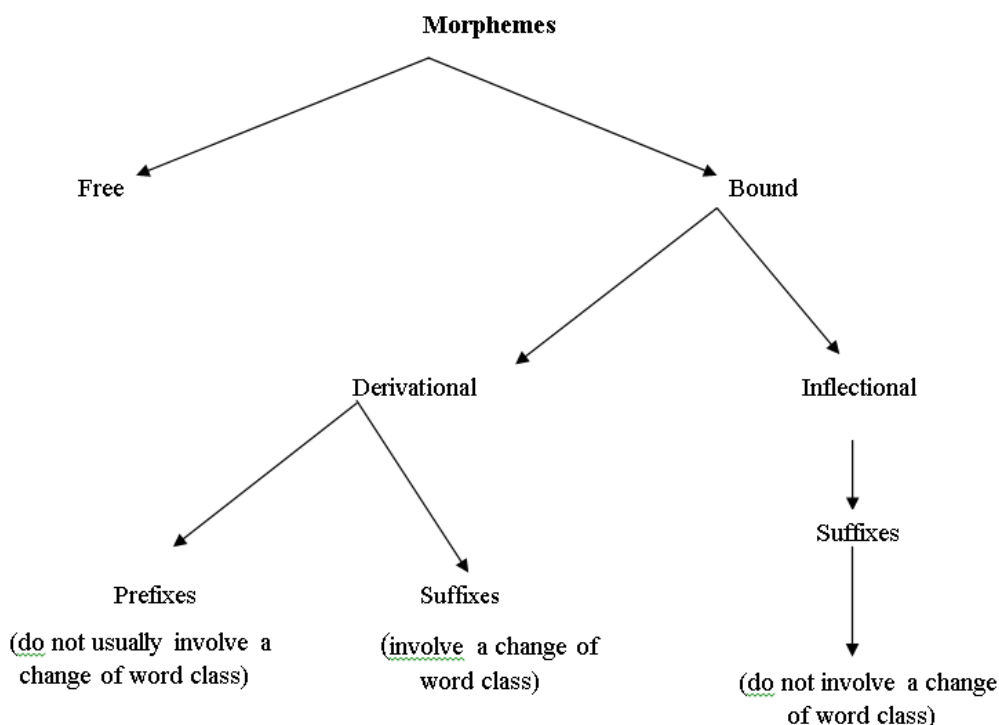
Keywords: *affixes , compounding , inconsistency , interference , morphology, overgeneralization*

1. Introduction

Morphology is the study of morphemes, which are the smallest significant units of grammar (Todd, 1987). Morphemes are of two kinds, free and bound. A free morpheme is one that can be uttered alone with meaning, whereas the bound morpheme cannot be uttered alone with meaning. It is always annexed to one or more morphemes to form a word (Stageberg 1981).

The bound morphemes are also of two types. The inflectional morphemes and the derivational ones. Inflectional morphemes come as suffixes only; they do not change the word class; and they end the words. But the derivational morphemes come as prefixes and suffixes; they change the word class; and they do not necessarily end the words. Prefixes are always considered derivational morphemes although many of them do not change the word class because the meanings of their bases are changed.

The information on morphology can be summarized as follows:



Morphology is one component of language and language is composed of different components such as grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Archibald (1996:508) states that it has to do with the "knowledge of the core components of the grammar, phonology, morphology syntax and semantics".

The researcher has observed that the students' competences in English language generally and in the English morphology particularly are poor although these students start learning English from the first grade and although English has become very necessary in all aspects of life.

2. Statement of the Problem

The majority of Jordanian University students face an outstanding difficulty when attempting to derive the correct forms of words. Morphological errors indicate that learners have misconception about the meaning and function of morphemes and about the morphological rules and their exceptions. The course of morphology is selective in the university plan which means that it is not given the emphasis it deserves. Therefore, it is very important for these students to have adequate morphological awareness in order to reduce the occurrence and frequency of morphological errors in their writings in English through working hard and effective teaching.

3. Importance of the Study

Morphology is as important as any other branch of linguistics: phonology, syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics, etc. It is the branch of linguistics that deals with the study of the internal structure of words and how new words are created from the existing ones through the various morphological processes namely, affixation, compounding, conversion, blending, clipping, reduplication, etc. (O' Gradly and Guzman 1996; Quirk and Greenbaum 1973).

Language is a dynamic phenomenon, which takes in new words and thus enables its users to extend its vocabulary. With respect to English which is used as a second or foreign language in most parts of the world, new words keep forcing their ways into the language from time to time. While many of these new words are borrowed from other languages, majority of them are formed. This formation is possible with effective mastery of the English morphological rules and their exceptions.

More importantly, if words are not properly formed, apart from the fact that meanings would be affected, how do we hope to combine them properly in order to carry out a syntactic analysis? This means that morphology is not just important; it also facilitates the acquisition of English syntax. Therefore, it is essential for teachers and instructors of English in ESL environment to teach morphology in relation to the other branches of linguistics.

4. Literature Review

Many studies have been conducted on the acquisition of English morphemes by both native speakers and ESL learners; some of them will be reviewed here.

Dulay and Burt (1973) conducted a study on the acquisition of eight English grammatical morphemes which they called "Functors". The sample selected was 151 Spanish speakers in the USA whose ages range between 5 to 8 years. They used Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM) to show samples of speech from the students. The students of the study consists of three groups. The East Harlem group, the Sacramento group and the San Ysidro group. These three groups have varying exposures to English. After analyzing the data collected through BSM, they found that " within each group those morphemes on which students were most accurate and those on which they were least accurate" were consistently the same (Hawkins 2001:40). The study also reveals that ESL speakers find some grammatical morphemes difficult to acquire regardless of their length of exposure to English.

McNeill (1996) carried out a study on "vocabulary knowledge profiles: evidence from Chinese speaking ESL teachers. The study consisted of two groups: the Hong Kong group and the Beijing group. The Hong Kong group included 50 English major graduates who had all been instructed through English, whereas the Beijing group consisted of 15 third year students pursuing a Bachelor of English. This group had been taught through Chinese. Thus, there was a significant difference between them.

Word meaning, phonology, morphology and sentence production were examined. Of direct relevance to this study is the aspect that deals with morphology. The study reveals that some morphological errors have to do with words whose forms are typical of the word class requested and those whose forms look like another word class or are totally unacceptable (P.52). He observed that in the noun **surgery**, some students derived deviant forms as *surgerive*, *surgerious*, *surgeral*, *surgerous*, *surgetic*, etc. In short, he concluded the following:

While the results of the study appear to confirm the view that knowledge of meaning operates at a more conscious level than formal aspects of word knowledge, it was interesting to note that a strong relationship existed between the subjects' knowledge of word meaning and their ability to operate morphological rules correctly. The extent to which morphological knowledge in L2 relies on conscious processing merits further investigation. (McNeill 1996:56)

Akande investigated the competence of some senior secondary school pupils in Nigeria in the area of morphology. He dealt with the following morphological processes: suffixation, prefixation, compounding, conversion, acronym, blending, clipping and reduplication. He wanted to know which of these processes are mostly used by Nigerian learners of English. The data collection procedure was written essays. After analyzing the occurrences of morphological processes and deviations, he found the following:

It was that there is a discrepancy in the subjects' acquisition and mastery of word-formulation processes. This is because while some of the processes namely acronym, blending, clipping etc. are not regularly used, suffixation is regularly used. (2001:78)

He also found out that suffixation is the most regularly used, but it was the most difficult to the students.

Aknade (2003) conducted another study on the acquisition of the eight inflectional morphemes in English. The purpose of the study was to find out the occurrences as well as the misuse of these grammatical morphemes. The sample included 60 students selected from four secondary schools in Nigeria. The elicitation procedures were written compositions and a grammar exercise. After analyzing the errors, the study reveals that the students have a poor mastery of

the use of English past participle, possessive, past tense and plural inflectional morphemes. However, in the grammar exercise, they did well.

Babalola and Aknade (2002:250) conducted a study to find out the phonological, orthographic, morphological and syntactic problems concerning the morphological problems, they claimed that "English is not free of inconsistency in the area of Morphology."

They noticed that a morpheme may be phonologically conditioned and when this happens, a morpheme has different allomorphs. For example, {in-} which means **not** and is realized orthographically as {in-} in *indecent*, *insignificant*, *indisputable*, is realized as {im-} in *impossible*, as {un-} in *unfair*, {ir-} *irrelevant* and as {il-} in *illegal*. They go further in their illustration of morphological inconsistency by saying that the suffix {-er} usually means the person who performs the action indicated by the verb. So *writer*, *producer*, *teacher*, means somebody who *writes*, *produces*, *teaches*, but *brother*, *sister* does not mean who *brothes*, *sists*, neither does *type-writer* means somebody who *type-writes*. If someone who *sings* or *writes* is a *singer* or a *writer* respectively, why shouldn't somebody who *cooks*, *gossips*, *cheat*, *sponsors* be a *cooker*, *gossiper*, *cheater*, *sponsorer*? In English as a second language environment, such as we have in Nigeria, learners are bound to make mistakes such as identified above (P.250).

Aremo (2005) conducted a study on conversion in English in order to find as many examples as possible of nouns used in ordinary daily English which are derived from adjectives through the process of conversion. He examined Hornby's Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English (edited in 2000 by Wehmeier) and Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (edited in 1987 by Sinclair) for several examples of nouns illustrating adjectives-nouns conversion in English; and then group them together into various semantic classes according to the meaning expressed by those adjectives converted to nouns. Some of the examples he gives for adjectives converted to nouns are *illiterate*, *imbecile*, *African*, *Nigerian*, *adolescent* and *fugitive*.

5. Methodology

Population of the Study

The population of this study consists of all the fourth year university students majoring in English at Al-Zaytoonah Private University of Jordan for the academic year 2013–2014. These students are expected to graduate at the end of the second semester. They were about 80 students (30 males and 50 females).

The Sample of the Study

The researcher conducted his study on a class consisting of 20 students (8 males and 12 females). The researcher himself taught this class the essay writing in the second term in 2014.

Data Collection

The students of this class were asked to write on many different topics during the whole semester. Given below are the topics on which they have written their essays: Road Accidents in Jordan, Pollution, The Importance of English Nowadays, Smoking Cigarettes, Are the Rich Happy?, A Journey to an Interesting Place, My Favourite Sport, and Immigration from Villages to Cities.

Data Analysis

The students' essays have been analyzed for the purpose of finding out the morphological errors made by the students. The researcher has dealt with errors in the area of inflectional morphemes and the errors in the derivational morphemes as well as the errors in compounding and conversion. After analyzing the errors which the students made, he has classified, described, stated the causes of these errors, and suggested procedures to remedy the problematic areas.

Findings and Discussion

This section deals with errors in inflectional morphemes, derivational morphemes, compounding and conversion

A. Errors Made in the Use of Inflectional Morphemes

1 .Omission of Noun Plural –S Morpheme.

Students sometimes omit the –s plural suffix that is attached to the singular noun as in the examples below.

- To our parent.
- All student
- A lot of car
- These journey
- Those road

The above errors may be described as performance errors that are due to carelessness.

2 .Addition of Noun Plural –S Morpheme.

Students sometimes add –s plural morpheme to singular nouns:

- In this days
- Every days
- Next times
- Each problems

The cause of such errors may be also due to carelessness.

In the following words, the students wrongly double mark plurality by adding the –s morpheme to irregular plural nouns:

- Childrens
- Mens
- Geeses
- Mices

These errors are due to overgeneralization. The errors below are also due to overgeneralization. The –s plural morpheme is added to uncountable nouns:

- Advices
- Informations
- Furnitures

3. Wrong Formation of Past Form of Irregular Verbs.

Students sometimes add the –ed past suffix to irregular main verbs, as in

- Leaved
- Drinked
- Eated
- Falled
- Losted

The wrong use of –ed past tense morpheme can be attributed to overgeneralization, which is very common in EFL learning. The learner tries to simplify the linguistic data.

4. Omission of the Possessive –s Morpheme.

Errors in use of possessive *case are of two types*. In the first type, students omit the apostrophe, as in:

- My brothers car.
- My sisters cameras.
- The donkeys voices
- In the farmers fields.

In the second type, students omit the apostrophe and the –s morpheme as in

- My sister glasses
- My father bag.
- My friend meal
- My mother tongue

The errors in both types above can be due to interference. Students translate literally from Arabic.

5. Misuse of Possessive –'s Morpheme.

The students wrongly add the –'s morpheme in the following examples:

- The university's degree.
- My literature's teacher.
- Translation's classes.

These errors may be attributed to ignorance. In other words, the students do not know when and how to use this morpheme.

6.Omission of the 3rd Person Present Tense Morpheme.

In the following examples, the students omit the –s morpheme that is added to the 3rd person verb in the present simple tense.

- He try everyday.
- It pollute the air and water.
- She study everyday.

These errors may be due to ignorance or carelessness.

B. Errors Made in the Use of Derivational Morphemes.

1. Errors arising from the wrong use of prefixes.

Some students use prefixes wrongly while trying to create new words or give antonyms of certain words as in:

- It is insignificant (insignificant).
- It is unpractical (impractical)
- He is inhonest (dishonest)

These errors in the above examples were made as a result of analogous use of morphemes. For instance, it is known that the opposite of most words are formed by the prefix –un before their roots (e.g. *unacceptable*, *unable*, *unnecessary*) just as the opposite of some are formed by placing in– before them (e.g. *indecent*, *indispensible*). The students who made the errors in the first and the second examples above might apply this rule without being conscious of the restrictions involved. In the second example above, the correct prefix is –im and not –un because /p/ and /m/ are bilabials which reflect a partial assimilation, while /n/ is dental and does not go with /p/. In short, these students may not know the rule of assimilation in English phonology.

2. Errors Made as a Result of Analogous Use of Certain Suffixes.

- They went fastly (fast).
- My friends are gossipers (gossips)
- The inhabiters were disappointed (inhabitants)
- I do hate cheaters.(cheats)
- I know that it is insultive.(insulting)
- She was calculative.(calculating)

The errors above may be due to the ignorance of some restriction to certain morphological rules. It is known that most nouns are formed in English by adding the suffix –er to the verbs as we have in the case of *write* and *dance* becoming *writer* and *dancer* respectively. However, there are words, especially verbs, which

constitute exceptions to this rule. Such verbs are *gossip*, *inhabit* and *cheat* whose noun counterparts are *gossip*, *inhabitant* and *cheat* rather than being * *gossiper*, * *inhabiter* and * *cheater* respectively. These words simply undergo the morphological process of conversion. Similarly, *fastly* is used wrongly instead of *fast* in the above example as a result of the students' experiences with adjectives such as *quick*, *slow* and *happy* which change to *quickly*, *slowly*, *happily* respectively when appearing as adverbs.

In the last two examples above, the word, *insultive* and *calcuative* were analogously used instead of *insulting* and *calculating*. In English, we have the word *instructive* derived from *instruct* and it was probably that the students applied this knowledge in forming *insultive* and *calculative*. In other words, we can say that this type of errors may occur as a result of overgeneralization.

C. Errors in Compounding.

Compounding is morphological process which depends on the combination of at least two free morphemes, such as book+shop (bookshop). According to Quirk, Greenbauns, Leech and Svartvik (1972), a compound word may be open when its constituent morphemes are written separately as in *tear gas* and *fire engine*, it may be hyphenated as in *far-fetched* and *story-telling* and lastly, it may be solid when the constituents, are written together as in *classroom*, *blackboard*.

The students of this study show that they do not have a good knowledge of the compounding process. The researcher has found that some solid compounds were written as open and vice versa. Similarly, some hyphenated compounds, were written as open compounds. Below are some examples from the students' essays.

- Text book (textbook).
- Black board (blackboard)
- Essay going (essay-going)
- Good looking (good-looking)
- Blue bell (bluebell)
- Wide spread (widespread)
- Down fall (downfall)

The above examples show that the students do not have a good knowledge of the spelling conventions of compound words. In other words, this finding shows the poor competence of the students in the spelling conventions of compound words. This finding also has come with agreement with that of Olaoye (2000).

D. Errors in Conversion

Few errors in the area of conversion have been found in the students' essays. Below are some examples from their writings.

- I still there.
- My brother ready to go.
- Ahmed eager to be a translator.

These errors arise as a result of the use of *still*, *ready* and *eager* without the verb BE preceding them. This type of errors is common among Jordanian users of English. The cause of this type of errors is attributed to the literal translation from Arabic. In Arabic, *still*, *ready* and *eager* are used as verbs. So this process is called negative transfer from Arabic to English.

A Summary of Causes

The causes of morphological errors can be summarized as follows:

1) The inconsistency inherit in English Language is one of the main causes of errors made by the students. This inconsistency is caused by the polysystemic nature of English. For example, if the plural of *knife*, *calf* and *thief* are *knives*, *calves* and *thieves* respectively, why shouldn't the plural of *chief* be *achieves*? Similarly, if the plural of *box* is *boxes*, why is *oxes* not the plural *ox*? This also applies to the formation of past tense in English. *Passed* is the past of *pass*, but *drinked* is not the past of *drink*. The derivational morphemes used to derive, for example, nouns are of different forms and there are no rules to tell the learners which morpheme goes with which words as in *happiness*, *suggestion*, *government*, *discovery*, *refusal*, *obedience*, *acceptance*, *fertility*, *comparison*, *width*, *tourist*, *speaker*. Again, in what ways can teachers of English teach their students when compound words are to be written in solid, open or hyphenated? The problem here is how can the students master numerous rules and their expectations? This inconsistency has a serious implication in the learning of English by ESL learners.

2) Another important cause of these errors is that the course of morphology is selective and not compulsory according to the university plan. Some students do not take this course at all. As a result of this, these students have poor competences in the word-formation processes.

3) Other important causes are overgeneralization and misapplication of rules. In many cases, students do overgeneralise or misapply certain morphological rules, for example, the suffix -ed is used to derive the past tense. Thus, some students overgeneralise this rule and write *cutted*, *signed*, *gived*, etc.

4) The last important cause is negative transfer. Many students transfer Arabic to English. In other words, they translate literally from Arabic to English.

Below are some examples to illustrate the phenomenon of interference .

- I cut the street (crossed)
- He is empty (free)
- The TV puts good programs (shows)

The verbs *crossed* and *shows*, and the adjective *free* in the above examples have the same roots in Arabic. So the students make these errors as a result literal translation from Arabic.

Suggestions for Remedy

At this poor level of the students revealed by the study, the course of morphology shouldn't be selective. In other words, it should be a compulsory course at the department of English at the university.

What is needed here is an instructional material which can take different forms, such as pedagogical approaches, practical suggestions, exercises (activities), and fruitful notes. They have been prepared by the teacher to remedy the misuse of word-formation processes. These types of remedy can be used selectively in the light of learner's level and progress.

It is necessary for word-formation processes to be dealt with in the classroom because it is expected that learners develop some language skills that contribute much to enhance the overall reading and writing abilities. The researcher agrees with Akande (2001:44) that "morphological processes should be introduced and taught at different stages in line with students' acquaintances with them as revealed in the database".

Teachers should focus on the differences between L1 and L2 in order to avoid making errors. The researcher agrees with Fries (1945) and Lado (1957) on the point that interference is a major source of learning difficulty.

6. Conclusion

In this study, the researcher has attempted to identify, classify, describe and state the causes of some morphological errors in the written English of some university students majoring in English. This paper also shows that there are many causes of these errors, such as interference from Arabic to English, the inconsistency inherit in English itself, overgeneralization and misapplication of rules. Based on the findings of the study, the researcher has suggested remedies.

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III

LANGUAGE STUDIES

ADVERTISING MESSAGE CUSTOMISATION/ STANDARDISATION AND CORPORATE AND CONSUMER CULTURE

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Abstract: *Advertising translators should be familiarised with the cultural conventions in the target market so that they can re-create the message conveyed in ads. However, advertising message adaptation depends not only on the customer profile but also on corporate culture. The paper focuses on the correlation between these elements and the linguistic choices made by some copywriters.*

Keywords: *cohesive devices, collocations, culture, localisation, speech acts, standardisation*

1. Introduction

There are many factors that impact the degree of advertising adaptation. They are related either to business environment (e.g. the country of origin image, political-legal environment, business and innovation environment, competitiveness level, corporate culture, type of product and scale of production, stage of product life cycle, quality/ price ratio of the product, brand familiarity and fidelity) or to audience environment (e.g. advertising and media strategies, media variety and technical conditions, the translator/ copywriter competence, noise and message perturbation, customer profile and needs, individual/ group culture and mother tongue, customer's income). This article discusses the role played by two factors – corporate culture and consumer culture – in advertising adaptation.

The reference corpus of this study consists of pairs or groups of Romanian (Ro.) – foreign ads (i.e. British – Br./ American – Am./ Australian – Aus. ads). It was gathered between 2003 and 2009. The print ads promote products such as perfumes, cosmetics, cars, refrigerators, digital cameras or laminate floors. Some advertisements have two variants (v. 1, v. 2). Their texts were modified, or their texts *and* illustrations were modified by advertisers during the advertising campaign. The images of some Romanian ads are identical with the images of the foreign versions of the ads and the texts of the foreign ads are literally translated into Romanian, but some Romanian and foreign ads texts/ pictures, or texts and pictures differ from each other.

2. A Brief Literature Review of Consumer Culture and of Advertising Communication Strategies Employed by Multinational Companies

Taylor, Miracle and Chang (1994) and Firat (1995) explain why multinational corporations standardise their advertising campaigns. Multinational enterprises want to create and maintain a consistent image and identity throughout the world, by using the same brand name and brand image across markets. Advertisements are standardised because, as Séguinot (1995:65) stresses, “[a]ge and lifestyle may be more important than national culture”. For example, adolescents and business travellers are each a global target market. Another reason why advertising is standardised is that “truly creative and effective promotional campaigns are a scarce commodity” (Fatt apud Taylor, Miracle and Chang 1994).

However, as Guidère (2001) points out, some companies adopt a different policy and adapt their advertising campaigns. The researcher in the field of translation studies distinguishes four types of companies according to the degree of advertising localisation: the *polycentric* company, which is for its advertising campaigns customisation and adapts them to the consumers in each country; the *regiocentric* company, which adapts its advertising campaigns for the target consumers who live in a region; the *ethnocentric* company, which rarely adapts its advertising campaigns; the *geocentric* company, which does not adapt its campaigns.

Guidère’s point of view can be illustrated by the pieces of information I received from some Romanian marketing and advertising practitioners. Stoia (19/05/2010, e-mail), Stângă (19/05/2010, e-mail) and Ecsedi (18/05/2010, e-mail) affirmed that the multinational companies in which they worked/ had worked could be included either in the ‘polycentric’ or in the ‘regiocentric’ type of company. They explained to me that *Volkswagen*, *General Motors* (which produces *Holden/ Opel/ Vauxhall*) and *Toyota* decide what message should be conveyed to the European consumer and, moreover, that they are interested in adapting their advertising campaigns to the peculiarities of each European country. Referring to the advertising adaptation in general, Cristina Petrea (8/07/2010, e-mail) provided me with more details on the advertising communication strategy adopted by multinational companies. She wrote to me that the communication tool-kit (i.e. the spot, the radio commercial or the layout for the print and internet adverts) is developed in a centre of communication planning located in a big city of a certain continent and afterwards more or less customised by the advertising agencies in each country. The elements that are adapted in the target country are: the picture of the endorser, the voices of the actors, the packshot (i.e. the picture of the product), the source text, the slogan, the logo.

In her research, De Mooij (1998, 2007) implies that all companies who advertise their products worldwide should adopt the policy of the *polycentric* and the *regiocentric* companies. The Dutch scholar who has advised companies (e. g. *Canon*, *Epson*, *Friesland Foods*, *Shell*, *Unilever*) and advertising agencies (e.g. *Ogilvy & Mather*, *Publicis*) on international branding and advertising for

thirty years is of the opinion that advertising should vary cross-culturally. She uses Hofstede's (1991) and Hofstede and Hofstede's (2005) 5-D Model – where the five dimensions are power distance, individualism/ collectivism, masculinity/ femininity, uncertainty avoidance, and long-term orientation – and Hall's (1976) terms: low-/ high-context cultures to explain the influence of culture on advertising and consumer behaviour and to compare advertising in different countries. Mueller (2007), Shakir (1995), and Paré, Boivineau, Pelletier, Normandin and Roy (1972) are other researchers who agreed that advertising should be customised to appeal to local tastes.

3. Message Standardisation

The copies of the print ads analysed in this section show that the managers of some American, Korean or Anglo-Dutch corporations encourage or allow advertising standardisation. *Full standardisation* is practised at times for luxury consumer products (e.g. watches and fragrances), high-technology and industrial products because they are not steeped in the cultural heritage of a particular country.

Most fully standardised advertisements printed in Romanian magazines promote perfumes. For instance, the advert for the fragrance *elle* by Yves Saint Laurent published in December 2007 in the Romanian and the British editions of *Cosmopolitan*, which reads “elle. the new fragrance/ Yves Saint Laurent/ www.ysl-elle.com”, is not translated into Romanian. Like other ads for perfumes, from a structural viewpoint it has not a body copy and it can be included in the category of ‘image advertising’. The only piece of information the reader receives is the brand name, the product name and the website of the producing company.

The British or the American versions of the ads for American (*Gillette*, *Quick Step*, *Maybelline*, *Clinique*) and Korean (*Samsung*) brands are literally translated into Romanian. In a) and b), the act of promising is performed both by the foreign copywriter and by the Romanian translator. The performative verb is explicit neither in the American/ British copies nor in the Romanian one, promises being indicated by the auxiliary ‘will’ (cf. Pârlog 1995:147; Gieszinger 2001:235), which predicts a future event and includes the modal component of willingness to do something (cf. Quirk et al. 1985:228-229). The message of the advert for *Maybelline* c) is also almost one hundred percent standardised. The British and the Romanian advertisers realise the speech act of advising in order to educate the consumer. The only difference between the target text and the source text is that the strength of the imperative sentences in Romanian is softened, because the translator uses the polite form of imperatives, in the plural.

- a) With one simple touch of a button, he'll enjoy the world's best shave and you'll enjoy the world's best man. (in *the Am. ad*)

- Cu simpla atingere a unui buton el se **va** bucura de cel mai fin bărbierit de la Gillette, iar tu de cel mai bun bărbat. (in *the Ro. ad*) **Gillette, M3Power**
- b) You'll see, a Quick•Step® floor guarantees a lifetime of delight. (in v.1 and v. 2) (in *the Br. ad*)
Vă **veti** convinge: pardoselile Quick•Step® sunt o plăcere pentru întreaga viață. (in *the Ro. ad*) **Quick Step**
- c) Plump up your lips... [...] **Discontinue** use if you experience excessive discomfort. **Do not use** on chapped, damaged or sensitive lips. (in *the Br. ad*)
Dați volum buzelor... [...] În cazul în care simțiți o senzație excesivă de disconfort **întrerupeți** folosirea produsului. **Nu aplicați** pe buze crăpate, uscate sau sensibile. (in *the Ro. ad*) **Maybelline, Volume XL**

‘So’, a conjunction of the enhancement type, sub-types causal-conditional, general, occurs initially in the sentence in the British copy of the ad for *Samsung d*) to signal that the sentence that it introduces expresses the result of an action. The Romanian equivalent of ‘so’ is used by the Romanian copywriter of this ad which is translated literally from BE. Nonetheless, sometimes grammatical cohesive devices are not employed in the Romanian translated version of the ad, even if the ad text is rendered word-for-word into Romanian. In e), the product value is better highlighted by the British copywriter because s/he uses the conjunction ‘yet’. The textual explicitness of the source text is higher than that of the target text in which the adversative relationship between the sentence “Atât de delicat [...]” and “Tenul tău devine perfect [...]” is not indicated.

- d) Advanced Ultrathin Insulation Technology allows for thinner walls and the same great cooling performance. **So** you get over 100 extra litres of storage [...]. (in *the Br. ad*)
Tehnologia de izolare avansată oferă o performanță de răcire excelentă, păstrând o grosime redusă a ușilor și pereților frigiderului. **Astfel**, beneficiați de 100 l de stocare în plus [...]. (in *the Ro. ad*) **Samsung, G-series refrigerator**
- e) New Perfectly Real™ Makeup. Feels like nothing at all. **Yet** creates skin's most perfected, natural look. (in *the Br. ad*)
Noul Perfectly Real™ Makeup. Atât de delicat că nici nu-l simți. Tenul tău devine perfect, mai natural ca niciodată. (in *the Ro. ad*) **Clinique, Perfectly Real**

The prints for *Dove* (e.g. f)) reveal that, compared to the American or Korean corporations, *Unilever* (an Anglo-Dutch multinational consumer goods company) accepts only *partial standardisation*. *Dove, Essential Care* and *Dove, Intense Care* are promoted in two different ads in the British magazines but in one ad in the Romanian press. The British and the Romanian illustrations and copies of these ads are not identical, but the benefits of the hair care products are highlighted both in the British and in the Romanian adverts.

As we can see in the examples below, lexical cohesion is achieved through the use of antonyms both by the British and the Romanian copywriter. The role of the antonymic pairs written in italics and bold or underlined is to indicate that the advertised product positively affects the buyer's health.

- f) We all enjoy expressing ourselves through our hair. But the things our hair goes through every day, can **weaken** it, [...] New Dove Essential Care, helps strengthen it again, [...] (in *the Br. ad*) **Dove, Essential Care**
 We all enjoy expressing ourselves through our hair. But sometimes this can leave hair severely **damaged** [...] with a lot of split ends. [...] New Dove Intense Care acts deep inside and repairs very dry, [...] (in *the Br. ad*) **Dove, Intense Care**
 (Dar și micile [...] – only in v. 2) Micile gesturi de zi cu zi (uscatul, periatul, expunerea la soare etc.) **slăbesc** rezistența părului. [...] Noua gamă Dove Essential Care hidratează și revigorează părul ușor deteriorat. (in *the Ro. ad*) **v. 1, Dove, Essential Care & Intense Care and v. 2, Dove, Intense Care & Essential Care**

4. Message Adaptation

There are many ‘shades’ of adaptation which depend on the ‘position’ that the print ad has on the scale with standardisation at one end, and customisation/ specialisation at the opposite end. For this section, I have selected advertisements whose verbal-graphic part, or whose verbal-graphic and visual part are tailored to the consumer’s culture/ lifestyle (i.e. to his/ her values, experiences, behaviour, beliefs).

The examples g)-k) reflect that the British, American or Australian advertisers adapt the ads for consumers who live in a low-context culture, who tend to use explicit communication and are often direct. Compared to the Romanian copywriters of these ads, the foreign copywriters use verbs in the imperative mood (see the verbs in italics and bold) more often to incite the readers to action. Advertisements in high-context cultures (such as the Romanian culture) have a less direct rhetorical style and may convey an ambiguous message.

The elliptical sentences in the Romanian ads for *Accessorize* g), *The Body Shop* h) – two British brands, and *Sony* i) – a Japanese brand, are ambiguous because one can supply either a verb in the indicative mood or a verb in the imperative mood (see the underlined words in square brackets). These sentences may have either the illocutionary force of a piece of information or the illocutionary force of a request. In the Romanian ad for *L'Oréal* k), the requests in the foreign ads are replaced with a question and a piece of information, and in the one for *Lancôme* j), the request in the Australian ad is replaced with descriptions. Another cultural aspect that influences ads adaptation is revealed in the ‘contact information’ part of the Romanian prints for *Accessorize* g) and *The Body Shop* h). The Romanian translator mentions only the names of the cities and the shopping centres where the product can be found, because few Romanians will buy products online.

- g) **Buy** online accessorize.com Home delivery 0870 412 9000 (in *the Br. ad*)
 [Produsul se găsește la]/ [Cumpără produsul din/ de la] București Mall / Centrul Comercial Iași / Polus Center Cluj [...] (in *the Ro. ad*) **Accessorize**

- h) Three natural ways to shop In-store, online and party at home – **find out** more at thebodyshop.com (in *the Br. ad*)
[Produsul se găsește la]/ [Cumpără produsul din..., de la] București: Unirea Shopping Center • București Mall • Plaza Romania [...] Timișoara: Iulius Mall Constanța: City Park Mall (in *the Ro. ad*) **The Body Shop, All That Sparkles**
- i) **Capture** smiles automatically (in v.1) / **Capture** more with a 28 mm lens (in v.2) (in *the Br. ad*)
[Acesta este]/ [Descoperă] Cyber-shot cu tehnologia Smile Shutter (in *the Ro. ad*) **Sony, Cyber-shot W170**
- j) **Control** the look of your lashes – from subtle to sexy! (in *the Aus. ad*)
 Hypnôse. Controlează volumul genelor dumneavoastră: [...] intensifică aspectul și amplifică vraja genelor [...]. (in *the Ro. ad*) **Lancôme, Hypnôse, mascara**
- k) **Discover** our 1st hair care programme for dry hair, enriched with Royal Jelly... [...] **Nourish** and **replenish** dry hair [...] (in v. 1) (in *the Br. ad*)
 Now **give** your hair the royal treatment: [...] Nourishes hair [...] (in *the Am. ad*)
"Lăptișorul de matcă? Pentru părul uscat, este o premieră*!" Penélope Cruz [...] Prima îngrijire cu Lăptișor de Matcă**. (in *the Ro. ad*) **L'Oréal, Elvive (UK) & Elsève (RO) Re-Nutrition & Vive Pro Hydra Gloss (USA)**

The ads for *Nivea* l), like the previous ones – g), h), j), k) – and the following ones – m) and the ads for *Rimmel* –, prove that multinational companies headquartered in Europe customise their advertising campaigns. If we compare the ads for *Nivea* l) with the adverts for *Gillette* a) and *Quick Step* b), we observe that the Romanian ad for the well-known German brand l) is adapted to the Romanian market. The Romanian translator does not perform the act of promising, but the acts of informing and describing. The Romanian ad text is product-oriented rather than customer-oriented.

- l) You'**ll** not only feel gorgeous, you'**ll** look gorgeous too. (in *the Br. ad*)
 Nivea Deo Pearl & Beauty primul deodorant pentru frumusețea ta Pune în valoare frumusețea pielii tale. (in *the Ro. ad*) **Nivea, Pearl Beauty**

The British ad text for *Vauxhall, Tigra*, the Australian copy for *Holden, Tigra* and the Romanian text for *Opel, Tigra* m) – the well-known German brand – were produced with three different target audiences in mind. The copies of these adverts have the function of elucidating the iconic message that is adapted to the culture of the British/ the Australian/ the Romanian consumer. The Australian copywriter uses the imperative “Go hunting” to imply that, if the reader buys the car, she can seduce any man. The picture of the ad shows three men’s heads hung on the wall like the heads of trophy-hunted animals. She is also encouraged to release her “wild side”. A similar message is conveyed to the British reader, who is told that she can become independent if she buys the new car with only two seats and is advised to “use them wisely”, i.e. to offer the left seat to a gentleman. Both the Australian and the British copywriters address a young independent woman, who fights for her personal success and who does not like being dominated by men (Australia and the United Kingdom score high on masculinity and individualism). The Romanian

text is adapted to the Romanian cultural values. The woman in the ad image is not ego-oriented. Unlike the Australian woman, she is not pictured alone in the car, but next to a man, and she is not the driver of the car. The text reinforces the visual: “Fericire²” (“Happiness²”) refers to the fact that happiness is raised to the power of 2, i.e. to the fact that the car will make both the woman and the man in the picture happy. Unlike the British copywriter, the Romanian translator does not use explicit words that refer to the intimate relationship between a woman and a man. S/he compares indirectly the power of the car with the power of the blue pill, but the sentence “Se eliberează fără prescripție medicală.” (“No prescription is needed.”) lacks the subject, so that no reader is offended. The Romanian copy, which contains no imperative, addresses a reader who belongs to a rather collectivistic culture (cf. Neculăesei and Tătărușanu 2008:201) and to a high-context culture that prefers implicit information.

- m) One in five men don’t remember the name of the first girl they slept with [...] (in v. 1) / One in four men think foreplay is a golfing term [...] (in v. 2) New Tigră. Two seats. **Use** them wisely. [...] For a brochure **text** “Tigră” [...] or **visit** www.vauxhall.co.uk/tigra (in v. 1 and v. 2) (in *the Br. ad*)
 New Holden Tigră. **Go hunting**. [...], **visit** your Holden Dealer for a Tigră test drive, and **release** your wild side. (in *the Aus. ad*)
Este albastră. Te stimulează. Se eliberează fără prescripție medicală. [...] Noul Opel Tigră TwinTop. Fericire² [...] Noi vă construim mașina. (in *the Ro. ad*)
Vauxhall (UK) & Holden (AUS) & Opel (RO), Tigră

Other ads that are adapted to the psychological profile of the consumer are the ones created for *Rimmel*. For instance, the British advertiser of *Rimmel, Xtreme Definition* borrows and transforms the well-known Roman proverb “Divide et impera” (Divide and rule) to address a woman who appreciates independency and power. The headline of the British advert reads “Divide and conquer”, whereas the Romanian headline reads “[Aplicatorul] Definește și separă” (“[The comb applicator] Defines and separates”). The message conveyed by the Romanian translator is centred on the product and the positive effects it has. In the British ad for *Rimmel, Xtreme Volume*, the copywriter uses the syntagms “massive lashes”, “Break the rules” and “Get noticed” to encourage the British woman to purchase the mascara. The collocation “Break the rules” is also employed in the British adverts for *Rimmel, Full Volume* (2004 and 2005) and the sentence “Big is beautiful.” is inserted in the body copies of these ads because the advertiser knows that the consumer appreciates originality and is ready to accept a new standard of beauty so that she will be noticed.

Two of the reasons why the syntagms/ sentences in the British adverts were not literally translated into Romanian are that Romania has a ‘feminine’ culture – Romanians do not value competitiveness, assertiveness or ambition like the British people do, and it is a predominantly collectivist country (i.e.

identity is based on the group to which one belongs). “Gene masive” (i.e. “massive lashes”) is not used in the Romanian ad text first because it is an unacceptable collocation, and second because the copywriter does not need to satisfy the customer’s need to feel powerful. The collocate “massive” is replaced by “Xtreme” (“gene Xtreme”), an adjective that is incorporated into the name of the product and that has the equivalent “extreme” in Romanian.

The Romanian prospective buyer is not encouraged to ‘break the rules’, to be different from other women, but like other women. She is informed that the mascara *Rimmel, Xtreme Volume*, the lipstick and the lip colour *Rimmel, Full Volume* are trendy in London (“The London look”). If the sentence “Big is beautiful” were translated literally into Romanian, it would sound unnatural, because Romanians have a different perception of beauty. “Big is beautiful” is rendered into Romanian by “Se poartă buzele senzuale” (“Sensual lips are trendy”).

5. Conclusion

Corporate culture is a key factor in standardising or customising advertisements. This article has illustrated that the degree of standardisation of the advertising message is higher if the prints advertise American or Korean brands, and that the European or the Japanese multinational companies encourage copywriters to embed the target consumer culture in the verbal and non-verbal part of the advert. The adapted ads in my corpus have shown that the British, the American and the Australian advertising styles differ from the Romanian advertising style. The British advertising style is roughly similar to the American and the Australian ones because the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Australia share many cultural characteristics.

As we have seen, masculine cultures, which are characterised by ego needs, prefer to associate the product with ‘success’, whereas feminine cultures like to associate it with ‘beauty’ and ‘attractiveness’. Advertising in individualistic countries is task-oriented, and it is more verbally oriented if the consumer lives in a country with a low-context culture. On the contrary, copywriters of the print ads in high-context cultures sometimes use indirect speech acts in the body copies of the advertisements.

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MULTIMEANINGFULNESS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

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Abstract: *In this paper we examine conceptual structures that may communicate different meanings when employed in contemporary general and specialised English and Serbian. The analysis reveals that various word classes may be polysemic. The results suggest that the use of English and Serbian lexemes is context-dependent, and that lexeme usage in English is even more context-oriented than lexeme usage in Serbian. The findings also indicate that the same lexemes, slightly different or completely different lexical units can convey the same concept meanings in the two analysed languages.*

Keywords: *cognitive theory, English and Serbian, polysemous primary and secondary lexemes, semantics and pragmatics, synchronic approach*

1. Introduction

Multimeaningfulness, i.e. polysemy, is a characteristic of all natural languages. While multimeaningfulness gives general language rich variety of expression, it may introduce imprecision in specialised languages. It is, therefore, important to be aware of polysemy in both realizations of natural languages, to be able to understand the exact meaning of lexical units as employed in written and spoken discourse, and to avoid multimeaningful terms in specialised usage.

John Taylor argues that “polysemy is not only ubiquitous but also conceptually necessary in an evolving semiotic system that can communicate the dynamic aspects of conceptual structure” (Taylor 2002:471). Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green define polysemy as “the phenomenon where a single linguistic unit exhibits multiple distinct yet related meanings”, and contrast polysemy with homonymy, “where two words are pronounced” (*soul* and *sole*) “and/or spelt the same way” (*bank* and *bank* – “bank of a river” and “a financial institution”) “but have distinct meanings” (Evans and Green 2006:36). Cognitivists determine the metaphor as “the phenomenon where one conceptual domain is systematically structured in terms of another” (Evans and Green 2006:38), as in *Love is a journey* – *Ljubav je putovanje*, and Günter Radden and Zoltán Kövecses (1999) see metonymy as a conceptual process in which one conceptual entity, the ‘target’, is made mentally accessible by means of another conceptual entity, the ‘vehicle’, within the same idealized cognitive model (ICM), as proposed by Lakoff (1987).

Linguistic forms expressing a variety of meanings reflect the world around us, which constantly changes. To describe new phenomena or concepts,

we often exploit the already existing forms. Metaphor and metonymy may be therefore considered to be two productive ways of semantic extension, and we offer here examples containing them in order to illustrate their semantic value. Apart from a small number of metonyms and metaphors, we also discuss homographs, homonyms, and collocations briefly, as well as a couple of ambiguous sentences, comprising polysemous words. The corpus analysed in the article is built from 25 lexical units, and the focus of our exploration is on semantics and pragmatics of the lexemes under consideration.

The aim of this article is to demonstrate that different word classes may be polysemic in English and Serbian (see Dimković-Telebaković 2013, Dimković-Telebaković 2014). A synchronic and contrastive approach, placed within the framework of a cognitive theory, has been adopted here to illustrate that both primary and secondary lexemes may be multimeaningful. Some of the examples given below are taken from relevant dictionaries or three textbooks written by the author of this paper (Dimković-Telebaković 2009a, Dimković-Telebaković 2009b, Dimković-Telebaković 2012), a number of them are adapted from other sources, and many examples are made up to show possible meanings of a small number of lexical units chosen randomly.

2. Word Classes Having a Variety of Meanings

It is well-known that word classes in natural languages can be multimeaningful. This section provides examples which demonstrate polysemy of some English and Serbian nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and prepositions.

2.1. Nouns expressing different meanings

We discuss here the following nouns: *honey*, *conductor*, *transfer*, *car*, *lead*, and *glava*, *kljun*, *krilo*, *grad*, *pop*.

Honey may mean “the sweet sticky soft material produced by bees, which is eaten on bread”/“med” (see *Longman Dictionary* 1978:540) or “darling”/“draga”, “medenjak”, whereas the compound noun *honeycombing* is, for instance, translated into Serbian as “prazan skladišnji prostor”, if used in the field of logistics, and has the terminological meaning of “empty storage space” (cf. Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:226, 224). *Conductor* may have the meaning of “a person who directs the playing of a group of musicians”/“dirigent”, or “a person employed to collect payments from passengers on a public vehicle”/“konduker”, or “a substance that readily acts as a path for electricity, heat, etc.”/ “provodnik”, or “the guard on a train” (AmE)/“sprovodnik” (see *Longman Dictionary* 1978:227), depending on a context and a variety of English in which it is employed, while *transfer* has the meaning of “interchange”/“throughput”/“pretovar” or “carriage”/“prenos”, as shown in examples (1a), (1a’), (1b) and (1b’).

(1) a. *Transfer* points are marked by passive electronic components set into the floor, which are read by special antenna transponders.

(adapted from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:124)

a” Mesta za *pretovar* označena su pasivnim elektronskim uređajima ugrađenim u pod, koja se očitavaju pomoću posebnih primo-predajnika s antenama i s automatskim prijemom signala.

b. Intermodal is presently defined as the *transfer* of freight from one mode or type of carrier to another.

(adapted from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:145)

b” Intermodalni transport se sada određuje kao *prenos* tereta od mesta s do mesta s drugim načinom prevoza ili tipom prevoznika.

The lexeme *car* is usually translated into Serbian as “kola”, “automobile”, but if it is used in railways engineering it may mean “vagon”. The following examples illustrate this:

(2) a. 70 per cent of households in England, Scotland and Wales now have the regular use of at least one *car*.

(adapted from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:327)

a” 70 procenata domaćinstava u Engleskoj, Škotskoj i Velsu sada redovno koristi bar jedna *kola*.

b. In the 1960s and 1970s, we commonly described intermodal as referring to the movement of highway trailers on railroad flatbed *cars*.

(from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:145)

b” Šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka obično smo opisivali intermodalni transport kao kretanje drumskih prikolica postavljenih na železničke plato-*vagone*.

Natural languages contain lexemes which are written the same way but are pronounced differently and bear different meanings. Such words are called homographs. The English homograph *lead*, for instance, has the meaning of “dog’s lead”/“povodac za pse”, if pronounced /li:d/ (see Ristić et al. 1963:317), or “a kind of metal”/“olovo”, if pronounced /led/ (cf. Ristić et al. 1963:730).

To show that Serbian also has nouns which may express different meanings, when used in various contexts, we provide you with some multimeaningful words – metaphors, homographs, homonyms and metonyms. The following examples are taken from *Rečnik SANU: Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezika* (1959-2014).

Glava has the primary meaning of “part of the body”/“deo tela”, and its metaphorical meanings are in Serbian “glava porodice”/“head of a family”, “glava eksera”/“head of a nail”, “glava kupusa”/“head of cabbage”, “glava šećera”/“a loaf of sugar”, “glava knjige”/ “chapter” (of a book), etc. As for the lexeme *kljun*, it can mean “bird’s part of the body”/“deo tela ptice”, “mouth” (with men)/“usta”, “tip of a shoe”/“vrh cipele”, “the bow of a ship”/“pramac broda”, “to have a bite”/“baciti nešto u kljun”, “pojesti”. *Krilo* also shows that

words are multimeaningful: “krilo ptice”/“wing of a bird”, “krilo aviona”/“wing of a plane”, “krilo zgrade”/“wing of a house”, “plućno krilo”/“lobe of a lung”, „krilo propelera”/“blade of a propeller”, “krilo”/“lap”. The equivalents in English for the given words in Serbian show that the two languages overlap only to some extent. This means that learners and translators need to be careful when studying these languages or doing translations from Serbian into English, or vice versa.

Homographs, such as *grād* and *grād* have the meanings of “city”, “town” and “hail”, as in (3) and (3’), and *Jěla Jěla ispod jěla* (*Helen ate under the firs*), show that nouns and verbs may be homographs in Serbian. These examples demonstrate that the type of accent differentiates word meaning.

- (3) Cele noći *grād* je padao na *grād*.
 (3’) *Hail* was falling on the *town* all night.

In (4) and (4’), *pop* has the homonymic meaning, since the only criterion which differentiates the first and the second *pop* in the sentence is meaning. If we say, however, *Ceo grād spava* (*The whole city is asleep*), as in (5) and (5’), we express a metonymic meaning, because *grād* designates people who live in the city. Metonymy also occurs in (6) and (6’): *Odnosi između Beograda i Vašingtona su dobri* (*The relations between Belgrade and Washington are good*), where *Beograd* and *Vašington* (*Belgrade* and *Washington*) refer to the governments of the two countries, not to the capital cities. If we use Günter Radden’s and Zoltán Kövecses’ (1999) terminology, we can say that the capital cities are one conceptual entity, the ‘vehicle’, whereas the governments of the two countries represent another conceptual entity, the ‘target’. In other words, we have here the transfer from one meaning to another meaning, i.e. metonymy.

- (4) *Pop* sluša *pop*.
 (4’) *The priest* listens to *pop music*.
 (5) *Ceo grād* spava.
 (5’) *The whole city* is asleep.
 (6) *Odnosi između Beograda i Vašingtona su dobri*.
 (6’) *The relations between Belgrade and Washington* are good.

2.2. Some adjectives that may convey various meanings

The following adjectives are considered in this section: *heavy*, *light*, *bright* and *gust*, *svetao*.

In English, *heavy* can have the meaning of “difficult to carry”/“težak”, “a great number of”/“veliki”, and “of great intensity”/“gust”, as in (7a), (7a’), (7b), (7b’), (7c) and (7c’).

- (7) a. The truck was carrying a *heavy* load.
(from Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary Online)
a" Kamion je prevezio *težak* teret.
b. *Heavy* volumes of automobiles and buses move westbound (towards San Francisco) on five lanes on the upper deck of the bridge in the morning and reverse their directions on five lanes on the lower deck in the afternoon.
(from Dimković-Telebaković 2009b:127)
b" *Veliki* broj automobila i autobusa kreće se ujutru ka zapadu (prema San Francisku) na pet traka gornjom platformom mosta i vraća se popodne na pet traka donjom platformom.
c. We got caught in *heavy* traffic.
(from Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary Online)
c" Zaglavili smo se u *gustom* saobraćaju.

In Serbian, *gust* (*heavy*) collocates with “magla”/“fog”, “saobraćaj”/“traffic”, “čorba”/“broth” and “dim”/“chimney”, as shown in examples (8a), (8b), (8c) and (8d).

- (8) a. Magla je sinoć bila toliko *gusta* da smo jedva videli kuda idemo.
b. Saobraćaj je na ovom mestu u gradu uvek vrlo *gust*.
c. On voli da čorba bude *gusta*.
d. *Gust* dim je kuljao iz fabričkog dimnjaka.

English equivalents of sentences (8a), (8b), (8c) and (8d) are as follows:

- (8) a" The fog was so *heavy* last night that we could hardly see where we were going.
b" Traffic is always very *heavy* at this place in the city.
c" He likes eating *thick* broth.
d" A *thick* smoke was coming out of the factory chimney.

These examples illustrate that the lexemes *heavy* and *thick* are used in different contexts in English to express the meaning of *gust* in Serbian. This leads us to the conclusion that the use of English and Serbian lexemes is context-dependent, and that English lexeme usage is more context-oriented than Serbian lexeme usage.

The following examples demonstrate that the same conclusion is valid with the adjective *svetao* (*bright, light*), collocating with “budućnost”/“future”, “soba”/“room” and “pivo”/“beer” in Serbian.

- (9) a. Pred njim je *svetla* budućnost.
b. Ona uvek bira *svetle* sobe.
c. U Pragu se pije *svetlo* pivo vrhunskog kvaliteta.

The translation of these sentences shows the corresponding collocations in English.

- (9) a" He has a *bright* future ahead. (bright means "promising" here)
 b" She always chooses *bright* rooms. (bright may have the opposite meaning of "dark", or "south-facing" which is the opposite meaning of "north-facing", or "windowless" (after *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* 2002:667)
- c" One can have *light* beer of great quality in Prague.

Ambiguity is also connected with polysemy. If a word is polysemic, it can cause an ambiguous sentence. The sentence *It's rough* can be interpreted in the following way: both the pronoun *it* and the adjective *rough* are multimeaningful; if *it* refers to *road*, then *rough* has the meaning of "not smooth"; if *it* is *water*, *rough* means "troubled", "heavy"; if *it* is substituted by *task*, *rough* is "difficult" or "heavy", and if *it* refers to *terrain*, then *rough* has the meaning of "hilly".

2.3. Verbs bearing more than one meaning

The verbs *carry*, *convey*, *take off* and *držati*, *videti*, *buncati* illustrate that verbs may also be polysemic, when used in different contexts in English and Serbian. Examples (10a) and (10a") show that *carry* may mean "to bear a heavy bag while moving"/"nositi" whereas its meaning in (10b) and (10b") is "to move"/"prevoziti". The meaning of *convey* may be "to express a meaning"/"izražavati značenje", as in (11a) and (11a"), or "to carry"/"prevoziti", as in (11b) and (11b").

- (10) a. Give her a hand. She is *carrying* a heavy bag.
 b. Car-floats are designed to *carry* 10, 20 or more rail-road cars from one railhead to another or to shipside for transferring loads.
 (from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:161)
- a" Pomozi joj. *Nosi* tešku torbu.
 b" Trajekti su projektovani da *prevoze* 10, 20 ili više železničkih vagona od kraja jedne železničke trase do početka druge ili do pristaništa za preтовar tereta.
- (11) a. Words *convey* various meanings in different contexts.
 a" Reči *izražavaju* raznovrsna značenja u različitim kontekstima.
 b. We *conveyed* our goods to market in an old van.
 b" Robu smo do pijace *prevezli* u starom kombiju.

The phrasal verb *take off* can also bear various meanings. If used in general English, as in example (12a), it may mean “to remove a garment”, or “to imitate, to copy someone, esp. his speech or manners”, as shown in (12b), whereas if it is used in air traffic, it means “to leave the ground and start rising into the air (for a plane) at the beginning of a flight”, as in (12c). (These meanings can be found in *Longman Dictionary* 1978:1131).

- (12) a. Anne *took off* her coat quickly and entered the room.
 a” Ana je brzo *skinula* kaput i ušla u sobu.
 b. He could *take off* famous actors when he was young.
 b” U mladosti je umeo da *imitira* poznate glumce.
 c. The A340 is *taking off* now.
 c” A340 sada *poleće*.

The following sentences contain the verbs *držati*, *videti* and *buncati*. They convey different meanings, as illustrated in the translated sentences below. Examples (13a”), (13b”) and (13c”), (14a”), (14b”) and (14c”), and (15a”) and (15b”) reveal that one lexeme in Serbian may have different lexemes as English equivalents, depending on the contexts in which they occur, which is also shown by (8a), (8b), (8c), (8d), and (8a”), (8b”), (8c”), (8d”), as well as (9a), (9b), (9c) and (9a”), (9b”), (9c”).

- (13) a. Ona *drži* predavanja (predaje) na fakultetu ponedeljkom i četvrtkom.
 b. On *drži* reč.
 c. *Drži* čašu čvrsto!
- (13) a” She *gives* lectures at the Faculty on Mondays and Thursdays.
 b” He *keeps* his word/promise.
 c” *Hold* the glass tight!
- (14) a. *Videću* ih sutra.
 b. *Vide* oni da si u pravu.
 c. *Vidi* se da je stranac.
- (14) a” I’ll *meet* them tomorrow.
 b” They *understand* that you are right.
 c” One can *tell/see* that he is a foreigner.
- (15) a. Preznojavao se ležeći na krevetu te noći, a pred zoru je počeo da *bunca*.
 b. *Buncaš*.
- (15) a” He was sweating lying down on the bed that night, and before dawn he began to *talk vaguely*.
 b” You *talk nonsense*.

We have already demonstrated that polysemic bits of language cause ambiguity. Verbs may also be ambiguous, as illustrated by the following example: *I heard Kate crying*. This sentence has two interpretations, due to the verb *cry* which may either mean “weep” or “shout”.

2.4. Some adverbs that express different meanings

Adverbs may be multimeaningful too. Here are some examples as employed in specialised use. The examples demonstrate that *heavily* may mean *mnogo* and *sporo*, as in (16a”) and (16b”), whereas the adverb *closely* expresses the meanings of *detaljno/pažljivo* (17a”), *precizno/strogo* (17b”) or *čvrsto* (17c”), i.e., “in a way that involves careful attention to every detail”, “in a very careful and strict way”, and “in a way that is very similar to something or has an obvious or strong connection with it”, as shown in (17a, b, c), respectively. Sentences (17a, b, c) are taken from *Macmillan Dictionary Online* (2015).

- (16) a. Satellite systems depend *heavily* on technology, including rocketry, space mechanics, solid-state electronics, high frequency electronics and radiation, and modern communications networks.
(from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:20)
- a” Satelitski sistemi *mnogo* zavise od tehnologije, uključujući raketnu tehniku, kosmičku mehaniku, poluprovodničku elektroniku, elektroniku visokih učestalosti i prenos talasa, i moderne komunikacione mreže.
- b. The traffic moved *heavily* through the city centre.
- b” Saobraćaj se odvijao *sporo* kroz centar grada.
- (17) a. Inspectors will examine the accounts very *closely*.
a” Inspektori će veoma *detaljno/pažljivo* pregledati račune.
- b. The movement of information across the border is *closely* regulated.
- b” Prenos informacija preko granice je *precizno/strogo* određen.
- c. The Northern Ireland economy is *closely* linked to that of the rest of the United Kingdom.
- c” Privreda Severne Irske je *čvrsto* povezana s ostalim delovima ekonomije Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva.

2.5. Prepositions as polysemic words

Apart from nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, prepositions may also be multimeaningful. The examples below illustrate that this is valid for both specific and general usage.

- (18) a. The picture is *over* the sofa. (over means „above” here)
- a” Slika je *iznad* sofe.
- b. The picture is *over* the hole. (over has the meaning of „covering”)
- b” Slika je (postavljena) *preko* rupe.

- c. The ball is *over* the wall. (*over* means „on-the-other-side-of” here)
- c” Lopta je *s druge strane* zida.
- d. The helicopter flew *over* the city. (*over* has the meaning of „path”) (after Taylor 1989:127)
- d” Helikopter je leteo *nad* gradom.
- e. She has a strange power *over* me. (*over* has the metaphorical „control” meaning here) (from Evans and Green 2006:36)
- e” Ona ima čudnu moć *nadamnom*.
- f. Once passed, the new regulations will be rolled out gradually *over* the coming years. (*over* means „during”) (from Dimković-Telebaković 2012:64)
- f” Jednom doneti, novi propisi biće uvedeni postepeno *u toku* narednih godina.
- (19) a. The pencil is *under* the chair. (*under* is spatial preposition here)
- a” Olovka je *ispod* stolice.
- b. She is *under* twenty years old. (*under* has the meaning of „less than” here)
- b” Ona ima *manje od* dvadeset godina.
- c. I wanted to leave quickly but *under the circumstances* (my uncle had just died) I decided to stay another night. (from *Longman Dictionary* 1978:187)
- c” Želeo sam brzo da odem, ali *zbog okolnosti* (ujak mi je upravo umro) odlučio sam da ostanem još jednu noć.
- d. The event was presented *under the auspices of* the Electric Vehicle Association of the Americas (EVAA). (adapted from Dimković-Telebaković 2009b:39)
- d” Događaj je predstavljen *pod pokroviteljstvom* Udruženja za električna vozila Amerika.

3. Conclusions

We discussed here 25 English and Serbian lexical units as used in contemporary general and specialised language, mostly in transport and traffic engineering. Examples show that different word classes – nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and prepositions – may be multimeaningful, and that bits of language are context-dependent. This analysis points to the fact that the use of English lexemes is even more context-dependent than Serbian lexeme usage. The collocations considered in the paper also confirm this conclusion. The

results demonstrate that the same concept meanings in English and Serbian can be expressed by the same lexical units, by slightly different lexemes, or by means of entirely different lexical items.

The analysed paradigmatic and syntagmatic semantic relations are looked at within the framework of a cognitive theory. A synchronic and contrastive approach has been developed to illustrate that linguistic forms reflect the world around us. As it constantly evolves, metaphor and metonymy seem to be two productive ways of semantic extension. Homographs and homonyms discussed here demonstrate the dynamic aspects of conceptual structures. As multimeaningful words may cause ambiguity, a few ambiguous sentences are analysed too.

Language learners, teachers and translators normally find ambiguous and polysemic bits of language difficult to cope with. We believe that lexical and syntactic blends can be better understood and learned more easily if the appropriate translations of the items are provided.

Investigations of this kind may have teaching implications, may help translators in the process of translating specialised texts in particular, and may illustrate to what degree languages differ. Further examinations are expected to show word meanings which may be expressed in various contexts, how lexical units collocate in languages, and how the cognitive system is sensitive to the number of meanings and possible meanings. To achieve these aims, one may employ vectors.

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DECONSTRUCTING ENGLISH ARTICLES A CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR APPROACH TO TEACHING ARTICLES IN ENGLISH

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Abstract: *The semantics of the articles is crucial for their proper usage in L2 speakers. However, we believe that for their proper acquisition a pairing of concrete form and concrete meaning must take place. In other words, a schema must be created for various meanings of articles. Therefore, in this paper English articles will be viewed from the aspect of Construction grammar. Working within the framework of CxG we will perceive the noun phrases of the type a/the+ N as lexico-syntactic meaningful constructions where the articles attribute a particular meaning to the noun(s) they determine. Together they constitute Determination (article) Construction. Each particular meaning of the articles can be conceptualized and adequate abstract constructional schemas and subschemas as a schematic pairing of form and meaning can be created. In addition, we will use the Serbo-Croatian semantic equivalents of English articles such as indefinite pronouns neki, poneki, koji, kakav, numerals jedan, ijedan, adverbs nekako and makar, demonstrative determiners onaj, adjectives, negative forms ni, nikakav, possessive pronominals and many more. They will serve as a starting point for offering possible constructional schema models for meaningful constructions a/the +N. Other meanings and usages of the articles will be treated in the same way. We believe that by initializing the conceptualization and encouraging schema development in ESL/EFL students whose mother tongue is Serbo-Croatian reasonable strategies for article choice in English can be provided This is aimed at enhancing their learning process and facilitating acquisition of articles through their understanding and association with concrete lexemes (which would ideally lead to their conceptualization) rather than through abstract concepts of specificity and (in)definiteness as previous studies have done.*

Keywords: *article semantics, construction, contrastive Construction Grammar, Determination Construction, schema.*

1. Introduction

Both teachers and students of English as a foreign or second language are well aware of all the difficulties inherent in the (mis)use of articles. Articles constitute one of the knottiest points in English for many foreign speakers, especially the ones whose L1 does not recognize articles as a functional (and semantic) category.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that articles can be morphologically marked or unmarked (thus invisible to EFL/ESL students) while they are usually unstressed in speech, so the non-native speakers may find it hard to hear them properly. Furthermore, beside two formally marked

articles which are physically present in a written text or in speech, there are nouns determined by *zero article* which EFL/ESL learners tend to interpret as no article at all. Most native speakers do not know the rules governing article use, but still generate them correctly and notice their lack if omitted.

Investigations have shown that at least one fifth of all mistakes made in compositions written by ESL/EFL speakers/students occur in the use of articles. While errors in articles are expected at elementary levels of language knowledge, such errors are a source of misapprehension of a kind likely to threaten the exactitude of the students' thought and capacity to tell the difference between a general and a particular statement at advanced levels of language proficiency. However, repeated errors in the use of special and advanced patterns may reflect a weakness in elementary fundamentals.

2. Pedagogical Approach to Articles In English

The previous statement results from the way articles are approached and described by grammarians and teachers respectively. Most grammar-books written by native speakers devote very little space to the issue of articles. They typically list different uses of articles (e.g. with countable nouns, with uncountable nouns, proper names etc.) which are followed by several elicitation exercises. The approach is more or less similar irrespective of the language-knowledge level they address. Even some English grammars targeting advanced students studying the structure of English at the university level cannot brag themselves with elaborate material on articles. For example, in their *English Grammar, a University course* Downing and Locke (Downing and Locke, 2006) devote only two pages to the matter, while Carter and McCarthy (Carter and McCarthy 2006) do not tackle the issue of articles separately but when discussing the categories such as number, pronouns or determiners. One of the possible explanations why articles are treated like this by authors who are native speakers is that they take articles and their comprehension for granted. ESL/EFL students are expected to understand, memorize and make automatic the system of English articles, which is, according to Young, a closed system of mainly unstressed morphemes which encodes notions of existence, reference and attribution, notions of anaphora and context together with syntactic notions of countability and number (Young 1996:135).

As seen, in descriptions of English most authors tend to disregard, ignore or understate the semantic properties of articles. On the other hand, articles have enormous effect on meaning. Although in grammatical descriptions of English, articles are classified as functional words, more precisely, as determiners associated with the grammatical category of definiteness and indefiniteness, their complex semantic properties cannot be excluded. The semantics of articles proves to be especially important in

EFL/ESL instruction because much of the problem of article acquisition in EFL/ESL learners lies in the complex ways in which meaning is mapped onto form in English article system.

3. Research on the Article Semantics and L2 Learners

The research on the topic of article- acquisition in ESL/EFL learners, particularly those coming from article-less L1 background, has been rather extensive for various languages. In this section of the paper we will take a brief overview of some of the most relevant work on the issue of the semantic properties of articles as a rather important aspect for their acquisition in ESL/EFL speakers.

The importance of semantic component of articles for article acquisition in EFL speakers was noticed by Pitman in the early 1970's. In his book *The Use of the Article* Pittman (1972) based his selection and classification of tasks on numerous and various meanings expressed by articles. The book was designed as a remedial material for advanced learners and the material was grouped into 67 units. The grouping criteria were based on the specific semantics of the articles in the given linguistic and extra-linguistic context(s). Here are some examples of unit titles to illustrate the way they are grouped: Unit 45: to contrast *the*= *the only one* with *a* = *another*; Unit 18: to practice *the* = *the only one* with ordinal numbers; Unit 5 *a*=*any one*; Unit 43 to contrast *identification* = *a* with recognition = *the*; Unit 38: the contrast of *a* and *the* in identification *the* = *implicit, immediate surroundings*, etc. The elicitation exercises are illustrative and to the point allowing for concrete conceptualization of the meaning of both indefinite article *a(n)* and the definite article *the*.

Somewhat later ,during the 1980's and 1990's, the proponents of universal grammar, or the universalists, approached articles as language universals emphasizing their meaning as universal meaning which is realized differently in different languages. Such an approach was first taken by Bickerton (1981) who proposed two universals of NP reference: a semantic and a discourse universal. The discourse universal refers to the speakers' assumption whether the hearer perceives the referent of a particular NP as known or unknown to the hearer. Therefore, the NPs used in a discourse can be classified as either specific (+SR)/or on-specific(-SR) and either known (+HK) or unknown (-HK) to the hearer. Thus each NP used in a discourse can be identified as either [-SR, +HK], [+SR, -HK], [-SR,-HK] or [+SR, +HK]. Such a classification incited a number of studies investigating various levels of ESL/EFL speakers' interlanguage, hypothesizing that if they were true universals the speakers would be able to distinguish the four types of NPs in their mother tongues but not necessarily in the way they are distinguished in English and perhaps in different ways at different stages of interlanguage

development Some of the scholars who conducted studies governed by universalists' approach were, among others, Duškova for Czech (1984), Chaudron and Parker for Japanese (1990), Young for Czech and Slovak (1996), Ionin and Ionin et al. for Russian and Korean (2003, 2004a, 2004b), Ekiert for Polish (2004) and Kupsich et al. for Turkish (2010).

In his research on English article- acquisition and English interlanguage development, Young (Young, 1996:161) paid a special attention to the meaning, form and function of the articles. According to his classification the meaning of the whole NP depends on the meaning of the article by which it is determined. Consequently, NPs can be classified as either hearer unknown [-HK] which include first mentions, existentials, equationals, negatives, or hearer known [+HK] including generics, unique, physically present, anaphoric, specific. In the end, Young's findings indicate that form-function relations largely affect interlanguage development. Learners try to map L1 meanings onto L2 forms, which is particularly difficult when they do not have L1 corresponding forms and do not perceive any consistent meaning for the L2. In the case of anaphoric demonstratives the mapping is highly systematic. It is also systematic when learners map count and number categories onto indefinite articles.

In the past decade or so, one of the most prolific researchers on the topic of acquisition of articles in ESL/EFL learners is Ionin. In her numerous studies (Ionin 2003, 2004a, 2004b and 2010) she studied various aspects of English article acquisition not only in ESL/EFL learners who come from article-less L1 background such as Russian and Korean (2003, 2004) but also who are familiar with article system from their mother tongue such as the speakers of Spanish (Ionin and Motrul 2010). Ionin also considers article-semantics to be crucial for their acquisition and usage. Starting from the hypothesis that referentiality plays an important role in article choice in L2 speakers she views the meaning of articles through the rather abstract categories of specificity and definiteness. Consequently, articles can attribute the meaning [+/- specific] and [+/- definite] to the nouns they determine. The results of her studies which included both elicitation and production (translation) tasks show that ESL learners fluctuate between referentiality and definiteness when choosing articles in English as they depend on semantic distinctions governing their use. She further explores how the concepts of definiteness and specificity are discourse related claiming specificity is not wide scope (Ionin et al. 2004a). It is more restricted in that it involves speaker's intent to refer to the individual who exists in the actual world. This helps a speaker establish article choice parameter. For example, a language that has two articles distinguishes them as follows: 1) based on definiteness as in English (a definiteness setting) and 2) based on specificity (a specificity setting).

She also examines learners' capacity to set parameters and build strategies for article choice by exploring to which setting the L2 learners will turn. She hypothesizes that 1) L2 learners have access to universal grammar principles and parameter setting (specificity and definiteness), 2) L2 learners fluctuate between different parameter settings until the input leads them to set the parameter to the appropriate value.

After a series of studies with L2 speakers of different language proficiency Ionin was not quite able to find any obvious regularity or answer how article choice strategies are made, concluding that no strategy building instruction is universally applicable (2004b). However, in her numerous and elaborate early studies on article use in ESL speakers she relies very little on their L1 often disregarding the forms, structures and constructions used in L1 to express the semantic content equivalent to that expressed by articles in English. Only later does she incorporate L1 transfer in her research (Ionin and Motrul 2010a, 2010b).

4. Construction Grammar and Contrasting Constructions Across Languages

Vast body of research has been done on the topic of how speakers of different languages perceive and use English articles with the purpose to help ESL/EFL speakers acquire this seemingly abstract system and develop ability to generate and use articles correctly. Despite the amount of research of this type, much of which has been done within the scope of cognitive linguistics, as Ionin claims (Ionin et al. 2004b), no universally applicable strategy- building instruction seems possible. As we have seen, in her work Ionin was primarily interested in the article semantics (the meaning component) while Young focused on the form and function of English articles in the process of interlanguage development, thus making the initial step towards the constructionist approach to the matter.

Although Construction Grammar (CxG) had been around as a framework for language description since the 1980's it was only in the mid-2000's that it became acknowledged by those interested in the ESL/EFL issues. On the other hand, it appears to us that the constructionist approach which takes all three components (meaning-form-function) into consideration to the issue of article usage in L2 speakers might prove to be useful and effective, indeed. As the communicative approach to language teaching has not achieved the desired "quality of production" (Hinkel 2006), Construction Grammar has offered to teachers some efficient and effective strategies to help their students achieve desired levels of language proficiency and fluency. For some time now CxG with its focus on whole complex units (constructions) has found its implementation and practical application in L2 teaching and learning

(Widdowson 2003, Hinkel 2006; Ellis 2013, and O'Donnell et al. 2013). In addition, CxG so far has been focused mainly on English trying to account for the entire system as a whole of this language. This additionally speaks in favour of using the findings CxG for the purposes of EFL/ESL teaching and learning.

The notion of construction, defined as a pairing of form and meaning and referring to a syntactic pattern in which particular formal properties correlate with specific semantic, plays an important role not only in Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995; Croft 2001) but in a number of recent linguistic models such as Cognitive Linguistics (Langacker 1999), The Simpler Syntax Model (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, 2006) and Construction Morphology (CM) (Booij 2010).

In Construction Grammar, the grammar represents an inventory of form-meaning-function complexes, in which words are distinguished from grammatical constructions only with regard to their internal complexity. The inventory of constructions is not unstructured; it is more like a map than a shopping list. Elements are related through inheritance hierarchies, containing more or less general patterns.

(Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996:216)

By focusing on construction(s) CxG provides a framework for a better understanding of the relation of syntax and the lexicon. A notion of 'construction' is very advantageous as it can be used at both levels without obliterating the differences between the two (Booij 2010:1). It can also be very useful when dealing with borderline cases, in other words, with complex forms which linger on the border between the lexicon and syntax.

According to Jackendoff (2008:15) pieces of syntactic structure can be listed in the lexicon with associated meanings, just as individual words are; these are meaningful constructions of the language. In his opinion Construction Grammar makes no principled distinction between words and rules; a lexical entry is more word-like to the extent that it is fully specified and more rule-like to the extent that it contains variables.

5. Contrasting Constructions in L1 and L2

As mentioned earlier in this paper, most studies dealing with the acquisition, generating and use of articles have been focused on L2 speakers coming from the common or similar L1 background. Rare have been the studies with L2 speakers coming from diverse L1 settings (see Ionin 2004a and 2004b for Russian and Korean). In addition, just a few of such studies pay attention to the specific features and properties of L1 but are more focused on the differences in article (mis)use and generating in students who are at different phases of interlanguage.

On the other hand, to adopt a constructional approach in language teaching and learning would mean “to undertake a commitment in principle to account for the entirety of each language” (Kay and Fillmore 1999:1).

Since constructionists’ studies and research were initially almost solely focused on English, English remains the most thoroughly described language within the CxG framework. (See Fillmore 1986, Lakoff 1987, Fillmore et al. 1988, Zwicky 1994, Goldberg 1995, Michaelis & Lambrecht 1996, Kay and Fillmore 1999, Boas 2003, Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004.) As a result, comparative studies into constructions in other languages based on the constructionist description of English have recently emerged (Gurevich for Russian; Hilpert for Swedish; Leino for Finnish; Gonzalves Sylvia for Spanish; Tymiam and Bergen for Thai; Hasegawa et al. for Japanese, see Boas (Ed.) 2010). It is true that cross-linguistic comparisons at the constructional level are difficult to achieve, but it seems possible to systematically identify and analyze equivalent constructions in particular languages (English as L2 in this case).***** Such contrastive and comparative approach to particular equivalent constructions can indeed prove to be extremely valuable and helpful in ESL/EFL teaching and learning.

Taking into account the most recent constructionist trends with a contrastive approach to describing equivalent constructions in languages and with respect to the contrastive work already done on English and SC, we propose that these two approaches be combined when the matter of articles is tackled for ESL/EFL speakers coming from the SC L1 origin. In the following segments of this paper we will try to show how the constructionist contrastive semantic approach can be highly advantageous for EFL /ESL purposes as a viable tool which can help EFL/ESL speakers make generalizations between the two languages how function and meaning are encoded in the form. Some research (Achard 2008; Tyler 2008) show that an understanding of “the item-based nature of construction learning inspires the creation and evaluation of instructional tasks, materials, and syllabi, and how cognitive linguistic analyses can be used to inform learners how constructions are conventionalized ways of matching certain expressions to specific situations and to guide instructors in precisely isolating and clearly presenting the various conditions that motivate speaker choice”. (Ellis 2013:). In addition, we will make an effort to prove that making generalizations and establishing a relationship between meaning and form in the two languages raises language-awareness in EFL/ESL speakers facilitating the L2 learning/acquisition.

(In)definiteness in SC and SC EFL/ESL Speakers

Serbo-Croatian, like most Slavic languages (except for Bulgarian and Macedonian), does not recognize the category of articles as a class of primary determiners. Since English articles are direct markers of the category of

(in)definiteness, SC EFL/ESL learners often wrongly assume that these categories do not exist in their L. It is true that definiteness is not clearly indicated in Serbo-Croatian NPs for which reason many L1 speakers are quite unaware of the nature of a particular NP in SC. This by no way means that SC nouns cannot be marked with respect to (in)definiteness. There are several ways, however, to indicate SC noun phrases implicitly as definite or indefinite. This can be done either by

a) definite and indefinite adjectival forms clearly noticeable only in masculine gender nominative case as in (1), while in other inflected forms they are distinguished by the quality rather than the quantity of accent (2).

(1) a) lep buket (indefinite nominative masculine NP) – E **a** nice bouquet

b) lep**i** buket (definite nominative masculine NP) – E **the** nice bouquet

(2) a) dŕgo bdenje (falling accent indicating definiteness) – E **the** long wake

b) dŕgo bdenje (rising accent indicating indefiniteness) – E **a** long wake

b) by a tendency rather than a regular pattern to start a sentence with what is known and end it with a new piece of information (3a--b) (similar in Czech, see Young, 1996:141).

(3) a) Ušao je (V) **sudija** (N) i sudjenje je moglo da počne.

CAME IN JUDGE AND TRIAL COULD BEGIN

‘A judge came in and the trial could begin.’

b) **Sudija** (N) je ušao (V) i suđenje je moglo da počne.

JUDGE CAME IN AND TRIAL COULD BEGIN

‘The judge came in and the trial could begin.’

However, when told of these ways of expressing (in)definiteness in SC native speakers fail to recognize them and find them most astonishing.

Obviously, definiteness is not the part of the semantics of Serbo-Croatian nouns. The syntactic structure of a Serbo-Croatian NP seems to be of the pattern *nil* + *N* as opposed to English *det+N*, which may falsely lead both L2 learners and even some (non-native) EFL/ESL teachers to conclude that English articles have no correspondents in SC, wrongly assuming that for that reason the only way to understand, memorize and make automatic the system of English articles is to learn from pedagogical grammars the sets of rules governing article use.

6. Semantic Equivalents for Expressing the Meaning of English Articles in Serbo-Croatian

The fact that Serbo-Croatian language system lacks articles does not mean that the meaning of English articles cannot be expressed in SC. There are equivalents to most usages found in other categories that correspond with the

usage and meaning of English articles. In order to identify such forms in SC the categories of intensive and non-intensive definiteness and indefiniteness (Stanojčić and Popović 2002) and thematicity/rhematicity exist (see Ivić 1970).

English articles have always presented a stumbling stone for SC ESL/EFL learners. No wonder then that the matter of articles in English and their equivalents in SC was one of the issues that a number of scholars dealt with in detail (Ivić 1971; Spalatin 1976; Mišeska Tomić 1970/1971, 1974; Hlebec 1986; Djordjević 1989.) More importantly, most of these papers is semantically oriented and approach articles in context. When analyzing articles in English and their equivalents in SC they contrasted nominal constructions containing articles in diverse contexts in both languages, thus taking into consideration syntactic, semantic, discourse-pragmatic and functional factors.

A) *Semantic equivalents of the indefinite article in SC*

The following forms emerge as possible SC semantic equivalents for English indefinite article 'a' denoting what Huddleston and Pullum refer to as quantitative indefinites and existential quantification (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 372):

- indefinite determiners *neki (some), ma koji, bilo koji, ikoji (any, whichever)* and numeral *jedan (one)* correspond to the meaning *a = any* and for the first-mentions

(4) a) E There was a man standing there.

SC Neki/jedan čovek je stajao tamo.

(b) E Just give me a pen please!

SC Samo mi daj bilo koju/ ma koju olovku, molim te!

- numeral *jedan (one)* with the quantifying meaning or the meaning of particularization as in (5a-b)

(5) a) E. She didn't say a word

SC Nije rekla niti jednu reč.

(b) E He's got the talent of a Beethoven.

SC Ima talenat jednog Betovena.

- universal determiner *svaki* or adverbs of frequency

(6) E Take this medicine three times a day.

SC Uzmite lek tri puta svakog dana/ dnevno.

- demonstrative determiner *onaj (that)* denoting remoteness and a lower degree of definiteness (7).

(7) E She lay there filled with a pale, clearer peace.

SC Ležala je tako ispunjena onim prozračnim, savršenim mirom.

- indefinite adverbs *nekako (somehow)* (8a) and *makar, barem* + intensive numeral phrase *jedan jedini* (8b).

- (8) a) E It was a peculiarly beautiful book.
 SC Bila je to nekako čudesno lepa knjiga.
 (b) E Couldn't you spare a dollar for the poor?
 SC Zar ne možeš da daš makar/barem jedan jedini dolar za sirotinju?

For non-quantitative indefinites found in generic use (9a) and in ascriptive predicative complements indicating simple set membership (9b) no lexical and grammatical equivalents in Serbo-Croatian can be found, although for the latter the numeral *jedan* (*one*) is possible (9c).

- (9) a) E Jill is a doctor.
 SC Džil je doktorka.
 (b) E As a doctor, Jill should have helped the injured man.
 SC Kao doktorka, Džil je trebalo da pomogne povredjenom.
 (c) SC Kao jedan doktor, Džil je trebalo da pomogne povredjenom.

B) *Semantic equivalents of the definite article in SC*

In Serbo-Croatian the following forms can be distinguished as possible semantic equivalents for English definite article THE:

- zero equivalent for THE denoting recognition, identifying, implicit situational, [+HK] reference (10a) and denoting uniqueness (10b) which Huddleston and Pullum refer to as a felicitous use (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:368).
 (10) a) E Where did you park the car?
 SC Gde si parkirao kola?
 (b) E The father of one of my students rang me up last night.
 SC Otac jednog mog studenta mi je sinoć telefonirao.
- demonstrative determiners *ovaj* (*this*) (11a), *taj*, *onaj*, *takav* (*that*) (11b), *toliki/ovoliki* (*this big*) (11c) expressing intensive definiteness.
 (11) a) E I know I have seen the man somewhere.
 SC Znam da sam tog čoveka negde sreo.
 (b) E Pass me the hammer, please.
 SC Dodaj mi taj/ onaj/ ovaj čekić.
 (c) E Could you do something about the hum?
 SC Možete li nešto da uradite u vezi sa ovom/ovolikom bukom?
- universal determiner *sav* (*all*) (12b) or zero equivalent (12a) to denote totality.

- (12) a) E The bathroom tiles are cracked.
 SC Pločice u kupatilu su napukle.
- (b) E The milk has gone bad.
 SC (Svo) Mleko se pokvarilo.
- personal pronoun (13).
- (13) E She was the youngest of the three.
 SC Bila je najmladja od njih tri.

Obviously, SC speakers of EFL/ESL have a wider choice of semantic equivalents to express indefiniteness than definiteness, which does not mean, however, that the misuse of indefinite article is less frequent than that of the definite one.

While it is true that the semantic equivalents of English articles in SC are only possible ways of their interpretation not pertaining to be a universal solution for their acquisition and use in SC EFL/ESL speakers, in practical instruction they are almost completely ignored. Instead, SC EFL speakers are referred to grammar books and sets of rules which they have to memorize in order to grasp a rather abstract category of (in)definiteness. From the start they are lead to believe that articles are lexically empty words. SC EFL/ESL speakers can arrive at the point where they can be fairly certain in repeating the rules referring to the individual cases or parts of the article system and even fairly correctly complete elicitation tasks; but, they can never be quite certain how far the system goes and, consequently, feel uncertain when they have to generate a use of the article(s) for which their memory has stored no precedent.

Still, possible semantic equivalents, which may facilitate SC EFL speakers conceptualizing the category of (in)definiteness, are rarely relied on in the process of teaching and learning.

What prompted us to include the actual meaning of English articles and their possible SC semantic equivalents in EFL/ESL instruction practices was the fact that we noticed that the students whose English was at a rather advanced stage of interlanguage development seemed to experience less problems with using articles when they denoted certain meanings and when they bore certain (concrete) references than in other cases when articles were used with generic or implicit references. The results of a statistical analysis of students' essay errors indicate that more than 90% of students correctly used the definite article 'the' denoting superlatives and ordinal numbers (as in '*the largest increase*' or '*the second largest exporter*'), denoting collectives (as in '*the rich*' or '*the Johnsons*'), plural geographical entities (such as '*the EU*', '*the Bahamas*') or in the form '*the end*'. The same trend was noticed with the use of indefinite article when denoting single countable entities and first-mentions (as in '*A man came in.*') or with distributive numeric meaning of 'a' (as in the expression '*three times a day*'). In addition, we noticed a systematic mapping of

count and number categories to indefinite article, which is consistent to Young's findings with Czech and Slovak L1 speakers (Young 1996).

When asked why certain uses of articles seemed less problematic than the others, most students (Serbo-Croatian L1 speakers) explained that they indeed associated the meaning of articles either with a concrete meaning or tended to see articles as an integral part of the meaning of the noun they determined or even the entire NP. In other words, English constructions of the type *det + N* are perceived/conceptualized as Determination Constructions and single semantic units whose elements are interdependent and related. Clearly, what the students did was pair the form with the meaning and discourse function. This was the case with examples such as 'the EU', but particularly with some specific uses of articles in which the meaning of the whole construction appears quite concrete as in (14a-d). In addition, in cases such as in (14a-d) discourse-pragmatic factors play a very important role in their interpretation.

(14a) It was a different Venice from what I once knew.

(14b) There was a brief silence.

(14c) Can you pass me the coffee, please?

(14d) It does look like the young Shakespeare.

Determination Construction in English and Serbo-Croatian

The instances of article use given in (14a-d) perfectly illustrate English Determination Construction in which the determiner slot is filled by an article. According to CxG, constructions are signs whose meaning is not just the simple sum of meanings of their parts and cannot be derived from the meaning of their constituents. (Freid, to be published:8).

Constructions are defined as objects of syntactic representation that are assigned one or more conventional functions [...] together with whatever is conventionalized about its contribution to the meaning or the use of structure containing it" (Fillmore 1988:36).

Based on the examples given, we see that Determination (article) Construction(s) have "a meaning in the sense of a specific semantic content" (Fried, to be published: 9). In addition, they represent the combination of a determiner and a noun which denotes a semantically bounded entity. The combination as a whole is bounded, even in situations when its constituents may be in conflict as is the case with phrases in (14a-d).

From examples (4-13) we have seen that the meaning of articles is present in SC NPs despite the fact that Serbo-Croatian grammar system does not recognize the category of articles. Consequently, we can say that SC also has a Determination Construction, which is not identical to English Determination (article) Construction but rather has the form *determiner + N*.

One may wonder how this pattern can be applied to the examples (9), (10a) and (10b) in which a determiner is physically missing from SC constructions, thus they tend to be perceived as having the structure *nil+N* (as mentioned earlier). It has been pointed out that CxG sees constructions as pairings of form-meaning-function, which means that in order to come to the meaning of a construction one must take into consideration its lexical meaning, grammatical function and/or discourse-pragmatic factors. Given all this, our Serbo-Croatian examples from (9), (10a) and (10b) can be seen as Determination (article) Constructions where the discourse and the context (both linguistic and extra-linguistic) determine the nouns *doktor*, *kola* and *otac* as definite (hearer known) or indefinite (hearer unknown). In other words, determination is not expressed by lexical but by pragmatic means, but it is still a present component in SC Determination Construction.

It is important to emphasize that all examples given in this paper as well as the instances of article use which ESL/ESL speakers encounter are actual constructs of Determination (article) Construction. This means that constructs are “realizations of grammar in actual discourse” (Fried, to be published:8). Therefore, constructions are abstractions, while constructs are their physical, actual, concrete realizations.

Based on the meaning, form and function of such constructs in diverse discourses the ESL/EFL speakers make generalizations about (in our case Determination (article)) constructions, their structure, meaning and function. Thus, the process of language learning/acquisition goes from specific and concrete to abstract. We believe that this process can be facilitated if the ESL/EFL speakers are fully aware of the constructional semantic equivalents in their L1. In the case of article acquisition for SC ESL/EFL speakers this means that in ESL/EFL instruction semantic constructional equivalents of constructs representing English Determination (article) Construction should be highlighted. We have pointed out that SC ESL/EFL speakers make generalizations about the meanings of English Determination (article) Construction, but only at an advanced level of instruction when their language proficiency allows them to use the foreign language associatively and intuitively.

However, even at the very early stages of interlanguage development such generalizations can be made if the ESL/EFL speakers are made aware of the meanings of the constructs expressing English Determination (article) Construction and their constructional (semantic, structural and pragmatic) equivalents in Serbo-Croatian. ESL/EFL speakers’ contact with English articles is via constructs such as those given in (4-14d) which are linguistic expressions expressing certain meaning(s). Such meanings of English constructs are more easily accessed by the ESL/EFL speakers if they are aware of the constructs in SC expressing the (nearly) same or similar meanings. This approach allows

them to establish the relation between L1 and L2 by finding the common (semantic) grounds in the way that L1 can facilitate the L2 learning process, instead of impeding it. At lower levels of interlanguage development these common grounds are concrete constructs in both languages allowing for more abstract generalizations to take their place at higher levels. This will be discussed in the following section of this paper.

7. Article Schematization in SC EFL/ESL Speakers

According to Tomasello, language acquisition starts with storing mental representations of concrete cases of language use. Gradually, the language learner will make abstractions across sets of linguistic constructs with similar properties, thus acquiring the abstract system underlying these linguistic constructs. (Tomasello, 2000: 238)

We may assume that our SC EFL/ESL students did exactly that, except that they often relied on L1 constructs in doing so. By conceptualizing and abstracting the concrete, most basic meanings of articles by finding L1 constructs with corresponding semantics they were able to build basic schema(s) for their use.

It was mentioned earlier in this paper that the prototypical, most basic and most general meaning of *a* is to denote ‘any’, an unspecified, hearer unknown indefinite singular countable noun, whereas *the* is used to mark definite, hearer known recognizable nouns in singular and plural, or as Pittman in his book formulates it ‘the only one’. One of the most important properties of schemas is that they represent knowledge at all levels of abstraction. Consequently, it can be presumed that at a very elementary level of instruction, helped by semantic equivalents from SC in the mind of a SC EFL/ESL speaker abstract prototypical schemas of the following (provisional) forms may be formed:

[a [X] N "sg. count."] N 'one, any, hearer unknown entity (N)" - SC *neki, jedan pojam (N)*

[the [X] N] N " particular, that, hearer known, anaphoric, entity (N)" - SC *taj, onaj, odredjeni pojam (N)*

These schemas also imply that articles are category determining, or, more precisely related to the grammatical class of nouns and their meaning. Articles are thus seen as directly attributing semantic content and influencing the meaning of the noun(s) they determine.

Something similar was proposed over half a century ago by Sorensen who suggested that in *art+N* combinations the article is always an integral part of the meaning of the given noun (Sorensen, 1958:82), which is additionally supported by the examples such as *the Andes, the Dutch, the European Union, the Guggenheim Museum, the Economist, the Bible* to denote weak proper

forms (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002:517). We have seen that this claim of Sorensen's is in complete accord with the general trend in SC EFL/ESL speakers who obviously conceptualized and stored proper nouns of the above type not as single-word lexemes but as meaningful (syntactic) constructions/units denoting a single entity or phenomenon. Therefore, NPs of the structure *art+N* qualify as constructions. They are rule-like as they contain a noun which is a variable while at the same time they are word-like as they are fully specified.

Schemas are active process and language- learning is an uphill struggle. As both can be viewed hierarchically, helping students conceptualize and interconnect the meaning of articles with the meaning of nouns they determine via building schemata at early stages of interlanguage development can prove extremely useful at later phases, at higher levels of knowledge and in language situations when they need to generate articles according to both linguistic and extra-linguistic context.

At higher levels of EFL/ESL language proficiency and at later phases of interlanguage development the existing schemas get enriched and elaborated with new information concerning both meaning and function like in the use of *the* with the ordinals and superlatives, the use of *a* with proper nouns or the use of *the* with adjectives. As a result, additional templates for Determination (article) constructions are needed within the general article template. By conceptualizing and association of the meanings of *art+N* Determination Constructions when the semantic content of the whole construction as well as its grammatical properties cannot be derived from the semantics and the syntax of its constituents, the existing prototypical article schemas are of no help to the EFL/ESL speakers. Consequently these schemas need to be further elaborated with additional semantic and/or discourse-pragmatic information. Here are some examples of schema elaboration and subschema development (15a-c) and (16a-d):

(15) a) the intelligent > [the [x] Adj. + descriptive] \longleftrightarrow [collective N having the property x] with further elaboration

b) the French > [the[x] Adj. nationality] \longleftrightarrow [N collective denoting nations and groups of people of x origin]

c) the best > [the [x] adjective + superlative] \longleftrightarrow [abstract N having the property X]

(16) a) a silence, a knowledge > [a[x] N +abstract] \longleftrightarrow [a piece of X , an instance of, a subamount of X]

with further further elaboration

b) a pale moon > [a[x] N unique] \longleftrightarrow [a particular instance of X]

c) a better England > [a[x]N proper] \longleftrightarrow [a particular condition, shape of X n[+countable]]

d) a screaming Dudley > [a [x]N +proper -countable] \leftrightarrow [N +countable, one of many X]

Clearly schema elaborations happen as the stages of interlanguage development progress. The more advanced the phase, the more elaborated article (sub)schemas are.

8. Concluding Remarks

In the previous segment of the paper we have tried to illustrate how the theoretical notions of CxG aided by contrastive approach can find their practical implementation in foreign language teaching. On the example of Serbo-Croatian EFL/ESL speakers we have shown that starting with the basic semantic concept(s) such as singularity and/or (in)definiteness and then contrasting how they are realized in L1 and L2 (first as concrete constructs which are then turned into abstract constructions) it is possible for EFL/ESL speakers to capture the different meanings and properties of English articles (expressed in Determination (article) Construction) at different levels of semantic abstraction or schematization.

The advantage of subschemas is that they allow us to help EFL/ESL speakers make subgeneralizations about subsets of meanings that Determination (article) Construction expresses and generate such constructions with fewer errors and less doubt. The existence of semantic correspondents in L1 (Serbo-Croatian, in this case) can be helpful to students to establish the correlation between Determination (article) Construction in L1 and L2 by pairing the meaning with form and function and build the adequate schemas and subschemas for such constructions.

Thus they can build and store schemas for Determination (article) Constructions and compare them to the given context. Naturally, EFL/ESL speakers should be guided to recognize and take into account the particularizing factors of a larger environment and context. Finding the right subschema on the map can help them build more proficient article selection strategies and operate along the form-function- meaning continuum instead of memorizing rules governing the use of articles in English. There are a number of advantages of schemas over rules. We have tried to show that while rules are always source-oriented, schemas can also be output-oriented. (Baybee 1995; Haspelmath 1989).

By no means do we suggest that schematization is an ideal way for EFL/ESL speakers who come from article-less languages to master articles in English and find their way through a maze of their uses and meanings. We believe that helping students conceptualize, abstract and schematize articles via the meaning, form and function of Determination (article) Constructions aided

by possible constructional equivalents in L1 at early stages of language acquisition/learning can facilitate more accurate generating at more advanced levels.

Construction Grammar is a theory of the architecture of grammar and of the relation of the grammar to facts of language use such as the storage and the frequency of different linguistic constructs. It can largely account for complex phenomena on the syntax-lexicon line and structures of the type *art+N* are certainly one such phenomenon. The idea of this paper is to draw attention to the practical applicability of the concepts and notions of CxG in addressing some of the most intricate issues in the process of EFL/ESL learning and teaching.

Semantically and cognitively oriented contrastive CxG approach, therefore, can prove to be of invaluable help to both in the ESL/EFL students and teachers. Contrasting constructions in L1 and L2 within the framework of CxG can be a mighty tool for formal description of constructions across languages but it also offers a first language specific contrastive description for EFL and ESL learners who come from one particular language background. The growing awareness in EFL/ESL teachers of the benefits of CxG implies that the future studies and research will investigate how contrastive constructionist approach to EFL/ESL teaching and learning can be refined, elaborated and used to the best advantage.

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IV

LITERATURE STUDIES

REVISITED MENTAL PHOTOGRAPHS AND THE PAST IN GRAHAM SWIFT'S *OUT OF THIS WORLD*. RESHAPED STORIES, RESHAPED MEMORIES

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Abstract: *The essay analyses the concept of the past in Graham Swift's "Out of this World", a novel organized like a collection of revisited mental photographs. It associates the characters' piecemeal accounts with their mental photographs of the past, evincing their vision upon their remembered past experiences and upon their perceived reality. The past is presented as mental photographs which turn into fragmented stories.*

Key words: *different perspectives, mental photograph, the past, story.*

1. Introduction

Investigating a theme approached by most British writers of the 20th century, this essay focuses on Graham Swift's technique of presenting the past piecemeal, as if it were a photograph taken from the narrators' perspective in *Out of this World* (1988). It argues that in Graham Swift's novel, the art of photography seems to have influenced the form of literary fiction, as we witness a narrative strategy which turns the readers into the creative interpreters of the story-like snapshots, putting them together in order to make sense of them. Piecemeal narrative, piecemeal identity and piecemeal time are represented like snapshots turned into a literary work. The characters' mental photographs, which look like the Lego pieces of the story we have to reorder in our minds, are alternatively introduced to us in a simple postmodernist discourse.

Graham Swift's novel, *Out of this World*, blends the common points of literary fiction form and the art of photography. We are introduced to Harry, Sophie, Joe and Anna's memories presented piecemeal like snapshots. We are indirectly invited to put the pieces of their narratives together to make a comprehensible, coherent story. Their piecemeal remembrances and reported stream of consciousness are the separate parts of the novel presented alternatively: Harry's 17 parts, Sophie's 16 parts, Joe's 1 part, Anna's 1 part.

This essay analyses Harry and Sophie's accounts and their perspectives on the past. Anna's account is in fact a letter addressed to Harry, focusing on her vision on the concept of happiness and paradise. Joe's account is a snapshot of his married life, of his vision on happiness associated with enjoying life to the full.

The novel starts with Harry's account of his remembrances of the last moments he spent with his father before dying in a terrorist bomb attack. Harry's first lines of the novel refer to his father as if he were an ordinary person, a cold person, devoid of feelings. He recalls having spent the evening together, watching the first men on the moon on TV, having just returned from Vietnam as a professional photographer and having felt that "nothing was real" (Swift 1988:12). An experienced photographer, Harry Beech finds it easy to tell us what he is haunted by: a painful past, a tormented soul longing for *out-of-this-world* love, purity and beauty. He associates his present age with the Bronze Age and the Iron Age due to the development of technology, of weapons to the detriment of empathy, love and understanding of the mere essence of life which longs for *out-of-this world*-liness. The novel ends with his desire to evade into "the age of air" (Swift 1988:208), which cannot be depicted by a photograph. He enjoys flying as a way of evading from the rigid world he had to cope with in order to carry out his duty in his family and at work, and in order to survive a war. Harry symbolizes the artist *par excellence*, longing for a timeless aesthetic beauty beyond his present technological Age.

The Age of Photography gives the postmodernist writer of *Out of this World* an enhanced ability to present fictional reality piecemeal. It upholds the Postmodernist principle of multiple perspectives on represented reality which is to be deciphered by the readers' vision and experienced analysis. It gives rise to a simulacrum of reality turned into a literary work wherein the past is viewed in different hues and shades according to the narrators' perspective. It is this Age of Photography which excludes the concept of *grand narratives* and imposes snapshots as stories and evidence of represented truth and reality. It is an emblem of Postmodernism turning the readers into interpreters and foretellers of what might become of the given piecemeal reality evinced by the narrators' camera pictures. The viewer's interpretation builds the story behind the photograph.

The Age of Postmodernism is the Age of Photography wherein, according to Harry, "it's no longer easy to distinguish the real from the fake, or the world on the screen from the world off it" (Swift 1988:188). Harry turns into a theorist of this age, explaining the shift from a historical representation of reality to a recorded limited representation of it, to what he calls "the new myth of its own authentic-synthetic photographic memory" (Swift 1988:189). Values have been reconsidered in the Age of Photography, the simulacrum replacing authentic reality and events. In *Out of this World*, the simulacrum of reality is presented as natural by Harry the photographer: "The camera first, then the event. The whole world is waiting just to get turned into film. And not just the world but the goddam moon as well" (Swift 1988:13). Literary fiction in Graham Swift's *Out of this World* seems to be the result of what camera shooting implies: piecemeal snapshots of the characters' vision upon their remembered past experiences, upon their perceived reality and future prospects.

2. From Photographs to Stories. The Past as a Photograph

Since stories are nothing but one's glance cast upon one's experienced reality, they can be associated with photographs taken from a particular perspective. Similar to a story, a photograph does not reveal a complex objective reality. It just illustrates bits and pieces of a reality captured from the photographer's perspective. Stories and photographs present the narrator's and the photographer's perspective upon reality whose hues and shades are left to readers and onlookers to interpret. In *The Politics of Postmodernism*, Linda Hutcheon (2002:117) considers photography "the paradigm of the postmodern", evincing its objective and subjective manners of representation, and what she calls its "paradoxes":

Postmodern photographic work, in particular, exploits and challenges both the objective and the subjective, the technological and the creative. (...) But since I am here defining postmodernism in terms of its contradictions, the inherently paradoxical medium of photography seems even more apt than television to act as the paradigm of the postmodern. As Susan Sontag has argued at length, photography both records and justifies, yet also imprisons, arrests, and falsifies time; it at once certifies and refuses experience; it is submission to and an assault upon reality; it is 'a means of appropriating reality and a means of making it obsolete' (1977:179). Postmodern photographic art is both aware of and willing to exploit all of these paradoxes in order to effect its own paradoxical use and abuse of conventions – and always with the aim of disabuse (Hutcheon 2002:117-118).

In Graham Swift's novel, the past is represented as a collection of mental photographs taken by the characters telling their stories. They ponder on and speak of their past experiences in order to get rid of their obsessions and traumas. Their words draw the picture of the past they reveal to us, of their identity, which is nothing but another photograph. To enlarge upon the idea that words can build up a detailed picture of a certain reality, in *Postmodern Narrative Theory*, Mark Currie (1998) remarks that

recently there has been renewed interest in the interaction of words and images, not only as multimedia juxtapositions, but in the eckphrastic [sic] power of the written word to construct pictures. (...). The idea that language is not adequate to express everything in the human mind (...) characterises a distinctly modern crisis in the relative ability of words to document visual experience. (Currie 1998:127)

In Graham Swift's *Out of this World*, the tension between words and images exists at the level of the reader's perception. We perceive the organization of the novel, the characters' short alternative accounts as if they were snapshots either taken by professional photographers like Harry or by patients like Sophie, who goes through mental therapy by telling the story of

her past. She just remembers bits and pieces of her past, presenting it piecemeal as if it were a photograph. The novel does not signal any end to their stories, leaving their pictures to our interpretation. We perceive their storylines as an ongoing struggle with memories for their catharsis.

The struggle with memories, which hide a tormenting past reality, is suggested by Harry's use of discourse strategies that convey the tension between our vision upon reality and reality itself. Thus, in his twelfth account, Harry questions the concepts of happiness and love by exclamatory sentences reminding us of Hamlet's famous words, "to be, or not to be" (Shakespeare 1982:812): "To be happy in Nuremberg! To fall in love in Nuremberg!" (Swift 1988:133); "To dance in Nuremberg" (Swift 1988:136). These exclamations are ironical and regretful for a devastating past Harry struggles with at a mental level. He met his wife in Nuremberg, fell in love in this city but lost his happiness once his beloved wife died.

The characters' mental photographs and stream of consciousness constitute what Patricia Waugh (1984:28-34) defines as "frames" whose analysis is the readers' job for their illumination. According to Waugh (1984:29-30), "frames" are part and parcel of "metafictional" works:

Contemporary metafiction draws attention to the fact that life, as well as novels, is constructed through frames, and that it is finally impossible to know where one frame ends and another begins. (...) Analysis of frames is the analysis (...) of the organization of experience. When applied to fiction it involves analysis of the formal conventional organization of novels. (Waugh 1984:29-30)

The ultimate meaning of the literary frame is always subjective, the same as all art is. Its purpose is to give food for thought to the readers for their personal interpretations. Harry's framed stories evoke his memories briefly the same as snapshots following his stream of consciousness. For instance, in his third account, he talks about his mother's death at his birth and about his cold relationship with his father who offered him a camera as "an emblem of guilt" (Swift 1988:30) for his mother's death. In the same account, he talks about his marriage to Anna and how she died on Mount Olympus. In his fourth account, he confesses his love for flying and for Jenny whom he sees as "out of this world" (Swift 1988:36). In his fifth account, Harry goes back to his memories of his father, Robert Beech, the owner of BMC, "Beech Munitions" (Swift 1988:48), a man concerned more with his military duties than with his parental duties. In his eighth account, Harry Beech invites his audience to look at him as if he were a living photograph:

Now look at Harry Beech. Former rover of the world, former witness to its traumas and terrors. (...) Now look at Harry Beech, sitting at his kitchen table (...). He is writing a letter. Struggling with the words. (Swift 1988:82)

Then, he addresses Sophie, trying hard to find his words to announce his intention of getting married at sixty-four years old. In his ninth account, Harry introduces us to a series of photographs that he enlarges upon, as if they were framed stories. Photographs turn into stories which we have to fill in to make them comprehensible.

Cut to 1941. A rare, brief clip of Robert Beech in a factory yard with Mr. Winston Churchill (...).

Cut to R.B. with Max Beaverbrook and Royal Ordnance directors outside sandbagged offices of the Ministry of Supply.

Cut, by way of photo-library material, to 1875 (...).

Cut to period photos of: the new ('Robert Beech') Wing (Amputees' Rehabilitation Centre) of the King George Hospital at Guildford, Surrey, opened 1925 (...).

Cut to village children on the lawn at Hyfield, mid 1930s (local press material). Cut to local worthies with R.B. on same lawn, same period. Cut to general view of the house and grounds. (Swift 1988:89-91)

Harry and Sophie's stories investigate a cold past they would do their best to get rid of. The two characters reject the technological past from different perspectives. On the one hand, Harry gives up photography, associated with a cold piece of technology, with a simulacrum of a complex reality, and, on the other hand, Sophie does not allow cameras in her house. Thus, she intends to put an end to a haunting past associated with her father's hobby and job which separated them after her mother's death. Besides cameras, she does not accept toy-guns in her house, as they remind her of her beloved grandfather, who owned a munitions company and who died in a bomb explosion. Thus, she mentally rejects the negative aspects of her past suggestively represented by toy-guns and cameras. Unlike Harry, Sophie, his daughter, goes through therapy and makes a big effort to tell Doctor K the story of her childhood, of her marriage to Joe, of her mother's death, getting lost into resentments and hatred for her father. She can hardly find the words for turning her memories into a story. If Harry aspires to "the age of air" (Swift 1988:208) "out of this world", Sophie aspires to revisiting her past, the Old World (England) she left after she got married. She starts her first account by explaining to Doctor K that she hopes to belong to "the new world" (Swift 1988:15) – a cathartic world to be filled in with her memories of the past. She revives her memories of the past, whereas Joe, her husband, "sells (...) just the same dream only in reverse: golden memories of the Old World" (Swift 1988:15). Sophie views the past as a shelter of her childhood memories and enlarges upon this fact:

Yet if you want to know, that's how I used to think of Hyfield once. I had this thing about the past. It used to be a good refuge, once, the past. (Swift 1988:65-66)

To go through therapy successfully, the doctor advises her “to learn how to tell”, as “it’s telling that reconciles memory and forgetting” (Swift 1988:74). The doctor implies that through storytelling we fill the gaps of our memories, healing our mental wounds by pondering on them and by finding a meaning to the tormenting past. Living in “the land of cancelled memories”, “the land without a past”, “the land of amnesty”, “the land of the gun” (Swift 1988:16), as Sophie describes America, she has to make a big effort to share her memories of the past. She recalls coming to America in 1972, giving birth to twins, and having short affairs. She addresses Doctor K at the beginning of most of her accounts, asking him questions and answering them herself. Sometimes she has a dialogue with Doctor K whose questions help her to refresh her memory and to narrate the story. She cannot describe Harry, her father, as she has never been close to him. She tells the doctor how her parents met and got married and why she thought that Harry had been disinherited. She remembers that her father used to protect her and to love her, and that her mother disappeared on Mount Olympus and was never found. She explains that her father started going away, leaving her with her grandfather whom she came to love more. Revisiting one’s memories of the past in order to come to terms with the present is the key theme of this novel. The photograph of the present is blurred by the photograph of the past which awaits our artistic interpretation.

3. The Author / Photographer in Graham Swift’s *Out of this World*

Postmodernist authors like Graham Swift, or Peter Ackroyd (throughout his literary work), view the past as the essence of the present. *Out of this World* offers a subjective representation of the past associated with the cold technological age the main characters would like to escape from and do away with. The photograph of the past blurs the photograph of the present which illustrates the characters’ visions, expectations and hopes in Graham Swift’s novel. The past prevails over the present, shaping the characters’ identity and outlining their vision. They are defined by their past, whose complex essence cannot be depicted by mere photographs no matter how objective they might look. We are more than the image we see in a mirror or in a photograph. Thus, in his fifteenth account, Harry remarks that the world, which can be associated with literary fiction or with a photograph, must draw its essence and meaning from the past, which is its shadow.

The photographer’s role, which can be associated with the author’s role, is viewed differently by the characters of Graham Swift’s novel. Thus, Mrs. Evans, whose words Harry remembers, takes the photographer’s job for a historian’s job. The distinction between fact and vision does not exist for her. Harry recalls Mrs. Evans telling him that he

should take up 'the photography' again. People ought to know about 'those things'. They ought to know. Someone else can take the pictures now. (Swift 1988:20)

Mrs. Evans takes photographs for objective evidence of historical reality. She does not view photographs as pieces of art. On the other hand, Harry admits that photography is a simulacrum whose author must be detached from:

A photographer is neither there nor not there, neither in nor out of the thing. If you are in the thing it's terrible, but there aren't any questions, you do what you have to do and you don't even have time to look. But what I'd say is that someone has to look. Someone has to be in it and step back too. Someone has to be a witness (Swift 1988:49).

When you put something on record, when you make a simulacrum of it, you have already partly decided you will lose it. (Swift 1988:55)

He further implies that photography should be more than a framed object evincing a certain reality. It "should be about what you cannot see" (Swift 1988:55), remembering that Jenny "wants [him] to take 'real photographs' again" (Swift 1988:55). He suggests that photographs should reflect the history of the past. Defining good photography as authentic and devoid of prejudice, Harry, the symbol of the postmodernist author, attempts to demonstrate that the photographer should possess the art of imposing his vision upon the things to be represented:

The great value of photography was its actuality, its lack of prejudicial tact, its very power of intrusion (Swift 1988:117).

The problem is your field of vision. (...). The problem is selection (...), the frame, the separation of the image from the thing. The extraction of the world from the world. The problem is where and how you draw the line. (Swift 1988:119)

He further defines the photograph as an "object" associated with "something defined, with an edge" (Swift 1988:120) the same as a book, questioning its power of depicting the complex reality.

Each photo is the photographer's and the viewer's vision upon what it depicts, just as stories are what the readers make of them through their interpretations. Stories can be interpreted differently according to the different readers' culture and experience. Harry concludes that photos are pieces of art: "a photo is a reprieve, an act of suspension, a charm" (Swift 1988:122). At this point, we can notice a tension and a contradiction in Harry's theory of photography as, on the one hand, it is viewed as an objective thing in a frame we can see and touch and, on the other hand, a piece of art with a particular vision. The same contradiction marks literary fiction which is always subject to the readers' transformation through interpretation, decoding and revaluing.

4. Conclusion

In Graham Swift's novel the past is recreated by the characters' stream of consciousness and piecemeal narratives which look like their mental photographs. Their stories and memories are reshaped as snapshots. The novel revolves around the characters' mental photographs of the past presented alternatively, without indicating a particular end of their stories and experiences, leaving them to our free interpretation. The past bears the hallmark of their vision upon its events. It is subjective and open to interpretation, the same as photographs are.

By pondering on the past, the two main characters, Harry and Sophie, acknowledge their present identity, prospects and perspectives. Both narrators, Harry and Sophie, view the act of telling the stories of their past as a cathartic act meant to take them out of the rigid world of technology their present is associated with. They make a big effort to bridge the gap between the objective cold reality of their present and the subjective reality of their mind and recollections. The past becomes a present reality. It is brought to life similar to a collection of mental photographs taken from the narrators' different perspectives which we have to illuminate and make sense of.

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IT'S A PRIVATE MATTER. SPACE AND GENDER ISSUES IN SHAKESPEARE'S CYMBELINE

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Abstract: *The paper investigates the preoccupations of the 16th and 17th-century English society for the emerging phenomenon and concept of privacy, reflected, among others, in the new ways in which space is employed in defining hierarchies and gender roles. The paper deals with elements of cultural history related to the use and meaning of privacy, private life and private space in a Shakespearean play which is significant for the visual illustration of the concept – Cymbeline, more specifically, the bed-trick scene.*

Key words: *bed-trick, gender, privacy, private and public space.*

1. Introduction

The discussion about how privacy emerged as a new concept and phenomenon during the early modern period can be tackled in two ways. One is offered by the already classical approach of the culture of private life. In the Preface to the third book of *A History of Private Life, Passions of the Renaissance*, Philippe Ariès (1989:1) starts by asking a somewhat rhetorical question: is it possible to write a history of private life? It is a slippery subject to tackle because, in the period circumscribed by the present research, “private” and “public” were not meant as they are now, they were not the two opposite items of a binary pair, but areas with fluid boundaries, between which the distinction was not clear. The second approach is that of analysing space and gender as interrelated concepts, as Amanda Flather does in *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (2011), where she argues that space was omnipresent in a person’s life, not only as a passive background, but also a basis for the formation of gender and other types of identities and hierarchies.

Whatever private spaces the feudal communities offered, it was a “gregarious private” (Régner-Bohler 1995:47), which meant the universe in which the individual evolved was a familiar world where people knew each other and could easily (and often would) keep an eye on each other. People were bound by relations of vassalage and, in a dangerous world, it was only dependence – on a more powerful entity, the patron or the community – that ensured survival.

Ariès (1989:2) identifies three major events which contributed to the change in people’s attitudes that separated the private from the public sphere and later facilitated the rise of individualism. The first is the change in the role of the state, which now increasingly interferes with the social space that had

been managed by the communities in earlier periods. A weak or primitive state meant more power was in the hands of smaller, local groups, while now, the state, with a new judicial outlook and set of practices, removes this intermediate level between itself and the individual. A direct consequence of the rise of the state is the decline of communal forms of sociability. The second event is the new attitude towards family and family life. Catherine Belsey, in *Shakespeare and the Loss of Eden* (2001), refers to a shift, since the late 16th and the early 17th century, from the dynastic, to the nuclear family, giving the example of the royal family of England (James I's), the first "real" family in a century, after Elizabeth I's celibate, Mary's sterility and unrequited marital love, and Henry VIII's six repudiated or dead wives and two daughters he called bastards. Shakespeare's late romances, Belsey (2001:56) argues, prove this very interest in a new form of family organization, with a regular couple and (two) children who are fond of their parents and receive their parents' attention. *The Winter's Tale*, for example, is a play about a husband and a wife and about how their relationship affects their children, with issues of domestic violence and emotional abuse – a very modern approach, indeed. It is true that such attention of the nuclear family is an exception in Shakespeare's plays about "unnatural" parents, children, and siblings and about ever incomplete families (questions about Cordelia's mother, Lady Macbeth's children, and others have frequently been asked). However, the very fact that the nuclear model is presented as functional (in a play with a happy ending, despite its tragic plot) suggests this new ideal is already apparent at the level of common people's *mentalités*.

Ariès (1989:4) himself argues that, in post-feudal Europe, the family is no longer regarded as a merely economic unit, but as a refuge for people who are tired of the others' scrutiny, an emotional space where individual members are important in themselves (especially the children). This new configuration brings about a separation from the public domain – the street, the square, the court, or other communal spaces – as well as an extension of the former's influence over the latter, the family becoming, for the first time in history, an authority in itself.

The third event is the most visible of all, consisting of a brand new conception on daily life and its material manifestation, a new way of organizing it. In building and decorating a house, it was no longer only utility that mattered, but sophistication and taste, being a manner in which the individual and the family chose to externalize their private values (Ariès 1989:6). The art of interior decoration develops and diversifies to such an extent that, by the 17th century, it becomes the favourite subject of the greatest Dutch paintings. The domestic interiors portrayed by Vermeer or Rembrandt represent a new ideal, teaching the people of "the middling sort" how to live, what to acquire in order to display and enjoy. Housing in the early modern period implied more numerous, smaller, more specialized rooms, with vestibules and private stairways to increase their inhabitants' privacy, allowing them to enter without

going through other rooms. To accept that this could happen, to the French anthropologist's view, means to accept a different periodization, to regard early modernity not as an age pre-ceding the modern times or continuing the Middle Ages, but as a unique, independent time in history. In this light, a genuine continuity of attitude can be seen from the early 15th to the late 17th century, despite the numerous political and religious changes that took place during the same two centuries, preparing the Enlightenment.

2. The Articulation of Private Space during the Early Modernity

The focus on material life as cause of the rise of privacy in Tudor England is also the subject of Lena Cowen Orlin's book, entitled *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (2009), which aims to bring to the scholarly forefront matters that, until a few decades ago, were considered trivial and irrelevant in a theoretical approach, no matter the scientific area the approach was reclaimed by. Daily matters of work and leisure, production and consumption, sociability and comfort have only recently become significant in an investigation trying to shed light onto ordinary people's existences, not only on the epochal events that shaped or destroyed them. Lena Cowen Orlin (2009:2) argues that "personal privacy takes many forms: interiority, atomization, spatial control, intimacy, urban anonymity, secrecy, withholding, solitude." But all these forms, which we, today, may take for granted, were the ultimate experience during the early modernity.

Moreover, French researchers like Philippe Ariès (1989:10) go as far as to argue that England was a pioneering country when it comes to privacy, a phenomenon which was still virtually unknown and unacknowledged in other parts of Western Europe. In England, given the special context of the establishment of Protestantism, the relative peace following the centuries of civil war between the Yorks and the Lancasters, the new Tudor aristocracy which was not the feudal elite of the previous centuries, but people of the middling sort, coming with a new approach and mentality, the affluence of this new class, a new material culture emerged, and, with it, privacy.

Another dimension where privacy starts manifesting itself in the early modern period, as an increased awareness of a potential for emotional and intellectual expression, but also as a discrete form of non-material heritage to be passed on from one generation to another, is personal writings. This genre developed in the late Middle Ages – in England, most conspicuous during the Wars of the Roses, such as the well-known Paston letters, written by a wife to her husband who was fighting, or the Plumpton and Lisle letters – and was very different from the official writings. Another obvious characteristic is the feminine authorship, aristocratic, wealthy women having an education and enough free time to devote to writing. As Olga Kenyon notices (1995:3), these women were some of the first to write in vernacular rather than in Latin and

their good education set an encouraging example. These personal writings – letters, diaries, travel writing, etc. – are a material as well as non-material heritage to be passed on from one generation to another, on the maternal line. Mothers pass on to their daughters ideas and feelings on mostly private topics, such as duties towards husbands and families, female education, proper behaviour and household administration (Chedgzoy, Hansen, and Trill 1998:13). In the 18th century, the ground is thus prepared for these writings to attempt substantial definitions of women's roles, sexual ethics, and power relations.

3. Privacy and Domesticity

Looking at privacy and domesticity in early modern England, Corinne Abate (2003:15) refers to the unstructured, fluid quality of daily female experience, which was enriched by the objects-symbols of the household, but also by their intimate friendships or kinship (of other women: mothers and grandmothers, daughters and nieces, godmothers and neighbours, patrons and tenants, nurses and maids, etc.). Their environment was isolated – a reference back to the study on pregnancy and childbirth in early modern England shows, by means of this most ritualized event, how separate was the life women led –, this isolation carrying dual meanings of shelter and confinement. As shelter, women's private spaces gained a certain sacredness, becoming places with their own, clearly marked symbolism and aesthetic. Men seem to have known little about these spaces (out of their personal choice, mostly), as a random comment made by Edgar, in *King Lear*, indicates.

Reading a letter written by Goneril, in which she urges her lover to kill her husband, Edgar exclaims about the “undistinguished space of woman's will” (IV, 6). It may refer to the nebulous notion of a woman's irrational drives, incomprehensible for the rational man. But “space” – metaphorically as it may have been used by Shakespeare – distinctly makes us consider something more concrete and material, though this is as clouded a region as the woman's mind. It is the *gynaeceum*, the women's quarters, their room, their closet, their parlour, where patriarchal codes and values are obstructed. If the woman's mind (her “will,” in Edgar's words) is a place of uncontrolled desire, her room or suite is just as impenetrable, not so much (or exclusively) in physical terms, but in terms of how much men know, understand, appreciate the activities circumscribed by women's privacy. The female domestic settings, with their material practices and material goods, are the places where another order is installed, in the absence of patriarchy, sometimes in secret, without male knowledge (though usually not without male consent), creating a sense of conspiracy and bonding between women who shared them – what feminist scholars came to define as “sisterhood,” a state opposing “brotherhood” not

only in gender terms, but also in qualitative terms, promoting values based on creativity and emotions, rather than competitiveness.

4. *Cymbeline*: A Case Study

A rewarding manner to approach Shakespeare's plays in order to locate privacy, as the Elizabethans understood it, is to proceed from the most visible level to the subtler ones, from evidence of material life, to the more intricate notions of domesticity and intimacy for families and individuals. A play which pays close attention to both these levels is the late tragic-comedy *Cymbeline*. Here, the most elaborate inventory of a lady's material possessions is occasioned by a bet between a husband, Posthumus, and the boastful Iachimo, who takes the challenge of proving the unfaithfulness of the other man's wife, Imogen. Iachimo hides in a chest in Imogen's bedchamber, opens the lid at midnight, makes careful notes of all the furnishings and decorations in the room, as well as of every part of the woman's body, closes the lid and waits for the next day to win the bet. It is only circumstantial details that Iachimo has, but it is enough to enrage Posthumus, who decides, like the Moor Othello, to kill Imogen.

The reason why Posthumus wins the bet is given, in Catherine Belsey's opinion (2001:56), by the specificity of the inventory of Imogen's bedchamber that he offers instead of evidence of bodily contact and fornication. Belsey (2001:59) notes that "Iachimo's account of the furnishings is surprisingly specific in a play which elsewhere depends on a broad generic distinction between court and countryside, punctuated by brief excursions into an equally stereotypical Machiavellian Italy." The decorations of Imogen's bedchamber enhance the credulity of Iachimo's version, but also guarantee, through their symbolism, the deeply sexual connotation of this story. What the cunning man describes is the bedroom of a newly-wed woman, a décor set for passion: statues of silver Cupids leaning on their torches and hangings depicting Diana bathing and Cleopatra's first encounter with Antony, on the golden barge. While Diana is a chaste presence, in accordance with Imogen's good faith – a message the reader must decode properly although Posthumus is completely unable to do so –, Cleopatra is the very embodiment of illegal love and sexuality. The Queen of Egypt as Venus is the very opposite of Diana: passionate, seductive, and dangerous. Iachimo's description of Cleopatra painted in the innocent wife's bedchamber is supposed to offer the jealous husband an analogy between the Queen greeting her imperial Roman guest and Imogen welcoming *her* Roman visitor in her intimacy.

In fact, just like in Othello's case, Imogen's actual betrayal is of less importance than the face the husband loses in a man-to-man confrontation (symbolic or not) – the Venetian general in front of a man inferior in rank, Posthumus in front of a man with whom he made a bet (therefore a

commitment). This reaction is what Michael Hattaway (2001:108) calls “a residual ideology of chivalry.” The actual or seeming violation of the wife’s body corresponds to an ethical violation of the man’s honour – even if this happens only at the discursive level. According to Hattaway (2001:95) sexuality is not only a biological drive, but “a way of fashioning the self [...] which is constituted from and around certain forms of behaviour” in a social context. Coming back to the hanging in Imogen’s bedchamber representing a scene depicted both by Plutarch and by Shakespeare himself in another play (*Cymbeline* was staged a few years after *Antony and Cleopatra*), the indirect evocation of the Egyptian woman on the barge in a play where she is not a character as such is meant to increase the legendary aspect of the Queen’s personality (actually, very few Shakespearean characters travel from one play to another).

The scenes where Imogen’s room is carefully described are worth a closer look. There is scene 2 in act II, where Iachimo makes the notes in the lady’s room and scene 4, in the same act, where Iachimo reads his notes in detail to the more and more offended Posthumus. In scene 2, Iachimo’s findings are only briefly mentioned (the character writes down diligently, but does not actually give his audience much information):

But my design–To note the chamber. I will write all down. [*He writes.*]
Such and such pictures; there the window; such
The’adornment of her bed; the arras, figures,
Why, such and such; and the contents o’th’story. (II, 2, 24-27)

In the first line of the quote, Iachimo seems to force himself to get down to the business of “noting” the chamber. When he opened the lid, he was too taken by Imogen’s sleeping beauty to remember his darker purpose. After “such and such” observations, he continues the contemplation of the woman’s body, which includes spotting a mole on her left breast and slipping the bracelet off her arm. When he goes back into the trunk, the clock strikes three. When Imogen went to sleep and Iachimo opened the chest it was midnight. So the contemplation had lasted three hours: such and such pictures and the figures such and such that he catalogued must have made up a full inventory. This hypothesis is proved in scene 4, when Iachimo reads his notes in front of Posthumus: tapestry of silk and silver; a hanging with Cleopatra and Antony; a chimney piece with “chaste Dian bathing”; the ceiling decorated with golden cherubins; and the andirons – “two winking Cupids of silver.” The room is, indeed, very richly decorated, with a sophistication that would equal any royal suite. It is both luxurious and well cultivated, comfort and art blending in order to satisfy the owner’s physical, emotional and aesthetic needs.

But the furnishings in Imogen’s chamber are not random. Enumerating them, Catherine Belsey says: “These decorations also signify.” (2001:59) The scholar stops at the feminine doublets, Cleopatra and Diana, to point out that

these mythological characters comment indirectly not only on the wife's innocence, but also on her husband's perversity. Posthumus, like other men in Shakespeare's plays (Angelo in *Measure for Measure*, or even Claudio in *Much Ado about Nothing*), are turned on by their partners' frigid chastity and nothing infuriates them more than the mere suggestion that these women could give and, what's more, receive pleasure. But the "noting" of the objects in Imogen's chamber can go further. First of all, Iachimo is arrested, as he opens the trunk, by the sight of the bed and its occupant. Quite natural and not at all unexpected, since we know he is attracted to the young woman and being alone with her at midnight can only increase his desire. But the interior Iachimo notes is a telling example of how privacy was conceived in the early modern period. What he sees is the element that always comes first, in any inventory: the bed. In a book called *Domestic Emblems* dating from 1539, Gilles Corrozet (in Ariès and Duby 1995:222), offers a list of objects one should hold in high esteem, in order of importance. Top of the list comes the bed, followed by the desk, the bench, the table, the cupboard, the trunk, and the stool. Corrozet voices a contemporary attitude when he invests the bed with an almost mythical value, free of any erotic innuendo. The bed is the honour of the house, a chaste witness of conjugal duty, but also of the contemplative state the individual can reach in perfect solitude and modesty. In fact, the bed was the only piece of furniture one would leave a poorer relative or a servant in their will (let us not forget here that Shakespeare himself wants his former wife to have "his second best bed" after his death), as well as an important part of a bride's dowry. Imogen's bed is, therefore, meant to make a subtle comment about the very idea of honour in the domestic environment, a notion the repudiated wife will try to embody when, after fleeing to save her life, she adopts a new name – Fidele.

Imogen's bedchamber is privacy at its best: a place of retreat not only from active life, but even from her own body. It is midnight and the young wife has been so engrossed in her reading that she lost track of time – a scenario which seems to instantiate the clerical requirements for a married woman's good life. Imogen has been reading for three hours, in complete silence and seclusion and is now ready to sleep – alone, after commending her life to the gods. The contents of her reading, though, are Shakespeare's intervention in the moralists' scheme: the book is as unpious as it can be – Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. She asks her maid to fold down the leaf where she has stopped reading – "where Philomel gave up," Iachimo notices. The classical rape scene thus frames the pseudo-ravishment implied by the stranger's unwanted presence in the woman's bedroom.

The impression of intimacy is also given by the chimney piece—"Chaste Dian bathing." Not only is the goddess of hunting the very symbol of virginity, or the mythological implication of an intruding male gaze quite conspicuous (the legend says that, while Actaeon was hunting, he saw the goddess naked; Artemis, enraged, turned him into a stag to be torn to pieces by his own hounds,

as a punishment for his indiscretion), but the very notion of bathing intensifies the deeply private nature of this space and time. Taking care of one's body is, in late medieval literature, almost as important as providing spiritual food for one's immortal soul. Like contemplation, hygiene is a solitary act, implying a time and space of intimacy. While the process of adorning one's body with clothes and jewels may as well be public, washing works best in isolation. The need to bathe also offered the individual a few moments for themselves – a rare treat in a crowded household.

The richness of Imogen's bedchamber is in sheer contrast with another picture of domesticity displayed in *Cymbeline*. Imogen-Fidele, running for her life, finds the cave inhabited by Belarius and his two foster sons, Guiderius and Arviragus. The shelter she chooses from punishment, dishonour, and violence is crammed and primitive, "a poor house," "a savage hold," "a rude place," where three men live together (now also joined by a woman in a boy's clothes), eating roots and whatever game they manage to hunt in the forest, sitting and sleeping by the fire. Still, in this meagre environment, there is more honesty, love, and devotion than at court. Shakespeare uses a similar spatial pair in *As You Like It*, where he opposes the sophistication of Duke Frederick's palace to the naturalness of the Forest of Arden, inhabited by Duke Senior, the corrupted urban milieu, to a "merry England" scenario. Belarius, who chooses the dissidence of the forest, and the two young princes, who have benefited from being raised far from the court, as "natural" beings, embody the ideals of medieval knighthood and "the unsullied strength of the sylvan world" (Bevington 2003:1478). Thus, the lady's bedroom may have offered her all the comfort and beauty interior decoration could hope for (not in the time of Roman Britain, when the play is set, but in Shakespeare's own age), but it is only the cold and dark cave in the forest that puts her mind and body at ease and finally reunites her with her husband.

5. Conclusions

It is true that, as Amanda Flather (2011:39) notes, the structural origins of the social system were not found in the employment of space. Still, from someone's place at the table or where they slept, from the proximity (or lack of it) of significant objects, in various loci destined for work or leisure, space and spatial insignia play a crucial role in the formation of the identity and self-awareness of the early modern individual, especially, though not exclusively, the woman.

Discussing privacy in the age of Shakespeare or even earlier may be risky as it could easily look anachronistic. However, treading on the path opened by Philippe Ariès becomes incredibly rewarding when one chooses to focus on the English Elizabethan life, as framed and staged by Shakespeare,

given the numerous links and clues he offers, deliberately or not, about private life, most notably in the late romances such as *Cymbeline*.

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BUT WHAT ABOUT THE BIG BAD WOLF? REFASHIONING RED AND THE WOLF IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract: *This paper aims to revisit three adaptations of Red Riding Hood fairy tales and explore some of the wolf's reincarnations in order to see how realities change in time. It has generally been observed in the literature that in pop culture Red has undergone quite dramatic changes from the little ingénue to the mature seductress. But what has happened to the bad wolf? How is he imagined by the 21st century pop culture? How do his agency and power change? What (new) message does he convey? To answer these questions, I shall look at three fairly recent advertisements that adapt the classic Little Red story for the screen: "Red Bull" energizer (February 2010), "Chanel no. 5" (featuring actress Estella Warren, late 1990s, 2007) and "B.U. Heartbeat" (featuring Tyson Kuteyi, 2008) perfumes. I will explore not only how such commercials reframe the dominant Western cultural pattern, but if they also undo the lessons both men and women have so far been forced to learn.*

Keywords: *advertisement, gender roles, Little Red Riding Hood, popular culture, wolf*

1. Introduction

Popular culture, of which advertisements are only one aspect, heavily relies on the mass media and constantly renegotiates the changes in values and hierarchies. Whereas highbrow texts highlight the aesthetic, popular culture challenges the social, activating class, gender or race conflicts (Fiske 2005:211, 219).

Within the realm of popular culture, *appropriation* – or ‘poaching’, as it is called by Certeau (1984:174-176), Fiske (1989:143-145) and Jenkins (2006:40-41) – and *relevance* are keywords in the re-interpretation and re-writing of canonical texts. As they convey the ideologies of mainstream culture, canonical texts are not relevant for marginal and subordinated groups such as women or gays, who seek to create relevance for their own groups, thus revolting against certain ideas and representations prescribed by mainstream culture, and creating new meanings for themselves.

As brief narratives that illustrate our contemporary consumerist mentality, advertisements are no exceptions. Although they sell an illusion, an ideal of well-being and seductiveness, adverts also play with and reframe the dominant Western canon to which the story of *Little Red Riding Hood* also belongs. Many literary and social critics have approached the story, for example, Zipes (1993) and Orenstein (2002), demonstrating its popularity in terms of the many rewritings, appropriations and interpretations the tale has had over the centuries.

The story of Little Red Riding Hood is perhaps the most enchanting of all, given the large number of rewritings and adaptations not only in English, but in virtually all European languages. Like all fairy tales, the classic Little Red Riding Hood story deals with social expectations and touches on issues related to family, morality, budding sexuality and relationships between the sexes. The story has made a career and, in time, has seen numerous adaptations. However, as Orenstein (2002:6) notes, in modern times, Red has become “an ode to Lust”, with a strong emphasis on the sexuality of the young woman (no longer the little girl). Whereas in past versions of the tale, Red was supposed to promote the lesson of obedience and proper behaviour, in pop culture, however, she is constantly portrayed as a femme fatale, all grown-up and confident in her own sexuality (cf. Şerban 2012:123-124, 132). Viewed as part of the culture of subordinated marginal groups, pop culture texts featuring Red Riding Hood claim female agency, independence and intelligence, as well as equal standards for men and women.

Similarly, the figure of the Big Bad Wolf has for centuries fascinated people all over the world and stirred the imagination of writers and film (or animation) directors alike. Traditionally associated with Evil and ravenous appetites, the wolf is a deeply erotic character that disguises himself, seduces (Perrault’s version, 1889) and/or swallows up innocent young girls (the brothers Grimm version, 1812). What I aim to do in this paper is to revisit the fairy tale canon and explore some of the *wolf’s* reincarnations in order to see how realities change. How is *he* imagined by the 21st century pop culture? How do *his* agency and power change? What (new) message does he convey? To answer these questions, I shall look at three fairly recent advertisements that adapt the classic Little Red story for the screen: “Red Bull” energizer (February 2010), “Chanel no. 5” (featuring actress Estella Warren, late 1990s) and “B.U. Heartbeat” (featuring Tyson Kuteyi, 2008) perfumes. I will explore not only how such commercials reframe the dominant Western cultural pattern, but if they also undo the lessons both men and women have so far been forced to learn.

2. And What about the Big Bad Wolf?

Fairy tales permeate our lives and define us (Orenstein 2002:10-11), shaping our socializing skills, our social networks and expectations (about love, sex, marriage), showing us rules of behaviour and lessons to learn. One very important characteristic of fairy tales is, however, the fact that they evolve in time, recording not only elements of human experience but also the particulars of a place and age. Just as Red Riding Hood changes in time, so does the wolf in her story. On the one hand, commenting on the evolution of the wolf in the 20th century, Jack Zipes (1993:63) argues that there are versions of the famous fairy tale “that rehabilitate the wolf” (not just the girl) and that “undermine the

assumptions of the traditional cultural patterns.” He further explains 1- that wolves are no longer a real threat for humans, as they are now almost extinct in the West, 2- that wolves are no longer threatening as representations of sexuality, and also 3- that wolves have come to be associated with our inner nature and our destruction of it. Following Zipes’ train of thought, and considering the exacerbation of sexuality nowadays and the pop culture popularization of darker sexual practices (for instance, BDSM in E.L. James’ *Fifty Shades Trilogy*, a bestseller around the world since its initial publication in 2011), the wolf poses less of a danger than it used to. The wolf thus appears to have relinquished part of its threatening power, if not to have lost it (almost) completely.

On the other hand, popular culture encourages us to read the wolf as a representation of the rebel, who has come a long way from Perrault’s or Grimms’ versions of the tale. A compelling research study performed among US college students (Grayson 2008) showed that girls are attracted to “bad boys” because, when young, girls are repeatedly told that if a boy is teasing, callous and overbearing, he means quite the opposite. A young woman would thus grow up to think that the worse a man treats her, the more he finds her attractive and loves her. The study further revealed that the young men who possessed what psychologists call “dark triad traits” such as extroversion, callousness, narcissism and impulsive behaviour would be more successful in attaining short-term goals, as well as in seeking short-term sexual relationships. Peter Jonason, leader of the investigation team, compared the identified type of “the dark triad bad boy” to a modern James Bond figure, “a man with little empathy for others, a penchant for fast cars and even faster women” (Grayson 2008).

Another interesting and fairly recent study draws on previous research into “women’s desire for sexy, dominant, and charismatic men” as linked to “their monthly ovulatory cycle” (Durante et al. 2012:1), but also examines a psychological mechanism that motivates women to pursue a relationship with the “sexy cad” type of man. According to research, ovulation alters women’s perception of some traits in the type of men who prefer a short-term mating strategy. In the eyes of ovulating women, such men appear more physically attractive, masculine, adventurous, competitive and charismatic – and consequently, genetically fit for procreation –, while also coming out as more committed partners and more investing fathers (Durante et al. 2012:2-3). The study concludes that, by altering women’s perception in relation to sexy cads, ovulation gives women the “extra ‘push’” they need to start intimate relationships with such men; simultaneously, ovulation seems to highlight women’s sense of their own uniqueness, as each one believes herself to be “*the one* who finally reins him [i.e. such a sexy cad] in” (Durante et al. 2012:10, my emphasis).

Such psychological studies provide a valid explanation not only as to why Red falls prey to the wolf in the classical fairy tales, but also as to why women in general are attracted to and fall in love with “bad boys”. In the light of such research, the wolf in the Red Riding Hood fairy tales may also be regarded as an animalistic version of the “sexy cad” (Durante et al. 2012:1), a rebel who breaks the rules and stirs young women’s hearts in his pursuit of short-term goals, be it hunger or sexual appetite. Although it is not my aim here to investigate the reasons behind Red’s attraction to the wolf, I believe the psychological approach is important in understanding the relationship that builds between these two characters, a relationship which will evolve in time and which will consist especially in a transfer of power from the wolf to the girl in red, as we shall see in what follows.

3. Wolf Stories

As Canadian author Margaret Atwood (2000:344) would have it, “[a]ll stories are about wolves. All worth repeating, that is” – even though the wolf is just a secondary character or a mere prop. The particular choice of the three advertisements to be discussed here was determined by their female target audience, and it is also based on my seeing them on TV or on the internet, after which I began to wonder what made them so successful given that they ran on Romanian national television channels for several months.

Two other important aspects that all the commercials under scrutiny have in common are the absence of the patriarchal authority figure *per se* – i.e. the rule-enforcing woodcutter – and of the Grimms’ setting – i.e. the forest proper. Nevertheless, other characters of the classical storyline – such as the mother, and even the hunter – blend into the wolf, challenging his portrayal as a lascivious creature always ready to enact a rape fantasy. The main focus is rather on the empowered young woman, the “self-maintenance heroine” (Orenstein 2002:5), who has taken matters into her own hands and lives life to the fullest (“Chanel no. 5”), is determined to seduce the wolf of her choice (“B.U.”), or help stronger and wiser women prove themselves by hunting him down (“Red Bull”). What all commercials seem to convey is that wolves are very much a part of Red’s life, and that she has grown so used to dealing with them that she can actually twist them round her little finger.

But let us now see how the wolf’s power and agency have changed or adapted to our contemporary pop culture and what message, if any, he is supposed to convey.

3.1. Wolf-deserting (“Chanel no. 5”, late 1990s, replayed in 2007)

True to the pop culture representation of Red as a mature femme fatale, the “Chanel no. 5” advertisement features a young woman in her late 20s

dressed in a short but smart red dress, entering a vault in search of a perfume to take to her grandma's in the little basket she carries. As Red chooses her perfume and seductively massages it into her neck skin, viewers are shown a black wolf appearing from behind a wall, most likely lured by the fragrance. As Red leaves the vault with her basket and puts on her red cape, heading for the big gilded double doors that open as if by miracle, the wolf almost catches up with her. Hearing him, however, Red turns and points an accusing finger at the wolf, shushing him. This cut reminds of the classic illustration of the story, when the mother sends the little girl with the basket of goods to the ill grandmother's house, raising a warning and simultaneously accusing finger so as to draw the child's attention not to stray from the path. Here, however, the wolf has come far (and, for him, not in a good way) from the "bad boy" or "sexy cad" of the traditional fairy tale; he is now silenced and left behind, sitting on his hind legs and, as Red exits, he starts howling. The close-up on the wolf from behind makes us see the situation from his perspective; consequently, we are also left behind. The following over-the-shoulder cut limits the perspective and the character's power, conveying a feeling of sadness and at the same time suggesting punishment. Here, the wolf is reduced to a tamed watchdog that ultimately gets abandoned in the confinement of domesticity, while the young woman is free to roam the city streets in search of Parisian nightlife rather than the way to grandma's house, as her heading towards the Eiffel Tower may suggest.

Gender roles are clearly reversed here and stereotypical patterns broken. In the 21st century, women are no longer confined to the domestic space, but can make themselves a career and become independent, while simultaneously living an exciting social life, all of these being associated with the use of the French perfume. The wolf-cum-dog, symbolic of both the guardian-chaperone, as well as of French author Perrault's disguised seducer, is left howling at home, which disempowers, debases and infantilizes him. His howl doubled by Red's authoritative parental attitude (she does not want to hear any comment) also indicates the image of a child who is denied adventure outside of the home and who is left crying for his mother. But the howl may also suggest loneliness and, as Red has deserted him, the wolf is calling out for his lost mate.

The forest has been replaced by the vast interior of a chateau, connoting aristocratic refinement and French sophistication. In this setting, the perfume highlights the young woman's desirability, making her more attractive in the eyes of the men she will meet outside the chateau.

The overall message is that morality has changed with the times. Popular culture in general, and pop romances in particular, show that women can be independent, confident, desirable, seductive and active. However, the drawback lies in the fact that, in order to be all of this, women have to highlight their sexuality, flaunt their bodies, and disguise their intelligence. The underlying message of such commercials is that desirability is associated with

the wearing of sophisticated French perfume and revealing clothes that may just happen to be red.

Of the three advertisements, this one shows a rather long-term relationship between Red and the wolf since they share a home, and the taming of the wolf must have taken Red quite some time to complete. By contrast, the next two commercials will imply short-term relationships: on the one hand, a possible one-night stand, while on the other, a chase.

3.2. Wolf-grabbing (“B.U. Heartbeat”, 2008)

The advertisement opens with a shot of Red’s room as she prepares to go out. Throughout the clip, the music encourages women in general and the protagonist in particular to “be yourself”. We see Red in the background, from the feet upwards as she descends the stairs, sprays some perfume on her neck and then puts on a red-hooded jacket. This shot suggests that Red is stepping down from the pedestal where patriarchal thinking has placed her, and has adapted to more modern times. Walking towards the club, ironically called “Grandma’s House”, she passes by a graffiti forest and a few young men (symbolic of wolves prowling in the woods) who try to impress her with their dancing. Unsuccessful, one of them tries something original; he gives her a red lollipop, which the girl takes without even looking at him. Her gesture comes to contradict one of the basic rules that parents teach their children, namely that one should not accept things from strangers. Furthermore, the lollipop recalls the temptation scene in the Bible, with Red as a second and already ‘corrupted’ Eve offering the candy to the bodyguard-cum-Adam, turning him into an accomplice in her seduction game. Moreover, the bodyguard’s lack of hair and not very muscular body singles him out as a ‘tough guy’. Simultaneously, the character of the bodyguard also recalls the figure of Cerberus (through the fur collar and the heavy chain around his neck), guardian to the gates of Hell, to whom she offers the candy in exchange of admission into the club-cum-netherworld, as a space of modern urban courtship and sexual initiation.

As Red arrives at the club, she tries to coax the bodyguard into letting her enter but does not manage until she gives him the lollipop. On the point of getting inside the club, her eye is distracted by a “sexy [and silent] cad”, a dark-haired young man in a black leather jacket showing off an “I-don’t-really-care” attitude (the embodiment of the rebel), whose hand she grabs and they both go in, while the bodyguard nods his head in approval.

Unlike the “Chanel no. 5” commercial, “B.U. Heartbeat” targets middle class young girls who live in urban areas. The forest and its ‘wild’ dangers are suggested by means of graffiti art and a group of teenaged boys – or would-be “sexy cads” – who unsuccessfully try to impress the young woman that passes them by.

If in the previous advertisement, we saw the wolf depicted as a tamed and debased watchdog, “B.U.” features three hypostases of the traditional wolf character: firstly, the fur-coated bodyguard with the wolf skull medallion reminds of the tale’s hunter by actually wearing his trophies; secondly, the wolf skull and the fur are symbolic of the fairy-tale character as such, although long dead; and finally, the young man in the black leather jacket is the embodiment of the rebel, who defies all norms and conventions. Nevertheless, they are all overpowered (again) by Red, who sweetens the bodyguard by offering him a smile and the lollipop, and who, after a short exchange of appraising glances, drags the rebel into the club. She thus challenges courtship conventions and gender roles, by becoming active in the game of seduction and pursuing the ‘wolfish’ guy of her choice. Men are rendered as passive or, if active (like the dancing teenagers), manifesting a childish behaviour.

The perfume targets non-conformist middle class young women, who belong to a very modern, urban, graffiti-dominated subculture, and who have learnt to bend the rules to their advantage, emphasizing their sexuality in an attempt of self-discovery. Similar to the “Chanel no. 5” ad, “B.U. Heartbeat” deals with morality issues in terms of sexuality and desirability emphasized through clothing – particularly fabric (fur or leather) and colour (red or black) – and, of course, through the alluring fragrance of the perfume advertised.

3.3. Wolf-hunting (“Red Bull”, 2010)

Of the three commercials chosen, nevertheless, “Red Bull” highlights Grannie as the embodiment of a huntress, a lively matriarch who delights in collecting wolf-skins to adorn her walls and floor. As the animated advertisement begins, we see Grandma lying in bed, reading in her room decorated with wolf-skins. Through the opening door in comes Little Red, portrayed as a young child, bringing the basket of goodies, among which the energizer. When she sees the child, the old woman energetically jumps out of her bed and asks her granddaughter if she has brought any “Red Bull”. Once she drinks it, she becomes even livelier and wants to set off hunting wolves. The commercial ends with both females giggling, as if sharing in on a private joke, and thus turning the viewer into an accomplice to their plan. Here, grandma has overlapped with the hunter of the Grimms’ variant of the fairy tale: “Now let’s go hunt down some wolves”, she says.

Drawn in black and white, with only Little Red’s cloak coloured red and Grannie’s nightgown dotted with pink hearts, the ad focuses on women’s empowerment and family bonds in general, and on grandma as (romantic) huntress in particular. Also, the girl’s red cloak, the only lively coloured object, brings intertextuality into the foreground, reminding the more informed, highbrow audience of the famous Spielberg film *Schindler’s List* (1993). Similar to Spielberg’s film, where the red coat worn by a young girl, who

appears occasionally throughout the film, points to both innocence and its loss, in the “Red Bull” commercial, Little Red will probably join her grandmother in the hunt, as Grandma’s last line suggests through the use of the inclusive formula “Let’s go”.

The commercial also touches on age-related behaviour, playing on the viewers’ assumptions of how old and young women behave. For instance, upon entering Grandma’s house, Little Red makes a courtesy, symbolic of old-fashioned education and a parody of aristocratic manners. On the other hand, while interacting with her granddaughter, Grannie manifests childish behaviour, as she throws away the book she has been reading, she jumps out of bed and hops about, thrilled with her present.

From a social point of view, this advert addresses ordinary, lower middle-class women, as suggested by the interior of the grandmother’s house, her old-fashioned nightgown and both females’ rather crude manners. Again, there is no forest, but a sparsely furnished room, where Grandma-cum-huntress lives. Furthermore, the commercial toys with the idea of the hunt as a traditionally British aristocratic and upper middle-class pastime, only to transform it into a lowbrow need to vent one’s age-related frustrations. After drinking the energizer, Grannie seems somewhat desperate to prove – especially to herself – that she is still young and very energetic, something that the advertised product will also provide for others in her situation. The two females seem to share a private wolf-joke, to which the viewer is also invited, provided s/he knows the original story. The wolf is here disembodied, and actually eliminated as a character from the narrative; he plays no other part than that of a decorative object (a mat and a tapestry/headboard). Furthermore, he is ridiculed by Grandma, who jumps out of bed onto the wolf-skin rug, causing its mouth to open wide and then close.

Unlike the previous perfume advertisements, which deal with morality issues in terms of sexuality and desirability, the “Red Bull” commercial focuses on the feminist rather than the moral aspect of hunting as a pastime. What Grandma indirectly teaches her granddaughter is that wolves must be hunted down because they are inherently bad, while the hunt itself will empower her. Besides stressing the vitalizing effect of the energizer, the underlying message of the advert seems to also touch on women’s empowerment and agency by alluding to a typically masculine activity: hunting. Given that the wolf does not appear as a character proper, we may conclude that he has completely lost agency and transferred his power to the two women.

4. Conclusions

After 300 years of dominating patriarchal perspectives on the Red Riding Hood narrative, with male characters cast as principal agents (the seducer and the saviour), gender roles are challenged and reversed.

Nonetheless, while Red regains the agency she lost once with Perrault's variant and becomes empowered through "the ability to control her [own] behaviour through *choice*" (Şerban 2012:132, emphasis in the original), the wolf is increasingly marginalized. Twenty-first century retellings of the classical Red Riding Hood story constantly highlight Red's sexuality, portraying her as a seductive young woman, whereas the wolf is debased. Issues related to morality are still underlying the narrative, but they concern female agency in courtship and male-associated practices such as hunting. If in older variants of the story, desirability was associated with chastity, the very libertine society today seems to encourage promiscuity, especially among women, by means of the media.

The ads examined showed the wolf first as a silenced, punished and crying pet, then a silent rebel with no agency, and finally, a decorative object. The wolf appears thus no longer as the "sexy cad" (Durante et al. 2012:1) of earlier fairy tales, but an increasingly marginalized, muted and disembodied character that seems to have switched places with a Red whose sexuality has become a source of empowerment, agency and freedom of movement.

While playing on fairy-tale patterns, challenging or reversing them, commercials also convey the mentality of our consumerist society and provide an insight into the contemporary popular culture targeted especially at the younger generation, simultaneously emphasizing the way humans, as well as relationships between men and women, change.

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FROM MEMORIES TO COUNTERFACTUALS: A CONCEPTUAL JOURNEY IN ERNEST HEMINGWAY'S "SNOWS OF KILIMANJARO"

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Abstract: *The paper examines a number of unrealized and unauthentic narrative events in Ernest Hemingway's "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" which, despite not being part of the main story line, are still emotionally charged as well as thoroughly and instantly engaging. I argue that our involvement in such counterfactual scenarios might be explained by the fact that we don't feel it to be necessary to choose between the multiple developments of the story. In connection with this, I formulate the question whether this emergent narrative diversity has an implicit effect on the act of reading. It seems that the introduction of the counterfactual stories heightens the immersion effect of the story.*

Keywords: *short story, conceptual journey, counterfactuality, immersion effect*

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1. Introduction

In *Snows of Kilimanjaro* Harry, a writer, has come to Africa in search of his lost artistic credo and with the belief that he will cleanse his soul and will wash away the "fat" (Hemingway 1995:411) out of his body and mind. He comes to Africa to escape his excessively wealthy American lifestyle and the privileged existence he has been sucked into by marrying an extremely affluent woman, Helen, and by the affiliation with her upscale family. But I would argue that Harry is not only a vulnerable artist but also a defeated traveller who is now caught between life and death, as he is dying in an African camp. What initially seemed to be a mere scratch to the surface of Harry's skin has led to gangrene, causing him horrific pains which steadily intensify due to the lack of life-saving medications. Physically present in the African camp but no longer able to actually enjoy physical mobility, Harry is granted a last chance to take a few imaginary journeys as he feels he must revisit the territory of his younger self. By substituting physical mobility with conceptual mobility, Hemingway empowers his protagonist with the ability to simultaneously inhabit different places where he can directly face his vulnerabilities in order to move beyond them through personal transformation. In his dying moments, Harry is granted the only chance to travel back and forth across imaginary worlds or across spaces he can return to and explore in his imagination. Paris, Constantinople,

Italy, Wyoming, Michigan, Austria are the locations revisited by the male protagonist, clearly showing his mental mobility, despite the limited real setting of the story on the plains of East Africa. In effect, Harry now dwells among the untrodden paths of his memory while he surely feels that his imaginary powers must take the ultimate test.

Deprived of physical mobility, Harry can only travel freely through a virtual maze and weave his way through the massively intertwined corridors of his mind. It is in his imagination that Harry attempts to remap the territory of his personal history. Appropriately, haunting reminiscences present him as a traveller; this is the first one in a series of brief flashbacks: "Now in his mind he saw a railway station at Karagatch and he was standing with his pack and that was the headlight of the Simplon-Orient cutting the dark now and he was leaning" (Hemingway 1995:408). He had always meant to write about such experiences but surely, as his art had failed him, he never wrote a line of those. Deeply embittered by regrets and torn apart by excruciating pains in his infected leg, Harry recalls the snowed mountains of Bulgaria, but also the times of sickening loneliness in Paris or Constantinople. Later, he remembers riding in Anatolia through fields of poppies that soon gave him strange opium dreams. And then again Paris, in a café, he recalls Tristan Tzara with his monocle and regular headaches, and other figures and faces he would have liked to write about. He then remembers his blissful but short love affairs, often followed by disquieting quarrels. His memory harks back to other better times when he truly saw the world change, watching it so carefully that he can now remember with precision the details of how people were once different. Uneasily, he has the bitter recollection of a sobbing young boy who had been unjustly arrested and of a slaughtered officer who had been caught in a wire fence so badly that his bowels spilled out over it.

It is in his imagination that he meets up the other fellow-travellers. Williamson, a brother officer, is another traveller, dying like Harry, after being slaughtered by a stick bomb, and subsequently travelling rapidly to death. In order to alleviate his comrade's pain, Harry gave him the morphine tablets he had actually saved to use himself and was thus able to provide the dying officer partial relief from pain. In the whole sorrowful story, Harry identifies with the defeated traveller, acting as a genuine fellow-traveller who gives assistance on the extremely rough road through human sufferance. There is another episode of travellers who die on the heavily snowed mountains in Bulgaria after they had been repeatedly reassured that it was too soon for snow:

No, that's not snow. It's too early for snow. And the Secretary repeating to the other girls, No, you see. It's not snow and them all saying, It's not snow we were mistaken. But it was the snow all right and he sent them on into it when he evolved exchange of populations. And it was snow they tramped along in until they died that winter. (Hemingway 1995:408)

Nearly every description of Harry portrays him as a traveller sympathising with other travellers on trail, who eventually become the pursued in the atrocious race with death. The Austrian officers in the leave train gunned down by an officer named Baker on a “bright Christmas day” (Hemingway 1995:409) could be the same Australians that “he skied with later” (Hemingway 1995:409). Had they not been killed by Baker, they might have been skiing together. The penalty for wilfully neglecting to write about his fellow-travellers comes in the form of recurring scenes and images that the dying writer must eventually confront. His unquenchable thirst for writing the stories he had witnessed is amplified by the tormenting guilt for somehow betraying the other travellers. The analysis of such incidents recalled by the dying writer may provide a key to interpreting the role of journeys in the protagonist’s personal history.

2. Pathways into the Conceptual Journey

If the controlling concept of “journey” globally informs the story, which is grounded in a series of spatial stories of travelling and physical movement, I will argue that *Snows* invites its readers to reinterpret the meanings of both physical mobility and conceptual mobility. The cognitive dimensions of bodily spatial stories have been investigated at length by cognitive scientist Mark Turner (1996; see chapter 2 on “Human Meaning”), who argues that our abstract thought and reasoning are always grounded in the physical environment. As described in Turner’s ground-breaking study *The Literary Mind*, our human ability to interpret abstract stories is based on the identification of basic small stories of events in space, such as ordinary and simple stories in which we recognize the wind blowing clouds through the sky, a child throwing a rock, a mother pouring milk into a glass, or a whale swimming through the water (Turner 1996:13). Even though such stories seem to be outright boring or completely unproblematic, without the knowledge stored in them, we would be less confident in our interaction with the world.

Specifically, reading Hemingway’s short narrative requires a detailed analysis of the bodily spatial stories as the grounding basis for the overall metaphorical understanding of Harry’s journey. The required mental projection concerns a pattern of thought that maps a story of bodily motion onto a non-spatial story. In fact, the exploration of the conceptual schema for journey invites the readers of *Snows of Kilimanjaro* to map this schema onto the target conceptual schema for life. Typically, this metaphoric transfer comes almost automatically, as our conventional metaphoric understanding of “life as journey” contains prefabricated structures of imagination. As described by Mark Johnson (1987:114-120) in his book *The Body in the Mind*, speakers generally project the elements of the source schema (journey) onto components of the target schema (life): the traveller is the person leading a life, the route

travelled is mapped onto the ways and means for reaching our aims, our purposes are destinations, difficulties we face in life are impediments on the physical route of the journey, and so forth. An important, perhaps primary, engine of the concept of “journey” is that it must have a beginning, proceed in a linear way, and make progress toward the destination. Crucially then, a *journey defines a path* (Lakoff and Johnson 2003:90). The schema of path has been defined as a recurring image-schematic pattern, which is deeply rooted in our experience with the physical world:

There is the path from your bed to the bathroom, from the stove to the kitchen table, from your house to the grocery store, from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and from the Earth to the Moon. Some of these paths involve an actual physical surface that you traverse, such as the path from your house to the store. Others involve a projected path, such as the path of a bullet shot into the air. And certain paths exist, at present, only in your imagination, such as the path from Earth to the nearest star outside our solar system. (Johnson 1987:114)

In adopting a cognitive approach to Ernest Hemingway’s short story, I place emphasis on our bodily experiences of space which can work their way up into abstract meanings and non-physical phenomena, inviting thus readers to interpret Harry’s physical journey and his conceptual mobility. The fact that we use our bodily experience of space may provide us with sufficient information to understand non-physical concepts imaginatively and creatively. In so doing, we elaborate on the image schematic structures of imagination in order to transform them into abstract patterns of thought. Such conventional metaphoric projections, which are commonplace unoriginal transformations mapping conceptually the source onto the target, inform *Snows*. Reading Hemingway’s story as fundamentally constituted through the conceptual metaphor of *life is a journey* may sound straightforward and simple, but the use of the concept of “journey” and its metaphoric transformations are anything but simple. This is the ground of the story. It is important to keep in mind, though, that our approach is to proceed from it, “for it is the most important, most complex, and by far the least well understood thing [...]. We must start with this ground, admit our great ignorance of what is involved in it, and seek to explain it.” (Turner 1991:242)

The scenes and images far removed from the African camp safari, represented in Harry’s memories, reveal the importance of the journey in Hemingway’s story, inviting readers to activate the journey schema to reach the relevant structure for understanding the underlying metaphorical story. Specifically, the journey schema in *Snows* has well-differentiated coordinates: the protagonists follow a path leading to a destination and a desired goal, Harry and Helen’s safe homecoming from the safari; their journey should involve progress toward the purpose – unfortunately, the progress halts before the goal is reached as Harry’s medical condition worsens; the journey involves the use

of vehicles that serve to transport the travellers to the destination; in this case, the rescue plane that might arrive in time to take Harry to a hospital. But Harry is literally rotting from within, as his gangrene is killing him; the fact that he lacks physical mobility becomes the main impediment which prevents the couple from finally attaining their goal: journeying back home.

Despite the fact that we typically associate the journey schema with images of motion and movement, in *Snows* the protagonist lays confined to his cot, showing openly unwillingness to move: “I don’t want to move,” the man said. “There is no sense in moving now except to make it easier for you” (Hemingway 1995:405). Obviously, Harry can’t move because of his impaired physical condition, but also the other characters are not as physically active as we might expect from a safari experience. Instead of hunting, hiking, or shooting big game, Harry’s personal boy “was sitting by his bed” (Hemingway 1995:410), his wife “was sitting by him in a canvas chair” (Hemingway 1995:409) or “leaning back in the chair” (Hemingway 1995:422). The reversed action story suggests that slowly non-action will replace expected mobility and physical activity will be substituted by prolonged lethargy, which may lead us to think that “Impediments to Action are Impediments to Motion”. This general conceptual expression is part of our general cognitive architecture and it should not be interpreted as a mere figure of speech. It is not simply a matter of speech, but it also guides the way we think.

In this complex story of a journey, it seems that the overall action story and physical mobility might be temporarily suspended, as Harry’s gangrened leg gets worse, while wild animals begin to cross the open space, slipping lightly along the edge of the camp. In judging this image, readers plunge into Harry’s internalized thoughts:

just then it occurred to him that he was going to die. It came with a rush; not as a rush of water not of wind; but of a sudden evil-smelling emptiness and the odd thing was that the hyena slipped lightly along the edge of it. (Hemingway 1995:414)

3. Counterfactuals or As the World Might Have Been

By opening up the male protagonist’s mental world, the story opens itself up to a constellation of events that only exist for Harry, for his memories and for his internalized thoughts: these are his reveries that he has meant to write about “but he had never written a line of that” (Hemingway 1995:409). These are non-actual events in a non-existent story. They are non-events of “all the stories that he meant to write” (Hemingway 1995:420) in an unrealized and unauthentic narrative world. In connection with this, I formulate the question whether this emergent narrative diversity has an implicit effect on the act of reading. It seems that the introduction of the counterfactual stories heightens the immersion effect of the story. For readers to share Harry’s grief and feeling of loss, they need to be fully immersed into his unwritten ‘masterpieces’.

Technically, readers are engaged in systematic counterfactual thought, as we truly have the potential for counterfactual thinking as a fundamental mode of human reasoning:

Counterfactual thinking is an essential feature of consciousness. Few indeed have never pondered a lost opportunity nor regretted a foolish utterance. (Roese and Olson 1995:46-47)

The distinctly printed vignettes move the story away from the African safari camp and give us access to the protagonist's thoughts and memories. As readers are immersed into Harry's mental work, by interpreting tags such as "he remembered" (Hemingway 1995:422), "he thought" (Hemingway 1995:408), "in his mind" (Hemingway 1995:408), they become part of his reveries while the African safari and the physical space disappear slowly. In other words, the italicized fragments that are integrated into the coherent narrative, dealing with Harry's past life as a soldier, a husband, an expatriate in Paris, and a grandson, can all be taken together to speak about Harry's distinct experiences that he could have used to create fiction. While Harry is the internal focalizer of these loosely connected stories, their intrinsic potential for fiction has never been exploited. They are lost stories and the type of writing Harry wishes he had created but never did. In these five jumbled short narratives, the protagonist confronts himself with the rich possibilities of a past that has never become real and that opens the door to bitter regret, now that death is nearly imminent.

Snows is concerned with the branching or multiplication of narrative pathways. If characters become involved in the fragmentation of space, their own life trajectories receive different configurations, and perhaps more importantly, their fictional mind is dramatically transformed by having to manage unexplored possibilities, diversification, and multiplicity. Ahead of them there is the unknown terrain of possible futures, as well as the yet undiscovered realm of missed opportunities. The male character ventures into these uncharted spaces and remaps his present life accordingly. Harry's ultimate ability of making experiments about what might have been or speculations about how things may turn out creates room for counterfactual thought. The concept of "journey" is cognitively inseparable from the issue of multiplication and diversification, which physically translates into the branching of narrative space, and non-physically, into imaginative counterfactuals.

As readers witness the remapping of narrative space in *Snows*, more pluralist narrative views occur and new possibilities arise within an unstable chain of unresolved narrative conflicts. In her study on *Coincidence and Counterfactuality*, Hilary Danneberg (2008) speaks specifically of the counterfactual as a particular plot device in which narrative paths diverge, thus creating space for diversification and multiplicity. According to the scholar, plots of counterfactuality need to adopt a reader-oriented theoretical model that should examine the key cognitive operations stimulated by the plot. In the first

instance, the narrative strategy or device of the counterfactual stimulates the reader's "*cognitive desire* to be in possession of the second aspect of plot" (Danneberg 2008:14). An examination of the apparently disjointed mini-narratives in *Snows* involves the reconstruction of "the sense of a double plot", as termed by Suzanne C. Ferguson (1994:223) in her analysis of modernist short fiction.

Snows does not, though, provide a clear key to the ontological status of the mini-narratives, and so the reader struggles to explore the different versions of Harry's life and determine the role of his counterfactual fantasies. In effect, they are no less relevant than the actual version of events in that they do not simply show the way in which the *reality* of the story could have turned out but they construct an ontologically unstable narrative space in which actual events and characters remain elusive.

4. Conclusions

With Hemingway's story, readers cannot find the ontological clarity of realist texts, and therefore they begin to take delight into the bewilderingly fascinating game of playing with alternate versions of narrative realities, of constructing pluralistic worlds, and of permanently experimenting with unrealized possibilities. Accordingly, the text's ontological ambiguities and complexities map out an unstable plot development in which readers can play with virtual narrative products that do not occur in the actual text universe. By allowing one world to become possible or actual, readers do not follow a chronological sequence but become immersed in the sum of dynamic possibilities and take a "multiple-world approach to plot" (Danneberg 2008:63). In this view, the chronological story gains multifaceted complexity and becomes more comprehensive, in the sense that it now incorporates events that actually occurred in the story and events that are narrated but prove to be counterfactual constructs.

Viewed in this fashion, reading Hemingway's short story is in itself an ontologically unstable act, through which readers constantly negotiate meaning and gradually assess and reassess events and relationships from a variety of possibilities that have all the force to say something new about the narrative world. If characters cross different physical world levels, they are also able to engage in exploring the imaginal worlds of alternate constructs and future possibilities. At all times they are drawn into a narrative space of alternate versions, a space of branching of narrative paths, which creates new patterns of diversification and multiplicity. Readers must engage in experiencing such fictional spaces equipped with cognitive mechanisms that allow them to accept altered outcomes and dramatically reconsidered life trajectories.

Harry's journey into his virtual past as a fulfilled writer and an accomplished traveller, and Helen's considerations of an alternate trip, together

with the two projections of potential futures, are not part of the story at all but they speak of deviations that evoke the capacity of narrative to simulate our ability of generating versions of reality. Then, counterfactual generation becomes essential not only for plot development but also for stimulating our human propensity to juggle virtual constructs. Globally informing the whole story, the controlling concept of “journey” is cognitively inseparable from the issue of multiplication and diversification. The examination of the cognitive simulation of the bodily experience of space has shown that, physically, the idea of multiplication translates into the branching of narrative space, and non-physically, into imaginative counterfactuals.

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MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING: THREE RESPONSES TO SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY

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Abstract: *The paper looks at Shakespeare's comedy Much Ado about Nothing, as well as two film adaptations of the play, from a reader-oriented perspective, offering samples of an expert reading of the play, an initiated reading and a so-called "innocent" reading. We compare the three approaches taking into consideration the reception of the play's motifs (such as the bedtrick) and the conventional reaction of the readers to them.*

Keywords: *reader-orientedness, expert, initiated and innocent reading, reception.*

1. Introduction

In the past several years, there have been substantial transformations of approaches in literary and cultural studies in undergraduate, graduate, postgraduate education in English. An important role of departments of Eng. Lit has been to create interpretations of the texts of various historical periods, including – if not especially – Shakespeare. The key to progressive educational policy in departments of Eng. Lit worldwide today is combining the values of canonical literary texts with the values of universal access, presenting literature as an occasion for education, not merely a subject matter. This comes as a result of a complex set of relations between critical thinking about literature and the politics of education.

The academic study we propose draws on the receiving end of Shakespeare's work, more precisely on reader-oriented theories. We are broadly interested in how Shakespeare's work is viewed and interpreted and, for this reason, we are conducting an exploratory case study which focuses on the comedy *Much Ado about Nothing* and two of its best known film adaptations. The interpretations we instantiate in the study are done by three different kinds of readers, what we labelled as: expert, initiated and innocent. An expert reading is provided, in our view, by the academic-critical approach to Shakespeare's comedy, both in the traditional line of expertise and in the context of contemporary, culturally-oriented studies. For the other two types of readers, we conduct an experiment among representatives of two levels of studies: an MA student who has been exposed to formal English literature courses in literature in general and a course on Shakespeare, for the initiated reader, while an innocent reader is a junior student, a fresh person in English language and literature BA study programme. Due to the fact that the outcome of this entire endeavour cannot be reported in one sitting, in this paper we will

focus on the issues pertaining to the framing of our study and we will report on the expert readership. The subsequent phases and outcomes of the study focusing on the initiated and innocent readings will be reported on other occasions and the entire study will constitute the substance of a larger research report.

Reader oriented theories all start from the assumption that the receiver is active and not passive in the act of perception and meaning making therefore – the literary text has no real existence until it is read/viewed. Several concepts of reader-oriented origins were considered as relevant for our study: phenomenology, horizon of expectations, and literary competence and conventions.

When it comes to the study of literature, phenomenology refers to “a type of criticism which tries to enter into the world of a writer’s works and to arrive at an understanding of the underlying nature or essence of the writings as they appear to the critic’s consciousness” (Raman, 1989:118). Our own endeavour has such a dimension since it draws on phenomenology, more precisely on hermeneutics in the study of Shakespeare’s work. Thus, broadly speaking, we view Shakespeare as both a literary and a social phenomenon and we try to explore and understand how he is experienced by different receivers. Furthermore, our study is situated between the two extremes of a continuum in the study of literature. We conceptualize this continuum as having at one end Russian formalism which completely ignores the context in which the text was produced and at the other end social theories which ignore the text. Consequently, we start from the assumption that, without ignoring the text itself, its interpretation is highly dependent on the historical contexts in which it was produced and in which it is read. Additionally crucial to the study is the belief that the interpretation of a text is also dependent on the reader and his/her knowledge and skills. We call these two aspects the contextual factor and the reader factor.

The contextual factor starts from the concept of “horizons of expectations” whose proponent was Jauss (1982). In Jauss’ view, it would be wrong to say that a work is universal, that its meaning is fixed forever and open to all readers in any period. The criteria readers use to judge literary texts vary in time and place. In this line of thought, interpretations instantiate (or not) a reader’s ability to move between past and present. In other words, an interpretation of the text depends on the questions prompted by the reader’s own culture and/or their knowledge of the past (i.e. the period in which the text was produced).

The reader factor in this study mainly refers to what Culler (1975) first labelled as literary competence and which he later on (1997) claimed them to be conventions of reading. Literary competence should clearly be delimited from reading conventions as they put forth very different constructs. Thus we take the view that literary competence comes in various degrees and shades and

refers to the reader's exposure to knowledge of various literary theories as well as practice in the actual analysis of various texts. Reading conventions, on the other hand, we view as being culturally rooted and putting forth the values, beliefs, and practices emerging from a particular culture. In the same line of thought, Torell (2010:371) argues that stereotypes and clichés as reading conventions can be mistakenly taken as internalized literary conventions.

2. Some Ado about Expertly Reading *Much Ado*

Much Ado about Nothing is one of Shakespeare's very few plays written almost exclusively in prose. It features a fashionable, Italianate plot, about the tribulations of suspicious, jealous lovers, and a more original English subplot, about the war of the sexes. *Much Ado* is also one of the most remarkably stable comedies in terms of its critical reception, less vulnerable to newer academic approaches to Shakespeare, such as (mainly, though not exclusively) postcolonialism and gender studies. It is, at the same time, a light, romantic comedy, and a text containing the germs of a problem play. It is appreciated for its elegance and aristocratic taste, its evidence of court life, being thus more typical of the English Renaissance spirit than other instances of Elizabethan drama.

Still, the play has a substantial potential for embeddedness, given the interplay of meanings, announced from the very beginning by the pun in the title, between *nothing*, a trifle, and *noting*, as the word was pronounced in the 16th century (Marion Wynne Davies 2001), in a play where observation and misobservation are the engines that drive the story. The habit of *noting* makes the discrepancy between appearance and essence one of the main themes of the play, materialized in the bed-trick. This is a rather common motif in numerous comedies and problem plays, with variations, the main "trick" being the fact that a male lover thinks himself in bed with the wrong woman or (less frequently) viceversa. In *Much Ado*, the motif is complicated further by macabre elements, such as an alleged death and a tomb. This has led critics to a newly coined term, a tomb-trick, which in Wendy Doniger's opinion, is only a quasi-trick (2000:21). If a complete trick is available in the tragi-comedies, where the eager male heroes cannot escape the amorous traps laid by the women who love them but are not loved in return, *Much Ado* offers only a half of several tricks: the bed-trick is incomplete because neither Claudio nor Hero go to bed with anyone and the tomb-trick places Claudio in front of an empty grave and then in front of a falsely resurrected bride. Thus, the trick in this play is not only a technical element in the development of the plot, but a *mise en abyme*, by means of which Shakespeare explores the discomfort of jealousy, the tension between monogamy and promiscuousness, the fragile borderline between sex and gender, between power and identity. The bed-trick hints at the gap between

physical closeness and mental alienation, between reality and imaginary projection. George Volceanov (2003:19) regards the bed-trick as a ritual of deception which becomes, in Shakespeare's plays, an archetypal situation. To understand this motif, one must read and watch the play with the eyes of the 17th century spectator, in a cultural and material world which was very different from ours. Once the nights have grown less dark, due to artificial lightning, once the intimacy of couples has increased, making the sexual act less ritualized and conventional, the bed-trick has started losing its likelihood, the modern reader and watcher growing more sceptical. Apart from this pragmatic aspect, the ethic connotations have also made traditional critics impatient (Muir 1965:47), as with something which, seen once, presents no potential for a repeat. Although no one ends in bed with other fellows than the intended ones, most of the characters are victimizers or victims in this game of deception and doubling. Hero makes Beatrice believe Benedick is in love with her, Don John makes Claudio believe Hero is unfaithful to him, Don Pedro woos Hero for Claudio, Leonato gives Claudio a bride he believes to be Hero's cousin, after he mourns Hero over an empty grave. This partial enumeration successfully proves that, instead of one complete trick, the play offers a multitude of quasi-tricks which, in quantitative terms, come to dominate the entire story. Still, the most relevant scenes which are conventionally labelled as "tricks" are scene 3 Act III (the quasi-bed-trick, in which Claudio is reported to have seen a woman wearing Hero's clothes in Borachio's arms), scene 4 in Act V (the quasi-tomb-trick, in which Claudio believes Hero has been miraculously brought back to life) and the final reconciliation scene, in which yet another trick (a full trick, this time, I would argue, a perfectly orchestrated optical illusion, in fact) solves the previous two quasi-tricks.

In this play about *noting*, watching and eavesdropping are obsessive, each character understanding, as it happens in the romantic comedies, "what they will". In Act I, the noblemen of Aragon "note" Hero's distinguished figure, which persuades them of her honesty. However, the same figure carries signs of betrayal and debauchery in Act IV. The blood in her cheeks is, for Claudio, a mark of lust, while for the good friar, it is a note of maidenly innocence. At the wedding, Claudio does not note the real woman behind the veil, though he swears to note well all her virtues. This almost deliberate confusion is backed by the attitude most characters declare to have towards slander. Ironically, the first one showing eagerness to practice "honest slanders" (III, 1) is the very victim of slander, Hero herself, who makes up things about her cousin Beatrice in order to force destiny and see her married. Of course, the oxymoron has a tinge of irony. Hero's lie may be innocent, but it is a lie all the same. Hero and Don Pedro invent a love story between Beatrice and Benedick in order to bring them together, a false and shaky scaffolding which could collapse at the slightest perturbation. When

the two pseudo-lovers realize they are the victims of “honest slanders”, it is too late – they are already genuinely infatuated with each other. The slander against Hero is dishonest but only apparently different from the “honest” ones, as the mechanisms are the same. Claudio is shown a woman wearing his fiancée’s dress and needs no further evidence of Hero’s infidelity. Leonato, the girl’s father, needs even less, since he accuses his daughter of treason having only Claudio’s and Don Pedro’s words. This impatience would seem a gross exaggeration if one forgot, like in the case of the bed-trick, the background to which the play explicitly alludes several times. One of the most frequent “jokes” of this comedy is about cuckolding: when he introduces his daughter to Aragon and his men, Leonato joins this witty exchange:

DON PEDRO

You embrace your charge too willingly. I think this is your daughter.

LEONATO

Her mother hath many times told me so.

BENEDICK

Were you in doubt, sir, that you asked her?

LEONATO

Signior Benedick, no; for then were you a child. (I, 1)

Leonato hides behind words, avoiding the sophisticated irony of the Aragon court, but exposes his daughter, whose vulnerability grows later. The fact that Leonato’s line is not random is proved by Benedick, who repeats the joke about the cuckolded husband, symmetrically, in the last act, when he addresses Don Pedro: “Prince, thou art sad; get thee a wife, get thee a wife: there is no staff more reverend than one tipped with horn.” (V, 4)

The script being already known by the male characters, they do not hesitate to repudiate Hero at the slightest innuendo. Her dishonesty being presented as *vraisemblable* by her father, it takes very little thinking for her fiancé to accept Don John’s fabricated evidence as true. Both Claudio and Leonato react violently: the lover expected “chaste Dian” and found a “witch”, while Leonato wanted his only child to “have his head on her shoulders for all Messina” and, in exchange, thinks she is a false mirror of his good name. S. P. Cerasano (in Barker and Kamps 1995:31) correctly points out that, in Shakespeare’s age, guarding one’s reputation was harder than avoiding slander. The evidence lies in the countless slander trials recorded in the early modern age. If, in earlier centuries, slander was controlled by the laws of the Church, in the 16th century, the line between lay and religious authorities grows dimmer and the trials held by civil courts seem to be all the more hostile when the complaint is issued by a woman. The trials were problematic anyway, since the woman could make an appeal

only with the approval of a male protector and the object of the trial – the woman’s reputation – was volatile. Still, the great number of such court appeals shows both how vulnerable women were to slander and how eager they were to protect one of their few assets, their good name. In many Shakespearean tragi-comedies, a woman’s reputation is the synonym of physical survival. In *Measure for Measure*, a stained reputation is enough to send anyone to the scaffold and Isabella, a promised nun, would rather see her brother dead than her good name put to shame. In *The Winter’s Tale* and *Cymbeline*, a wife stays alive after a husband’s wrath only by means of travesty and concealment. In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Hero faints and is believed dead, which, if guilty, in the men’s eyes, would only serve her right. It takes the rehabilitation by means of yet another trick for the men to rejoice the sight of her being alive and well.

It is not by accident that the slander is uttered and annulled in the church, under the surveillance of the good friar (a constant figure, who is also the final solution in *Measure for Measure*). He orchestrates the tomb-trick and makes the truth finally evident to the men who build and destroy Hero’s life. The monk turns out to be the only person who sees clearly, although everyone is watching carefully. More realistic than Beatrice (who, convinced of Hero’s virtue, asks Benedick to kill Claudio and avenge her cousin’s shame), he suggests the only possible solution for a woman with a bad reputation: “die to live” (IV, 1). Since her compromised life cannot continue, only the resurrection, which implies purification, is acceptable. According to tradition, this would have implied the discretion and penitence of a convent. Since this is a Shakespearean comedy, the good friar, with the father’s approval, offers another way out. The strategy works well literally, as Don Pedro and Claudio receive the “new” Hero not as a rehabilitated person, but as someone who has risen from the dead.

The interplay between deception and verisimilitude is one of the play’s great assets, but also one of the major problems in the process of reception and adaptation. Reading and interpreting the play conventionally is very different from a pragmatic, sceptical approach. This is not such a far cry from the Romantic desideratum formulated by S.T. Coleridge as “the suspension of disbelief”. It does take such a conventional suspension to assimilate the intricacies of the *Much Ado* plot. Good examples of how such a conventional reading – an expert reading, in the terms we used in the theoretical part of this paper – operates are the two film adaptations of Shakespeare’s comedy, Kenneth Branagh’s 1993 and Joss Whedon’s 2013 works. The 1993 version, featuring Branagh as director and male star in Benedick’s role, received surprisingly little critical acclaim despite the cast, the quality of the film features and the interventions in the original storyline, most observers regretting the absence of naturalness and spontaneity (Canby 1993). The film’s success in reading the bed-trick and the tomb-trick “expertly” (and then conveying them to the public in the spirit of verisimilitude) lies in the choice for an atemporal (possibly

Italianate) décor, with an impressive number of extras, including soldiers in brightly coloured uniforms and Messinan citizens in white, under the heat and light of a continuous summer sun, giving the impression that the characters' only goal is the single-minded pursuit of pleasure. All the actors are surprisingly young and healthy, with the plain Hero interpreted by the beautiful Kate Beckinsale, the evil Don John by the handsome and exotic Keanu Reeves, or the royal Don Pedro by Denzel Washington. The whiteness of the costumes, the universal gaiety, the dancing and singing and frolicking give the impression of a game, perhaps an extension of the costume party evoked in the second act of the play, which contributes to the "suspension of disbelief" effect.

In 2013, when Hollywood offered a new version of *Much Ado*, Joss Whedon was a novice of Shakespearean adaptations. However, although Branagh was a consecrated Shakespearean actor and director (*Hamlet* and *Henry V* being only the most obvious examples), his *Much Ado* was less acclaimed than Whedon's, who was trained in fantasy thrillers like *The Avengers*. Moreover, while Branagh's film had cost a fortune, Whedon's version was a low-budget movie, shot exclusively in the director's own house, with virtually unknown actors. Still, the 2013 film was a genuine critical success. The elements that contributed to this are those which also secure "the suspension of disbelief". Shot in black and white in a Hispanic Californian villa, with the Aragon court and Don John looking more like Prohibition gangsters, the film is presented as a farce, in the spirit of the screwball comedy (Shoard 2012), a genre which was very popular in the glamour age of the 1930s and 1940s movieland. The characters return from "abroad", give casual parties and keep "hanging out". In a story about watching and hearing, the house where the plot unfolds has thin walls and poor acoustics, where no secret can be kept for long – a technical detail which completes the message of the original Shakespearean text. The conventions of the screwball comedy, with male and female heroines exchanging witty repartee, also contribute to a general farcical atmosphere, which makes the tricks deployed by the plot acceptable and convincing.

3. The Reception of *Much Ado*. A Case Study

The expert interpretation which represents the first phase of our study presented above has also served the purpose of generating our main hypothesis for the second phase. It can be framed as follows: the less expertise the reader has, the more difficult it is for them to suspend disbelief and to accept the conventions of the dramatic text. With little or no background about the tricks so massively employed by the Shakespearean comedy, we assume the readers will attach little credibility and even less *vraisemblance* to the scenes which are the epitome of illusion and deception, as these concepts were employed in the classical theatre. Our secondary assumption, we aim to validate, during this semester, when we applied the experiment and discussed its outcomes of

reading and watching *Much Ado about Nothing* with one senior and one junior student at Research Methods tutorials, is that the two film adaptations facilitate the reception of the play's tricks and the conventional acceptance of illusion and deception as the major engines of the plot.

The instrument we used for eliciting the response to the texts proposed took the shape of a task sheet. When designing this task sheet we tried to be as less prescriptive as possible. First, we thought of adopting a purely open-ended, uncontrolled approach in the form of a reflective account. Then, we took into consideration the danger of ending up with entirely irrelevant (to our micro-theory presented above) data. Consequently, we designed a more guided instrument that served the purpose of directing the respondents' thoughts towards our research interest, without however, planting ideas into our respondents' minds and at the same time allowing for reflection and prompting both introspection and retrospection. Both retrospective and introspective methods seek access to the "invisible", i.e. to what goes on in the head of the respondent. Nunan (1992:115) defines them as being "The process of observing and reflecting on one's thoughts, feelings, motives, reasoning processes and mental states with a view to determining the way in which these processes and states determine our behaviour."

The difference between them is time related and has some serious implications when it comes to data analysis. Thus, introspective methods refer to techniques or instruments in which the data generation is simultaneous with the mental tasks or events under scrutiny. Retrospective methods, on the other hand, lead to instruments that elicit data some time after the events have taken place.

This idea of "some time after" has triggered a fair amount of criticism, which mainly says that such methods produce unreliable data because it is in our human nature to forget things. To minimise this danger, it is advisable to ensure that the data are generated as soon as possible after the event has taken place. The bottom line is that in the choice of an introspective or retrospective instrument all depends on the interest and focus of research as well as on the practical issues involved (for example, it might be difficult, if not impossible, in some circumstances, to collect data in an introspective kind of way). In our case, we wanted our respondents both to introspect while being exposed to the texts and to retrospect by reflecting upon it in a very immediate circumstance. We thus prompted them to read the task before the texts in the hope that introspection would be automatically triggered, followed then by the advice that they should actually set out to complete the task immediately after.

All in all, we aimed for our respondents to produce a written piece in which they should, as Dörnyei (2007:148) puts it, "verbalise their thoughts process immediately after" they have been exposed to the phenomenon investigated.

The task sheet handed out was shaped as follows:

- A short background presentation
- The task *per se*
- Excerpts from the play to be read and analysed (see the Appendix)

4. A Reading of the Readings

Our two readers were Alex, an MA student in Literary Studies, who studied Shakespeare for one semester during his BA English Major Studies and Bianca, a junior student in Modern Languages, who was exposed to literature only adjacently, during general courses of literary theory and literary translation. Their feedback, despite the differences in approach and tone, are strikingly similar. Both respondents consider the Branagh film version better. While Bianca has a sentimental approach, referring to the 1993 *Much Ado* as a film of the year when she was born, Alex has a canonical approach: “it invites more attention to the Shakespearean text” and “it grasps the spirit of Shakespeare’s play”. For Bianca, Whedon’s version is “Surreal, inexplicably modern”, while Alex sees it as a “postmodernized” product, which “sacrifices the social and historical conventions inherent to the setting of the play”.

Secondly, the two students approach the church scene in a similar manner, despite the fact that they start from fundamentally different assumptions. Bianca considers that Claudio’s emotional outburst in Branagh’s film makes more sense, also commenting that Emma Thompson’s Beatrice in the same church scene is more credible, her desire to kill Claudio coming more from grief than from hatred. Alex also observes Claudio’s reaction, which he considers more faithful to Shakespeare’s original intentions. He notices the clever change of order in the lines uttered by the characters at the end of the second church scene (also the end of the play), “boosting emphasis on Hero’s presence”. While Alex appreciates the church scene in Branagh’s film for its accelerated tempo, Bianca thinks it has more “warmth” than Whedon’s garden party approach.

As for the two “tricks”, both readers agree they are the ones to give the two films the quality of dark humour inherent in Shakespeare’s original text. Bianca thinks that Whedon’s Jillian Morgese gives her Hero more substance as a character who is “a person, not only a victim” than Branagh’s Kate Beckinsale, who obscures the original Shakespearean female character. Alex, noticing that Branagh’s Claudio bursts into tears in front of Hero’s tomb, considers him more humane in the 1993 version, his behaviour during the tomb-trick absolving him of some of the guilt resulting from the bed-trick: “One can’t fully blame him for believing Hero has slept with Borachio”. The tricks, given “a strong and heavy tone” in the original play, remain “solemn” in Branagh’s film, for Alex, while Bianca regards

Claudio's repentance as being "severely reduced" in Whedon's farcical version.

In terms of credibility, both agree that Whedon's version works better for the modern audience. Bianca argues that the 2013 *Much Ado* has "a more disturbing aura" in the reconciliation of the Claudio-Hero couple, which, she assumes, is more in accordance with the "dark" or "problem" potential Shakespeare's play must have had for the Elizabethans. In this, the camerawork is more effective in the actual display of the bed-trick, as it is worked out by Whedon, with the shadows of two human figures, at a window, engaged in sexual intercourse, where, in the original Shakespearean text, the scene was only indirectly conveyed, in the narrative versions of several characters. Alex also concludes that the 2013 plotline is made to have more relevance and credibility to a modern audience because of its transportation in the house and gardens of a Los Angeles millionaire, although "more attention is given to entertaining representation than to substance".

5. Findings and Conclusions

The most interesting (and unanticipated) finding of our endeavour is the absence of major differences in the way our two respondents read the texts proposed. They put forth similar reactions, with only minor variations (in tone and language), mostly due to Alex's more mature stance, rather than a more initiated one. These similarities encompass all the aspects that were our main concern: from the general reaction produced by the texts to the tricks and the credibility attached to them. Thus we cannot safely claim that, at least when it comes to the first hypothesis, it has been confirmed. The degree of initiation did not impact the way in which the respondents put forward anything connected to their suspension of disbelief and the connection it has to the conventions of the dramatic text. In other words more advanced literary knowledge and skills do not make, at least in the present case study, for the way in which suspension of disbelief and drama conventions work. As for the second assumption, film adaptations indeed seem to facilitate both the reading and the interpretation of Shakespeare's text in general if not when it comes to the conventions of the dramatic text in particular. It is similarly interesting to note that both respondents consider the most remote in time (1993) version as being the better of the two when it comes to capturing the Shakespearean essence (even though one might expect young audiences to connect better to a film version of their times).

As concerns the instrument used for eliciting our target readers' reactions to the texts proposed for our study, judging the outcome and the role they played in producing the results is fairly complicated. Since it did not elicit data clearly relevant for our hypotheses one might (rightly) argue that they were

inappropriately thought and designed. However, taking this view is, we believe, too extreme and unjust. The instrument did fulfil its purpose in eliciting interesting and useful data, only of a different kind. Consequently, this does seem to show that, when it comes to the study of literary texts, a more open-ended approach might be better suited (as our initial instinct told us), both when it comes to spelling out assumptions (or hypotheses) to the design of the instrument and to the data analysis as such. Under any circumstance further explorations into the nature of the instrument and its impact are still needed.

Reader-orientedness and phenomenology, on the other hand, turned out to be highly appropriate and rewarding. The receiving end of Shakespeare's work in itself is not only an inexhaustible endeavour but one which never ceases to produce surprising and fresh results and, to this end, we can safely argue its importance and relevance.

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Appendix

TASK SHEET

THE BACKGROUND OF THE TWO SCENES TO ANALYZE

Don John frames Hero, by preparing a masquerade in which another woman in Hero's clothes is shown flirting with a stranger, under her fiancé's (Claudio) eyes.

This is how the situation is explained by Don John's henchmen:

BORACHIO

Not so, neither: but know that I have to-night wooed Margaret, the Lady Hero's gentlewoman, by the name of Hero: she leans me out at her mistress' chamber-window, bids me a thousand times good night,--I tell this tale vilely:--I should first tell thee how the prince, Claudio and my master, planted and placed and possessed by my master Don John, saw afar off in the orchard this amiable encounter.

CONRADE

And thought they Margaret was Hero?

BORACHIO

Two of them did, the prince and Claudio; but the devil my master knew she was Margaret; and partly by his oaths, which first possessed them, partly by the dark night, which did deceive them, but chiefly by my villany, which did confirm any slander that Don John had made, away went Claudio enraged; swore he would meet her, as he was appointed, next morning at the temple, and there, before the whole congregation, shame her with what he saw o'er night and send her home again without a husband.

THE TASK

1. Read the two scenes and watch their adaptations in *Much Ado about Nothing* (1993) and *Much Ado about Nothing* (2013).
2. Write a reflective account (2 pages) about your emotional reaction to the text and film adaptations in terms of similarities and differences.
3. Discuss the degree of credibility you attach to the two scenes.
4. What definition would you give to the concepts of "bed-trick" and "tomb-trick", used by critics discussing this play, after reading these scenes? Can you identify the two tricks? Do you think they work, in the context of the play (as an effect on the characters) and in the context of reception (as an effect on you)?

THE TWO SCENES TO BE READ AND DISCUSSED

SCENE III. A church.

Enter DON PEDRO, CLAUDIO, and three or four with tapers

CLAUDIO

Is this the monument of Leonato?

Lord

It is, my lord.

CLAUDIO

[Reading out of a scroll]

Done to death by slanderous tongues

Was the Hero that here lies:

Death, in guerdon of her wrongs,

Gives her fame which never dies.

So the life that died with shame

Lives in death with glorious fame.

Hang thou there upon the tomb,

Praising her when I am dumb.

Now, music, sound, and sing your solemn hymn.

SONG.

Pardon, goddess of the night,

Those that slew thy virgin knight;

For the which, with songs of woe,

Round about her tomb they go.

Midnight, assist our moan;

Help us to sigh and groan,

Heavily, heavily:

Graves, yawn and yield your dead,

Till death be uttered,

Heavily, heavily.

CLAUDIO

Now, unto thy bones good night!

Yearly will I do this rite. [...]

Exeunt

SCENE IV. A room in LEONATO'S house.

Enter LEONATO, ANTONIO, BENEDICK, BEATRICE, MARGARET, URSULA, FRIAR FRANCIS, and HERO

FRIAR FRANCIS

Did I not tell you she was innocent?

LEONATO

So are the prince and Claudio, who accused her
Upon the error that you heard debated:
But Margaret was in some fault for this,
Although against her will, as it appears
In the true course of all the question. [...]

Re-enter ANTONIO, with the Ladies masked

Which is the lady I must seize upon?

ANTONIO

This same is she, and I do give you her.

CLAUDIO

Why, then she's mine. Sweet, let me see your face.

LEONATO

No, that you shall not, till you take her hand
Before this friar and swear to marry her.

CLAUDIO

Give me your hand: before this holy friar,
I am your husband, if you like of me.

HERO

And when I lived, I was your other wife:

Unmasking

And when you loved, you were my other husband.

CLAUDIO

Another Hero!

HERO

Nothing certainer:

One Hero died defiled, but I do live,
And surely as I live, I am a maid.

DON PEDRO

The former Hero! Hero that is dead!

LEONATO

She died, my lord, but whiles her slander lived.

FRIAR FRANCIS

All this amazement can I qualify:
When after that the holy rites are ended,
I'll tell you largely of fair Hero's death:
Meantime let wonder seem familiar,
And to the chapel let us presently.

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