

ENGLISH STUDIES TODAY: PROSPECTS AND PERSPECTIVES

SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE SECOND
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
*ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND ANGLOPHONE LITERATURES
TODAY* (ELALT 2)



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Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu
Odsek za anglistiku
Dr Zorana Đindića 2,
21000 Novi Sad
Tel: +381 21 485 3900
+381 21 485 3852
www.ff.uns.ac.rs

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INTRODUCTION

This publication is a selection of papers presented at the second conference *English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today* (ELALT2), which was held at the University of Novi Sad on 16 March 2013. During this one-day conference, over 70 researchers from ten countries presented their work on various aspects of English linguistics and literature, including two distinguished plenary speakers. Dr Zoltán Kövecses (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest) focused on metaphorical concepts and on the interaction between metaphorical aspects of the conceptual system and contextual factors in “Metaphor use and context”. Regrettably, Dr Darko Suvin (McGill University, Montreal) was unable to attend the conference in person. Nevertheless, his highly inspiring and outspoken keynote lecture about the status and role of English Studies today was presented *in absentia*.

Each of the papers submitted to this volume received two blind reviews and in some cases additional comments from the editors. The papers in the volume are organized into two parts: topics related to English linguistics and various aspects of Anglophone literatures.

Part I, *Topics in English Linguistics*, contains nine papers relating to language studies and six articles that tackle problems pertaining to language teaching methodology. In “Metaphor use and context” Zoltán Kövecses identifies a number of contextual factors, the workings of which suggest that conceptualizers take advantage of the various factors that make up the local and global context in which metaphorical conceptualization takes place. He suggests that this contextual influence on conceptualization can be understood as large-scale priming by context that occurs simultaneously (and competitively) with the influence of entrenched embodiment, as a result of which the abstract concepts in the conceptual system and the system as such are constantly shaped while simultaneously further shaping the way we conceptualize the world. In a similar vein, and under the theoretical wing of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Metonymy Theory, the paper “Metonymy in expressions pertaining to *hand/ruka* in English and Serbian” by Silaški and Radić-Bojanić performs a cross-conceptual, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic analysis in an attempt to capture the similarities and differences between the English and Serbian uses of metonymy as a cognitive process for the formation of various metonymic and metaphoric expressions with these lexemes, and to show how the bodily dimension of meaning is reflected in the *hand/ruka* expressions structured by metonymy in the two languages.

Using a corpus of 157 animal idioms in “Serbian and English animal idioms: a dictionary-based contrastive analysis”, Aleksandar Pejčić aims to establish the extent to which the universal conceptual basis of the two languages is reflected in the choice of animals and the lexical differences that can be found in a sample of idioms containing animal metaphorization. The results of his one-way analysis based on the Cognitive Model reveal that the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS is at the basis of the majority of Serbian and English idiomatic expressions involving animals.

Switching to pragmatics-related topics, Olga Panić-Kavgić in “Agreeing with the interlocutor as an example of dispreferred verbal behaviour in dialogues from selected American and Serbian films” finds that in both languages, dispreferred agreement is a plot-steering device more similar to dispreferred disagreement than to preferred agreement, as it provokes a further self-defensive reaction on the part of the interlocutor whose face has been threatened. The only difference the author establishes between the English and Serbian examples is that violating

the Modesty Maxim occurs slightly more often in Serbian, although no significant differences are found regarding the number and diversity of modes of expressing such responses. Another pragmatic phenomenon is analysed in “Humorous misunderstandings in sitcom discourse” by Olja Jojić, who sets out to discuss a specific subtype of misunderstanding – one which results in unintentional humor, using a corpus of fictional sitcom discourse consisting of 25 transcripts of five different situation comedies. The analysis, performed within the context of recipient design, is aimed at demonstrating the ways the collective sender uses linguistic ambiguity to create misunderstandings at the level of sitcom characters, which the recipients are supposed to resolve on the communicative level in order to be able to enjoy humor. As such, these examples validate the thesis that the viewer is a listener and not an overhearer of film discourse. The next article, “*Man Text Decoder & We Read Hot Girls’ Minds*: Headlines in “male” and “female” online magazines” by Ana Kedveš, explores gender-based linguistic differences on a corpus consisting of headlines from the magazines *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM*, which are analysed both quantitatively (from the perspective of corpus linguistics) and qualitatively on a lexical, semantic and pragmatic level, with further contrast between the two magazines regarding their principal target audience. The findings partially confirm that the media language serves as a mechanism of gender stereotype reproduction. However, the differences revealed do not fully conform to the gender-based stereotypes and therefore call for more extensive research at all levels, as well as for a contrastive analysis to explore cross-cultural tendencies of gendered language in headlines.

By employing quantitative methods of corpus linguistics within the general framework of modern diachronic corpus-assisted discourse studies, in “The survival rate of slang: A diachronic corpus-based frequency analysis of slang in *The Simpsons*” Aleksandar Kavgić studies the changes in the frequency of slang from 1989 to 2012 with the aim of gaining insight into the number of slang lexemes from the last five decades of the 20th century that have survived in modern informal speech and determining the overall currency of slang from different decades as well as the most frequent lexical fields of the surviving slang.

Striving to overcome some of the methodological deficiencies of the approach employed, in the paper entitled “Managerial processes in the constitutions in Serbian and English: A quantitative (critical) analysis” Marko Jančićević provides an exhaustive framework for a quantitative analysis of processes in the highest written laws in Serbian and English in an attempt to account for the representation of the “managerial” subgroup of dispositive processes in this genre. The last paper in the language studies section, “The influence of prefixes on aspect and telicity in English, Romanian and Serbian” represents a synchronic, contrastive analysis of 210 prefixed verbs in contemporary English, Romanian and Serbian. Since prefixation has both lexical and grammatical function, thereby affecting the meaning of verbs as well as verbal aspect, Mihaela Lazović shows that the correlation between lexical meaning (Aktionsart) and grammar (aspect) is often realized via the distinctive feature [goal], i.e. the semantic category named telicity. Hence, the paper offers an analysis of the link between verbal aspect, telicity and prefixation and examines the presence of certain distinctive features with prefixed verbs in order to determine the aspect.

The first of the six language teaching methodology papers, “The relationship between motivation type and English language achievement of Serbian secondary school students” by Anica Radosavljević, presents a study demonstrating that integratively oriented students, who identify with the target people and culture, achieve better results in learning this language, whereas instrumentally oriented students, who learn English in order to achieve specific goals,

have limited success in learning. The study also reveals what motivates the Serbian students who participated in the study and what type of orientation leads to higher achievement in English language learning. The focus of Milevica Bojović's research is foreign language anxiety (FLA) of 60 university students of biotechnology, learning English as a foreign language. In "Foreign language anxiety and classroom oral activities" the author agrees that foreign language classroom anxiety is related to the student's evaluation of classroom oral activities in a foreign language. The overall evaluation of classroom foreign language oral practice activities correlates positively and significantly with foreign language anxiety, communication apprehension, and fear of negative evaluation. However, the research also illustrates that an efficient method of decreasing students' language anxiety is to offer students the opportunity to practice their speaking skills in the classroom and to increase their self-confidence. In the next paper, "Language learning strategies used by children, teenagers and adults", Vesna Pilipović sets out to analyse whether significant differences in the use of language learning strategies can be found between the learners of these three different age groups. The results of the quantitative analysis performed show higher overall strategy use in the group of young learners and common preferences of metacognitive and social strategies regardless of the age. Insufficient use of memory strategies is observed in all three groups as well as a decline in the use of affective strategies, which happens with age. Still in the realm of language learning strategies, Jagoda Topalov explores "The use of ineffective EFL reading strategies among university students" with the aim of identifying individual learner characteristics that might account for the variation in the frequency of strategic use. The response variable in the study is the average score of data gathered by means of the questionnaire, whereas the explanatory variables include gender, the year of study, the self-reported English language proficiency, the self-reported proficiency in reading English academic texts and the amount of exposure to English academic texts. The results indicate that the variables of gender, exposure to English texts and English language proficiency account for the highest percentage of the variance.

Investigating "Levels of awareness concerning the scope and benefits of computer-assisted language learning among English language teachers in Serbia", Jasmina Đorđević shows that even though a large majority of the teachers who took part in the research do use the computer to prepare their teaching material and to communicate with their students via email, many of them are unaware of the benefits offered by Open Source programs, Web 2.0 and Authoring tools or workspaces. For this reason the author suggests that in-depth training should be planned for teachers at all levels and conducted so as to familiarize them with the various possibilities both CALL and ICT provide. Part I closes with Nataša Bikicki's paper "On the need to teach classical mythology to Business English students", aimed at unveiling the business English student's attitude to classical mythology, at examining the student's awareness of the presence of mythological references in business English today, as well as at determining which factors adversely affect the student's motivation for studying myths. The findings of the research clearly point to the need to teach classical mythology to business students and stimulate their interest in the subject since this will help them understand why a particular mythological character or concept was chosen for a particular company or product and relate the mythological character to the company's ideals or product's qualities.

Part II, *Topics in Anglophone Literatures*, comprising ten articles, offers novel insights into various issues related to cultural studies, Anglophone literatures and literary theory today. Focusing on a wide range of literary works, from Shakespeare's plays to D. H. Hwang's *M. Butterfly* and from Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* to Ondaatje's *Coming Through Slaughter*; the

authors investigate a plethora of topics, from Shakespeare's bed-trick to the generic form of Hemingway's *In Our Time* and unreliable narrators in *Heart of Darkness*, *Pale Fire* and *Flaubert's Parrot*. Moreover, the truly Bakhtinian heteroglossia and polyphony of the literary section is reflected in an abundance of conceptual approaches and discourses based on schools of thought and disciplines as diverse as thermodynamics, economics, epistemology, New Historicism, Marxism and feminist aesthetics. Pioneering boldly new critical approaches to complex and challenging cultural and literary phenomena, Part II reaffirms the significance of research in the humanities.

The first article, "A Missing Chapter of *Gulliver's Travels*" by Darko Suvin, a distinguished Utopian and Science Fiction scholar, offers an insightful analysis of the current state of affairs in English Studies. In his sobering political-epistemological approach to cultural studies in general, and English Studies in particular, the author urges that we should disembark from our present day Laputa and ally with Lindalino if we want to protect the already jeopardized independence of our field of study. Consequently, the author puts forward a plea for English Studies as an independent and international academic discipline. Suvin's witty concept of Four Laws of Cognition meant to serve as guidance on how to orient ourselves in Post-Fordism makes his paper a truly Swiftian achievement. This provocative examination of English Studies is followed by an equally provocative scrutiny of American Studies in Stipe Grgas's article "American Studies, Capital and the Gothic", in which the author explores capitalism as the fundamental aspect of the United States. Focusing on Marx's references to the Gothic, the author analyses the ways the Gothic has been employed in various conceptualizations of capital. Additionally, by discussing George Lippard's 1845 novel *The Quaker City: A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery, and Crime*, in which he finds an abundance of literary illustrations for his hypotheses, Grgas draws our attention to this almost forgotten novel.

The next article, "Blurring or Expanding the Boundaries of Genre? The Narrative Centre of Hemingway's *In Our Time*" by Vladislava Gordić Petković, presents the long and puzzling history of critical attempts at defining the genre of Hemingway's series of stories about Nick Adams. Stressing that *In Our Time* can be classified as a literary hybrid between a short story collection and a loosely composed novel, Gordić Petković asserts that the proper approach to a protean narrative like this demands a focus on a narrative centre. Making use of de Lauretis's differentiation between the Oedipal and anti-Oedipal narratives, the author detects the unresolved presence of both models. The difficulties of defining the unreliable narrator are presented in Bojana Aćamović's essay "Unreliable Narration in *Heart of Darkness*, *Pale Fire* and *Flaubert's Parrot*". Seeking to determine criteria for categorizing a character as an unreliable narrator, Aćamović analyses narrative devices in an aptly chosen selection of novels. Concluding that Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite resort to parallel storylines, foreshadowing and irony, the author deduces that what makes them unreliable narrators is the inadequate interpretation of texts/events due to their personal disappointments.

By crossing disciplinary boundaries, the next two essays adopt interdisciplinary approaches in their attempt to shed more light on two literary works. "Playing Loud but Real and Strong: The Tropes of Jazz in Michael Ondaatje's *Coming Through Slaughter*" by Milan Marković and Tijana Parezanović examines the presence of jazz music elements in Ondaatje's first novel. The authors show that both the novel's formal and stylistic levels are influenced by various jazz techniques, such as improvisation, collage and pastiche. Another intriguing interdisciplinary approach – one based on well grounded arguments stemming from physics and thermodynamics – is applied in Sergej Macura's paper "A Wrongly Drawn Map for a Tricky Territory: Failure as

the Logical Outcome of 'Entropy'". Drawing on Karl Popper's dictum about the impossibility of predicting the future of human history, Macura points to some problematic hypotheses in Pynchon's "Entropy", eventually providing a mathematical proof for his reasoning.

The complexity of gender issues is examined in the next group of articles. The paper "Rachel Blau DuPlessis: From a Female Aesthetic to the Ends of Patriarchal Poetry" by Dubravka Đurić presents DuPlessis not only as an experimental poet but as a feminist scholar whose original approach to 20th-century poetry is expounded in her books *The Pink Guitar; Genders, Races, and Religious Cultures in Modern American Poetry, 1908–1934; Blue Studios* and *Purple Passages*. As ours is the time of global proliferation of women's poetry, Đurić concludes that DuPlessis's attempt at defining feminist poetry as one written outside patriarchy is all the more important for our understanding of poetry as a form of a cultural practice. Gender as well as racial and cultural identities are analysed in Tijana Matović's stimulating article "Embracing Stereotypes as a Fictional Escape from Reality: Fluctuating Identities in D. H. Hwang's *M. Butterfly*". Both Judith Butler's performative theory of identity and Edward Said's theory of Orientalism are skillfully applied in an innovative analysis of D. H. Hwang's deconstructivist version of *Madame Butterfly*.

The remaining two essays provide masterful insights into Shakespeare's artistry. "Shakespeare's Bed-Trick: From Dian to Helen in One Easy Step" by Danica Igrutinović demonstrates that the bed-trick is used as more than a cheap plot device in Shakespeare's plays *All's Well That Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure*. Well versed in "Renaissance love theory" and Neoplatonism, Igrutinović interprets the bed-trick as an allegorical representation indicating what happens when the lovers disregard the principles of Neoplatonic love theories. As the author points out, this interpretation may also be applied to other Shakespeare's plays, such as *Romeo and Juliet*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *Othello*. In her paper "Deformity of the Mind in Shakespeare's *Richard III*" Milena Kostić stresses that Richard III's physical deformity reflects his deformity of the mind. More precisely, Kostić interprets the Machiavellian hero's nightmares filled with remorse as revealing the existence of his counter-ego or the Jungian shadow. Contrasting New Historicist and presentist critical approaches to Shakespeare, the author eventually embraces the latter, claiming that *Richard III* is "more revealing about the present moment than many of us [...] are ready to admit".

The organizing of the conference and the publication of this volume would not have been possible without the generous support of the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Philosophy. We are grateful to the many reviewers of this volume for their time and thoughtful comments. We offer our thanks to all those who helped make the Conference the success it was – above all to Professor Vladislava Gordić Petković, head of the English Department, the Editorial Board and the Organizing Committee. Last but not least, we would like to thank all contributors for inspiring progress in the field through their work on a wide range of topics.

The Editors

Novi Sad, March 2014

EXCERPTS FROM REVIEWS OF THE VOLUME

The present collection offers a truly panoramic view of the current state of research in English studies, representing major trends, world-wide and locally. As a balanced collection of insightfully written papers on a number of topical issues, the volume is bound to stimulate further inquiry and research, thus further strengthening the position of the Department of English at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad in the region and Europe-wide.

Prof. dr Mario Brdar
University of Osijek

Kvalitet ovih radova ogleda se i u tome što su napisani izvrsnim akademskom stilom i pokazuju visok stepen originalnosti i savremenosti. Iz tog razloga, toplo preporučujem objavljivanje Zbornika *English Studies Today: Prospects and Perspectives*, uverena da će ova publikacija zauzeti značajno mesto u anglističkoj filologiji ne samo regionalnih, već i širih, međunarodnih okvira.

Prof. dr Savka Blagojević
Univerzitet u Nišu

One should signal the cohesive overall design of the section and the fact that the conference proceedings [...] construct a valuable reference archive illustrated with reliable case studies.

As a whole, the second part of the volume testifies to the fact that Serbian Anglistic studies can, and do, occupy a distinctive place in the cultural studies, literary theory and criticism [...].

Assoc. Prof. Ioana Zirra
University of Bucharest

PART I: TOPICS IN ENGLISH LINGUISTICS

METAPHOR USE AND CONTEXT

Abstract: The issue of context has been, in the main, neglected in cognitive linguistic and much other work on how conceptual systems change and vary. In most recent work on conceptual systems in cognitive linguistics, the issues of embodied cognition and the universal nature of cognitive operations have been emphasized. By contrast, my major goal in this paper is to attempt to characterize some of the contextual factors that are involved in shaping the conceptual system. My focus will be on metaphorical concepts and on the interaction between metaphorical aspects of the conceptual system and contextual factors. I propose that in many cases abstract concepts do not come from pre-stored mappings in the conventional conceptual system (as suggested, e.g., by Lakoff and Johnson, 1999) but result from the priming effect of contextual factors in real situations of discourse.

Keywords: metaphor use, embodiment, local context, global context, conceptual integration, differential experience

1. INTRODUCTION: COGNITIVE OPERATIONS, EMBODIMENT AND CONTEXT

The cognitive operations at our disposal produce a particular conceptual system informed by and based on embodiment. But conceptual systems emerge as a result of contextual factors as well. Both the cognitive operations and the conceptual systems function under the pressure of a vast range of contextual factors. Simply put, the cognitive operations and the resulting conceptual systems function in context. The conceptual system and the context in which it emerges are in continuous interaction. As the conceptual system is influenced by the context, it changes, and as a result of this change, it is this modified conceptual system that is used in the next application of the system.

The cognitive operations we use are universal in the sense that all (normal) human beings are capable of performing them. Much of the embodiment on which conceptual systems are based is universal (but see Casasanto 2009). Despite the universality of the operations and that of embodiment, the conceptual systems vary considerably both cross-culturally and within cultures, with individual variation as a limiting case. This is possible because the contexts are variable and in different contexts people often use differential operations. In addition, the prominence of certain cognitive operations may be greater or smaller across groups of people. The changeability of contexts and that of cognitive operations as affected by differential contexts leads to differential conceptual systems.

While I fully recognize the importance of universal embodiment in our conceptual system and that of the universal availability of cognitive operations, it seems to me that much of the work on (the metaphorical aspects of) conceptual systems does not pay sufficient attention to the role of contextual factors in shaping what we know and how we think about the world.

My major goal in this paper is to attempt to characterize some of the contextual factors that are involved in this process and to show one possible way in which it can happen. My focus will be on metaphorical concepts and on the interaction between metaphorical aspects of the conceptual system and contextual factors.

2. UNIVERSALITY IN HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

Many of our most elementary experiences are universal. Being in a container, walking along a path, resisting some physical force, being in the dark, and so forth, are universal experiences that lead to image schemas of various kinds (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987). The resulting image schemas ('container,' 'source-path-goal', 'force', etc.) provide meaning for much of our experience either directly (for literal concepts) or indirectly (in the form of conceptual metaphors). Conceptual metaphors may also receive their bodily motivation from certain universal correlations in experience, when, for instance, people see a correlation between two events (such as adding to the content of a container and the level of the substance rising), leading to the metaphor *MORE IS UP* (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987). When meaning making is based on such elementary human experiences, the result may be (near-)universal meaning (content)—though under a particular interpretation (construal), that is, conceived of 'in a certain manner,' to use Hoyt Alverson's phrase (Alverson 1991: 97). I assume that universal embodied experiences of this kind constitute a major factor in shaping the conceptual system. This does not mean that all embodied experiences actually shape concepts, but that they can potentially do so. When universal embodied experiences affect the system in some way, they contribute to establishing the universal aspects of the conceptual system.

3. CONTEXT IN HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

In addition to (universal) embodied experience, another major factor in shaping the conceptual system is context. The significance of context in shaping the conceptual system is also noted by Barsalou, who states:

Variable embodiment allows individuals to adapt the perceptual symbols in their conceptual system to specific environments. Imagine that different individuals consume somewhat different varieties of the same plants because they live in different locales. Through perceiving their respective foods, different individuals develop somewhat different perceptual symbols to represent them. As a result, somewhat different conceptual systems develop through the schematic symbol formation process, each tuned optimally to its typical referents (Barsalou 1999: 598).

Here Barsalou talks about "different locales", a kind of context that, following Kövecses (2005, 2010b), I will call the "physical environment." As we will see below, in addition to the physical environment, I recognize the influence of several other contextual factors. I use the term "context" very broadly, to include both the linguistic and the nonlinguistic context.

I propose that both universal embodiment and nonuniversal context affect the way people conceptualize the world in real communicative/discourse situations. I call this influence, following Kövecses (2005), the "pressure of coherence." This is a principle that states, in effect, that conceptualizers are under two kinds of pressure when they conceptualize the world. Conceptualizers try to be coherent both with their bodies (their basic embodied experiences) and their contexts (the various contextual factors), where the body and context function as,

sometimes conflicting, forms of constraint on conceptualization. The outcome of the two pressures depends on which influence, or pressure, turns out to be stronger in particular situations.

With a conventional conceptual system in place and with the help of cognitive operations, we conceptualize aspects of the world. In the course of this conceptualization, the conceptual system is constantly modified and changed. There are two major forces that effect changes in the already existing conceptual system. One is alternative construal, that is, the alternative application of particular cognitive operations (e.g., metaphor vs. metonymy). The other is differential experience (see below), which means that the various contextual factors constantly influence the way we conceptualize the world. Since the contextual factors change all the time, the conceptual system changes with them. Some of the work on non-metaphorical concepts in cognitive linguistics can be interpreted as recognizing the importance of this interplay. Work on the differential salience of conceptual categories along the lines of Rosch (1978) and Lakoff (1987), on culturally significant concepts, such as *HARA* in Japanese (Matsuki 1995) and *QI* in Chinese (Yu 1998), on the differential representation of categories in different contexts (Langacker 1987; Barsalou 1992), and on mental spaces (Fauconnier 1985/1994, 1997) can all be considered as instances of this type of work.

4. THREE ISSUES CONCERNING VARIATION IN METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION

Cognitive linguists have, in general, paid more attention to the role of the body than that of context in the creation of conceptual metaphors, supporting the view of embodied cognition. In my own work, I attempted to redress the balance by focusing on what I take to be the equally important role of the context (Kövecses 2005). In particular, I suggested that there are a number of questions we have to deal with in order arrive at a reasonable theory of metaphor variation. The questions are as follows:

What are the dimensions of metaphor variation?

What are the aspects of conceptual metaphors that are involved in variation?

What are the causes of metaphor variation?

The first question has to do with “where” metaphor variation can be found. My survey of variation in conceptual metaphors indicated that variation is most likely to occur cross-culturally, within-culture, or individually, as well as historically and developmentally. I called these the “dimensions” of metaphor variation. Conceptual metaphors tend to vary along these dimensions.

The second question assumes that conceptual metaphors have a number of different aspects, or components, including the following: source domain, target domain, experiential basis, relationship between the source and target, metaphorical linguistic expressions, mappings, entailments (inferences), nonlinguistic realizations, blends, and cultural models. These either produce metaphor variation (e.g., blends) or are affected by it (e.g., source domain, metaphorical linguistic expressions, entailments).

The third question is the crucial one as regards the role of context in metaphorical conceptualization. It asks what the factors, or “forces,” are that are responsible for variation in conceptual metaphors. I proposed two distinct, though interlocking, groups of factors: differential experience and differential cognitive styles. I found it convenient to distinguish various subcases of differential experience: awareness of context, differential memory, and

differential concerns and interests.

Awareness of context includes awareness of the physical context, social context, cultural context, but also awareness of the immediate communicative situation. Differential memory is the memory of events and objects shared by a community or of a single individual; we can think of it as the history of a group or that of an individual. Differential concerns and interests can also characterize either groups or individuals. It is the general attitude with which groups or individuals act or are predisposed to act in the world. Differential experience, thus, characterizes both groups and individuals, and, as context, it ranges from global to local. The global context is the general knowledge that the whole group shares and that, as a result, affects all group members in using metaphors. The local context is the specific knowledge that pertains to a specific situation involving particular individuals. More generally, it can be suggested that the global context is essentially a shared system of concepts in long-term memory (reflected in conventional linguistic usage), whereas the local context is the situation in which particular individuals conceptualize a specific situation making use of working memory.

By contrast, differential cognitive styles can be defined as the characteristic ways in which members of a group employ the cognitive processes available to them. Such cognitive processes as elaboration, specificity, conventionalization, transparency, (experiential) focus, viewpoint preference, prototype categorization, framing, metaphor vs. metonymy preference, and others, though universally available to all humans, are not employed in the same way by groups or individuals. Since the cognitive processes used can vary, there can be variation in the use of metaphors as well.

In sum, the two large groups of causes, differential experience and differential cognitive styles, account for much of the variation we find in the use of conceptual metaphors. In this paper, I only deal with differential experience. (On differential cognitive styles, see Kövecses 2005.)

5. A SURVEY OF CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AFFECTING METAPHOR USE

Let us now review some of these causes as contextual factors that influence the creation of metaphors in particular communicative contexts.

5.1. Knowledge about the main elements of the discourse

The main elements of discourse include the speaker/conceptualizer¹, topic/theme of discourse, and hearer/addressee/conceptualizer². Knowledge about any one of these may lead to the use of metaphors that are specific to a particular discourse situation.

Consider the following example that involves the topic of the discourse. In a long article about cyclist Lance Armstrong in the January 25-27 issue of the American newspaper USA TODAY. The article is about Armstrong's confessions concerning his doping and that his confessions up to that point had not been sufficient to redeem himself and clean up the sport of cycling. Several experts who were interviewed thought that additional steps must be taken by Armstrong to achieve this. One specialist in crisis management said this in an interview: "To use an analogy from the Tour de France, he's still in the mountain stage, and will be for some time" (2013, USA TODAY, 6W Sports, Weekly International Edition). What we have here is that the specialist has extensive knowledge about the topic of the discourse, which is Armstrong's doping scandal. That knowledge includes that as a cyclist Armstrong participated in several Tour de France events and that this race has several "mountain stages." In other words, the topic

of the discourse primed the speaker to choose a metaphor to express a particular idea; namely, that, in order to come completely clean, Armstrong has a long and difficult way to go. This idea was expressed by the *mountain stage* metaphor, which is based on the mapping “impediment to motion → difficulty of action (making full confession and being forgiven)” in the ACTION IS MOTION conceptual metaphor.

5.2. Surrounding discourse

Sometimes it is the surrounding linguistic context (i.e., what comes before and after a particular unit of discourse) that influences the choice of metaphors, as in the sentence “The Americanization of Japanese car industry *shifts into higher gear*,” analyzed by Kövecses (2005). The expression *shift into higher gear* is used because the immediate linguistic context involves the “car industry.”

5.3. Previous discourses on the same topic

Given a particular topic, a range of conceptual metaphors can be set up. Such metaphors, that is, metaphorical source domains, often lead to new or modified source domains in the continuation of the debate involving the topic by, for example, offering a new or modified source domain relative to one of the former ones. This commonly occurs in scientific discussion (for examples, see Nerlich 2007) and can lead to the establishment of a chain of related metaphorical source domains for a target.

However, often, we are not aware of potential further “usurpations” of the metaphor against our original intentions. This situation has its dangers and can be the source of other people turning a metaphor against us in a debate over contentious issues. A particularly apt illustration of this happening is provided by Elena Semino (2008). Tony Blair used the following metaphor in one of his speeches:

Get rid of the false choice: principles or no principles. Replace it with the true choice. Forward or back. I can only go one way. I’ve not got a reverse gear. The time to trust a politician most is not when they’re taking the easy option. Any politician can do the popular things. I know, I used to do a few of them.

Obviously, Blair tries to present himself here as forward-looking politician who has clear and, what he takes to be, progressive goals and wants to reach those goals. In setting up this image, he uses the conventional conceptual metaphors PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD and PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS, but he also employs a little trick to achieve this: he portrays himself as a car without a reverse gear. In the same way as a car without a reverse gear cannot move backward, only forward, he, the politician, can only move forward, that is, can only do things in the name of progress. That is, he uses knowledge about the target domains to effect changes in the source domain that he employs to achieve his rhetorical purpose in the situation. (This example could also be analyzed as a case of conceptual integration, *a la* Fauconnier and Turner 2002.)

As a result, we have in the source domain a car without a reverse gear that cannot move backward, only forward, and we have in the target a politician who can and wants to achieve progressive goals alone. However, the source image can be modified somewhat. Let us suppose that the car gets to the edge of a cliff. Wouldn’t it be good to have a reverse gear then? Semino (2008) found an example where this is precisely what happens. Following the speech in which Blair used the “car without reverse gear” image, an anchorman on BBC evening news remarked: “but when you’re on the edge of a cliff it is good to have a reverse gear”. The “edge of a cliff”

in the source symbolizes an especially difficult and dangerous situation, where it is a good thing to have a car with a reverse gear. In the target, the dangerous situation corresponds to the Iraqi war, where, in the view of the journalist and others, it would have been good for Blair to change his views and withdraw from the war, instead of “plunging” the country into it.

In other words, as Semino points out, a metaphor that a speaker introduces and that can initially be seen as serving the speaker’s interests in persuading others can be slightly but significantly changed. With the change, the metaphor can be turned against the original user. This often happens in political debates.

5.4. Dominant forms of discourse and intertextuality

It is common practice that a particular metaphor in one dominant form of discourse is recycled in other discourses. One example is Biblical discourse. Biblical metaphors are often recycled in later discourses assigning new values to the later versions.

In some cases of intertextuality, intertextual coherence is achieved through inheriting and using a particular conceptual metaphor at different historical periods. One of the best examples of this is how several biblical metaphors have been recycled over the ages. As an example, let us take a bookmark I was given in Durham cathedral a few years ago with the following text on it (the example is first discussed in Kövecses 2010a):

Almighty God
Who called your servant Cuthbert
from keeping sheep to follow your son
and to be shepherd of your people.
Mercifully grant that we, following his
example and caring for those who are lost,
may bring them home to your fold.
Through your son.
Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

In the prayer, the basic conceptual metaphor is the one in which the shepherd is Jesus, the lost sheep are the people who no longer follow God’s teachings, the fold of the sheep is people’s home with God, and for the shepherd to bring the sheep back to the fold is for Jesus to save the people. We can lay out these correspondences, or mappings, more explicitly as follows:

Source:		Target:
the shepherd	→	Jesus
the lost sheep	→	the people who do not follow God
the fold of the sheep	→	the state of people following God
the shepherd bringing back the sheep	→	Jesus saving the people

This metaphor was reused later on when God called a simple man, called Cuthbert, to give up his job (which, significantly, was being a shepherd) and become a “shepherd of people.” Here it is Cuthbert (not Jesus) who saves the lost people (a set of people different from the ones in Jesus’ times). Finally, in the most recent recycling of the metaphor in the prayer said on St. Cuthbert’s day, 20th March, 2007, the particular values of the metaphor change again. It is the priests who live today who try to bring people back to the fold – again, a set of people different from either those who lived in Jesus’ or Cuthbert’s times.

This type of intertextuality characterizes not only Christianity (and other religions) through time but many other domains within the same historical period. Thus a metaphor can provide

coherence across a variety of discourses both historically and simultaneously.

5.5. Ideology underlying discourse

Ideology underlying a piece of discourse can determine the metaphors that are used. Goatly's work (see especially 2008) shows that different ideologies can lead to the use of different metaphors relating to the same subject matter.

5.6. Physical environment

This is the physical environment, or setting, in which a communicative exchange takes place. The physical setting includes the physical circumstances, viewing arrangement, salient properties of the environment, and so on. These aspects of the physical environment can influence the choice of metaphors.

As an illustration, let us see how the *perceptual qualities* characteristic of a physical setting can have an effect on the creation and use of unconventional metaphorical expressions. In her 2008 book, Semino has an interesting example that bears on this issue. Semino analyzes the metaphors used by various participants at the 2005 G8 summit meeting in Scotland on the basis of an article about the summit. In conjunction with the summit a major rock concert called Live 8 was also held. Some participants assessed what the G8 summit had achieved positively, while some had doubts concerning its results. Semino has this to say about one such negative assessment she found in the article reporting on the summit:

In contrast, a representative of an anti-poverty group is quoted as negatively assessing the G8 summit in comparison with the Live 8 concert via a metaphor to do with sound:

1.1 Dr Kumi Naidoo, from the anti-poverty lobby group G-Cap, said after "the roar" produced by Live 8, the G8 had uttered "a whisper".

The reference to 'roar' could be a nonmetaphorical description of the sound made by the crowd at the concert. However, the use of 'whisper' in relation to the summit is clearly a (negative) metaphorical description of the outcome of the discussions in terms of a sound characterized by lack of loudness. Hence, the contrast in loudness between the sounds indicated by 'roar' and 'whisper' is used metaphorically to establish a contrast between the strength of feeling and commitment expressed by the concert audiences and the lack of resolve and effectiveness shown by the G8 leaders.

While in general I agree with this account of the metaphor used, I would also add that the metaphor arises from the physical(-social) context in which it is produced. Dr. Kumi Naidoo creates the metaphor *whisper* against a background in which there is a very loud concert and a comparatively quiet summit meeting. We can think of the loudness and the relative quiet of the occasion as perceptual features of the two events. In other words, I would suggest that the particular metaphor derives from some of the perceptual features that characterize the physical(-social) setting, or environment.

Given this example, it appears that features of the physical setting can trigger the use of certain metaphoric and metonymic expressions. No matter how distant the literal and the figurative meanings are from one another, we can construct and reconstruct the appropriate conceptual pathways that provide a sensible link between the two. In the present example, the original conceptualizer, then the journalist who reported on the event, and finally the analysts of the discourse produced by the previous two can all figure out what the intended meanings of the words *whisper* and *roar* probably are or can be, given our shared conceptualization of (some of the perceptual qualities of) the physical context.

5.7. Social situation

Social aspects of the setting can involve such distinctions as man vs. woman, power relations in society, conceptions of work, and many others. They can all play a role in which metaphors are used in the course of metaphorical conceptualization.

5.8. Cultural situation

The cultural factors that affect metaphorical conceptualization include the dominant values and characteristics of members of a group, the key ideas or concepts that govern their lives, the various subgroups that make up the group, the various products of culture, and a large number of other things. All of these cultural aspects of the setting can supply members of the group with a variety of metaphorical source domains.

5.9. History

By history I mean the memory of events and objects in members of a group. Such memories can be used to create highly conventional metaphors (e.g., in the metaphorical idiom *carry coal to Newcastle*) or they can be used to understand situations in novel ways (see e.g., Kövecses 2005).

5.10. Interests and concerns

These are the major interests and concerns of the group or person participating in the discourse. Both groups and individuals may be dedicated to particular activities, rather than others. The commonly and habitually pursued activities become metaphorical source domains more readily than those that are marginal.

6. CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION THEORY AND CONTEXT

Conceptual integration is claimed to be a more elaborate and deeper cognitive operation than conceptual metaphor (see Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 2008). Conceptual integration makes use of four domains or mental spaces allowing for mappings not just from the source domain to the target but also mappings from both (or more) of the input spaces into the blended space and even from the blend into the input spaces. Indeed, proponents of conceptual integration theory (CIT) think of metaphor as a relatively superficial cognitive phenomenon in comparison to blending. What interests me in this connection is the following question: Does the assumed higher degree of cognitive elaborateness and depth of conceptual integration make it immune to the “surface” effects of contextual factors that appear to characterize metaphor, as shown above in this paper?

In this section, I will go over some examples of conceptual blends and ask if context plays any role in how they work. More specifically, one issue that can be raised in connection with conceptual integration is why particular networks (made up of a generic space, several input spaces, and a blended space) are formed and expressed the way they are; in particular, why do they have the input spaces and the particular figurative linguistic expressions they do? I think part of the answer lies in the role of contextual factors I discussed above in connection with metaphor.

Let us begin with an example of blending studied by Coulson and Oakley (2000). Coulson and Oakley take the newspaper headline “Tennessee Tramples Kentucky” and analyze it as

follows:

Processes of representational contracting and stretching are what Fauconnier and Turner (2000) refer to as compression and decompression, phenomena which they see as central to blending theory. One place where compression is quite frequent is in news headlines, such as Tennessee Tramples Kentucky, or Overseas Absentee Ballots Boost Bush. In each case, the representation in the blended space is interpretable because of metonymic relationships between elements in the blended space and elements in the inputs. For example, the blended space in the network for

Tennessee Tramples Kentucky is interpretable because of conventional metonymic mappings between states, their universities, and their universities' football teams, as well as conventional metaphoric mappings between combat and sports.

What seems to be missing from this analysis is why we have the particular metaphorical expression *trample* in the example. It is not sufficient to say that it is because of the SPORT IS WAR/ FIGHT/ COMBAT conceptual metaphor. There are many expressions that could be used based on this metaphor (such as *defeat*, *beat*, *overpower*), but of all the possibilities *trample* is used. I suggest the reason is that the phonological shape of the linguistic context triggers the choice of *trample* over the other potential alternatives. (On the role of phonological shape in the motivation of metaphorical expressions, see Benczes 2013.) *Trample* alliterates with *Tennessee*. This is admittedly a very simple, almost trivial, effect of the linguistic context on the choice of a particular metaphorical expression, but it accounts, at least in part, for why an expression is chosen, given the alternatives.

As a somewhat more complex example, consider a case that could be analyzed along similar lines. Another headline from the sports pages, taken from Aitchison (1987), is "Cowboys corral Buffalos." (Actually, Aitchison mentions a number of similar headlines, such as "Clemson cooks Rice," "Air Force torpedoes the Navy," "Cougars drown Beavers".) The "Cowboys corral Buffalos" example could be analyzed as follows: Given the three input spaces (universities with their football teams, the competition between them, and a space for the American West with cowboys and buffalos), we can set up a blended space in which we have the cowboys blended with one university's football team and one of the opponents in the competition frame, the buffaloes with the other university's football team and the other opponent in the competition frame, and finally the action of corralling with defeating, as represented in the diagram below:

The issue here is why in one case the verb used for defeat is *trample*, in another it is *corral*, in a third it is *cook*, in a fourth it is *drown*, and so forth. My claim would be that, in many cases, the verbs vary because the linguistic context in which the idea to be conveyed, say, that of defeat, varies. In this case, unlike the previous one, it is the content, or meaning, of the immediate linguistic context (and not its phonological shape) that facilitates the choice of a metaphorical expression. As I pointed out above, this effect is due to the metaphorical coherence of discourse – the pressure of what I termed linguistic context above. Since the notion of the metaphorical coherence of discourse and its effect on creating metaphors in discourse is not part of the conceptual tools of CIT, it cannot account for this kind of variation in the use of metaphorical expressions. At the same time, however, I do not wish to imply that the linguistic context always produces this effect.

Coulson and Oakley (2003) examine another example that is very similar to the *corral*, *cook*, *drown*, and so on, examples. It is a headline again: "Coke Flows Past Forecasts: Soft drink company posts gains" from *USA Today*. They describe the example as follows:

In (3) [the example in question] ... “flows past forecasts” is an appropriate *metaphoric predication* for the Coca Cola corporation’s profit, and an appropriate *literal predication* for the Coca Cola corporation’s best known product. So, while the “Coke” in (3) is mainly construed as a corporation, it would appear to have some of the properties of the soft drink that corporation produces.

While I agree with much of this analysis, I would add that the metaphorical verb *flows* is used here, as opposed to several other alternatives, such as *goes*, *exceeds*, *surpasses*, because both the immediate linguistic context and the more general topic influences the choice of the verb. Since coke is a liquid, it can flow, which is a semantic feature of the word. Thus, the word coke provides the immediate linguistic context that may motivate the selection of a verb from among the alternatives in the discourse. In addition to the immediate linguistic context, the general topic, the subject matter of the discourse may also play a role. Since the topic is how the corporation makes profit with its best-known product, Coca Cola, which is a liquid, this may trigger or prime the use of the verb *flow* as well. In other words, in this case the linguistic context and the topic of the discourse may jointly lead to the selection of a metaphorically used word.

As a final illustration of a contextual effect, let us take one of the most celebrated examples of CIT: “If Clinton were the Titanic, the iceberg would sink.” The input spaces have the Titanic and Clinton, respectively. The Titanic corresponds to Clinton and the iceberg that hits the Titanic corresponds to the scandal that hurt Clinton’s presidency. In addition, there is a conventional metaphor at work here. As Turner and Fauconnier (2000) note in connection with the example: “It is uncontroversial that cases like the Clinton-Titanic example involve the basic metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELING ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION – the traveler projects to the agent, reaching the destination projects to achieving the goal, and so on,” But, of course, the sentence conveys more than the metaphors can account for; namely, that Clinton is so strong that he survives the crisis that the scandal involved him in. This reading does not come from the Titanic input space, where the Titanic sinks as a result of its collision with the iceberg. It comes from the blended space that uses the Titanic scenario with Clinton as the Titanic, plus causal structure that is projected to the blend from the Clinton input space (i.e., where Clinton survived the scandal). Thus, in the blend, we have the Clinton/Titanic sinking the scandal/iceberg, rather than the scandal/iceberg causing the Clinton/Titanic’s ruin.

The example shows very clearly a major advantage of CIT; namely, that meaning does not always arise from simple correspondences between source and target. What this type of analysis does not show, though, is why we have the particular input spaces that we do in the network of spaces. In other words, we can ask: Why is it that in order to talk about the Clinton scandal, the speaker of the sentence uses the Titanic scenario, and not some other potentially available scenario? It is not clear at all what motivates the presence of Titanic input space in the network.

I believe that the model of metaphor creation in context can provide an account for many such cases, though maybe not for all. In the present example, the Clinton-Titanic blend came about because the Titanic movie was very much in public awareness at the time the blend was created. Thus, in our terms, it can be suggested that many of the metaphorical blends are invented as a result of the influence of what I call the immediate cultural context (see Kövecses 2010b). As a matter of fact, Turner and Fauconnier themselves also draw our attention to the fact that the blend could not have come about in 1992 without the Titanic catastrophe to begin with and without the wide popularity of the movie inside the Washington Beltway during the

Clinton presidency. Thus Turner and Fauconnier provide the justification and motivation for the emergence of the blend in this particular case, but I would like to see this as falling out systematically from the framework that has been offered in this paper.

The four cases of blending that have been considered in the section seem to partially result from the effect of context on the use of metaphors and blends: the first from the influence of the phonological shape of the immediate linguistic context, the second from the (semantic) effect of the immediate linguistic context, the third from the combined effect of the linguistic context and the general topic, and the fourth from the immediate cultural context. I suspect that in many other cases of blending the other factors discussed in the paper can play a similar role.

7. CONCLUSIONS

A number of contextual factors have been identified in this paper, but possibly there are more. The workings of these factors suggest that conceptualizers take advantage of the various factors that make up the immediate (local) and nonimmediate (global) context in which metaphorical conceptualization takes place. We can think of this contextual influence on conceptualization as large-scale priming by context that is occurring simultaneously (and competitively) with the influence of entrenched embodiment. As a result of this interaction (this “in vivo” priming), the abstract concepts in the conceptual system and the system as such are constantly shaped and at the same time they shape the way we conceptualize the world.

I also looked at the potential effect of the same contextual factors on conceptual integration. One issue that is not addressed in the depth it merits by researchers in conceptual integration theory is why the networks they typically deal with are composed of the particular input spaces and the particular metaphorical linguistic expressions the networks include. My suggestion is that all the contextual factors that can play a role in metaphorical conceptualization can also affect conceptual integration networks. In the paper, we have seen a variety of different examples for how this happens.

Zoltán Kövecses
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Heidelberg University
kovecses.zoltan@btk.elte.hu

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METONYMY IN EXPRESSIONS PERTAINING TO *HAND/RUKA* IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN¹

Under the theoretical wing of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Metonymy Theory the paper aims at establishing the similarities and differences between the ways English and Serbian use metonymy as a cognitive process for the formation of various metonymic and metaphoric expressions pertaining to *hand/ruka*. By performing a cross-conceptual, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic analysis of the expressions taken from several English and Serbian monolingual dictionaries the paper will analyse the following three metonymies which result in metaphorical expressions (metaphors from metonymy): THE HAND STANDS FOR HELP; THE HAND STANDS FOR A CHARACTER TRAIT; and THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL. Our main aim is to show how the bodily dimension of meaning is reflected in the *hand/ruka* expressions structured by metonymy in English and Serbian, as well as to explore whether metonymy works in the same way both in English and Serbian expressions pertaining to *hand/ruka*. Since the mind is embodied, we hypothesise that little difference will be found between English and Serbian in the ways *hand/ruka* is used in metonymic expressions. However, since the body is also a culturally dependent concept whose understanding is crucially coloured by the prevailing cultural models and traditions, potential differences between the metonymic *hand/ruka* expressions in English and Serbian will mainly manifest not at the conceptual level, but in the linguistic instantiations in the two languages.

Key words: metonymy, metaphor, *hand/ruka*, English, Serbian.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cognitive Linguistics strongly emphasises the notion of embodiment i.e. the role of bodily experiences in conceptualisation. It understands metaphor and metonymy as two related but essentially different cognitive processes, which are important factors in meaning extension. Under the theoretical wing of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Barcelona 2000a) and Conceptual Metonymy Theory (Radden and Kövecses 1999; Radden 2000; Barcelona 2000a) the paper aims at establishing the similarities and differences between the ways English and Serbian use metonymy as a cognitive process for the formation of various metonymic and metaphoric expressions pertaining to *hand/ruka*. By performing a cross-conceptual, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic analysis of expressions taken from several English and Serbian monolingual dictionaries the paper will analyse the following three metonymies which result in metaphorical expressions ("metaphors from metonymy" [Goossens 1990]): THE HAND STANDS FOR HELP (e.g. *give a hand, helping hand, be somebody's right-hand man, all hands on deck* // *biti nečija desna ruka, biti pri ruci*), where the hand plays an important role in the popular understanding of physical, manual work; THE HAND STANDS FOR A CHARACTER TRAIT (e.g. *have clean hands, dirty one's hands, firm hand, give a glad hand* // *biti lake ruke, imati zlatne ruke, imati prljave ruke, biti tvrde ruke, imati nežnu ruku, biti široke*

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ruke), which is based on the PART FOR WHOLE relationship since the hand is taken to stand for the whole body as well as the person to whom that body belongs); and THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL (e.g. *in somebody's hands, have the upper hand, have one's hands tied, get a free hand* // *držati konce u svojim rukama, imati nekoga/nešto u rukama, izmaći se iz ruku, uzeti u svoje ruke, imati odrešene/vezane ruke*), which produces, among other metaphors, the CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND and POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND metaphors.

Our main aim is to show how the bodily dimension of meaning (Yu 2009) is reflected in the *hand/ruka* expressions structured by metonymy in English and Serbian, as well as to explore whether metonymy works in the same way both in English and Serbian expressions pertaining to *hand/ruka*. Our starting hypothesis is the following: since the mind is embodied and human concepts are crucially shaped by our bodies and brains, we expect to find little difference between English and Serbian in the ways *hand/ruka* is used in metonymically-based expressions. However, we also hypothesise that, since the body is also a culturally dependent concept whose understanding is crucially coloured by the prevailing cultural models and traditions, potential differences between the metonymically-based *hand/ruka* expressions in English and Serbian will be mainly manifest not at the conceptual level, but in specific linguistic instantiations in the two languages.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In Conceptual Metaphor Theory (as propounded by Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner 1989, etc.) and Conceptual Metonymy Theory (Radden and Kövecses 1999; Radden 2000; Barcelona 2000a, etc.) metaphor and metonymy are not regarded only as a textual decoration which contributes to the expressiveness of the text. They are the most important cognitive tools in which language, seen from a cognitive perspective, is treated merely as their superficial, linguistic realisation. As “metaphor and metonymy often ‘meet’ at conceptual and linguistic crossroads” (Barcelona 2000b: 1), a strict difference between them cannot be drawn easily. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define *metaphor* as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another or as a partial mapping or set of correspondences between two conceptual domains, which they term the *source* and *target* domains. Metaphor as a cognitive model has so far attracted much more scholarly attention than metonymy, “although [metonymy] is probably even more basic to language and cognition” (Barcelona 2000b: 4). The last two decades, however, have witnessed several important contributions to Conceptual Metonymy Theory, as originally proposed by Radden and Kövecses (1999) (see e.g. Radden 2000; Barcelona 2000a; Panther and Thornburg 2003; Benczes, Barcelona and Ruiz de Mendoza 2011; etc.). *Metonymy* is understood as a conceptual projection whereby one domain is partially understood in terms of another domain included in the same experiential domain (Barcelona 2000a). Many authors claim that all metaphors are essentially metonymically-based (e.g. Barcelona 2000b; Radden and Kövecses 1999; etc.). Unlike metaphor, which involves conceptual mappings across two domains, where the target domain is understood in terms of the source domain, meaning that the process of metaphorisation includes two different domains, metonymy involves mappings across different subdomains within the same, superordinate, domain, so that the source domain mentally activates the target domain (Radden and Kövecses 1999). In other words, “[m]etonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain,

or idealized cognitive model (ICM)” (Kövecses 2002: 145).² This means that the process of metonymisation, unlike the process of metaphorisation, involves intra-domain mappings.

However, despite the above mentioned, seemingly clear-cut, difference between metaphor and metonymy, the two cognitive mechanisms are, in effect, “different mental strategies of conceptualisation”, as Dirven (2003) calls them, but they are often subtly intertwined. Metaphors are based on experience and the connection between two domains of experience which make up a metaphorical mapping “is often encapsulated by means of metonymic abstraction” (Barcelona 2000c: 52). Since our contrastive analysis of the *HAND* and *RUKA* expressions has shown that they are, in a vast majority of cases, metonymy-based, we shall use the notion of metonymy-based metaphors throughout the text that follows.³

By conducting a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural analysis of *HAND* expressions in English and Serbian, an attempt will be made to check the validity of the idea that the human mind is embodied and that the folk model of *hand* serves the purpose of conceptualizing various human actions, feelings and activities, as well as to show how metaphor and metonymy have a decisive role in understanding the meaning of expressions which contain the lexemes *hand/ruka* in them.

3. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

The data set used for our analysis has been compiled from several monolingual English and Serbian dictionaries as well as dictionaries of idioms and idiomatic expressions in both languages.⁴ This forms a solid basis for a comparative and cross-linguistic exploration of the two cultures defined by their respective languages, English and Serbian. In our opinion, conventionalized, lexicalised, or “dead”, metaphors,⁵ often metonymically based, being “*automatic, unconscious mappings, pervasive in everyday language*” (Barcelona 2000b: 5), provide ample evidence to support or refute our starting hypothesis.

In our analysis we follow the methodological principles for the identification and description of conceptual metaphors in expressions which contain the lexemes *hand/ruka* proposed by Barcelona (2001). We make a clear distinction here between conceptual metaphor, on the one hand, and metaphorical expression on the other, where “the linguistic expressions (i.e. ways of talking) make explicit, or are manifestations of, the conceptual metaphors (i.e. ways of thinking)” (Kövecses 2002: 6). In other words, “it is the metaphorical linguistic expressions that reveal the existence of the conceptual metaphors” (Kövecses 2002: 6), which means that we started from linguistic instantiations in English and Serbian in order to arrive at a conclusion concerning the existence or non-existence of the same conceptual metaphors and

2 Barcelona (2003: 246) uses the terms *source* and *target*, defining metonymy as the “mapping of a conceptual domain, the source, onto another domain, the target. The source and target are in the same functional domain and are linked by a pragmatic function, so that the target is mentally activated.”

3 The expression *metaphonymy* was first used by Goossens in 1990 in his article dealing with the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, where he claims that these two, albeit different cognitive processes, are not mutually exclusive (Goossens 1990). He identified several ways in which metaphor and metonymy may interact, but attests only two: metaphor from metonymy and metonymy from metaphor. A number of authors claim that metaphors are metonymically based (see, e.g. Barcelona 2000a, Radden 2000, Niemeier 2000, etc.). See, Taylor (1995), though, for a different view on this.

4 Our analysis excludes unconventional, novel *HAND/RUKA* metaphors and metonymies, those “which can be understood only with reference to context” (Deignan 2005: 74).

5 In this paper, no distinction will be made between lexicalized metaphors and idioms, although a clear one is frequently made in cognitive linguistic literature because many have argued that metaphors motivate idioms (Gibbs 1994, 2006).

metonymies in the two languages which play an important role in these linguistic instantiations. Linguistic instantiations of the same conceptual metaphor or metonymy may not be the same in the two languages, but the conceptual metaphor or metonymy will nevertheless be regarded as the same “even though the elaborations, the specifications and corresponding linguistic expressions of the metaphor are not exactly the same, or equally conventionalized, in both of them” (Barcelona 2001: 137).

4. *HAND/RUKA* IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

Hands are one of the most prominent and important human body parts. There is an infinite number of gestures and movements we can do with our hands, which is what distinguishes us, as human beings, from animals. We use this multi-fingered extremity for our motor skills, we eat with our hands, we play and do manual work with them, we type our research papers with them, to name only a few human activities where hands present an irreplaceable part of the human body. For this reason, “[o]ur everyday bodily experiences with hands establish the cognitive schemas upon which we build more abstract and more complex concepts” (Yu 2009: 112).

In the sections that follow we deal with three selected metaphoric and metonymic conceptualizations of *HAND* in English and Serbian and their corresponding metaphorical expressions.⁶

4.1. THE HAND STANDS FOR HELP

Díez Velasco (2001/2002: 57) claims that “the hand plays a very relevant role in the folk model understanding of physical work” which is always done by hands (hence the expression *manual* work, from Latin *manus* [f.], meaning *hand*). For this reason the concepts of hand and help are interrelated as they are both concerned with the folk understanding of work.⁷ Logically, the metonymy *HAND STANDS FOR HELP* covers not only the cases when someone helps someone else do physical work (e.g. , *Let me give you a hand with those bags!*), but also any kind of assistance (e.g. *Do you need a hand with those invoices?*, i.e. help which does not involve any physical work). In other words, the notion of aiding someone with physical work has been broadened to helping someone in general, this in itself being a metonymic process.

In English, this understanding of physical work and the assistance offered in the process is linguistically realized through the expressions *give a hand* or *give a helping hand*, which refer to “the activity of contributing to the fulfillment of a need or furtherance of an effort or purpose”. In Serbian, this type of metonymy is not linguistically realised in the same manner, although a possible corresponding Serbian expression may be *pružiti nekome ruku*, which may be used in the sense of offering friendship to someone by giving them support or even help with physical work or any kind of task in general, or even a slightly different expression *premetnuti preko ruku*, which is also related to getting the job done. Furthermore, if something is *at hand* or *on hand* (in English), i.e. *pri ruci* (in Serbian), it means that it is easily accessible, within reach, available and ready to be used as a kind of help.

The ground for the further building of this metonymy is the basic metonymy whereby

⁶ As this is a dictionary-based analysis, we focus on the expressions which specifically contain the words *hand/ruka* in them, at the same time fully aware of the fact that *hand* and *arm* (in English) as well as *ruka* and *šaka* (in Serbian) are related metaphorically and metonymically. However, here we confine ourselves only to the *ruka/hand* expressions, ignoring the difference in the meaning of the two words.

⁷ See Díez Velasco (2001/2002) for a detailed account of the metonymy *HAND FOR HELP* in Spanish and English.

the *HAND STANDS FOR A PERSON*, in which a part of the human body (the hand), considered to be indispensable to the normal functioning of a human being, stands for the person owning it (grounded in the *PART FOR WHOLE* metonymy, also called *synecdoche*). Thus, the expression *biti nečija desna ruka* in Serbian and the corresponding English expression *be somebody's right-hand man/woman*, clearly show that the hand stands for someone who helps you with your work and who you depend upon. As the analysis has shown, this metonymy is highly productive in English, generating a plethora of metonymic expressions such as *give a helping hand*, *need a hand*, *lend a hand*, as well as *farmhand*, *hired hand* and *deckhand*. On the other hand, Serbian does not seem to treat this metonymy as linguistically productive, which is essentially the first cross-linguistic difference we have encountered in our data set. In Hilpert's (2010) terms, expressions with *hand/ruka* pertaining to help in English may be considered as examples of "chained metonymies" (see also Reddy, 1979; Nerlich and Clarke, 2001 on the serial nature of metonymy), where the two metonymies, namely *HAND FOR ACTIVITY* and *ACTIVITY FOR HELP* are chained, so that in the expression *give someone a hand* we first observe the *HAND FOR ACTIVITY* metonymy (give NP a hand) (in Hilpert's terms the E-metonymy), which is then followed by the *ACTIVITY FOR HELP* metonymy (help NP) (in Hilpert's terms the C-metonymy). This chaining of metonymies, although present in some other metonymic expressions with *ruka* in Serbian, does not seem to have a role in the linguistic construction of the *HAND FOR HELP* metonymy.

4.2. THE HAND STANDS FOR A CHARACTER TRAIT

The metonymy *THE HAND STANDS FOR A CHARACTER TRAIT*, which is also based on the *PART FOR WHOLE* relationship (since the hand is taken to stand for the whole body as well as the person to whom that body belongs), is richly manifested at the linguistic level in both languages. As Yu (2009: 114) points out, this metonymy focuses "on the ability, competence, expertise, experience of a person in general or in a particular trade, profession or skill." Hence, a person who is described as *a firm hand* is strict and has a high degree of discipline, whereas someone with *a heavy hand* is too strict or controlling, i.e. deals with people or problems in a severe and harsh way. Similarly, the Serbian expression *biti lake ruke* (*be light-handed*) implies a light or delicate touch, while *biti široke ruke* ('be of wide hands') denotes a generous person. This highly productive metonymy has generated a large number of metonymic expressions in both English and Serbian (e.g. *have clean hands*, *dirty one's hands*, *firm hand*, *give a glad hand* // *biti lake ruke*, *imati zlatne ruke*, *imati prljave ruke*, *biti tvrde ruke*, *imati nežnu ruku*, *biti široke ruke*), but a more thorough analysis has uncovered the fact that in this case Serbian has a more elaborate set of expressions, probably due to the fact that it utilises two different structures: *to have ... adjective ... hands* (e.g. *imati prljave ruke*, i.e. *have dirty hands*) and *to be ... adjective_{gen} ... hands_{gen}* (e.g. *biti tvrde ruke*, i.e. *to be hard-handed*).

Furthermore, the analysis has revealed that the designation 'character trait' is not an inherent part of the metonymy, i.e. it does not belong to the *hand* but to the adjective that modifies this noun. In other words, in all these cases the *hand* stands for the person who is not characterised in any way, whereas the qualification itself emerges in the adjective. This is also reflected in the structure of dictionary entries, as these metonymic expressions are not listed under 'hand' but under the adjectives that are the primary carriers of meaning in these metonymies. When compared with the metonymy *THE HAND STANDS FOR A PERSON*, the metonymy *THE HAND STANDS FOR A CHARACTER TRAIT* does not focus on the function of the hand (i.e. its ability to do some work, to help someone, etc.); instead, it focuses on an external characteristic of a person metonymically denoted by the lexeme *hand/ruka*. Hence, this metonymy could be

elaborated as THE HAND STANDS FOR THE PERSON, THE *ADJECTIVE* STANDS FOR THE CHARACTER TRAIT.

4.3. THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL

The third and most elaborate metonymy that was revealed in the analysis is THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL. It is based on the fact that hands have to be free in order for human beings to be able to function properly. In other words, if one's hands are free, they can do whatever they like; if their hands are tied, they cannot control their own body. Furthermore, a deeper look at this metonymy reveals two possible directions of control: a person is able to control others (e.g. *have the upper hand* / *uzeti stvar u svoje ruke*) and others are able to control the person in question (e.g. *have your hands tied* / *imati vezane ruke*). In both languages there are many metonymic expressions that support this: in English, *having a hand in* something implies an active influence which has led to the change of circumstances, whereas *laying one's hands on someone* means catching that person; in Serbian, *imati odrešene ruke* (i.e. 'have untied/free hands') involves a large degree of freedom to do something, while *držati konce u svojim rukama* (i.e. 'keep the threads in one's hands') indicates a total control of a situation. Conversely, the control that other people exert over someone is reflected in metonymic expressions such as *fall into the wrong hands* in English or *pasti u pogrešne ruke* in Serbian.

This metonymy in many instances relies on the CONTAINER schema although not in all expressions that belong to this set. The very notion of image schemata is one of the most significant mechanisms for metaphor and metonymy construction and they are understood as embodied prelinguistic structures of experience that motivate conceptual metaphor and metonymy mappings. They are "gestalt structures, consisting of parts standing in relations and organized into unified wholes, by means of which our experience manifests discernible order" (Johnson 1987: xix). When the CONTAINER image schema is concerned, as Johnson claims (1987: 21), "[o]ur encounter with containment and boundedness is one of the most pervasive features of our bodily experience." All major parts of the human body may be seen as containers (see, e.g. Yu 2009, Niemeier 2000, etc.) with the boundaries and the contents they carry, which may be emptied, spilled, kept inside, etc. The CONTAINER image schema, therefore, is inherently embodied.

Directly tied to the CONTAINER schema are two metaphors generated from the metonymy whereby THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL: CONTROL IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND and POSSESSING SOMETHING IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND. Hence, in English, one can be *in someone's capable/safe hands*, *fall into the wrong hands*, or *take something into their own hands*, all expressions implying the position of an entity inside the container, i.e. hands, which in turn implies control. Similarly, in the Serbian language there are expressions such as *imati nekoga/nešto u rukama* ('have someone/something in one's hands'), *uzeti stvar u svoje ruke* (*take the matter into one's own hands*), or *dati se u ruke nekome* (*put oneself into someone's hands*), again equating the position inside the container with the control over the entity. On the other hand, if an entity is found outside of the container, i.e. outside of the boundaries of the container, the entity is no longer under the control of the container. This is evident in metonymic expressions such as *get out of hand*, *off your hands*, *out of your hands* in English and *ispustiti iz ruke* or *izmaći se iz ruku* in Serbian.

When the two languages are compared with respect to this metonymy, it can be concluded that they use similar or the same metonymic expressions. When there are differences, they are only cross-linguistic, not cross-cultural or cross-conceptual.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

After a careful analysis of the data set, it can be concluded that in both Anglophone and Serbian cultures the *hand* is conceptualised in similar ways, which is reflected in the fact that both languages utilise the three analysed metonymies, THE HAND STANDS FOR HELP, THE HAND STANDS FOR A CHARACTER TRAIT, and THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL. Due to the fact that the minds of both English and Serbian speakers are indeed “embodied,” i.e. human concepts are crucially shaped by our bodies and brains, as expected, we found little difference between English and Serbian in the ways *hand/ruka* is used in metonymically-based expressions, thus confirming our first hypothesis.

However, since basic bodily experiences are interpreted differently by different cultures and are filtered differently through cultural models before being linguistically rendered, the question remains of whether or not there would be differences between metonymically-based *hand/ruka* expressions in English and Serbian. The analysis of the data set has revealed that, while there are many similar or even identical metonymic expressions that linguistically express various meanings and concepts, there are also linguistic differences, either in terms of the different level of productivity of certain linguistic mechanisms or in terms of different linguistic instantiations in the two languages. This can be explained by the fact that English and Serbian, while being two different languages with two different histories and traditions, which is the source of differences, not just in our data set but in general, also belong to a wider context of European culture and heritage, which is at times strongly tinged with religious, i.e. biblical references and reflections. This, to conclude, proves our second hypothesis concerning differences in linguistic expressions concerning metonymy in these two languages.

Our results, although indicating a considerable conceptual and linguistic overlap between English in Serbian, should be taken as tentative. Further comparative research and a more thorough analysis of a different and more extensive corpus of data are needed, which may reveal some linguistic and cultural differences in the metonymic conceptualizations of the *HAND* in English and Serbian. It would also be fruitful to contrast the research results obtained in this way with some other, genetically unrelated, languages and cultures in order to find conceptual and linguistic universals or differences, as well as to broaden the analysis to all metaphors and metonymies that stem from the *hand/ruka* expressions.

Nadežda Silaški

Faculty of Economics, University of Belgrade
silaskin@sbb.rs

Biljana Radić-Bojanić

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad
radic.bojanic@gmail.com

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SERBIAN AND ENGLISH ANIMAL IDIOMS: A DICTIONARY-BASED CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

This study deals with animal idiomatic expressions in Serbian and English by contrasting a corpus of 157 expressions taken from two Serbian-English dictionaries of idioms. The aim of the research is to determine whether the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS lies at the basis of the majority of Serbian and English idiomatic expressions involving animals, to note similarities in the categorization of animals as domestic and wild and examine the translation properties of the most idiomatized animals in the Serbian language. The results following a unidirectional analysis based on the Cognitive Model reveal a high degree of equivalence between the expressions, as well as conceptual similarities between the two languages, resulting in a high match percentage in domestic animal idiom use, and differences in the idiomatization of individual, and most commonly idiomatized animals, which should be taken into consideration in future translations of such expressions.

Key words: cognitive linguistics, conceptualization, idiom, animal metaphor, English, Serbian

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study investigates differences in the lexical content of equivalent Serbian and English animal idioms in a corpus of 157 idiomatic expressions taken from *Srpsko-engleski rečnik idioma* (Milosavljević and Williams-Milosavljević 1995)¹ and *Srpsko-engleski frazeološki rečnik* (Kovačević 2002).² The choice of this particular analysis was motivated by the existence of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its frequent appearance in animal idioms used in everyday conversations, especially as a means of expressing approval and disapproval of another person's character, behaviour or appearance (Prodanović-Stankić 2004: 132). Furthermore, the literature on idioms suggests that cultural differences play a part in their use and conceptualization and in the prominence of animal metaphorization in the conceptual domain of Serbian (Jovanović 2013). The focus of this study was the analysis of the extent to which the universal conceptual basis of the two languages was reflected in the choice of animals and the lexical differences that could be found in a sample of idioms containing animal metaphorization. Given the subject of our study, this interlingual contrastive analysis was based on the cognitive contrastive model, and its metaphorical model in particular. Since the focus of the research was on the meaning of linguistic expressions and their form, the study was also microlinguistic in nature and the idioms were contrasted using the technique of unidirectional translation, from Serbian into English, as English translation equivalents were those offered by both dictionaries, thus avoiding bias. The chosen *tertium comparationis* was the identity of meaning in the idiomatic expressions, resulting in the same communicative value. Finally, we can say that the paper was designed to answer several specific research

1 MWM in the remainder of the text

2 KV in the remainder of the text

questions, with the purpose of complementing the findings of earlier studies and addressing lexical and semantic characteristics relevant to this type of idiom.

- Is the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS at the basis of the majority of Serbian and English idiomatic expressions involving animals?
- What is the degree of equivalence of Serbian and English animal idioms?
- Does the similarity in the categorization of animals as domestic/wild in Serbian and English lead to similarities in their linguistic realization?
- Are the idiomatized animals most frequently represented in Serbian more likely to have
 - a. an equivalent animal idiom in English?
 - b. the same idiomatized animal in equivalent English expressions?

2. KEY CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The term *idiom* usually has two interpretations: in the broader sense, it includes the manner of expression particular to a group of speakers, while in a narrower sense it is a “particular lexical collocation or phrasal lexeme peculiar to a language” (Moon 1998: 3). While the way the speakers of a dialect, jargon and slang establish themselves as different from speakers of other varieties of the same language or speakers of other languages (Kovačević 2002) may be closer to the first sense of the term, different linguistic approaches have traditionally been concerned with the comprehension of idioms in the narrower sense of the term, and their relationship with other levels of linguistic organization. The view of idioms which emerged in generative grammar and generative semantics insisted on their non-compositionality, treating them as expressions whose meaning could not be deduced from the meaning of their constituent lexical parts (Katz and Postal 1963; Weinreich 1969). This view was based on the theory that semantic representation was like the syntactic surface structure in that specific components were added and arranged during the transformation process. Even though this was later re-evaluated by Chafe (1968) and Jackendoff (1972), according to Bobrow and Bell (1973) this view was inefficient in accounting for idiomatic ambiguity, as the correct interpretation of a ‘phraseological unit’ such as “John let the cat out of the bag” could not be reached by treating it as a case of either lexical, surface structure, or deep structure ambiguity. Instead, they claimed there to be a special list of idioms we keep in our memory in order to access them via a separate ‘idiom mode’ whenever a ‘literal mode’ of processing an expression is unsatisfactory. The lexical representation model, proposed by Swinney and Cutler (1979), is similar to the literal interpretation model by Bobrow and Bell, but approaches idioms similarly to compound words, where the first component is the first to be analyzed, and the idiom meaning precedes the construction of a literal interpretation because “access is faster than computation” (Titone and Connine 1994: 1126). In light of Grice’s (1975) seminal work, it was Gibbs (1980, 1986) who brought context into the equation, as his studies in the interpretation of indirect requests and conventional and unconventional idioms showed that idiomatic meaning was directly computed during idiom comprehension, leading to his ‘direct access model’. Regardless of the speed and order with which the meanings of idioms are computed, the three previously mentioned models were based on the proposition that there is a set of idioms in our minds we have to access whenever we come across an idiomatic expression, and that these idioms can be classified according to the degree of predictability, compositionality and familiarity as their distinctive features.

However, in the late eighties, a new theory based on generative grammar attempted to offer a solution to the inability of generative theory to explain idiom comprehension in terms of its three components of linguistic knowledge. Instead of assigning any 'idiosyncratic' phrases to the lexicon, construction grammar (Fillmore et al. 1988; Lakoff 1987; Goldberg 1995) proposed an 'Appendix to the Grammar' (Fillmore et al. 1988) in its attempt to designate a special 'repository' of phenomena whose systematic relationship with grammar would help explain phenomena such as idioms. This approach acknowledged the variety of idioms in terms of four characteristics, classifying them as:

- Encoding vs. decoding idioms
- Grammatical vs. extragrammatical idioms
- Substantive vs. formal idioms
- With vs. without pragmatic point,

while another, three-way classification was based on their familiarity and syntactic ordering. According to this theory, lexical and syntactic constructions, such as idioms, "are essentially the same type of declaratively represented data structure: both pair form with meaning" (Goldberg 1995: 7), which, to Langacker (1995, 2008), is more important than the rules of their construction. Regarding meaning alone, Langacker (2008) asserts that "language recruits, and thus intrinsically manifests in its own organization, a broad array of independently existing cognitive processes" (Langacker 2008: 16). These are association, automatization, schematization, and categorization, the last of which is discussed in this paper, with respect to the category of domesticity in animals.

The same phenomena can be related to Cognitive Linguistics, where they were covered at length by Lakoff (1987, 1993), whose Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) is based on the premise that the reason for using metaphors is that we actually think metaphorically, and that our conceptual systems influence the way we act and speak. According to this view, our languages are seen not as random choices of structures and words, but as "reflections of general conceptual organization, categorization principles, and processing mechanisms" (Tendahl and Gibbs Jr. 2008: 1825), and the idiom "arises from our more general knowledge of the world embodied in our conceptual system" (Kövecses 2002: 233), and is not simply a phrase with a meaning tied to its lexical parts. This standpoint is shared by Gibbs (1992), who argued against the view of idioms as "dead metaphors" and insisted on their having "complex figurative interpretations that are not arbitrarily determined but are motivated by independently existing conceptual metaphors that provide the foundation for much of our everyday thought and reasoning" (Gibbs 1992: 485-6). Additional studies by Gibbs and O'Brien (1990), Nayak and Gibbs (1990) and others provided insight into the way metaphor influences the meaning of idioms.

Speaking from the CMT perspective, Kövecses (2002: 233) finds that the motivation for the use of certain words in a variety of idioms acts as a cognitive mechanism for the mapping between "domains of knowledge to idiomatic meanings", adding that there are three kinds of mechanisms that exist in the case of idioms: metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge. Regarding animal idioms in particular, Kövecses (2004, 2006) speaks of cross-cultural and within-culture variations in the use of animal idioms, giving an example of the difference between the gender-based conceptual metaphors WOMEN ARE (SMALL) FURRY ANIMALS and MEN ARE LARGE FURRY ANIMALS. Many contrastive studies regarding

animal idioms have been conducted around the world, including a study of Persian and English animal idioms by Faghih (2001), who focused on the connotations of particular animals, and a Romanian study by Groszler (2008), whose results revealed that only 23% of Romanian animal idioms had the same choice of animal as their English equivalents, while 34% of equivalents did not contain an animal name at all.

Among contrastive studies of Serbian and English animal idioms, a recent paper by Jovanović (2013) reveals a strong tendency of the Serbian language to categorize idioms as those containing animal and plant conceptual metaphors, being second only to human body parts. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS proved to be “accountable for 60% of all idioms with animal metaphorization” (Jovanović 2013: 176). The application of animal idioms in the assessment of students’ figurative thinking was the subject of a study by Radić-Bojanić (2011), while Stamenković (2010, 2011) focused on animal similes. In somewhat earlier studies, Halupka-Rešetar and Radić (2003) analyzed the choice of animal names in addressing people, while Prodanović-Stankić (2004) focused specifically on animal idioms by contrasting a corpus of proverbs containing the conceptual metaphors PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and THINGS/PROBLEMS ARE ANIMALS, examining the representation of certain animal species in the source domain of animal metaphors, the characteristics they most often personify and their variation, the motivation behind their use, etc. Although the topic of animal metaphors seems to have been covered extensively and from different perspectives in past research, the variety of issues it involves leaves it open for additional analyses, some of which will be performed in this study.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The corpus of this research includes 157 animal idioms listed in both a S-E³ dictionary of idioms (Milosavljević and Williams-Milosavljević 1995) and a S-E phrasal dictionary (Kovačević 2002). Although both dictionaries offered more idioms than the number included in this research, for the purpose of achieving an objectively determined set of translation equivalents, only the idioms appearing in both dictionaries were included into the corpus. Where variation in lexical composition was noticed for a particular idiom, the version used in this study was the one common to both dictionaries. When this was not the case, and each dictionary offered a different version of the Serbian idiom in terms of the animal used, the idiom included in the corpus was the one the author judged to have the most widespread usage among native Serbian speakers, based on his native language experience. Because two sources were used to make up our corpus, the source of each example has been labeled with an appropriate abbreviation, as shown in the footnotes.

Since the subject of our analysis is idiomatic and metaphorical figurative expressions, and one of the main aims was to analyze the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, the Cognitive Model was applied to the contrastive analysis in order to search for equivalence rather than formal characteristics of idiomatic expressions. The analysis was microlinguistic, and used the objective technique of unidirectional translation, from Serbian to English, with English translation equivalents being those offered by the dictionaries consulted. Our *tertium comparationis* was the identity of meaning in the idiomatic expressions.

In order to examine the degrees of equivalence between Serbian and English animal idioms, Gläser’s (1984) model was used, whereby a distinction is made between complete,

³ Serbian-English

partial and zero equivalence in phraseological units such as idioms. According to this view, zero equivalence occurs when there is no approximate expression in the target language, which may affect the pragmatic meaning of the translation although a suitable paraphrase can still be found in most cases. Partial equivalence entails a change in the “referential base of a metaphor or metonymy, their connotational and stylistic meanings” (Gläser 1984: 127) and will in most cases include a change in the animal name, while complete equivalence contains the “identity of congruent denotational, connotational, expressive and stylistic meanings of the idioms compared” (Gläser 1984: 126). With the assumption that the English dictionary equivalents used for our study contain the connotational and stylistic meanings considered during the lexicographic process, in this paper the translation equivalents containing the same animal referent are treated as examples of complete equivalence, whereas the equivalence including a change in the animal name or its omission is treated as partial. Zero equivalence will be noted in cases where no equivalent idiomatic expression is given by the dictionaries, while formal characteristics of idioms, such as the ones discussed in Makkai (1972), Cruse (1986), Cacciari and Tabossi (1993) and Moon (1998) among others, which could be used in an analysis of formal correspondence, will not be the subject of our analysis.

4. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

The first question to be answered is whether the two languages, Serbian and English, have the conceptual metaphor *PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS* at the basis of animal metaphorization. In order to successfully contrast Serbian and English in this respect, we must be able to find similar cross-domain mappings in both languages, as has already been undertaken by Jovanović (2013). The results of that study are corroborated by the findings based on our corpus of 157 idioms, in which this conceptual metaphor was again the most frequent, accounting for 98 expressions, or 62.4% of the corpus. Other metaphors, such as *THOUGHTS ARE ANIMALS*, *ACTIONS ARE ANIMALS*, *EVENTS ARE ANIMALS*, *THINGS ARE ANIMALS* and others were found in 33 expressions, or 21% of the total number. Examples of other types of figurative language accounted for the remaining 26 idioms, or 16.6% of the corpus. Our identification of different conceptual metaphors was based on explanations of the meanings of idiomatic expressions found in their dictionary entries.

However, 32 of the Serbian animal metaphors were similes, such as ‘strong as a bear’, which posed the question of whether they could be considered to be metaphors at all. There are several views on this issue, but the cognitive view, held by Lakoff (1980, 1999) among others, implies that metaphor is “not a linguistic process but rather a conceptual process” (Kim 2003: 212). According to this view, the difference between metaphor and simile is only in their formal linguistic realization, i.e. words such as ‘like’ and ‘as’, while their usage, comprehension and interpretation are in essence the same. Consequent studies assuming the cognitive perspective, have dealt with the reasons behind the differences in form. To name a few, Aisenman (1999) makes the distinction between the common relations between the base and target domains expressed via metaphor and common attributes expressed in similes, while Gentner and Bowdle (2001) found that the difference between metaphors and similes is in their frequency of use, whereby, as a metaphor becomes more conventional, people are more likely to use it in the form of metaphor rather than simile (Zharikov and Gentner 2002: 977). In a recent study of English animal similes, in which Stamenković (2011) discusses the motivation of similes, the author recounts the claim by Chiappe, Kennedy and Smykowski (2003) that, compared to metaphors, which he considers more systematic, “similes are used for a smaller number of features being

transferred from one domain into another, i.e. for simple mappings” (Stamenković 2011: 189). These arguments resolve the issue of metaphor/simile distinction in 63 idiomatic expressions in the corpus, and allow us to proceed with our contrastive analysis, having reached an affirmative answer to our first research question.

The second research question to be answered in this analysis is whether animal idioms in Serbian and English have a high degree of equivalence. Out of 157 idiomatic expressions, zero equivalence, where both dictionaries offered no equivalent idiomatic expressions in English, was not found, although one expression was found in MWM, and it is shown in Table 1. Even though MWM offers no equivalent idiom in English, the expression is described as the one likely to be used “when a schoolboy fails to doff his cap to a teacher” (Milosavljević and Williams-Milosavljević 1995: 39), and a number of English idioms used to criticize bad manners are used to illustrate this meaning.

	Serbian	Source
1.	Imati vrapca pod kapom	(MWM)

Table 1. Zero equivalence

Partial equivalence in which the offered English translation equivalents did not contain an animal idiom was found in 53 entries, or 33.8% of the total number of idioms. Some examples are given in Table 2.

	Serbian	English	Source
2.	Pojeo vuk magarca	There won't be any fallout	(MWM)
3.	Hteti i jare i pare	You can't have your cake and eat it (too)	(MWM)
4.	Mačji kašalj	Small potatoes	(KV)
5.	Obilaziti kao mačka oko vruće kaše	To beat around the bush	(MWM)
6.	I patak na ledu posrne	He stands not surely that never slips	(KV)

Table 2. Partial equivalence without an animal idiom

Partial equivalence with a different animal name in the two languages was found in 21 idioms, or 13.4% of the total number. These included the examples in Table 3.

	Serbian	English	Source
7.	Morski vuk	A sea dog	(MWM)
8.	Kupiti mačku u džaku	To buy a pig in a poke	(MWM)
9.	Vrana vrani oči ne vadi	Hawks will not pick out hawk's eyes	(KV)
10.	Ako je i crna krava, belo mleko daje	A black hen lays a white egg	(MWM)
11.	Besan kao ris	As mad as a wet hen	(KV)

Table 3. Partial equivalence with a different animal

Full equivalence, where both the meaning of the idiomatic expression, and the animal metaphor used were the same, occurred in 69 idioms, i.e. 43.9% of the total number of expressions in the corpus. Although within this group we could further distinguish between equivalent expressions with differences in form (12-14) and those with formal and semantic correspondence (15-17). By the latter we mean a high degree of similarity in terms of syntactic ordering and lexical selection in the idiomatic expressions, subject to the constraints of the

languages in question.

	Serbian	English	Source
12.	Žedan konj vode ne probira	A hungry horse makes a clean manger	(MWM)
13.	Teško mišu koji samo jednu rupu ima	The mouse that has but one hole is quickly taken	(KV)
14.	Kad mator pas zalaje, treba videti šta je	An old dog barks not in vain	(MWM)
15.	Ubiti dve muve jednim udarcem	To kill two flies with one flap	(KV)
16.	Noćna ptica	A night bird	(KV)
17.	Siromašan kao crkveni miš	As poor as a church mouse	(MWM)

Table 4. Full equivalence with the same animal

However, we should mention a set of idioms which had different types of equivalents in the two dictionaries consulted. Out of 14 such idioms (8.9% of the overall number), two Serbian idioms with complete equivalence were found in MWM that did not have an animal equivalent in KV. The remaining 12 such entries came from KV. Among the 14 idioms, we noticed four different types of translation:

- Three idioms had an equivalent containing the same animal (18)
- One idiom had one animal out of two translated as the same animal, while the other did not have an animal equivalent in English (19)
- One idiom had one animal out of two translated as a different animal, while the other did not have an animal equivalent in English (20)
- Two idioms had one animal out of two translated as the same and the other as a different animal (21)
- Eight Serbian idioms contained animal names different from the equivalent English ones. (22)

	Serbian	English	Source
18.	Sitna riba	Only a small fish / Small fry	(KV/MWM)
19.	Nemati ni kučeta ni mačeta	He hasn't got a dog to call his own / Not a blessed soul	(KV/MWM)
20.	(Ne mogu biti) i vuk sit i ovce na broju	(You cannot) sell the cow and sup the milk / Find middle ground	(KV/MWM)
21.	Bolje na mačku glava nego na lavu rep	Better be the head of a dog than the tail of a lion / Better be first in a village than second in Rome	(KV/MWM)
22.	Lenja buba	A lazy dog / A lazybones	(KV/MWM)

Table 5. Different equivalents in the two dictionaries

The results of this analysis show a strong connection between the conceptual categories of animals in Serbian and English. With 66.2% of Serbian animal idioms⁴ having translation equivalents in English that contain the names of the same, similar or different species of animals, we can claim that our second research question, whether Serbian and English animal idioms have a high degree of equivalence, has also been answered affirmatively, and proceed

⁴ 57.3% excluding the group of 14 idioms with different types of equivalents in the two dictionaries

to examine the equivalence of the categories of domesticity and wildness related to the conceptualization of animals.

With the corpus of Serbian animal idioms consisting of 77 domesticated animal idioms, 71 idioms with animals usually considered wild or untamed and 9 expressions containing two animals from both categories, we can say that our corpus of Serbian animal idioms showed a tendency to metaphorize domestic and wild animals to an almost equal extent.

Since this is a unidirectional study and the entire body of English animal idioms is not part of the corpus, we cannot claim that the same tendency exists in English. However, by contrasting the 104 Serbian idioms with equivalents that do contain animal idiomatization, we were able to draw conclusions about the level of similarity of the two conceptual systems. When 33 Serbian idioms with partial equivalence and a different metaphorized animal in the English equivalent were contrasted on the basis of their domesticity, the results showed that out of 11 Serbian domestic animal idioms 9 had domestic animal equivalents (23-26), one idiom had one animal from each category (27), and one idiom was found where one domestic animal was translated as a wild animal, while the other did not have an animal equivalent (28).

	Serbian	English	Source
23.	Kupiti mačku u džaku	To buy a pig in a poke	(MWM)
24.	Ne lipši magarče dok trava naraste	While the grass grows, the horse starves	(KV)
25.	Doći će maca na vratanica	Every dog has its day	(KV)
26.	Ako je i crna krava, belo mleko daje	A black hen lays a white egg	(MWM)
27.	S kokoškama leći, s petlovima ustati	Go to be with the lamb, rise with the lark	(MWM)
28.	Umiljato jagnje dve ovce sisa	Honey catches more flies than vinegar	(KV)

Table 6. Partial equivalence with domestic animals

Secondly, out of 19 Serbian idioms with partial equivalence and a different metaphorized animal, in which the Serbian idiom included a wild animal metaphor, 9 had wild animal equivalents (29), 6 had domestic animal equivalents (30) and 4 had both wild and domestic animal equivalents in English, depending on the source (31).

	Serbian	English	Source
29.	Doći mečki na rupu	To beard a lion in his den	(MWM)
30.	Kao slon u staklarskoj radnji	Like a bull in a china shop	(MWM)
31.	Vrana vrani oči ne vadi	Hawks will not pick out hawk's eyes / Dog does not eat dog	(KV / MWM)

Table 7. Partial equivalence with wild animals

The last group belonging to the 33 idioms with partial equivalence consisted of 3 Serbian idioms with both domesticated and wild animals. Their translation equivalent either had the same category for one of the two animals, but a different one for the other (32), had the same category of domesticity/wildness for one, but completely omitted the second animal (33), or had both animals from the same category as its Serbian equivalent. (34).

	Serbian	English	Source
32.	Star vuk, pasja sprdačina	Hares may pull dead lions by the beard	(MWM)
33.	Ne mogu biti i vuk sit i ovce na broju	You cannot sell the cow and sup the milk	(KV)
34.	Bolje na mačku glava nego na lavu rep	Better be the head of a dog than the tail of a lion	(KV)

Table 8. Partial equivalence with domesticated and wild animals

While this part of the corpus does not show the tendency of the Serbian language to metaphorize domesticated rather than wild animals, it does show a strong tendency of the metaphorized animals in the two languages to apply the same category to the metaphorized animal, since it was completely preserved in 19 (57.8%) of the pairings with partial equivalence and a difference in the name of the animal, and partially in 9 (27.3%). If we add to this the body of 72 idiomatic expressions with full equivalence, we get a convincing 87.5% match between Serbian and English equivalents containing animal names, or a 58% match including the pairings without an animal idiom in the English language. These figures suggest that the analyzed categories in the two languages share much of the conceptual space regarding animal metaphorization, thus answering our third research question affirmatively.

Looking at the corpus of Serbian idioms we can also draw conclusions about the most popular animals for metaphorization. Since Serbian has a number of members of each category, we will use the prototypical member of each category, or the most frequent term applied to this animal in our corpus. Therefore, we can speak of 15 dog idioms, 15 cat, 13 wolf, 12 sheep, 11 cow, 10 horse, 8 goat, 7 hen, 7 mouse and 7 bird idioms (not including separate species), etc. Even though 7 out of 8 of the most frequently idiomatized animals in our Serbian corpus are domestic animals, and the top 2 common household pets, with which people come into contact most often, it is still a little surprising that many of the other frequently seen animals, such as mice, bugs, ants and others have received much less space in the conceptual domain. Nevertheless, the number of 47 different species and terms applied to animals suggests that the choice for animal idiomatization is by no means limited only to a small number of most frequently encountered animals in Serbia, especially when we consider the occurrence of 5 idioms which contain animals neither common to Serbian nor English habitats (lion, crocodile and elephant), and which, in three out of five cases, had a formal correspondence with their English equivalents.

Finally, we will take a look at the translation equivalents of the 3 most idiomatized animals, which account for more than a quarter of all Serbian animal idioms in our corpus, to see if the degree of representation in the body of idioms correlates with the degree of correspondence in their translation equivalents.

Out of 15 Serbian dog idioms, 7 had equivalents with no animal idiomatization (35), one had an equivalent idiom with a different animal (36), and 7 dog idioms had equivalent dog idioms in English (37).

	Serbian	English	Source
35.	Nema za šta kuće da ga ujede	He's without a stitch to his back	(MWM)
36.	Star vuk, pasja sprdačina	Hares may pull dead lions by the beard	(MWM)
37.	Pas koji laje ne ujeđa	Barking dogs seldom bite	(MWM)

Table 9. Equivalence of dog idioms

Out of 15 cat idioms, 8 had equivalents with no animal idiomatization (38), 3 had equivalents with a different metaphorized animal (39) and 4 had a corresponding cat idiom (40).

	Serbian	English	Source
38.	Obilaziti kao mačka oko kaše	To beat around the bush	(MWM)
39.	Kupiti mačku u džaku	To buy a pig in a poke	(MWM)
40.	I mačka cara gleda (pa ga se ne boji)	A cat may look at a king	(MWM)

Table 10. Equivalence of cat idioms

Out of 13 wolf idioms, 4 had equivalents with no animal idiomatization (41), 4 had equivalents with a different metaphorized animal (42) and 5 had a corresponding wolf idiom (43).

	Serbian	English	Source
41.	Pojeo vuk magarca	There won't be any fallout	(MWM)
42.	Star vuk, pasja sprdačina	Hares may pull dead lions by the beard	(MWM)
43.	Vuk u jagnjećoj koži	A wolf in sheep's clothing	(MWM)

Table 11. Equivalence of wolf idioms

The examples of the 3 given animals negate our question whether the increased presence of a particular animal in the idiomatic corpus of the Serbian language increases the possibility of finding the same animal in a corresponding English translation equivalent. With 44.2% of dog, cat and wolf idioms mentioned above not having animal idiomatization in their English equivalents, 37.2% having a corresponding animal idiom, and only 18.6% having a different animal in the equivalent English idiomatic expression, we can also say that when the Serbian animal idiom does have an equivalent animal idiom in English, the chances of the English idiom having the same animal metaphorized are far greater than the chances of it having a different one. However, since only 37.2% of Serbian idioms had an idiomatic equivalent with the same animal in English, we can say that this research question is inconclusive.

5. CONCLUSION

In this study we contrasted 157 animal idiomatic expressions in Serbian and English in order to determine whether the conceptual metaphor *PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS* can be found in the majority of Serbian and English animal idioms, and to examine the translation properties of certain categories related to animals as well as the metaphorized attitude towards people, actions or states. The results of this study returned positive answers to our research questions, although our fourth question also gave us a negative answer. With 62.4% of the corpus of Serbian animal idioms based on the conceptual metaphor *PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS*, we can speak of a common practice in the two languages to conceptualize people in terms of their similarities and relationships with animals. The fact that 32 idiomatic expressions were similes, which ostensibly define humans in terms of animal traits, further illustrates this point. The answer to our second research question was affirmative due to the fact that out of 157 Serbian idioms none were found without an English equivalent, while the percentage of those with an animal equivalent was 66.2%. The third and fourth research questions dealt with some of the categories

related to the animal world, but while the third was confirmed by the fact that there was an 87.5% match in the categorization of domesticated and wild animals, our fourth research question was only partially confirmed. Here, only 37.2% of idioms containing the most represented animals in the corpus had a corresponding animal idiom, whereas having the equivalent keep the idiomatized animal was twice as likely as the change of animal name.

Although this research contained a fair sample of animal idioms, the list is by no means complete, and a more substantial corpus could yield different, and perhaps more statistically relevant results. In addition, as this research was dictionary-based, the results might not reflect the current usage of these idioms, or their frequency of use in either casual, journalistic or academic texts or speech. Analyses of additional categories relevant to animal idioms, such as gender, were not part of this study, although their relevance to the topic merits additional research.

In sum, despite the limitations of this study, our results do prove a great degree of equivalence between Serbian and English animal idioms, and having shown a number of similarities and differences in the linguistic realization of cognitive categories, they should be taken notice of in translations of such expressions. Furthermore, shared characteristics of conceptual systems of Serbian and English could be a good starting point for a more extensive study of animal idioms in classes of English as a Foreign Language, especially with younger learners. With such an approach, the communicative value of a selection of idioms from this study could be checked, as well as the creation of novel expressions which might differ in form and lexical content from the equivalents mentioned in this study.

Aleksandar Pejčić

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš

alexpejcic@gmail.com

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AGREEING WITH THE INTERLOCUTOR AS AN EXAMPLE OF DISPREFERRED VERBAL BEHAVIOUR IN DIALOGUES FROM SELECTED AMERICAN AND SERBIAN FILMS¹

This paper deals with the pragmatic phenomenon of agreeing with the interlocutor, as an example of negatively marked verbal behaviour. The discussion is based on examples which represent a selection of dialogues from five American and five Serbian feature-length films. Starting from the conversational analytic definition of verbal agreement as a preferred second turn in a conversation, this paper aims at discussing those cases in which, unlike the usual scenario, agreeing is seen as a dispreferred response, from the point of view of politeness theory. If agreement amounts to a potential face-threatening act, as is the case when it comes to agreeing with self-deprecating assessments, it inevitably represents a negatively marked mode of communication and should therefore be avoided, in order to preserve the interlocutor's public self-image. Irony emerges as a strong force in constructing dispreferred agreeing second turns, a phenomenon that is observed within the broader frame of impoliteness. Additionally, cases of agreement that violate Leech's Modesty Maxim are also discussed as dispreferred, at the same time bearing in mind concerns for self-politeness achieved through avoiding self-face-threatening acts. Applying the method of qualitative analysis, instances of negatively marked agreement with the interlocutor are described and analysed with the aim to establish the characteristics and distribution of this type of speech act in the two sets of films.

Keywords: dispreferred agreement, politeness, face-threatening act, self-deprecating assessment, irony

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Dispreferred agreement – theoretical and methodological framework

In the prototypical case, the speech act of agreeing with the interlocutor's previous assessment, unlike that of disagreeing, neither restricts the addressee's action environment nor does it inherently involve conflict. Leech (1983), within his Politeness Principle (PP), emphasizes the importance of agreement in one of the submaxims of the Agreement Maxim – "Maximize agreement between self and other", along with the adjacent submaxim – "Minimize disagreement between self and other" (Leech 1983: 132). Likewise, Brown and Levinson, in their seminal work on politeness, state that one should "seek agreement" and "avoid disagreement" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 112–117), this being one of their positive politeness output strategies.

Within the framework of conversational analysis, Pomerantz (1984) discusses agreement as the preferred next action. As opposed to disagreement, it is seen as comfortable, supportive,

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reinforcing, as a sign of being sociable and like-minded. In a nutshell, agreeing with the interlocutor is *the* preferred response in a prototypical talk exchange. From the point of view of facework, agreeing is a *face-saving act*: it does not threaten the interlocutor's *face* – their *public self-image*, as defined by Brown and Levinson (1987: 61), following Goffman's (1967) earlier theoretical construct of face. Seeking and achieving agreement, which generally amounts to enhancing the other's face, is thus one of the main goals of successful communication.

On the other hand, there are instances of dispreferred agreement – an agreeing second turn which does *not* represent a preferred response because:

- a. it may threaten the interlocutor's face or
- b. it may violate the Modesty Maxim.

Dispreferred agreement is a case of preference structure shift opposite to that of preferred disagreement (discussed on a similar corpus by Panić-Kavgić 2013a), but actually operating under the same circumstances. In other words, linguistic and/or extralinguistic contexts that invite preferred disagreement would regularly be the ones in which, alternatively, dispreferred agreement occurs as the socially less desirable option. It is the above cases of agreement that will be described and analysed in section 2.

The dialogues from selected US and Serbian film scripts will be discussed within the above-mentioned theoretical frameworks, based on a qualitative analysis of the most prominent relevant linguistic features in the two groups of examples. The overall tendencies that were noticed during the analysis, as well as the main similarities and differences between American and Serbian practices, will be summarized in section 3, following the classification and description of examples in section 2. The choice of dialogues in this paper was made on the basis of their representativeness of a given strategy of dispreferred agreement and it does not reflect the distribution of each individual strategy in a particular film script. This would explain why more examples in this discussion were taken from some of the analysed motion pictures, as the emphasis here is not on their distribution in each particular film, but on a qualitative description of the most typical examples in both of the analysed languages, in all five sets of dialogues taken together. For the purpose of clarity, all examples in Serbian have been translated into English in square brackets following each dialogue in the source language.

1.2. The selected US and Serbian films scripts

The discussion to follow is based on examples which represent a selection of dialogues from five American and five Serbian feature-length films.

The selected US films include: *Playing by Heart* (1998, directed by Willard Carroll), *Magnolia* (1999, dir. Paul Thomas Anderson), *Thirteen Conversations about One Thing* (2001, dir. Jill Sprecher), *Noel* (2004, dir. Chazz Palminteri) and *Crash* (2004, dir. Paul Haggis). They all belong to the category of multi-protagonist (inter-action) films whose stories unfold within a few days, in the period between 1998 and 2004, in the largest US cities – Los Angeles and New York. The plots are characterized by a successful depiction of present-day urban life in America, with all their characters communicating in contemporary spoken English.

The other set of dialogues was extracted from five contemporary Serbian multi-protagonist motion pictures: *Bure baruta* (international title in English – *Cabaret Balkan*, 1998, directed by Goran Paskaljević), *Normalni ljudi* (*Normal People*, 2001, dir. Oleg Novković), *Đavolja varoš* (*Devil's Town*, 2009, dir. Vladimir Paskaljević), *Ljubav i drugi zločini* (*Love and Other Crimes*, 2009, dir. Stefan Arsenijević) and *Žena sa slomljenim nosom* (*The Woman with a Broken Nose*, 2010, dir. Srđan Koljević). Similar to their US counterparts, the action in the Serbian films

takes place within a temporal frame of several days, sometime between 1995 and 2000, in Belgrade, the Serbian capital. The stories are recent realistic portrayals of the hardships of life in urban Serbia, articulated by characters using contemporary spoken Serbian.

It is necessary to stress that in a paper of this format it is impossible to offer detailed accounts of all relevant contextual parameters in the chosen dialogues and that the descriptions and conclusions to follow will be given bearing in mind the author's knowledge and awareness of them.

2. STRATEGIES OF DISPREFERRED AGREEING RESPONSES

As mentioned in the introductory section, a dispreferred second turn may either threaten the interlocutor's face or violate Leech's Modesty Maxim (1983). These two modes of reaching negatively marked agreement could be realized in a number of ways – the first mode by means of agreeing with a self-deprecating assessment, expressing an ironic attitude, or agreeing followed by a sudden change of topic, and the second one through disregarding Leech's *be modest* output strategy. These strategies, including their subclasses, will be discussed in sections 2.1. and 2.2., bearing in mind the fact that dispreferred agreement may sometimes be only apparent, as exemplified in 2.3.

2.1. Dispreferred agreement as a threat to the interlocutor's face

An agreeing response that amounts to a face-threatening act (FTA) is most notably realized as:

1. agreeing with a self-deprecating assessment
2. agreement expressing an ironic attitude – with or without intensification
3. agreement followed by a sudden change of topic.

2.1.1. Agreeing with a self-deprecating assessment

As listed at the beginning of section 2.1., this mode of agreement can be:

- a. *unmitigated*, when it takes on the form of:
 - aa) a brief, straightforward dispreferred response, usually expressed via a single agreeing lexical item, as is the case in the following film dialogue:²

(1): Simon: Ima li još nešto? [Is there anything else?]

Sveta: Tvoj sin... [Your son...]

Simon: Šta? Ne liči na mene? [What? He doesn't take after me?]

Sveta: *Ne.*³ [*No.*] (straightforward unmitigated agreement)

ab) a longer, intensified agreement, often reinforced by repetition, in examples 2 and 3:

(2) Rose: Oh, no, no, no, no, no. It's not you. It's me.

Marco: *You're right, Rose. It is you.* (intensified unmitigated agreement)

(3) Stanislav: Ja sam klinac. [I am a kid.]

² The film dialogues that will serve as examples in this analysis are labelled with bracketed numbers, from (1) to (32).

³ Examples of particular strategies within their sentential contexts are given in italics.

Anica: *Jesi klinac*. [You are a kid.] (intensified unmitigated agreement)

- b. *mitigated*, when it makes use of mitigating devices that were elaborately discussed and exemplified, using a similar corpus of film dialogues, in Panić-Kavgić (2010) and Panić-Kavgić (2013c), albeit pertaining to the discussion of strategies for mitigated dispreferred disagreement. The devices used in agreement with a self-deprecating assessment appear to be similar to those discussed in Panić-Kavgić (2010, 2013c) and Locher (2004), because both kinds of second turns fall within the scope of dispreferred responses. It is the use of downtoners (examples 4 and 5) and giving objective reasons for dispreferred agreeing (examples 6 and 7) that were found to be used in the analysed scripts, in order to soften the potential face-threatening effect:

- (4) Meredith: I don't deal with passion well. (self-deprecating assessment)
Trent: *Maybe* you don't like that loss of control. You prefer to be the director, telling everyone what to do. (downtoning the force of dispreferred agreement, followed by an objective explanation)
- (5) Meredith: It's pretty painfully obvious, isn't it? (self-deprecating remark)
Trent: *Somewhat* painful, yes. (downtoning the force of dispreferred agreement)
- (6) Bane: Postoje neka mesta koja jednostavno nemaju sreće. Tako i ova kafana.
[There are certain places which are simply unlucky. This bar is one of them.]
Nikola: Nemaš sreće, *zato što nemaš prozor*.
[You're unlucky *because you don't have a window*.]
(giving an objective explanation for dispreferred agreement)
- (7) Zoran: Ti nisi normalna. [You can't be sane.]
Anica: Nisam, *kad sam se udala za govna*.⁴
[I can't be, *'cause I married a shithead*.]
(giving an objective explanation for dispreferred agreement)

2.1.2. Agreement expressing an ironic attitude

This mode of dispreferred agreement, which is represented by the greatest number of examples in both analysed sets of film dialogues, falls within the scope of the phenomenon of *impoliteness*, discussed by Culpeper (1996: 356–357), as one of the five proposed impoliteness superstrategies serving as a means of attacking face. Being the direct opposite of Brown and Levinson's (1987) off-record politeness superstrategy, sarcasm or mock politeness occurs when “the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realisations” (Culpeper 1996: 356). This is, as Culpeper states, close to Leech's conception of irony⁵ and his Irony Principle: “If you must cause offence, at least do

4 Example 7 is somewhat different from the other dialogues in this category, as it is the agreeing second turn that represents a self-deprecating remark that reinforces an other-oriented first deprecating assessment. Nevertheless, from the point of view of self-politeness (further discussed in section 2.2.), assessments of the kind, classified as self-face-threatening acts, fall within the scope of dispreferred agreement.

5 Culpeper prefers the use of the term ‘sarcasm’ to ‘irony’, “since irony can be used for enjoyment and comedy” (1996: 357). However, when Leech discusses irony, what he refers to is offensive irony and non-enjoyable ironic acts. Therefore, it is Leech's concept and term of irony as an instance of anti-sociable verbal behaviour that underlies its use

so in a way which doesn't overtly conflict with the PP, but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of an implicature" (Leech 1983: 82). Later on, Leech elaborates on this point and says that "we are ironic at someone's expense, scoring off others by politeness that is obviously insincere, as a substitute for impoliteness" (1983: 142).

Regardless of whether one sees ironic or sarcastic agreement as an impoliteness strategy, following Culpeper's line of thought, or as a substitute for impoliteness, as Leech prefers to call it, it is evident that the agreeing second turns to follow (examples 8–17), in Leech's terms, "bypass politeness" (1983: 142). Additionally, it is worth noticing that example 8 is a good reminder of how indirectness, which is, traditionally, associated with a higher degree of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987), also serves the purpose of creating impolite ironic responses and thus achieves an effect otherwise associated with the opposite extreme on the politeness scale – bald-on record statements, which are generally seen as the least polite verbal strategy. This paradox was commented on in Panić-Kavgić (2012).

(8) Anthony: You're saying there's a Chinaman under this truck?

Peter: *What part don't you understand?*

(9) Anthony: Man! This is so completely fucked up.

Peter: *Oh, really? No shit!*

(10) Christine: The closest you ever came to being black, Cameron, was watching *The Cosby Show*.

Cameron: *At least I wasn't watching it with the rest of the equestrian team.*

(11) Donnie: No, I mean, I'm telling you. I have love.

Thurston: *Yes, and I'm listening avidly, fella.*

(12) Kid: I'm a rapper.

Jim: *You're a rapper...*

(13) Gene: Let me guess, prep school, yacht club, trips to Europe in the summer, does that sound about right?

Troy: *Lots of silver spoons.*

(14) Jules: Do I have to go through this?

Dr Batiste: If you want to leave, yes.

Jules: *All right. Fine. I'll play this game.*

(15) Bolničar: Doktore, baba stalno krvari...

[Doctor, the granny keeps bleeding...]

Doktor: *Znam da krvari, mora da krvari, otvorena joj je glava. Nema nekog razloga da se tuširaš sa osamdeset godina.*

in this paper, while sarcasm here only refers to its sharper, ruder and more face-threatening manifestations. Hence, the term irony is used as a hyperonym, a cover term for both irony in its narrower sense and sarcasm as its more offensive variation.

[I know she's bleeding, she has to bleed, her head's open. There's no special reason to take a shower when you're eighty.]

- (16) Bane: Znam svakog ko prolazi i vi znate svakog. Nema razloga da zbog vas rušim zid uopšte.
 [I know everyone who's passing by and you know everyone. I see no reason whatsoever to tear the wall down because of you.]
 Mira: *Da, zato ti niko i ne dolazi ovde... Mislim, niko ne zna kako izgleda.*
 [Yes, and that's why no one ever comes here in the first place... I mean, no one knows what the place looks like.]
- (17) Anica: Nemaš nijednu moju fotografiju.
 [You don't have a single photo of me.]
 Milutin: *Šta će mi, kad imam tebe uživo?*
 [Why would I have one, when I have you here?]

Ironic agreement is often *intensified*, when the first turn in a talk exchange is met by a dispreferred agreeing second turn that contains an intensifying expression. The ironic agreeing second turns in examples 18–22 contain such expressions, here underlined for the sake of emphasis. If the first turn contains an expression that is intensified in the second turn (examples 20–22), it is also underlined, so as to highlight the boosting effect of the intensifier:

- (18) Donnie: I have love.
 Thurston: A very chatty kind. Indeed you do.
- (19) Donnie: I paid you back.
 Solomon: Two years later and from your paycheque! I never charged interest!
- (20) Joan: You were paying attention.
 Keenan: Everyone in this club was paying attention.
- (21) Keenan: There are some things about me that you don't know.
 Joan: I don't know anything about you.
- (22) Zorka: Pa, ne znam... [Well, I don't know...]
 Rajko: Ništa ti ne znaš, Zorka. Ništa ti ne znaš! Ništa... Samo znaš ono što jave na televiziji, a? Je l' da?
 [You don't know anything, Zorka. You don't know anything! Anything... You only know what they tell you on TV, right? Am I right?]

2.1.3. Agreement followed by a sudden change of topic

A sudden and unexpected change of topic appears to be a strong signal on the part of the interlocutor that the preceding plain agreeing statement was either not meant seriously (examples 23 and 24) or was intended as ironic (examples 25 and 26), which represents a combination of this strategy and the one discussed above.

- (23) Jean: Do not patronize me. I want the locks changed again in the morning.
Rick: It's okay. *Just go to bed.*
(plain agreement, followed by a change of topic)
- (24) Stanislav: Onda si dotrčala i grunula kutlačom po licu.
[*Than you ran to him and hit him in his face with a ladle.*]
Anica: Pa, dobro, *al'sam ga posle vozila u hitnu.*⁶
[*Well, right, but then I took him to the emergency room.*]
(plain agreement, followed by a change of topic)
- (25) Peter: No, really. I'm startin' to understand it. Wrote me a country song myself yesterday.
Hansen: I'll bet you did. *So what was goin' on in the Valley tonight?*
(ironic agreement, followed by a change of topic)
- (26) Jimmy Gator: I won't call you a slut.
Claudia: Yeah, right. *What are you doing here?*
(ironic agreement, followed by a change of topic)

2.2. Dispreferred agreement as a violation of the Modesty Maxim

A less frequent realization of dispreferred agreeing responses occurs through the violation of Leech's Modesty Maxim, formulated within his Politeness Principle (1983). It consists of the following two submaxims: *Minimize praise of self* and *Maximize praise of other*. The violation of the first submaxim in the case of dispreferred agreement results in an opposite directive: *Maximize praise of self*. However, it should be noted that, besides other-oriented politeness concerns, it has recently been suggested that the speaker's "need to save their own face also has a bearing on their linguistic behaviour" (Chen 2001: 87). Chen proposes a set of four self-politeness superstrategies (similar to those of Brown and Levinson's other-politeness): baldly, with redress, off record and withhold the self-face threatening act. These result in the following output strategies: justify, contradict, hedge, impersonalize, use humour, be confident, be modest, hesitate and attach conditions (Chen 2001: 96–99). Since it is the violation of Leech's Modesty Maxim that is in the focus of this section, it is important to stress that Chen states that the self-politeness output strategy *be modest* is used "when the speaker decides that, in the given situation, modesty is the best alternative to enhance their face" (2001: 100). In the following talk exchanges (dialogues 27 and 28) this is clearly not the case, as the speakers opt for self-praise in order to achieve their immediate goals, estimating that modesty, in these particular contexts, is not the optimal means for saving their own face, even though their reactions may amount to socially dispreferred expressions of self-praise (especially in example 28):

- (27) Solomon: I put your name up on a fucking billboard. I put you in my store. My salesman. My fucking representation of *Solomon Solomon Electronic*. The Quiz Kid Donnie Smith from the game show.
Donnie: *I lent you my celebrity, my name! Exactly!*

⁶ This is another example of a self-face-saving act, a concept that was first mentioned in connection with example 7, and that will further be elaborated on in section 2.2.

- (28) Marna: Niko nije bolji od tebe, maco. [No one's better than you, honey.]
 Milko: *To je tačno...* [*That is true...*]

2.3. Apparent dispreferred agreement

In certain cases, what is formally expressed as an agreeing assessment may, in fact, pragmatically represent a disagreeing response. Such speech acts, which have not been analysed as instances of agreement in the chosen films scripts, are here labelled as *apparent agreements*, and are characterized by a locutionary aspect of an agreeing statement, but an illocutionary force of a disagreeing second turn. What is underlined in examples 31 and 32 is the “misleading” initial agreeing element, while the continuation of the response reveals the true nature of the second turn as an apparent agreement. Examples include the following:

- (29) Daniel: When I was five, this fairy came into my room one night.
 Lara: *Right.*
- (30) Paul: And... Well, Wendy was a big help.
 Hannah: *Oh, I'll bet.*
- (31) Natalija: Napravi mi dete... [Get me pregnant...]
 Cyril: *Jeste, pa da ne znam posle ko je otac.*
 [*Sure, and then I don't know who the father is.*]
- (32) Marko: Da. Nemam dokaze za to, ali znam, sto posto sam. Siguran sam... Pa nemam veze sa njima!
 [Yes. I can't prove it, but I know, a hundred percent. I am sure... And I don't have anything to do with them!]
 Anica: *Da, da! To pomisli svako u tim godinama. U nekom trenutku.*
 [*Well, well! Everyone thinks that when they're that age. At some point.*]

3. CONCLUSIONS

In the selected scripts, in both languages, there are approximately three times more speech acts of disagreeing than of agreeing with the interlocutor. The most probable and obvious reason is that disagreement, unlike agreement, represents an example of a *dialogue of conflict*, which is a strong plot-steering device in dramatic discourse (Culpeper 1996; Katnić-Bakaršić 2003). Likewise, dispreferred agreement, as opposed to the more frequent case of preferred agreement, discussed in Panić-Kavgić (2013b), also serves as a successful plot-steering device.

Within agreeing statements in the analysed dialogues, about 20% can be classified as examples of dispreferred agreement. It should once again be stressed that apparent agreeing assessments were not included in the aforementioned 20%, as they actually represent disagreeing responses. The majority of dispreferred agreements (around 70%) were agreements expressing an ironic attitude, with or without further intensification, or an immediate shift of topic. A further 20% account for instances of unmitigated or mitigated agreement with a self-deprecating remark. All these categories could be classified as indisputably face-threatening. Finally, slightly fewer than 10% of all dispreferred agreeing second turns occur through the

violation of Leech's Modesty Maxim.

The two sets of dialogues – English and Serbian – show no significant differences regarding the patterns of dispreferred agreement, which is slightly more frequent in the US scripts. In both languages, it is a plot-steering device more similar to dispreferred disagreement than to preferred agreement, as it provokes a further self-defensive reaction on the part of the interlocutor whose face has been threatened. When it comes to how this kind of agreement is expressed in the two languages, the only difference between the English and Serbian examples, albeit inconspicuous, is that violating the Modesty Maxim seems to occur slightly more often in the latter. However, it should be reiterated that no significant differences were found as to the number and diversity of modes of expressing such responses.

Olga Panić-Kavgić

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad

olgapk@sbb.rs

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Playing by Heart [Nekoliko lekcija o ljubavi] (directed by Willard Carroll). The film was shown on RTS 2, on February 9, 2011, at 22:45.

Thirteen Conversations about One Thing [Šta reći o sreći] [DVD edition], (directed by Jill Sprecher). [DVD edition], First Production, Beograd: 2002.

Serbian films:

Bure baruta (directed by Goran Paskaljević). [DVD edition], Vans, Beograd: 2005. ISBN: 86-84397-08-8

Đavolja varoš (directed by Vladimir Paskaljević). The film was shown on TVB92, on January 3, 2011, at 22:00.

Ljubav i drugi zločini (directed by Stefan Arsenijević). [DVD edition], Taramount film, Beograd: 2010. ISAN: 0000-0002-0CEC-0000-H-0000-0001-L

Normalni ljudi (directed by Oleg Novković). [DVD edition], Komuna, Beograd: 2005. ISBN: 86-7314-014-5

Žena sa slomljenim nosom (directed by Srđan Koljević). [DVD edition], Tuck Video, Beograd: 2011. ISAN: 0000-0002-C1E2-0000-A-0000-0001-5

HUMOROUS MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN SITCOM DISCOURSE¹

This paper explores unintentional verbal humor in the context of sitcom discourse. Specifically, we focus on misunderstandings as one of several potential sources of unintentional humor. The analysis reveals that sitcom discourse entertains two types of misunderstandings. One type, which we call character-oriented misunderstandings, is imitative of those found in everyday interactions. Misunderstandings of this type are detected and repaired at the level of sitcom characters, and they are usually humorous on both communicative levels of sitcom discourse. The other type, here called recipient-oriented misunderstandings, is peculiar to sitcom discourse, since it draws on the specific role the recipient plays in the framework of participants in sitcom discourse. Sitcom characters either do not detect such misunderstandings, or they do, but do not attempt to repair them. Misunderstandings of the latter type are discussed with respect to their common linguistic trigger (ambiguity), as well as the specific role the recipients play in their elimination.

Key words: sitcom discourse, recipient design, participation framework, linguistic ambiguity

1. INTRODUCTION

Television has been the object of significant scholarly interest, especially in the areas of cultural, media and communication studies (Morley 1992; Scannell 1996; Battles and Morrow-Hilton 2002; Eyal and Rubin 2003; Chory-Assad 2004). Linguistics has contributed handsomely to the study of broadcast television talk, especially from the perspectives of conversation analysis, pragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics (among others, but far from exhaustively, Scannell 1991; Clayman and Heritage 2002; Hutchby 2005; O’Keeffe 2006; Tolson 2006; Montgomery 2007). On the other hand, film dialogue,² as Bubel notices, has been used as data sporadically by language scholars, “either when naturally occurring data has not been accessible... or when they have coincidentally come across a spate of movie or TV dialogue which served as a suitable example for their line of argument...” (Bubel 2008: 55). This pertains to both genres of drama and comedy. The latter has been researched mostly from the perspective of translation studies (Chiaro 2010), frequently not accounting for humorous phenomena at all (see Dynel 2010a, 2011a). This makes fictional television talk a virtually unexplored research area (Quaglio 2009).

The present article addresses the issue of unintentional verbal humor in sitcom discourse. Out of several forms of *conversational humor* (cf. Coates 2007; Dynel 2009) which could be characterized as unintentional (for example, malapropisms, spoonerisms, Freudian slips, etc.), we focus on humorous misunderstandings. Misunderstandings are here understood as responsive conversational turns, which are indicative of the discrepancy between the intended and inferred meanings (cf. Brone 2008; Bazzanella and Damiano 1999). In ordinary, everyday

1 The tentative title of this paper, under which it was presented at *ELALT 2* (March 16, 2013), was “That was unintentionally intentional: More on participation-based sitcom humor”.

2 As Dynel points out, “dialogue” is not an adequate term, since fictional conversationalists also engage in polylogues and monologues (Dynel 2010a, b, 2011a, b). Other terms include “represented talk” (Marshall and Werndly 2002), and “filmic speech” (Kozloff 2000).

conversations the speakers' attitudinal position as regards their unintentional humorous utterances is that they do not mean to be funny, but they still are (Simpson 2003: 16-17). In sitcom discourse, however, unintentional humor exhibits a somewhat paradoxical nature, which is brought about by the specific two-layered nature of film discourse and its dependence on two communicative levels (see Sect. 2.1). This makes unintentional sitcom humor intentionally unintentional,³ i.e. unintentional and (un)humorous at the level of sitcom characters, and humorous at the recipient's level, as *intended* and planned by the collective sender.

2. TV VIEWERS AS RATIFIED LISTENERS/HEARERS TO FILM DISCOURSE

2.1. Participation framework in film discourse

In this article, we adopt the framework of participants in film discourse as proposed by Marta Dynel (Dynel 2011a, b). The syntagm "film (sitcom) discourse" is used to denote the characters' fictional communicative practices, based on their monologues, dialogues and polylogues (Dynel 2011a, b). Film discourse operates on two communicative levels: the inter-character/characters' level and the recipient's level (Dynel 2011a, 2011b). The same participant roles can be discerned at the inter-character/characters' level as in everyday conversations. Dynel assigns roles according to turns, i.e. "stream[s] of speech of varied length terminated by a pause and/or another interactant's verbal contribution" (Dynel 2011b: 1633), with participants changing their roles, and one role sometimes simultaneously performed by a number of individuals. The author's framework of participants in film discourse is summarized below:

I Ratified participants

A. recipient

a. metarecipient

B. interlocutors

a. speaker

b. hearers/listeners (addressee and third party)

II Unratified participants

a. bystander

b. eavesdropper

As it can be seen, participants in film discourse can be ratified and unratified, depending on whether the speaker wishes to communicate meanings to them or not. Ratified participants are the recipient (TV viewer) and the interlocutors. The interlocutors comprise the speaker, the addressee (directly addressed) and the third party (unaddressed). Bystanders and eavesdroppers are unratified.⁴ The metarecipient is a special type of the recipient who consciously analyzes (chosen elements of) the form and content of the collective sender's product (Dynel 2011b: 1636). At the other end of the communication channel is the collective sender. The collective sender comprises everyone involved in filmmaking: script writer(s), director(s), actors, camera operators, film editors, sound editors, etc.

3 We will not be dealing here with cases of purposeful (intentional) misunderstandings at inter-character/characters' level, as instances in which an interlocutor deliberately misinterprets the previous speaker's utterance. Such cases have been elsewhere dubbed "hyper-understandings" (see Brone 2008).

4 Bystanders are openly present, whereas eavesdroppers listen in without the speaker's cognizance. However, not all cases of overhearing are clear-cut (cf. Bubel 2008: 61-62).

2.2. The recipient design

Dynel's participation framework is part of her *viewer-as-listener* approach to film discourse (Dynel 2010a, b, 2011a, b). In (non)linguistic debates over the role of the TV viewer in the framework of participants in film discourse, the key issue is whether to treat the TV viewer as an overhearer of a special type of listener/hearer. Dynel argues that, even though the recipients are verbally passive, and do not contribute to interactions on the screen, they are best conceptualized as *ratified* listeners, since they actively interpret meanings (Dynel 2011b: 1633). The majority of other authors see TV viewers as (unratified) overhearers (e.g. Kozloff 2000; Clayman and Heritage 2002; Hutchby 2005; Bubel 2008), who are no different than everyday overhearers: both have to *conjecture* meaning, not *recognize* it (cf. Clark and Schaefer 1987, 1992).

Furthermore, Dynel puts forward the notion of *recipient design*, which proposes that, in order to reach the goal of putting their intended meanings across to the recipient, the film crew (i.e. the collective sender) uses certain discursive techniques, which are supposed to facilitate the viewer's interpretation processes. The identification of these techniques serves as evidence that the viewer is a ratified listener to film discourse. From the linguistic standpoint, evidence of the collective sender's intentions can be found in *all* of the utterances, turns or interactions, but some of them are more prominent than others. Notwithstanding this, all relevant information must be available to viewers so that they can make the necessary inferences, as intended by the collective sender (Dynel 2010a, 2011a, b).

3. THE PROCEDURE

In order to be able to explore the ways humorous misunderstandings in sitcoms are designed to produce humor in the recipients, we compiled a corpus of 25 transcripts of 5 different situation comedies, or sit-coms (5 episodes each). Sitcoms were selected on the basis of various Internet top-lists of the best American sitcoms. The choice of the episodes themselves was random (the complete list of the comedies and the episodes is supplied in the References). Apart from the transcripts, the video files of the episodes were collected and stored on a hard drive. Since the transcripts used as corpus were uploaded by linguistic non-specialists, the corpus was not annotated for canned laughter. Given that canned laughter was going to serve as the main indicator of humor, the transcripts were first annotated for canned laughter by adding the term "laughter" in round brackets in the transcripts whenever we would hear it in the video files. Using a free text analysis tool (AntConc.3.2.4w), and entering the word "laughter" as a search term, we extracted a set of 2407 concordance lines, which served as examples of humorous utterances. Out of these, we then extracted the examples of unintentional humor. The analysis of the representative examples from the corpus is presented in section 4.

4. DISCUSSION

The hub of the discussion of humorous misunderstandings in sitcom discourse is the framework of the participants in film discourse as proposed by Dynel (2010a, b, 2011a, b). The framework is an integrative part of Dynel's recipient design (see 2.2). We identify two types of humorous misunderstandings in sitcom discourse: character-oriented and recipient-oriented. The first type is suggestive of the interactive patterns found in everyday talk, and the second is

more specific to sitcom (film) discourse. Whereas the second type can, but does not necessarily have to produce a humorous effect at the level of sitcom characters, both types (are intended to) produce humor at the level of the recipient.

4.1. Character-oriented misunderstandings

Similarly to slips of the tongue, malapropisms, and other types of unintentional humor found in sitcom discourse, character-oriented misunderstandings do not capitalize directly on the participation framework. Analogously to nonfictional conversationalists, a character in the fictional world fails to interpret the previous interlocutor's intended meaning adequately. Misunderstandings of this kind are always detected by fictional interlocutors, who attempt to repair them. The recipients' role is relatively passive: they observe the misunderstandings, the resolution of which is supplied in the same scene, and either derive humorous pleasure from them or not.

Example 1 is illustrative of the repaired misunderstanding which produces a humorous effect on both communicative levels.⁵ All the examples and turns are numbered, and the relevant contextual information is supplied in square brackets. The shorthand given in round brackets refers to the sitcom and the episode from which the example was taken. The complete list is supplied in the References.

The polysemy of the phrasal verb "take out" triggers Peggy's misinterpretation of Griff's utterance (line 1) as an invitation to go out on a date with him (line 2). Griff soon repairs the misunderstanding (line 3), and Peggy accepts his repair (line 4). The whole situation produces humor for at least one of the characters (e.g. Marcy who is seen chuckling) and the recipient.⁶

Example 1

[Kelly's wedding. Peggy is outside talking to Marcy. Griff walks over.]

1. Griff: Hey, Peg, you look great! Can I take you out now?
2. Peggy: Griff, we have a wedding to go to! But you can call me tomorrow.
3. Griff: I was talking about taking you to your seat.
4. Peggy: Oh, hahahaha, sure. [chuckles] (MWCHMM)

Since the linguistic mechanisms of this type of misunderstanding have been explored in the literature (see Bazzanella and Damiano 1999), no further attention will be given to them in the rest of this paper. Suffice it to say that all of the examples of character-oriented misunderstandings in the corpus were based on different types of linguistic ambiguity (lexical, lexico-syntactic, syntactic, illocutionary, etc.). In Section 4.2. we turn to recipient-oriented misunderstandings.

4.2. Recipient-oriented misunderstandings

The second type of misunderstanding is based on the specific role the recipients occupy in the framework of participants peculiar to film discourse. Recipient-oriented misunderstandings are like small puzzles which the recipients have to decipher in order to experience humorous pleasure. The collective sender makes sure that the recipients get all the pieces of the puzzle prior to the actual misunderstandings, which sets the recipients apart from some or all the characters

⁵ We adopt the notion of an ideal TV viewer, who always interprets the collective sender's intentions as planned.

⁶ According to any of the variants of the hostility theory (cf. Raskin 1985; Attardo 1994), the recipients experience humor because they feel superior to Peggy embarrassing herself.

(see Dynel 2011a). According to some authors, humor is inherently ambiguous or contradictory (Raskin 1985). It appears that most of the examples of humorous misunderstandings from the corpus are based on one or other type of (non)linguistic ambiguity. Given space limitations, in the following sections some of the most characteristic examples of recipient-oriented humorous misunderstandings will be presented and discussed on the basis of the type of ambiguity that lies in their basis.

4.2.1. Phonological ambiguity

Phonological ambiguity in example 2 is generated by homophony, which occurs when two different, unrelated meanings are pronounced the same, but have different spellings (Cruse 2006: 80). The homophonic phrase “poker buddy” in line 14 produces ambiguity on the basis of juncture (cf. Pepicello 1980). Juncture is the distinguishing feature between the elliptical “Did you poke her buddy” and “Is he your poker buddy”. Charlie’s failure in interpreting Alan’s intention is clearly demonstrated in his response, which, seemingly, bears no relevance to Alan’s question (line 15). On the other hand, Alan is aware that there is some sort of a misunderstanding, but he cannot find its source. What Alan cannot fathom in this scene, the recipients can, owing to the common ground that they share with Charlie and Bill. Having gone through the same conversational (and perceptual) experiences as Charlie and Bill, the recipients learned about Bill’s sex-change operation in the scene preceding the one shown in Example 2, which makes them fully equipped to disambiguate Alan’s question, that is, in the direction which will (hopefully) lead them to a humorous response:

Example 2

[Charlie’s house, the living room. Charlie has introduced his friend Bill to his brother Alan.]

1. Alan: So Bill, you from around here?
2. Bill: I was, but I moved away for a couple of years. Now I’m planning on moving back and buying a place.
- [Evelyn enters from the kitchen.]
3. Evelyn: Hello. Evelyn Harper. Evelyn Harper Real Estate. [hands him a card]
4. Alan: Oh, yea, Mom’s here.
5. Charlie: No problem, I’m drunk.
6. Bill: I’m Bill Shraeder, I’m a friend of Charlie’s.
7. Evelyn: No need to apologize. So, are you interested in renting or buying?
8. Bill: Buying.
9. Evelyn: Excellent. Price range?
10. Bill: I’m flexible.
11. Evelyn: I’ll bet you are. But I was talking money.
12. Bill: So was I.
13. Evelyn: Oooh, sexy and liquid. I like that in a man.
- [She takes his arm and they go into the kitchen.]
14. Alan: Nice guy. Poker buddy?
15. Charlie: Used to. And don’t call me “buddy”. [Charlie leaves.] (THMOFNW)

4.2.2. Ambiguity of terms of address

The use of direct address to create humor has already been discussed in the literature (Norricks and Bubel 2009). Terms of abuse, or “taboo naming expressions” (Carter and

McCarthy 2006: 226), are particularly interesting, since “whether mild or apparently deeply insulting, we must always remember that they can be turned into covert endearments if said in a particular way in a particular context” (Dunkling 1990: 11). Our corpus revealed several instances of misunderstandings exploiting the pragmatic properties of the abusive terms of address. One of them is shown below.

The exchange of “you son of a bitch” and “you bastard” between the men on the plane and George (lines 4, 5, 8, 10 and 12) shows attendance to George’s positive face (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). That none of the parties take offense is clearly indicated in their non-verbal language (laughter). Mr. Wilhelm is an overhearer to this conversation, since the import of Gardner’s, Zeke’s and Clayton’s utterances is not available to him. Therefore, he makes the wrong conjecture, evident in line 13, that George is being insulting or disrespectful to his collective addressees. Having seen several earlier scenes in which George pretends to be busy by looking annoyed so his boss Mr. Wilhelm would not make him work, the recipients are able to foresee the misunderstanding even before it happens (line 12) and then laugh at George’s mishap:

Example 3

[Inside an airplane – Gardner, Zeke and Clayton are calling George at the Yankee Stadium. The three men are drinking and laughing.]

1. George: Hello?
2. Clayton: uh...is that you, George?
3. George: [laughs] Yeah, it’s me. Is this Clayton?
4. Clayton: Well listen, you son of a bitch! You know where we are? 30,000 feet above your head, you bastard!
5. George: What are they doin’ lettin’ you bastards on an airplane? Don’t they know that’s against FAA regulations?
6. Clayton: [to the other 2 men] Hey, hush up, now! I can’t hear him!
7. George: Listen. I want you guys to send along those agreements the minute you land. Our boys can’t wait to kick your butts!
8. Zeke: [to Clayton] When’s that bastard comin’ to Houston?
9. Clayton: Hey, Zeke wants to know when you Yankee bastards are comin’ to Houston!
10. George: You tell that son of a bitch no Yankee is ever comin’ to Houston. Not as long as you bastards are running things.
11. Clayton: Hey, uh, speak up, George, I can’t hear ya!
12. George: [Mr. Wilhelm comes into the hallway and hears George yelling] You tell that son of a bitch no Yankee is ever comin’ to Houston! Not as long as you bastards are running things! [Mr. Wilhelm comes running, takes the phone from George and hangs up].
13. Wilhelm: George! George, get a hold of yourself!
14. George: Mr. Wilhelm ... (SHT)

4.2.3. Ambiguity of figures of speech and idioms

The opposition between literal and intended meaning inherent in figurative language (Cruse 2006: 63) makes it a suitable ground for misunderstandings to occur. This is particularly the case with irony. The traditional definitions of verbal irony underline the element of oppositeness, i.e. ironic utterances are used to express something opposite from what they literally mean (see Attardo 2000; Dynel 2010a; on sarcastic irony see Jorgensen 1996).

Kelly's failure to grasp the ironic overtones of Bud's utterance (line 8) becomes clear from her (non-linguistic) reaction to it (see line 8). Many of the series in the corpus exploit various stereotypes, such as the dumb blonde in the series below (*Married with Children*). Fitting the dumb blonde stereotype, Kelly interprets the ironic utterance as a literal request, and does as she is asked. In a later scene, which could not be reproduced here due to space limitations, Kelly reappears with the bucket, and explains to Peggy why she filled it with water. Unable to make any sense of Kelly's explanation, Peggy brushes it off, but the recipient has all the conditions necessary to derive humor from it:

Example 4

[Kelly and Bud are fixing the doorbell.]

1. Kelly: Why do we have to fix the doorbell?
 2. Bud: Well, Kelly, that's why grown-ups have kids. They have me to fix things and you to... say "what's that?" every time you see an airplane. Now, you're sure the power's off?
 3. Kelly: For the thousandth time, yes, the power is off.
- [Bud believes her. He steps outside with a screwdriver and proceeds to fix the doorbell. An electrocution noise sounds and sparks begin to fly. The lights flicker. Bud screams for mercy.]
4. Bud: HELP ME!!!
- [The electrocution ends. Bud steps back into the doorway. Smoke surrounds him and his hair is standing up on end.]
5. Bud: Kelly, spell "off".
- [Kelly just looks at him.]
6. Bud: SPELL IT!!!
 7. Kelly: O ... something.
 8. Bud: Well, I'm just gonna change the ol' underwear ... And we'll start this again. Maybe next time you could go the extra mile and put a bucket of water for me to stand in. [Bud goes upstairs. Kelly shrugs, then opens the closet to find a bucket. She takes it out back.] (MWCDTS)

Idioms embody the same duality of meaning which is found in figurative language. Sitcom discourse is replete with idioms and set phrases of various sorts, which are, due their familiarity, easy to manipulate for humorous purposes through literalization (see Norrick 2007).

In the example below, Peggy's interprets the idiomatic phrase "bring tears to one's eyes" (to be moved to tears) literally, to mean, roughly, "start crying because of the bad smell coming from the hamper" (line 4). Peggy is genuinely misguided in her failure to interpret the expression as idiomatic, as is Al, which is clearly demonstrated in his apologetic facial expression.

Married with Children is a "slobcom", a type of sitcom where family values are mocked and ridiculed, so and the recipients are familiar with the dirty laundry theme, recurrent in this sitcom. This gives them the ability to fully interpret the cause of the misunderstanding, or the humorous incongruity that occurs on the basis of the opposition between the literal and idiomatic meaning.

Example 5

[Kelly's wedding. The groom's and bride's parents are talking on the lawn in front of the bride's parents' house.]

1. Mrs Tot: You have such a lovely home. It reminds me of when we started out. Earl had nothing but two pounds of cow lips, a bucket of nitrates and a dream.

2. Peggy: You know, that's funny. Al had all that; except for the dream ... and the bucket.
3. Mrs. Tot: Well, just being here, just brings tears to my eyes.
[The Tots move away.]
4. Peggy: Al, I told you to close your hamper. (MWCHMM)

4.2.4. Inferential ambiguity

The fact that utterances can trigger more than one contextually coherent inference is often used to generate inferential ambiguity (cf. Brone 2008: 2048). The mechanism is the same: one or more characters do not have enough information to make the right inferences, which creates the basis for misunderstandings.

Being a nonparticipant to the conversation between Debra and Marie 1-19, Robert draws a logical inference on the basis of Marie's utterances in 27, in line with the nature of the product that Marie gave to Debra. Since the recipients witnessed the scene prior to Robert's arrival, they are able to understand the reason for Robert's misguided inference and laugh at Debra:

Example 6

[Debra is in the kitchen tidying up. Marie enters.]

1. Marie: Hello dear.
2. Debra: Oh, hi, how are ya?
3. Marie: Good, good. Oh, where are the children?
4. Debra: Oh, I got them plugged in. Barney's in charge for the next half hour.
5. Marie: Oh, well, enjoy your break. You deserve it honey. I remember before television, we actually had to be with the kids. So, how you doing?
6. Debra: I'm fine, why?
7. Marie: Well, have you been getting enough rest because you look a little tired?
8. Debra: Oh well, occupational hazard.
9. Marie: Oh boy. Oh boy, honey, I know, I've been there. Have you ever wondered why Frank and I have such a good relationship?
10. Debra: No.
11. Marie: Well, you know, it's because I know the importance of keeping up my appearance.
[Gets a tube of cream from her pocket.] Here's something I use for the little wrinkles around the eyes.
12. Debra: Marie, this is hemorrhoid cream.
13. Marie: It stinks a little, but it really works. See? [indicates her eyes] You might want to try it. So, how are things between you and Ray?
14. Debra: Well, I'm not sure we need this. [hands the tube back.]
15. Marie: Oh, well, you know me Debra, I'm the last person to want to cause any trouble, but um, I er... I've heard some things.
16. Debra: Things? Marie. All Ray did was leave his wallet at Nemo's.
17. Marie: Oh, I said too much. Maybe I should go. I was never here.
18. Debra: Marie, I'm not worried about Ray.
19. Marie: Oh, I trust Ray, too. I don't trust that pizza parlor puttana. [leaves the tube] Here, a gift.
[Robert and Frank enter.]
20. Robert: Hey.
21. Frank: Hey Marie, we're starving over there.

22. Marie: Oh, okay, okay. [To Debra] Good luck honey.
 23. Debra: I don't need good luck, there's nothing going on.
 24. Frank: Marie, what's she talking about?
 25. Marie: Nothing. Nothing, we were just having a discussion.
 26. Frank: Marie, you're killing me with your yapping.
 [Robert is looking at the cream.]
 27. Marie: No, it's not for you dear. It's for Debra.
 28. Robert: Oh. [pulls a face] Sorry. (ELRLDT)

5. CONCLUSION

The paper set out to discuss a specific subtype of misunderstanding – the one that results in humor. Since naturally occurring corpus of such misunderstandings is difficult to obtain, a corpus of fictional sitcom discourse was collected, and the examples analyzed within the context of the recipient design, which proposes that communication in film discourse takes place on two communicative levels (cf. Dynel 2010a, b, 2011a, b). The linguistic analysis conducted in section 4 was aimed at demonstrating the ways the collective sender used linguistic ambiguity to create misunderstandings at the level of sitcom characters, which the recipients were supposed to resolve on their communicative level in order to be able to enjoy humor. As such, these examples validate Dynel's thesis that the viewer is a listener and not an overhearer of film discourse.

Although recipient design, together with the framework of participants in film discourse, offers a sound basis for the discussion of verbal (and nonverbal) interactions on screen, its main drawback is that, by focusing on sitcom discourse as the product of the collective sender, it neglects the cognitive (interpretative) processes that occur in the recipients, since it normally assumes the ideal view of film discourse interpretation (see Dynel 2011b: 1636). It follows, then, that misunderstandings, as a phenomenon revolving around the issue of comprehension, can only be partially covered within the recipient design. For this reason, we believe, a more adequate theoretical treatment of humorous misunderstandings in film discourse should be looked for within psycholinguistic or cognitive linguistic theory.

Olja Jojić

Faculty of Philosophy, University of East Sarajevo

jojicolja@gmail.com

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WEBSITES USED FOR DATA COLLECTION

<http://www.twiztv.com>
<http://www.albundy.net>
<http://www.seinfeldscripts.com>

LIST OF SITCOMS AND EPISODES USED AS CORPUS

1. *Married With Children*

Married without Children (MWCWMC); Bud Hits the Books (MWCBBH); Buck Can Do It (MWCBDI); Do Ya Think I'm Sexy? (MWCDTS); How to Marry a Moron (MWCHMM)

2. *Two and a Half Men*

Did you Check with the Captain of the Flying Monkeys? (THMCFM); An Old Flame With a New Wick (THMOFNW); I Can't Afford Hyenas (THMCAH); No Sniffing, No Wowing (THMNSNW); Pilot (THMP)

3. *Frasier*

The Proposal (FP); Caught in the Act (FCIA); I'm Listening (FIL); Boo! (FB); Freudian Sleep (FFS)

4. *Everybody Loves Raymond*

In-laws (ELRIL); Standard Deviation (ELRSD); Win, Lose or Draw (ELRWLD); Turkey or Fish (ELRTF); Look, Don't Touch (ELSLDT)

5. *Seinfeld*

The Hot Tub (SHT); Serenity Now (SSN); The Frogger (STF); The Betrayal (STB); The Outing (STO)

***MAN TEXT DECODER & WE READ HOT GIRLS' MINDS:* HEADLINES IN "MALE" AND "FEMALE" ONLINE MAGAZINES**

The aim of this paper is to explore the differences between headlines in online magazines aimed at a mainly female audience and those designated for a predominantly male audience. Various approaches to the relationship between language and gender acknowledge the existence of gender-based linguistic differences but interpret their origin and features differently. This research will address gender as a category which is performed and constructed through language use, rather than a given and fixed. Lifestyle magazines, even though frequently labelled as stereotypical and trite, may be seen as an element of gender construction in the mass media, since they carry the social ideologies encoded in their discourse. For the purpose of this small-scale case study a special corpus was comprised, consisting of headlines from the magazines *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* acquired on the respective web sites throughout a three-month period. These were analysed on a lexical, semantic and pragmatic level and the findings were contrasted with regards to the audience they are predominantly aimed at. The findings partially delineate the existing gender stereotypes in the media discourse as the collective resources, but some of the differences deviate from the gender-based social norms and provide ground for further research.

Keywords: gendered language, headlines, online magazines, *Cosmopolitan*, *FHM*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Street news stands and shop shelves, as well as the virtual environment in which we spend an ever increasing amount of time, offer information galore in every imaginable medium and form. The category of lifestyle magazines, among all media, is very inclusive in terms of the target audience, but frequently very exclusive regarding choice of topics and priorities. Apart from providing, in the majority of cases, light entertainment and distraction, such magazines also participate in constructing the larger media discourse and (re)establishing social patterns.

This paper explores the linguistic differences in the headlines of lifestyle magazines targeting a predominantly male and a female audience. The research provides a multi-angled analysis of the linguistic properties of headlines found in the online editions of *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM*. The introductory part presents the theoretical background on the perspectives in language and gender research and elaborates on the role of headlines in the media discourse. This is followed by the research methodology framework, and finally the study results are delivered and interpreted.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Language and gender

The relationship between language and gender has always attracted the attention of various scholars, linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, and their studies have explored the

issue from diverse perspectives. The importance of this field can be illustrated by the coinage of term *genderlect* that Perry et al. (1992) employed to denote masculine and feminine styles of discourse, viewed as two distinct cultural dialects. When synthesizing some of the previous gender-related research, McElhinny (2003: 22) notes four crucial and debatable assumptions: “(1) gender is closely wedded to sex, and the study of gender is closely wedded to the study of heterosexuality; (2) gender is an attribute; (3) the study of gender is the study of individuals; and (4) gender is best studied where most salient”.

From a historical point of view, several phases or approaches can be distinguished in the development of language and gender research. The *deficit approach* was especially prominent in the 1970s, when linguists such as Robin Lakoff proposed that “the marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways women are expected to speak, and the ways in which women are spoken of” (Lakoff 1973: 45). The next decade was marked by the so-called *difference approach*, which highlighted the strengths and specific characteristics of women’s language and also acknowledged the structure creating power (Arvidsson 2009). The main notions of this approach are amply illustrated in the title of Tannen’s (1990) book *You Just Don’t Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. The author emphasises the existence of differences in women’s and men’s conversational styles and underlines the need to understand them in order to achieve more successful communication. To exemplify, Tannen (1990) suggests that women value intimacy, while men hold independence in higher esteem, leading to women being prone to seeking sympathy in conversations and men to offering solutions to problems and giving advice. Moreover, men are more focused on gathering factual, rather than personal information, as is the case with women. In general, it is claimed that men are more comfortable in public/onstage talk, whereas women communicate more freely in private/backstage talk. There are also notable differences in the perception of conversational conflict; men see it as necessary and identity constructing, but women consider it a threat to their social relationships.

Further development in this field brought on the *dynamic* or *social constructionist approach*, which is still relevant and emphasises gender as something socially constructed, rather than given. From a linguistic point of view, this approach fosters the notion that “gender is not a static, add-on characteristic of speakers, but something that is accomplished in talk every time we speak” (Coates 2004: 7). Cameron (1997) introduces the notion of *performative gender work*, noting that masculinity and femininity can be performed through different strategies in the various settings and company to constitute the interactants as gendered subjects.

When approaching the relationship between language and gender from a sociolinguistic point of view, there are two important concepts to take into consideration. The first one is the *speech community*, defined as a set of shared linguistic norms (Labov 1972), placing the emphasis on the linguistic aspect of the relationship, marginalising the non-linguistic elements of interaction. On the other hand, Bucholtz (1999) proposes the concept of *community of practice*: by recognizing practice – the social projects of participants – as the motivating context for linguistic interaction, the theory of the community of practice makes activity much more central to sociolinguistic analysis. Just as importantly, whereas the speech community model understands language as fundamentally disembodied – as detachable from the physicality of speakers – the community of practice literally reincorporates language into the physical self (Bucholtz 1999: 208). Such a shift in the perspective alters the perception of speakers: their role is no longer a passive one, that of sharing and reproducing shared linguistic systems, but a more active one – they become agents of language and practise their identities rather than assuming fixed identity categories.

2.2. Lifestyle magazines

The origin of lifestyle magazines can be traced to early modern conduct books (Armstrong and Tennenhouse 1987), which established a division of the social world into public and private, economic and domestic, labour and leisure, based on the principle of gender. Linguistic divisions were also present, and there was an allocation of linguistic duties, where the man/husband was the one to deal with many other people, be entertaining and skilful in talk, and the woman/wife spoke with fewer people, was expected to be solitary and withdrawn and boast of silence (Cameron 2003: 451). Such strict social divisions are less salient in contemporary times, but lifestyle magazines might be seen as performing the role of conduct books and manuals, directing their target audience towards desirable lifestyle choices. This is done through the contents and topics they offer, but also through the language employed.

As Cameron (2003:464) notes, “human beings are social beings, their identities and practices are produced from social (which is to say, collective rather than purely individual) resources. And the representations that circulate in a culture are among those collective resources”. Lifestyle magazines, containing such representation, may be considered a part of those collective resources, which justifies the relevance of their exploration.

The magazines in this study were chosen for the corpus based on their significance and influence in the respective media sphere. *Cosmopolitan* is a monthly lifestyle magazine for women, published by Hearst Magazines and distributed in over one hundred countries. Its first publication was in 1886, but it aimed at solely female audience in the 1960s. The articles it publishes relate to relationships and love life, beauty and health, career, professional development and celebrities. What makes *Cosmopolitan* a milestone in this media sphere is definitely the character of the *Cosmo Girl*, the icon of a young, adventurous and sexually liberated woman, who knows what she wants and is not afraid to go for it. Nowadays *Cosmopolitan* is the world’s best-selling magazine for young women.

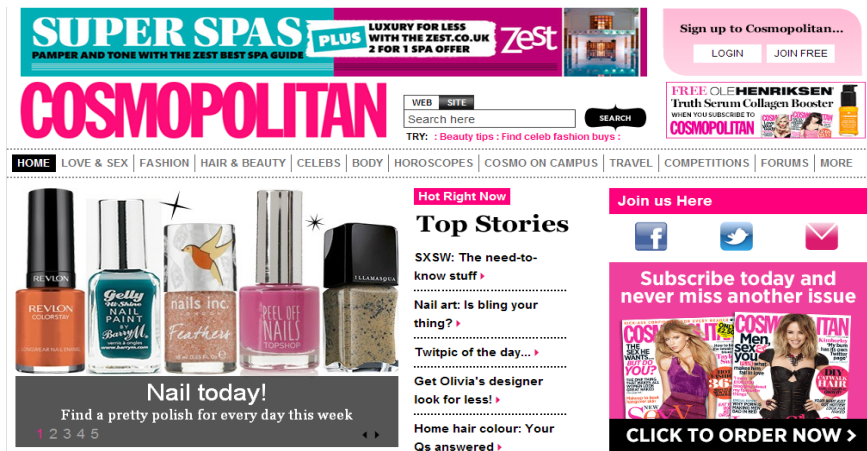


Figure 1. Cover of *Cosmopolitan* online edition, March 2013

For Him Magazine is an international lifestyle magazine for men, first published in 1985 in UK and now distributed in 28 national editions. At first it dealt exclusively with fashion and style. Nowadays, its topics span sports gear and equipment, technology and IT gadgets, music and film reviews, but also features columns like *High Street Honeys* and the popular *FHM 100*

Sexiest Women in the World. Many prominent female celebrities have done photo-sessions with *FHM*'s photographers and pride themselves on appearing on its cover. The largest portion of the magazine's profit comes from advertising, rather than sales.

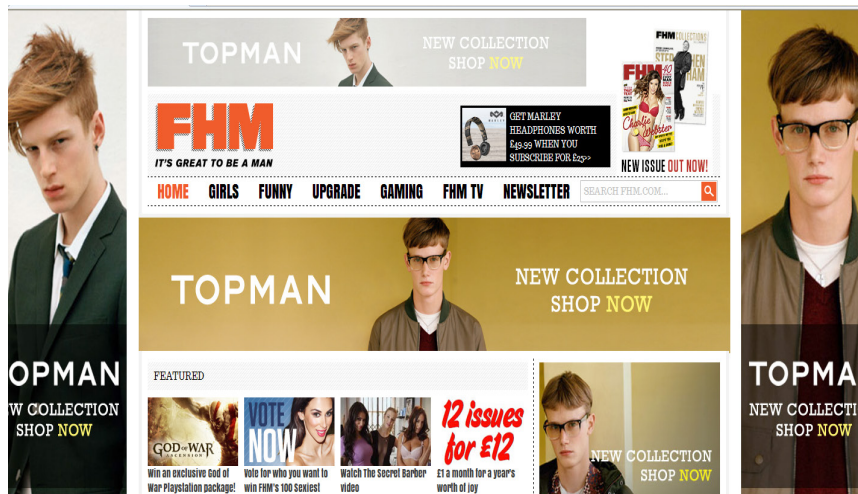


Figure 2. Cover of *FHM* online edition, March 2013

2.3. Headlines

The present research focuses on magazine headlines for several reasons. First, they were of particular interest since, according to Bell (1991), headlines can be categorised and analysed as a distinct subgenre of the overall media language. A headline can be defined as an “extremely short, economical text, written in such a way as to inform the reader about the content of the article, while at the same time, by arousing his/her curiosity, to persuade them to read the whole article” (Silaški 2009: 60); it serves the same purpose as the “slogans in advertisements – that of attracting attention and encouraging the potential consumer to buy the advertised product”. These forms are in most cases limited in terms of space and therefore resemble block language that “typically employs a simple clause structure often omitting *closed-class items of low information value* [emphasis in the original]” (Quirk et al. 1985: 845). This also means that the authors often omit unnecessary words, such as articles, the verb *be* etc., without such omission affecting the overall comprehensibility of the text (Šipošová 2011).

Crystal (1969: 174) notes that “the function of headlining is complex: headlines have to contain a clear, succinct and if possible intriguing message, to kindle a spark of interest in the potential reader, who, on average, is a person whose eye moves swiftly down a page and stops when something catches his attention”. Considering this, it is evident that headlines reach out to a wider audience than the article they announce. For this reason, headlines must lean on a stock of cultural knowledge, representations and models of reality assumed to be widespread in the society. As mentioned before, such collective resources take part in identity construction and, in this light, exploring headlines might also contribute to yielding the gender identities as constructed in the overall media discourse.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Objectives

This research aims to explore the linguistic differences between the headlines in online magazine designated for a mainly female audience and those designated predominantly for a male audience. As it is only a small-scale study, it will not offer an in-depth analysis, but rather focus on some general tendencies the corpus exhibits on the semantic, lexical and pragmatic level, so as to identify the major distinctions in construction and use of headlines.

3.2. Research corpus

In order to conduct this research, two corpora were comprised, drawing on Gilquin and Gries' (2009: 6) definition of corpus as a collection of texts “representative with regard to a particular variety/register/genre, meaning that the corpus contains data for each part of the variety/register/ genre the corpus is supposed to represent”.

The headlines were collected from the online editions of the magazines *Cosmopolitan* and *For Him Magazine* published in a three-month period, from December 2012 to February 2013. A total of 721 units was extracted, 387 headings and headlines from *Cosmopolitan* and 334 headings and headlines from *FHM*. The online editions of these issues do not contain all of the articles found in the hard copies, but are freely accessible to all Internet users, meaning that they target a wider audience (e.g. readers who cannot afford to buy the hard copy regularly or at all).

3.3. Approach, methods and instruments

The collected headlines were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative analysis was employed from the perspective of corpus linguistics. This approach was adopted for the advantages it offers in terms of research scope and efficiency. Computer-mediated corpus analysis methods allow for the research to be realised on extensive data samples, diminish the effect of researchers' subjectivity and enable complementary employment of both quantitative and qualitative analysis (Mautner 2009: 123). The *Wordsmith 5.0* tool was employed to conduct the lexical analysis. This is “an integrated suite of programmes for looking at how words behave in texts” (Scott 2008), and it is used by lexicographers, language teachers, students and researchers. Its main features include Concordancing, WordLists and KeyWords.

Qualitative analysis was first done from the semantic viewpoint, i.e. the headlines were considered in terms of their semantic features, and based on that the most prominent semantic categories in the corpora were established. Following this, the pragmatic properties of the corpora were examined. First, the headlines were analysed with regard to Grice's Cooperative principle, which instructs the speakers to make their contribution such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which they are engaged (Grice 1989: 26). More precisely, this part of the research deals with whether and how the conversational maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner are adhered to. In such cases, irony and humour occurrences are present and intended by the interlocutors (cf. Grice 1975; Brown and Levinson 1987; Werkmann 2011).

Furthermore, the corpora were analysed with regard to the performativity of the language used, where particular emphasis was placed on speech acts, drawing on Searle's (1985) categorisation of illocutionary speech acts to assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. Finally, the occurrence of face-work and politeness strategies in headlines

was explored within the framework of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, which relies on two conditions: the first being that all interlocutors have a face, the public self-image they claim for themselves and which consists of a negative aspect (freedom of action and freedom from imposition) and a positive aspect (the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of; Brown and Levinson 1987: 61). The phenomenon of face is highly dynamic and everyday communication includes face-threatening acts (FTAs), "that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 65), and may threaten both one's positive and negative face. This theory regards politeness as face-saving behaviour or, in other words, politeness is defined as the employment of various threat-minimising politeness strategies. These strategies include positive and negative politeness, bald on-record and off-record (or indirect) politeness.

4. FINDINGS

4.1. Lexical analysis

The lexical analysis of headlines was conducted using *Wordsmith Tools 5.0*. First the headlines from both magazines were uploaded to the software in order to perform sentence splitting, tokenisation, POS tagging and lemmatisation. In the next stage lexical frequency was determined. The results of this module are presented in Table 1 and Table 2. When it comes to *Cosmopolitan*, the most frequent lexical tokens include words such as *new* (N=21), *hair* (N=18), *best*, *celeb*, *man* (N=17 each), *want* (N=14), *shop* (N=13), *Cosmo* (N=11) and *beauty*, *fashion*, *make* (N=10 each).

	TOKEN	FREQUENCY		TOKEN	FREQUENCY
1	new	21	19	hairstyle	7
2	hair	18	20	look	7
3	best	17	21	sexy	7
4	celeb	17	22	tip	7
5	man	17	23	watch	7
6	want	14	24	body	6
7	shop	13	25	celebrity	6
8	Cosmo	11	26	date	6
9	beauty	10	27	diet	6
10	fashion	10	28	hot	6
11	make	10	29	love	6
12	best	8	30	naked	6
13	day	8	31	way	6
14	Oscar	8	32	bag	5
15	secret	8	33	Christmas	5
16	sex	8	34	fitness	5
17	week	8	35	girl	5
18	date	7	36	love	5

Table 1. Lexical frequency analysis in *Cosmopolitan* corpus

In the *FHM* headlines corpus, the lexical tokens with the highest frequency are *FHM* (N=59), *new* (N=26), *girl* (N=21), *win* (N=18), *sex* (N=17), *guide* (N=16), *make* (N=14) and *best*, *want*, *video*, *medal* (N=13 each).

	TOKEN	FREQUENCY		TOKEN	FREQUENCY
1	FHM	59	19	Friday	8
2	new	26	20	sexy	8
3	girl	21	21	tip	8
4	win	18	22	week	8
5	sex	17	23	exclusive	7
6	guide	16	24	hot	7
7	make	14	25	Nike	7
8	best	13	26	summer	7
9	medal	13	27	thing	7
10	video	13	28	time	7
11	want	13	29	woman	7
12	Euroball	11	30	world	7
13	podium	11	31	Adidas	6
14	date	9	32	awesome	6
15	day	9	33	collection	6
16	man	9	34	good	6
17	Olympic	9	35	kick	6
18	trainer	9	36	know	6

Table 2. Lexical frequency analysis in *FHM* corpus

In the next part of the analysis the tool of concordancing was applied, in order to explore the context of occurrence of some specific tokens. Namely, we investigated how the authors of headlines in the corpora labelled and referred to the members of the opposite sex, i.e. the lexical and semantic environment of tokens such as *girl*, *woman*, *man* and *boy* appeared. Also, the tokens *sex* and *love* were prominent in the frequency analysis lists, so it was interesting to analyse how these were contextualised.

The *Cosmopolitan* context was searched for words with the roots *boy*, *man*, *love* and *sex*. The tokens containing the root *boy* were far less frequent than the token *man/men* (N=17/2) and appeared either in the compound *boyfriend* (N=4) or as *boy* (N=1), but used in the sense of *boyfriend*. The tokens *man/men*, some of the contextual occurrences of which are shown in Figure 3, were much more frequent. The domain of their use is similar to that of the token *boy*, limited in reference to current or potential intimate partners.

N	Concordance
1	athletes Ryan Gosling; the perfect boyfriend Strictly stars are hot to (fox)
2	turn-off Cameron Diaz wants a British boyfriend Get a date in 30 days or
3	dating Chivalry is dead Wanna bag a boy? An intro to sex toys... Men are
4	his text really mean? Who has the best boyfriend? Durex's new vibe is a
5	Cosmo's advice for Taylor Swift The X (boyfriend) Files: Taylor Swift Want help

N	Concordance
1	women forgive cheaters (but men don't) Men in tights When should you meet
2	20 facts about flirting Girls snog 22 men before meeting Mr Right Men who
3	annoying things about men Is your man a sexy sleeper? Why women
4	Why women forgive cheaters (but men don't) Men in tights When should
5	snog 22 men before meeting Mr Right Men who visit museums make the best
6	their brand new single WATCH: Iron Man 3 trailer JLaw as Katniss Everdeen
7	mantras Would you know if your man was depressed? When Body
8	affect relationships? Can you date like a man? It's Cosmo's mistletoe
9	Sexy Valentine's Day lingerie Last min Valentine's gifts for guys SHOP
10	too The most annoying things about men Is your man a sexy sleeper? Why

Figure 3. "Men" and "boy" in *Cosmopolitan*

Secondly, the concordances of tokens with the roots *love* and *sex* were analysed in the *Cosmopolitan* corpus (Figure 4). The token *love* (N=6) was less frequent than the tokens *sex* (N=8) or those containing *sex* (N=10) and was used in diverse ways, as a verb to express strong preferences, rather than romantic affection, as well as a noun denoting romantic feelings or a desired partner. The tokens with the root *sex* occurred with higher frequency, either denoting sexual intercourse or as a marker of attractiveness for both persons and products/styles.

N	Concordance
1	Onesies to keep you ultra cosy! Do you LOVE H&M? SHOP 30 buys to brighten
2	CV Celebrity maternity fashion Celebs love leather! Cat Deeley shows off her
3	say? Get involved in Red Nose Day Love Nicole's front row hair? Get the
4	Issue The YouTube sensation we love It's time to get baking! Is the
5	Avoid hangovers from hell Did you love Girls? Have you got January
6	the 'Carrie' necklace Prepare to fall in love We WANT this dress! Is Topshop
7	via Groupon? Only 1 in 10 of us love being single! Find The One at your
8	from The Notebook? You know you're in love when... Would you say yes if your
9	their ideal 'number' Do you believe in love at first sight? Cosmo's advice for
10	dating profile? The new way to find love on the internet? The dawn of the

N	Concordance
1	is dead Wanna bag a boy? An intro to sex toys... Men are from Earth - and
2	- AGAIN! Check out Gary Barlow's sexiest pics Gary Lucy NAKED! HOT!
3	moments EVER Have award-winning sex - NOW! Want 50 Shades sex?
4	sex - NOW! Want 50 Shades sex? Movember alert! Handlebar, devil
5	Hotness, Prince Harry Thom Evans' sexiest pics Who wants a Rylan
6	new buys Got a Valentine's date? Sexy Valentine's Day lingerie Last min
7	The best place to test perfume? The sexiest scent The secret to long-lasting
8	things about men Is your man a sexy sleeper? Why women forgive
9	to behold! Cupcake or doughnut? Get sexy for less this Valentine's Day
10	15 Luxury Sex Toys Will you be getting sexy this Christmas? Give the perfect

Figure 4. "Love" and "sex" in *Cosmopolitan*

Similar tokens were explored in the *FHM* corpus. Here, the concordance of tokens with the root *girl* and *woman* were examined first (Figure 5). The token *girl* (N=21) and token with that root (N=9) were far more frequent than the token *woman/women* and used to refer to current or potential partners, especially sexual partners. The token *woman* (N=7) and the tokens with this root (N=2) appeared fewer times (N=7), and were used to denote an emotional relationship partner in general.

N	Concordance
1	the move You could take one of these girls on a date! Why not take one of
2	date! Why not take one of these single girls on a date? FHM plays Cupid —
3	Dates of the Week Take one of these girls on a date, if you want Kickstart the
4	to conversation starters FHM Single Girls - dates of the week! How to get
5	- dates of the week! How to get your girlfriend to make a sex tape How to get
6	to make a sex tape How to get your girlfriend to give you a blowjob How to
N	Concordance
1	Send us a pic Are you dating an older woman? TELL US Have you ever been
2	US Have you ever been with an older woman? FHM teaches you how to snog
3	Girls We Love Honeys 100 Sexiest Women Single Girls FHM Shop Web
4	this Valentine's Day Where to Meet Women: The Top 5 Places How to have
5	wished actually existed Insane crash: women driver flips her boyfriend out the
6	Lister on dating Kirsty Gallacher: What women really want A river refuge in

Figure 5. “Women” and “girls” in *FHM*

Lastly, there were fewer tokens with the root *love* (N=6), than those with the root *sex* (N=25) and these were mostly used to denote sexual activities or to express strong liking for something. The tokens with *sex* were found much in a higher number of *FHM* headlines and, as presented in Figure 6, used almost exclusively to denote sexual activities, with the exception of adjectival use in reference to current or potential partners (*sexiest* in line 10).

N	Concordance
1	The loneliness of the long-distance lover Be the king of 'The Swing'
2	they can make your life better FHM's love experts reveal the keys to
3	move out of the "Friend Zone" Girls We Love Honeys 100 Sexiest Women
4	hotline for angry ranters The Sky Who Loved Me: TV giant launch dedicated
5	Stussy to make trainers you'd bloody love Puma Teammate launch party with
6	gives FHM a lesson in the art of love Nicholas Deakins Spring/Summer
N	Concordance
1	on Facebook? The FHM Guide to Cyber Sex FHM Single Girls - dates of the
2	How to get your girlfriend to make a sex tape How to get your girlfriend to
3	you a blowjob How to approach anal sex Dealing with incompatible sexual
4	Top 5 Places How to have good phone sex Can you find a girlfriend on
5	good guide Motor news: How to have sex in a car 11 new ways to have better
6	sex in a car 11 new ways to have better sex Massage tips: Rub her up the right

Figure 6. “Love” and “sex” in *FHM*

4.2. Semantic analysis

The semantic segment of the analysis began with a cursory overview of the corpus in order to determine possible semantic categories. The existing columns in both magazines served as a starting point, however, since there was a significant discrepancy in these between *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM*, it was necessary to further elaborate these column divisions in order to perform the semantic categorisation of headlines in both online magazines. This resulted in the following categorisation: *Relationships & Dating*, *Women/Girls – Men/Boys*, *Sex*, *Fitness & Health*, *Fashion and Beauty*, *Entertainment and Leisure* and *Celebrities*. All the headlines were then grouped into these categories and their occurrence was quantitatively analysed. As is evident from Figure 7, the majority of headlines in the overall corpus were classified in the category *Entertainment & Leisure*, followed by the categories *Fashion & Beauty* and *Celebrities*. Headlines least frequently occurred in the corpus in the categories *Sex* and *Women/Girls – Men/Boys*, respectively.

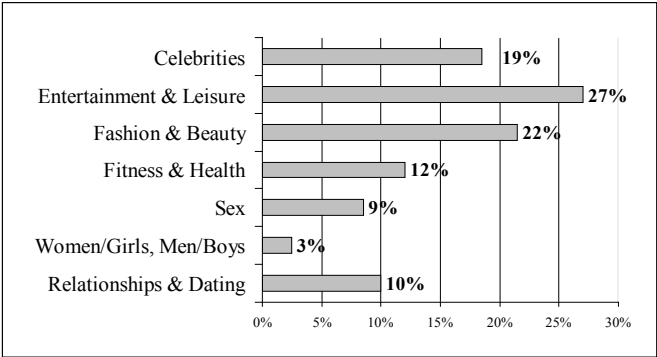


Figure 7. Overall distribution of semantic categories in the corpus

Next, the distribution of headlines in the semantic categories was compared in the *Cosmopolitan* and the *FHM* corpus to explore whether there are some differences in distribution. The proportions of the aforementioned semantic categories in *Cosmopolitan* magazine headlines are presented in Figure 8.

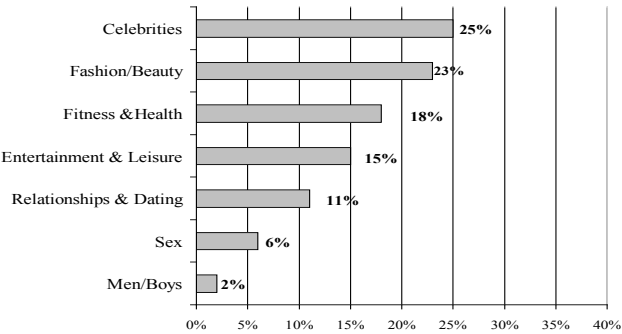


Figure 8. Distribution of semantic categories in *Cosmopolitan* headlines

The greatest percentage of headlines (25%) in the *Cosmopolitan* corpus belongs to the category *Celebrities*, which includes headlines related to a wide range of news, reports and gossip about prominent figures from show-business, film and music industry:

- (1) *CONFIRMED: Katie Price hitched!*
- (2) *Cameron Diaz is getting fit for Oscars*
- (3) *Ryan Gosling: the perfect boyfriend*

This is followed by the category *Fashion & Beauty* (23%), which is comprised of headlines on beauty routines and tutorials, skin and hair care products:

- (4) *Get perfect eyebrows*
- (5) *The hottest party hairstyles*
- (6) *Four weeks to better skin!*

but also fashion news, collection announcements, and styling advice:

- (7) *SHOP: Best bargain coats in the sales*
- (8) *30 buys to brighten your wardrobe!*
- (9) *NEW PIC: Coco Rocha for sass & bite*

Furthermore, a fair deal of headlines is found in the categories *Fitness and Health* (18%), presenting the readers with information on various health issues, mostly nutritional advice, but also related to some medical conditions and psychological well-being:

- (10) *Lose inches the low-carb way*
- (11) *Say no to cuts to contraceptive services*
- (12) *The secret of why you're stressed*

and the category *Entertainment & Leisure* (15%), with headlines relating to leisure time activities, entertainment, culture, art and similar topics:

- (13) *Top 10 films to watch on Mother's Day*
- (14) *Who is the Beta Generation?*
- (15) *It's time to get baking!*

The fewest headlines (2%) were found in the category *Men/Boys*:

- (16) *Men stress over texting too*
- (17) *The most annoying things about men*

but the ones in the categories *Sex* (18-20) and *Relationships & Dating* were not frequent, either:

- (18) *One night stand survival guide*
- (19) *Top 15 Luxury Sex Toys*
- (20) *Is coffee better than sex?*
- (21) *10 ways to flirt with your face*
- (22) *Chivalry is dead*
- (23) *You know you're in love when...*

The analysis of the *FHM* headlines corpus revealed a somewhat different semantic distribution, presented in Figure 9.

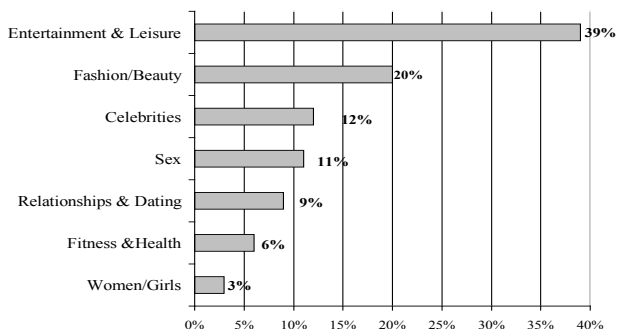


Figure 9. Distribution of semantic categories in *FHM* headlines

A vast majority of *FHM* headlines (39%) fall into the category *Entertainment and leisure*, presenting humorous and trivia contents:

- (24) *Some feel-good hidden camera hilarity from Heineken*
- (25) *Ten things you should never type into Google*
- (26) *"It seemed like a good idea at the time": five catastrophically bad developments in technology*

Within this category, a great deal of headlines pertains to the domain of media coverage of sports competitions:

- (27) *EuroBalls: A day off? Seriously?*
- (28) *FHM's Medal Podium: Revenge Is A Dish Best Served GOLD*
- (29) *Theo Walcott is the fastest player in the Premier League*

Headlines relating to fashion, style and enhancing physical appearance comprise 20% of the *FHM*'s corpus:

- (30) *Banging new brims (that means hats), for summer*
- (31) *How to: tie a tie*
- (32) *Invest early in this autumn's hot hiking trend with Aigle's Cartwell boots*

Furthermore, 12% of headlines were classified into the category *Celebrities*, as they deliver news on the details from the lives of celebrity persons:

- (33) *After Tarantino clashes with Krishnan: 3 of the best interview bust-ups*
- (34) *FHM Exclusive: Sean Bean gets all fighty in Cleanskin*
- (35) *Five things you didn't know about Prince Philip, and a pic of Kim Kardashian's massive ass*

Fewer headlines were found in the categories *Sex* (11%) and *Relationship and & Dating* (9%):

- (36) *How to get your girlfriend to give you a blowjob*
- (37) *Dealing with incompatible sexual desire*
- (38) *Have you ever been with an older woman?*
- (39) *The FHM guide to conversation starters*
- (40) *Relationships: How honeys think...*
- (41) *Dinner-date dilemma - to pay nor not to pay?*

Finally, the smallest number of headlines, only 6%, in the category *Fitness & Health*, mostly dealing with nutrition, exercise and reproductive health:

- (42) *5 delicious, manly sandwiches you'll want to try tonight*
- (43) *Rubbers, Johnnies and French letters: A simple guide to knowing your condoms*
- (44) *FHM 6-pack challenge Week 4: slip ups, sore throats and salad.*

4.3. Pragmatic analysis

The pragmatic analysis of the corpus revealed similar tendencies in both the *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* headlines. First, it was found that the Gricean conversational maxims are often violated in order to achieve a humorous or attention grabbing effect:

- (45) *Is your personality pants?*
- (46) *It IS about the money, money, money!*
- (47) *Dotcomplete catastrophes: Four once-mighty websites that died horrible deaths.*

Furthermore, the headlines in the corpus express performativity, especially evident in the use of directives, which demand an action from the hearer (48), commissives, like promises and oaths, which commit the speaker to a future action (49), and expressives, which express the speaker's attitude towards the given proposition (50):

- (48) *Analyse his dating profile like the Feds!*
- (49) *Exercises the stars swear by*
- (50) *The greatest (and titchiest) car-chase scene ever filmed*

Regarding face-work as defined in Brown and Levinson's theory (1987), positive FTAs are employed, such as reprimands or boasting, targeting the hearer's positive face (51-53) and FTAs targeting the speaker's positive face, like confessions (54):

- (51) *Stop settling and start achieving*
- (52) *You lucky buggers! FHM.com just got even better*
- (53) *We're not geeky or unfashionable!*
- (54) *This Friday we are mostly drinking...*

Negative FTAs were also found, like suggestions and advice:

- (55) *What to ask for in the hairdresser*
- (56) *You can change the world*
- (57) *Get more sex: stop these bedroom fails*

Such patterns call for the employment of politeness strategies in order to minimise the possible damage to the authors'/readers' positive and negative face, for example, the use of plural instead of singular personal pronouns, including both interlocutors in the proposed actions and formulating requests as negative questions in order to minimise the threat to the readers' positive and negative face:

- (58) *We WANT this dress!*
- (59) *Celebrate Pancake Day with FHM's Ultimate Topping Generator*
- (60) *Why not take one of these single girls on a date?*

Also, the analysis indicated some distinctive properties pertaining to *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* headlines. The headlines in *Cosmopolitan* are often structured in the form of a conversation, which establishes a fictive circular solidarity between the authors and readers:

- (61) *Are you preparing for a big move?*
- (62) *Does YOUR man annoy you?*
- (63) *Don't be scared of failure*

On the other hand, *FHM* challenges its readers in a more direct, authoritative way (64-65) and frequently employs metonymical illeisms, i.e. the headlines refer to the magazine as a whole in third person:

- (64) *Ditch the steak! Five BBQ foods that don't make you fat*
- (65) *John McClane commands you to put down that Caramel Latte*
- (66) *FHM teaches you how to snog*
- (67) *FHM tests Single Girls.*

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Before the discussion of the presented findings, it is important to note several limitations of the research presented here. First, it was conducted on a small-scale corpus, so the results cannot be understood as general indications applicable to the entire media sub-discourse. Secondly, no in-depth analysis was performed, but rather a general exploration intended to outline the potential focus of further research.

The lexical analysis in terms of token frequency reflected some gender-related stereotypes, as the most frequent words in the *Cosmopolitan* corpus were *new*, *hair*, *best*, *celeb*, *man*, *want*, *shop*, *Cosmo*, *beauty*, *fashion* and *make*, whereas in the *FHM* corpus the words with most occurrences were *FHM*, *new*, *girl*, *win*, *sex*, *guide*, *make*, *best*, *medal* and *video*. Such findings in terms of token frequency indicate the existence of spherical divisions in the corpora, just as in the early modern conduct books (Armstrong and Tennenhouse 1987). The lexis of *Cosmopolitan* headlines is related to what are considered to be typically feminine spheres, such as maintaining a pleasant physical appearance, shopping, attracting and understanding men, etc., while the lexis of the *FHM* corpus pertains to more “manly” spheres, e.g. sports, competition, girls, sex.

When it comes to concordance, some remarks need to be made about naming members of the opposite sex. In the *Cosmopolitan*, the opposite sex is more frequently referred to as ‘men’, rather than ‘boys’, while in *FHM* the most common way to refer to the opposite sex is using the word ‘girls’, rarely ‘women’. Since these two magazines target readers of roughly the same age group, i.e. young people, such findings might be interesting in verbalising and projecting the construction of the opposite sex in a wider media discourse. *Cosmopolitan*’s audience are given headlines which encourage the perception of the members opposite sex as older and more mature. This is in contrast with the *FHM*’s headlines which present its readers, with an image of youthful and vigorous female. Furthermore, the token ‘love’ is less frequent in both corpora than the token ‘sex’, and it is most commonly used to express strong liking, rather than romantic affection. The differences in the concordance of the token ‘sex’ indicate that in the *Cosmopolitan* headlines it has a predominantly attributing function, whereas in *FHM* it by default denotes sexual activities. This again serves to perpetuate the stereotype that men talk of sex more than women and find it more important, and that, unlike them, women seek love in relationships and place more emphasis on romantic affection.

However, the semantic analysis of headlines showed some interesting tendencies. The largest number of headlines belong to the semantic categories *Entertainment & Leisure* and *Fashion & Beauty* in both corpora. Such results are not surprising if one bears in mind the primary function of these magazines – to provide light entertainment and inform about and promote lifestyle updates. Moreover, a lot of their profit comes from advertising, so the consumerist orientation is understandable from the economic viewpoint. Nonetheless, there are some notable differences between the two corpora. *Cosmopolitan*’s headlines are most frequently classified as belonging to the categories *Celebrities*, *Fashion & Beauty* and *Fitness & Health*. This indicates a strong preoccupation with public life and puts focus on (inter)personal

information, which is in line with Tannen’s (1990) remark on women’s content preferences. Also, strong emphasis is placed on keeping up physical appearance and self-consciousness. The category *Sex* is the one with fewest headlines, which is quite surprising, considering that *Cosmopolitan* boasts of promoting women’s sexual freedoms. On the other hand, the headlines in the categories *Entertainment & Leisure* and *Fashion & Beauty* are the most frequent in the *FMH* corpus. Unlike the *Cosmopolitan*, the category of *Fitness & Health* is one of the least frequent in *FMH*, which might be interpreted as a weaker incentive to improve the physical condition than the one *Cosmopolitan*’s readers receive.

From a pragmatic point of view, the headlines in the entire corpus are highly performative. The corpus contains a multitude of speech acts, especially directives, which might suggest that the magazines attempt to influence their audience’s actions and behaviour in general. Numerous face-threatening acts can be found in both the *Cosmopolitan* and *FHM* headlines. This serves to increase the reader’s involvement and raises the chances that one will proceed to read the entire article. Some distinctions have been noted in the way that the readers are engaged. The *Cosmopolitan* headlines employ emphatic conversation-like structures, evoking solidarity and intimacy with potential readers and thus exhibiting performative gender work (Cameron 1997), appropriate to the widespread social representations. With *FHM* the strategy is quite different: the readers are challenged and often provoked by the authoritative, more direct headlines. Also, where *Cosmopolitan* acts as a close friend, *FHM* utilises illeisms to achieve detachment from the readers. Again, such differences that female gender is performed by its members acting as gentle, in need of support and committed to maintaining satisfactory social relationships, whereas males are constructed as strong and independent, willing to enter conflicts and accept challenges (Tannen 1990).

The presented findings confirm to a certain extent that the media language, or at least one sub-genre of it, serves as a mechanism of gender stereotype reproduction. However, the differences revealed in the semantic, lexical and pragmatic aspects are not all aligned with the gender-based stereotypes and, therefore, provide a reasonable motivation for further studies, where cursory analyses call for more extensive research at all levels. Considering that the corpus comprised editions for United Kingdom readers, it might also be interesting to conduct a contrastive analysis exploring cross-cultural tendencies of gendered language in headlines.

Ana Kedveš

J. J. Strossmayer University of Osijek

anakedves@gmail.com

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CORPUS SOURCES

- Cosmopolitan* - The Online Women's Magazine for Fashion, Sex Advice, Dating Tips, and Celebrity News (Available on <http://www.cosmopolitan.com/>).
- FHM Men's Magazine* | Sexy Girls, News & Men's Fashion (Available on www.fhm.com/).

THE SURVIVAL RATE OF SLANG: A DIACHRONIC CORPUS-BASED FREQUENCY ANALYSIS OF SLANG IN *THE SIMPSONS*¹

This paper analyzes the changes in the frequency of slang from 1989 to 2012 in *The Simpsons*. The primary goal was to gain insight into the number of slang lexemes from the last five decades of the 20th century that have survived in modern informal speech. The secondary goal of the research was to determine the overall currency of slang from different decades and determine the most frequent lexical fields of the surviving slang. The research employs quantitative methods of corpus linguistics within the general framework of modern diachronic corpus-assisted discourse studies. The corpus consisted of English closed captions for 510 episodes of *The Simpsons* (from season 1 (1989) to season 23 (2012)), because the series uses highly informal vernacular and slang. *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* was used to compile the list of slang lexemes (4693 items), divide them into 8 lexical fields and date them. The corpus was searched for all occurrences of wordlist items and each occurrence was annotated with the appropriate tags (the lexical field and the decade when it was created). The annotated corpus was then used to determine the distribution of slang across the time-span of the series. The results suggest that the frequency of slang terms usually decreases over time, while very few get introduced into everyday informal vocabulary. Additionally, the preliminary results also suggest that army-related terminology is relatively short-lived, whereas slang terms related to mind-altering substances seem to be rather long-lasting; other semantic fields oscillate between these two extremes.

Keywords: slang, corpus-based research, survival rate, lexical fields, diachrony

1. INTRODUCTION

The overarching motivation for conducting this research was to test the validity and appropriateness of the developed research methodology, particularly from the point of view of its ability to register and measure the chosen language phenomenon, i.e. changes in frequency of slang lexis. Having this underlying motivation in mind, three interrelated goals of the research were defined. The primary goal was to establish the number of slang lexemes from the last five decades of the 20th century that have survived in modern everyday speech and, thus, to confirm the validity of the chosen methodology. The secondary goal was to determine the overall frequency of slang lexemes from each decade, while the tertiary goal was to establish the predominant semantic field of the surviving lexemes from each decade.

As can be seen from the goals of the research, the focus was placed on practical and factual aspects of corpus-based research (i.e. finding data in the corpus and extracting the data found), while the theoretical aspects of analyzing language change and slang as a source of neologisms were given much lower priority. Nonetheless, the final section of the paper provides a discussion about possible theoretical explanations of the observed phenomena.

¹ This paper is the result of research conducted within Project No. 178002, entitled *Languages and Cultures across Time and Space*, which is funded by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.

2. METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In line with the predominantly methodological orientation of the paper, the methodological aspects of this research were given a greater deal of attention and were tailor-made to fit the chosen theoretical framework.

2.1. Theoretical framework

In order to develop a methodology suitable for analyzing diachronic changes in the currency of slang, it was first necessary to choose a theoretical framework. Because of the diachronic orientation and the corpus-based nature of the research, it was decided that the most appropriate choice would be the framework of MD-CADS (Modern Diachronic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies), which is best described by its founders as “a field of studies... (which) employs large corpora... from different moments of contemporary time in order to track changes in modern language usage, but also social, cultural and political changes over modern times, as reflected in language” (SiBol 2009).

Even more specifically, it was decided to adapt the approach of analyzing keywords (e.g. Duguid 2010), but to extend it to phrases and (small) clauses, which was an expansion of the previously existing methodological procedures.

2.2. Corpus

The next step in devising the methodology was to find a suitable corpus. Given that the focus of research were primarily methodological aspects of determining slang frequency and given the pilot nature of the research, it was decided to create a small, but representative, corpus, rather than to use large corpora, where the process of manual annotation would be considerably more time-consuming. The representativeness of the corpus in this particular case referred primarily to two requirements that the corpus had to meet to be suitable for this particular research: (a) it had to contain highly informal spoken language, and (b) it had to be compatible with the MD-CADS approach, i.e. it had to span a time period of at least a decade, or preferably more than a decade.

After careful consideration, it was decided to use subtitles from all episodes of the animated series *The Simpsons* broadcast from 1989 to 2012, i.e. starting from the first episode of the first season and ending with the last episode of the twenty third season (a total of 510 episodes and a total of 1,142,309 words). The reason why exactly this series was chosen is that the series and the language used in it both meet and exceed the representativeness requirements imposed on it. Namely, on the one hand, the series features highly informal vernacular and is age-rated for 14+ because of frequent scenes of violence, sex, drug-taking, smoking and drinking, which means that it is quite suitable for analysis of slang. On the other hand, the series spans a period of 23 years, which means that it is suitable for analyzing modern diachrony.

At this point one may question the validity of using scripted dialogues as a means of analyzing spoken informal language, as it is logical to assume that the language used in scripted TV shows does not actually represent everyday language. However, as previous detailed corpus-based investigations of TV dialogues have shown, scripted TV programs and scripted dialogues are either identical or very similar to everyday informal communication (Quaglio 2009). Additionally, it has been shown that scripted dialogues tend to be even more informal than everyday informal communication (Quaglio 2009: 108). In other words, it could be claimed, metaphorically speaking, that using a TV series as a corpus is like using a distilled solution in

a chemical experiment, rather than a diluted one: the features of informal communication and slang are, actually, more observable than in a traditionally compiled corpus.

2.3. Slang wordlist

The next step after choosing the suitable corpus was the compilation of the wordlist containing slang lexis, because, as it has been mentioned, it was decided to use the keyword methodology extended to phrases and clauses. The most important theoretical issue in compiling the wordlist is the one of slang identification. In other words, before compiling the wordlist, it was necessary to make a theoretical decision on what words, phrases and clauses will be classified as slang. Since the research was primarily practically oriented, for reasons of greater validity and replicability, it was decided that this research would employ a lexicographic approach to identifying slang words and expressions, which represented an extension of the lexicographic approach to identifying neologisms (Fischer 1998: 3-4). In other words, a lexical item is a slang item if, on the one hand, the item itself or its slang meaning does not appear in student and/or non-comprehensive dictionaries (or, if it does appear, it is marked as slang) and, on the other hand, the slang lexical item or its slang meaning does appear in specialized slang dictionaries.

It may be claimed that a non-lexicographic approach to identifying slang may have been chosen as a better alternative, but it is arguable whether such an approach actually yields better insights and whether such insights do not end up being idiosyncratically skewed. Namely, although it was not possible to find a study similar to the one presented in this paper, there have been several corpus-based studies that set out to identify marked lexis in corpora (e.g. Simpson and Mendis 2003; Murray 1985). Nonetheless, what those studies seem to indicate is that if a non-lexicographic approach is taken, the selection criteria for identifying marked lexis and the resulting wordlist of the relevant lexical items may become “unprincipled and idiosyncratic” (Simpson and Mendis 2003: 423). In other words, the greatest advantage of a lexicographic approach is that it relegates theoretical considerations on defining slang to lexicographers. The discussion on what slang is and how it should be lexicographically handled are well beyond the scope of this paper, but a good discussion on the topic is given in Moore (2012).

Having in mind the lexicographic approach to identifying slang which was chosen for this research, it is worth noting that the primary source of slang lexis was Dalzell and Partridge (2008), where a relatively fuzzy criterion for identifying slang was employed and where slang was defined as all instances of “unconventional English that has been used with the purpose or effect of either lowering the formality of communication and reducing solemnity and/or identifying status or group and putting oneself in tune with one’s company” (Dalzell and Partridge 2008: vii). The reason why exactly Dalzell and Partridge (2008) was used as the source for compiling the slang wordlist is the fact that, unlike some other slang dictionaries, this dictionary deals only with American English, which is in perfect harmony with the corpus, since *The Simpsons* is an American TV series. Once completed, the slang wordlist contained 4690 lexical items, ranging from single word items, such as *stinkum*, over extended phrases, such as *to stay out of the koolaid*, up to clauses, such as *this time it’s personal*.

2.4. Dating slang items

Since one of the goals of this research was to determine the survival rate of slang in relation to the decade in which the slang lexeme was created, it was necessary to find a way to date slang items. As was the case with identifying slang items, this research employs the

lexicographic approach also to dating slang words and expressions. In other words, a slang lexical item or its slang meaning is dated to a particular decade, depending on the decade when it was first recorded in a slang dictionary. The decision to use decades as a measurement unit for dating was driven by purely practical considerations, as it is much easier to analyze data quantified by decades than data quantified by years. Additionally, decades may be said to be more accurate in terms of dating than exact years, since decades leave virtually no margin of error in terms of dating. The primary source for dating slang lexis was the aforementioned *Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English* (Dalzell and Partridge 2008). However, in instances where no dating information was provided in the primary source or the exact dating was unclear, a secondary source was used: Douglas Harper’s *Online Etymology Dictionary* (Harper 2001). The run-down of slang lexis by decades is given in Table 1.

It is important to note that the research analyzed only slang dating from the fifties to the eighties, since this is slang that is lexicographically available. In other words, the lexicographic approach taken in this study made it virtually impossible to analyze the slang of the first decade of the new millennium, as, at the time when the research was conducted, no reliable lexicological sources existed for the slang of the 2000s, apart from some independent online sources of questionable quality. It is therefore quite logical that the overall conclusions and findings of the research should not be analyzed as absolutely accurate, since the research includes no samples of the most recent slang. However, it can be argued that this does not lower the validity of the research, because the inclusion of the latest slang would have resulted in a reduction of the corpus size and therefore its representativeness. Namely, since the corpus spans the period from 1989 to 2012, the inclusion of slang from 2000s would mean that half of the corpus would have to be discarded, as it is theoretically possible to assume that some elements of the 90s slang may appear in the corpus, but it is impossible to assume that the 2000s slang would appear in the texts from the early or mid-90s, which means that the corpus would have had to be reduced to the Simpsons episodes from 2001 to 2012.

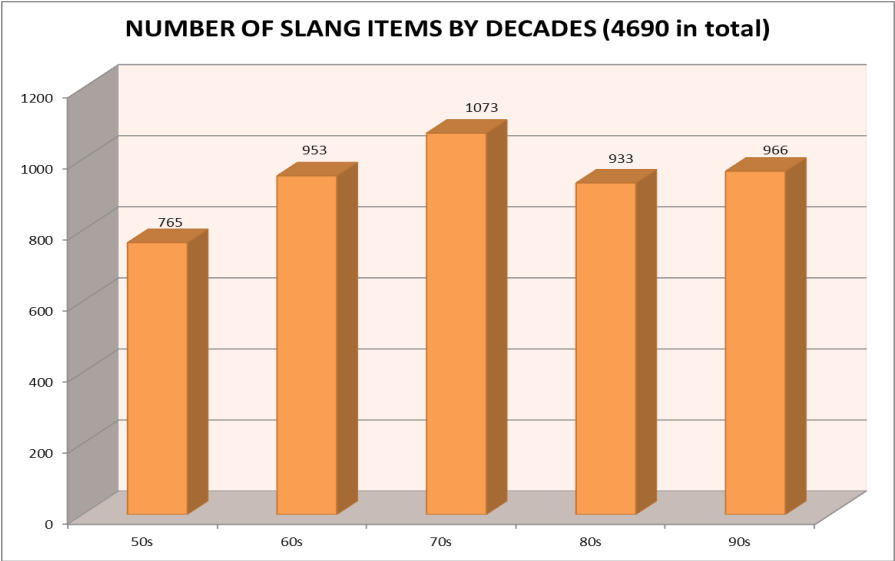


Table 1. Number of slang items by decades (4690 in total)

2.5. Lexical fields of slang

Given that the tertiary goal was to determine what the predominant semantic fields of the surviving lexemes are, it was also necessary to classify the 4690 slang items semantically. The classification was primarily conducted by means of looking at the top-level WordNet synset of the concept denoted by a given slang item. However, in instances when the semantic group resulting from this classification was too small (e.g. fewer than 10 items), it was decided to put the given slang items into a group labeled 'other meanings'. This was done in order to avoid unnecessary fragmentation of the semantic analysis into a large number of small groups. This was also the strategy which was previously successfully tested and applied by Nemanja Jakovljević, who analyzed the use of slang in US movies in his MA thesis² defended at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad (Jakovljević 2012).

The resulting classification distinguished among a total of nine lexical fields: mind altering substances (e.g. alcohol, drugs, etc.), crime, sexual activities, sexual minorities, ethnic minorities, forms of address, military terms, IT terms (only slang from late 80s and 90s) and other meanings. The distribution of lexical items across the chosen lexical fields, together with absolute frequencies of each group, is given in Table 2.

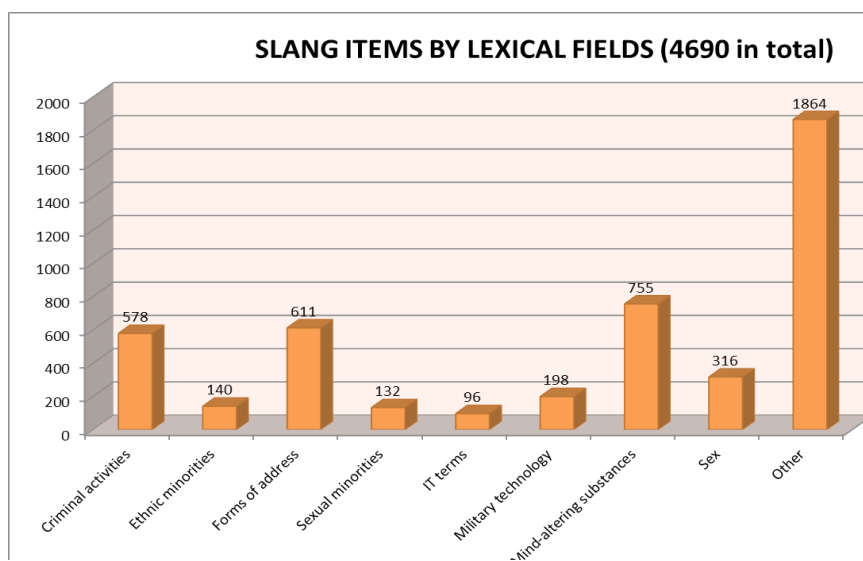


Table 2. Distribution of slang lexical items across the identified lexical fields.

2.6. How the research was conducted: practical aspects

For the sake of this research being transparent and replicable, it is important to outline the practical steps involved in conducting the practical and/or mechanical activities necessitated by its theoretical and methodological design.

The first practical step of the research, in the order in which it was conducted, was compiling the corpus by downloading subtitles from online sources (www.podnapisi.net and opensubtitles.org). This step also involved removing timing information from subtitle files, in order to have only textual data in the corpus, and combining individual subtitles into a single

² The author of this paper provided guidance over the course of Jakovljević's writing his thesis and was also a member of the examination committee.

corpus file. In the corpus file, the subtitles were ordered chronologically (i.e. the first episode of the first season, the second episode of the first season, the third episode of the first season, etc.), which made it possible to analyze diachronic changes simply by looking at the linear position of a particular token in the corpus file.

The second step involved using the lexicographic sources in order to compile the wordlists. A total of three separate (sets of) wordlists were created: the wordlist containing slang items, five separate wordlists each containing slang items from each of the analyzed decades and, finally, nine wordlists each containing slang items from each of the identified lexical fields.

The most time-consuming part of the research was the third one, which involved annotating the corpus. For this purpose an offline version of the CATMA³ (Computer Aided Textual Markup and Annotation) program was used. An annotation scheme was created in CATMA, which contained a single tag (“slang”), combined with two attributes: the “decade” attribute, used for encoding the dating information (i.e. 50s, 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s), and the “lexical field” attribute, used for encoding the information on the lexical field of the particular slang item. Although searching for slang items could be partially automated by means of wordlists, the actual annotation had to be done manually because of the necessity to contextualize the item. For example, not all occurrences of the word “queen” referred to the slang meaning of the word (i.e. effeminate male homosexual). In other words, each occurrence of a possible slang item that was found by using the wordlists had to be manually verified.

The final practical step involved entering quantitative data into a spreadsheet program (Excel, in this case) and conducting basic quantitative analysis over the dataset.

3. RESEARCH FINDINGS

As it has been mentioned in the introduction, the overarching goal of the research was to test the validity of the chosen methodology for identifying and analyzing the short-term diachronic behavior of slang. In that respect, it can be stated that the main goal of the research was reached, because the chosen methodology not only made it possible to efficiently identify slang in the corpus and thus determine the survival rate of slang (see Sect. 3.1.), but it also made it possible to reach the two more specific goals: to determine the frequency of slang from each decade (see Sect. 3.2.) and to establish the predominant semantic field of the surviving lexemes from each decade (see Sect. 3.3).

3.1. Survival rate of slang

The survival rate of slang from a particular decade was calculated as a percentage of different slang items from each decade found in the corpus. For example, out of a total of 765 different slang items from the 50s, in the corpus 185 different items from the 50s were found, which means that the survival rate is 24.18%. The percentages, i.e. survival rates, of slang from each of the analyzed decades are shown in Table 3.

If one makes a neutral initial hypothesis that in each decade there should be an equal number of slang items and that slang from each decade is expected to be equally represented in the corpus, the conclusion that can be drawn from Table 3 is that the older slang from the 50s and the 60s has a much higher survival rate than the more recent slang items from the 70s, 80s and the 90s. However, in order to even more accurately interpret the data presented in Table 3, it is necessary to remember what has been shown in Table 1: the total number of slang items

³ <http://www.catma.de>

from the 50s is the smallest (765 items) in comparison with all other analyzed decades, where the 60s, 80s and the 90s are, more or less, equal in terms of the number of slang items (953, 933 and 966 items, respectively) while the 70s are slightly more saturated with slang (1073 items).

Having this in mind, the survival rate of slang items from the 50s is even more remarkable, given the smaller size of the 50s portion of the corpus. Namely, it can be seen that the slang of the 50s, with a 24.18% share of all slang occurrences, constitutes the biggest percentage of the surviving slang in *The Simpsons* corpus, but given a considerably smaller number of slang items from this decade in the wordlist, it can be argued that the difference of 3.61%, in comparison with the second-placed “survivability score” of 20.57% of the 60s slang, may misrepresent the actual state of the matter. To be exact, if one calculates the average number of slang items per each decade in the wordlist (i.e. the mean), which is 938, it can be seen that the total number of slang items from the 50s is 18.44% smaller than the average, whereas the total numbers of slang items from the 60s, 80s and the 90s do not deviate that much from the average: 1.60%, -0.53% and 2.98%, respectively; the number of slang items from the 70s deviates 14.39% from the average, though, what the previous deviations from the average actually mean is that the slang from the 50s, which is almost 20% below the average in terms of its size (i.e. number of items in the slang wordlist) and is the oldest, is, actually, by far the most represented time-slice of slang in the corpus. In other words, one could even claim that its share among occurrences of slang found in the corpus, should be adjusted by 18.44% (i.e. by its deviation from the average number of items in each decade), which would put its share of all slang occurrences in the corpus to 28.64%.

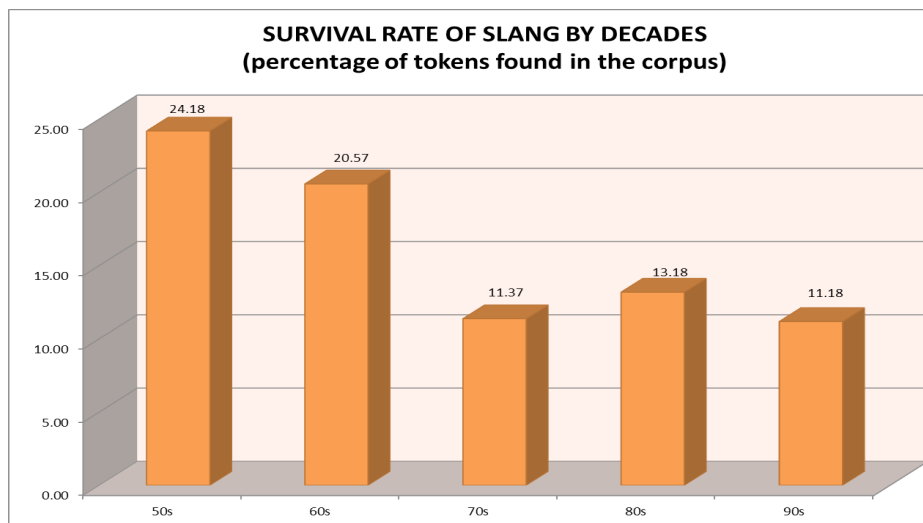


Table 3. Survival rate of slang from each of the analyzed decades, calculated as the *raw, non-normalized* percentage of the number of slang tokens from each decade found in the corpus.

Indeed, if the percentages of slang from each decade found in the corpus are adjusted by the respective decade’s deviation from the average number of slang items per decade (which is in line with the initial hypothesis that all decades should be equal in size), the bar chart diagram presented in Table 3 looks slightly different (see Table 4).

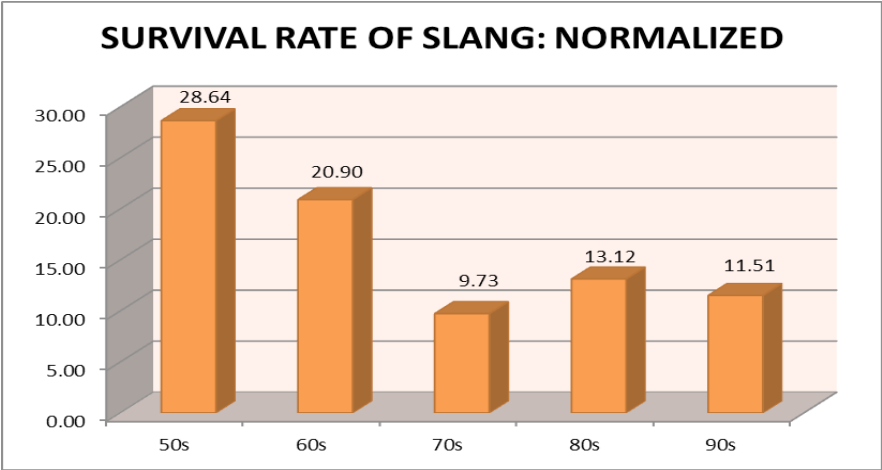


Table 4. Survival rate of slang from each of the analyzed decades, calculated as *normalized* percentage of the number of slang tokens from each decade found in the corpus.

Whether normalizing one’s data is a valid statistical procedure or not is a discussion that is beyond the scope of this paper, but the fact remains that the data shows that slang items with the highest survival rate are the oldest items from the 50s and the 60s, whereas the more recent slang items have either two times lower survival rate, in case of the slang items from the 80s and the 90s, or an almost three times lower survival rate, in case of the slang items from the 70s, than the slang items from the 50s. These findings are in collision with straightforward logical reasoning which would lead one to assume that the oldest forms of slang would have the lowest survival rate, since slang is, as it has already been mentioned, a transient and short-lived language stratum. The data contradicts this line of reasoning and seems to suggest that the older a slang item is, the higher its chances of survival are. Theoretical considerations of this finding and the possible theoretical explanation are not the focal point of this research, but a tentative suggestion is given in Section 4.

3.2. Frequency of slang from each analyzed decade

The survival rate of slang is based on measuring how many slang items from the given decade appear in the corpus. However this may be misleading, since this information does not give insight into the real currency of these lexical items. This issue is similar to measuring the level of endangerment of a species in biological sciences: the fact that the Amur tiger can be seen in the wild does not tell us whether the Amur tiger population is 40 or 4000 individuals. The same applies to slang items. Therefore, the only valid way of determining whether these lexical items represent an odd occurrence in the corpus or its common feature is to look at the frequency data. The frequency was measured as a number of occurrences in one million words. The frequency figures are presented in Table 5.

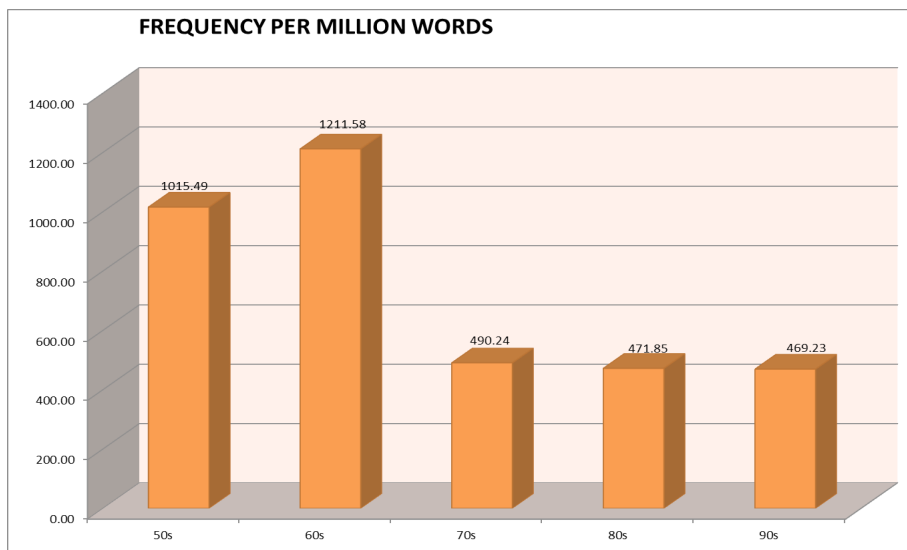


Table 5. Frequency of slang items from each of the analyzed decades, calculated as *raw*, *non-normalized* number of occurrences per one million words.

The first conclusion that one can draw by looking at the bar chart in Table 5 is that frequency data seems to deviate from the survival rate data, where the most obvious difference is the frequency of slang items from the 50s which is lower than the frequency of slang items from the 60s, although slang from the 50s has a higher survival rate. As was the case with the survival rate data, these frequencies may be skewed and slightly misleading because the numbers of slang items from each of the analyzed decades range from 765 to 1073, i.e. because the data has not been normalized. It is normal to expect that the frequency of words coming from a smaller set is going to be lower simply because there are fewer words in the set (e.g. 765 items from the 50s versus 1073 items from the 70s). If one adjusts the frequency data by the percentage of deviation from the average number of slang items for all decades (i.e. deviation from the mean), the frequency of slang items from the 50s is actually 1203.25 occurrences per one million words, while slang items from the 60s have a normalized frequency of 1192.19 occurrences per one million words. The normalized frequencies of slang items from the 70s, 80s and the 90s are 419.69, 474.35 and 455.25 occurrences per one million words, respectively. That is to say, the normalized frequency data seems to suggest that the survival rate actually does correspond to the frequency of use, i.e. the bigger the number of surviving slang items, the higher the frequency of use.

It is important to note that the chosen methodology allows one to observe changes in the frequency of slang lexical items over the course of time. This is made possible by chronological ordering of episodes in the corpus: the linear position of a particular token in the corpus (i.e. the line in which it is found) can be used for dating purposes. This kind of analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, but, for illustration purposes, Graph 1 shows the changes in frequency of slang items from the 50s over time. As it can be seen from the graph, the frequency oscillates, but a trend of a very slow increase can be observed. The vertical axis shows the total number of occurrences for the given point in time, while the horizontal axis should be interpreted as

continuous time: the chunks in the graph do not represent years, but chunks of the corpus which correspond to approximately 14 months (limitations of graphing functions of CATMA).

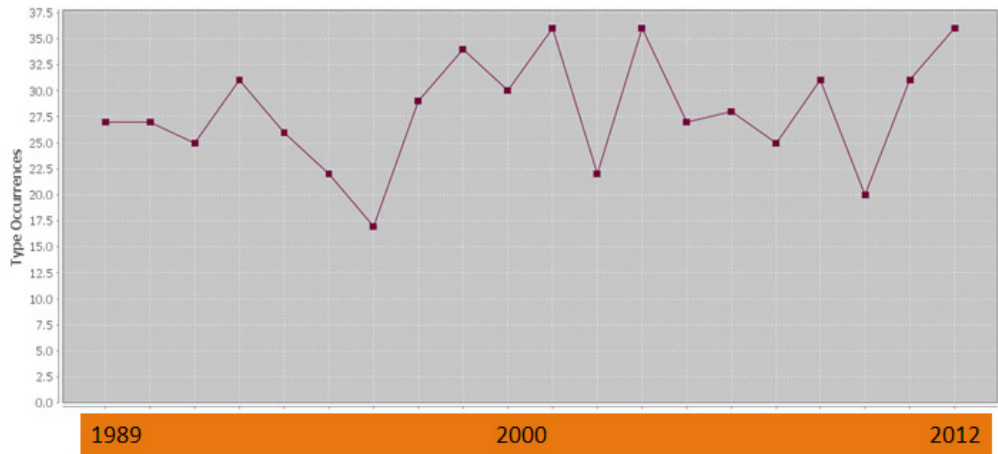


Chart 1. Changes in the frequency of slang items from the 50s between 1989 and 2012

3.3. Predominant semantic fields of surviving slang

Since each occurrence of a slang item in the corpus was annotated with tag attributes which indicated its lexical field, it was possible to determine what lexical fields are the most frequent ones, which could be interpreted as a sort of a top list of the most “popular” lexical fields within slang. Chart 2 shows changes in the frequency of all analyzed semantic fields of the 50s slang. The respective charts were made for other slang items and this one is provided here for illustration purposes only, because the “physical” limitations (read, the number of pages) of this paper do not make it possible to provide high-resolution full-color charts for all the decades. Even the small-resolution chart given here, however, shows that there are two separate groups of lexical fields within slang. In this particular corpus, although the shades of grey do not make it easy for the reader to analyze the chart and the legend on the right hand side, the threshold frequency separating the two groups seems to be 70 occurrences per text chunk, which is more or less the half-way point between the lowest frequency (0 occurrences) and the highest frequency of occurrence (148). If this frequency is indeed taken as the threshold, what the chart actually shows is that the most frequent lexical fields of slang are mind-altering substances (drugs, alcohol, etc.), crime and sexual activities, while the low frequency lexical fields are forms of address, sexual minorities, ethnic minorities, military terms and IT terms (non-existent before the 80s).

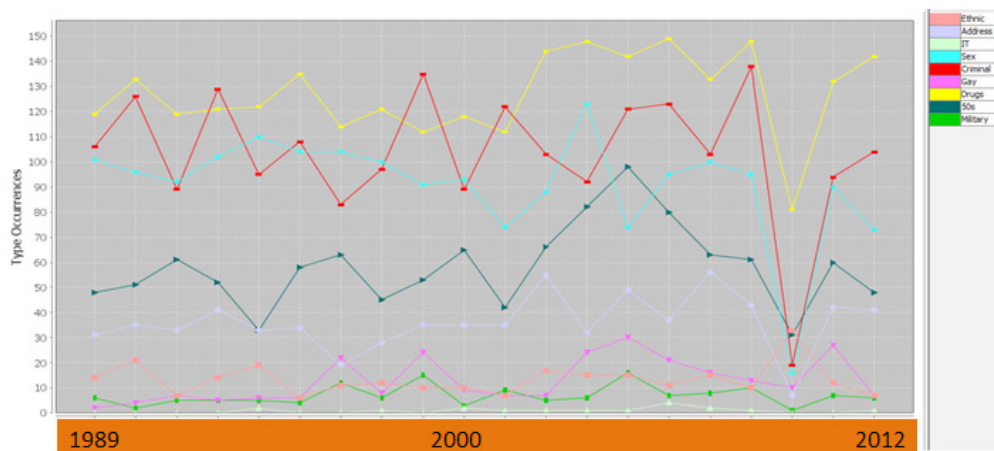


Chart 2. Changes in the frequency of different lexical fields of slang items from the 50s in the period between 1989 and 2012

The fact established here, that slang frequency depends on the lexical field of slang items, seems to suggest that there exists a semantic “hierarchy” of slang that can be tentatively assumed to be based on the importance of the given lexical field in a particular society, or, at least, that would be the conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of this particular corpus.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Given all the findings presented in Sect. 3, it can be claimed with a high degree of certainty that the methodology developed for this research was well-suited for the given task, which means that the overarching goal of the research – to test the methodology and prove its validity – was successfully attained. Moreover, the lexical resources developed for the research, i.e. the dated slang wordlists sorted by lexical fields, can be used in future research undertakings that deal with English slang and/or diachronic changes in slang.

The three specific goals stemming from the overarching goal have also been successfully attained, since the developed methodology, in combination with the lexical resources compiled for its practical application, made it possible to determine the survival rate of slang items in relation to their age measured in decades, to determine the frequency of each decade of slang items found in the corpus and, also, to determine the hierarchy of lexical fields of slang in relation to their frequency in the corpus. Furthermore, the developed methodology also makes it possible to observe changes in frequency over time, which was not the primary intention driving the research, but is a welcome methodological bonus that the research produced.

Nonetheless, the factual and methodological orientation of the research presented here opens a variety of theoretical questions and presents a wide range of possible directions for future research that would be based on the frequency data established at this stage. In particular, the fact that, contrary to what may be logically expected, the oldest forms of slang (the 50s and the 60s) have a survival rate that is almost twice the survival rate of more recent forms of slang (the 70s, 80s and the 90s) deserves further research in its own right. At this point, two possible explanations can be tentatively put forward: this phenomenon can either be a consequence of

self-censorship on the part of the script writers of *The Simpsons* who may be reluctant to use the slang of younger generations for fear of not being transparent to all age groups of their target audience, or it can be an indication of a general trend that slang becomes widely acceptable in informal communication after at least two generations (2 x 25 years), since the span of two generations may be claimed to be long enough for a particular time-slice of slang items to become established as a “common core” of informal communication for all age groups. If the latter proves to be the right explanation, similar instances of this kind of research could also be used to shed more light on the process of neologisms becoming formally recognized lexical items of everyday speech, since many slang items happen to be neologisms.

This kind of methodology can also be used to analyze the level of political correctness of a text and observe the level of editorial interventions. For example, the dip in frequency of slang between seasons 17 and 19, which can be seen on the right-hand side of Chart 2, may actually be ‘artificial’ in the sense that it was a consequence of newly introduced editorial rules in the production company of *The Simpsons*. This dip in slang frequency was, which is important to note, registered in all groups of slang items (from the 50s to the 90s) and it is, for the lack of a better expression, “interesting” that the dip coincides with the 2007–08 Writers Guild of America strike. On the other hand, if one disregards the dip in slang frequency, the otherwise relatively uniform distribution of different semantic fields of slang lexis from different decades indicates both the consistency of informal communication in the corpus and that the methodology was appropriate and accurate.

Finally, at the very end, a couple of disclaimers are in place. Firstly, the methodology outlined here does not measure the individual frequency/popularity of a particular slang word/expression. In other words, the micro level is not visible in this kind of research, since the focus is on the general trends, i.e. the big picture. Secondly, the facts and theoretical suggestions stemming from them presented in this research are only as representative and valid as the corpus from which they were derived. In other words, although the corpus size may be claimed to be representative, as the corpus has more than a million words (1,142,309 to be precise), the corpus itself may possibly represent only idiolects of scriptwriters and editors, and the results of the research may, if that were true, only represent trends of slang usage and survival of the scriptwriters and editors of *The Simpsons*. Nonetheless, given the popularity of the series, it is more likely that the scriptwriters tried to model the language used in the series so that it best reflects what could be generally called American informal English.

Aleksandar Kavgić
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad
sasa.kavvic@gmail.com

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MANAGERIAL PROCESSES IN THE CONSTITUTIONS IN SERBIAN AND ENGLISH: A QUANTITATIVE (CRITICAL) ANALYSIS

Striving to overcome some of the methodological deficiencies of (critical) discourse analysis, this paper provides an exhaustive framework for quantitative (critical) analysis of processes in the highest written laws in Serbian and English (including: the constitutions of Yugoslavia [1946-1992], Serbia [of 1990 and 2006], the United States, and the European Union [2004], and the European Convention on Human Rights), with a view to accounting for the representation of the “managerial” subgroup of dispositive processes in this highly mystified, yet unexplored genre. We have subdivided the analysed managerial processes, important in normative construction of power, into four types, termed: determinative, governing, developmental and cognitive managerial processes. The identified recurrent processes are sorted in tables according to their core verbs and analysed with regard to the following parameters: polarity, modality (including modal verbs, adjectives, adverbs and nouns), transitivity (active, passive, reflexive), (de)activation, participant roles, accompanied by conceptual metaphor analysis. Such an integral analysis gives extensive results. The non-agentive processes are more frequent than the agentive ones, with the determinative processes being the most numerous. Modalisation is predominantly low-degreed (permission), whereas exclusively high-degreed in the negative processes (prohibition). The conceptual metaphor analysis reveals long-standing patterns of bureaucratic thought. The most recurrent agents are the legislatures, in accordance with the (democratic) representative ideology. The people themselves are backgrounded, with the exception of “the working people”, which are prominent agents in the socialist constitutions of 1963/1974, reflecting/constructing the socialist self-government ideology.

Keywords: process, (de)activation, modality, metaphor, quantitative analysis.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Goal and Subject of the Analysis

The lack of systematicity, quantitative method, diachrony, cultural and genre diversity of data etc. is often cited as the shortcoming of (Critical) Discourse Analysis (see, e.g., Blommaert 2005). Striving to overcome many of these issues, this paper provides an exhaustive framework for quantitative (critical) analysis of processes in the highest written laws in Serbian and English language, with a view to accounting for the representation of the “managerial” (as we have labelled it) subgroup of dispositive processes (Beaugrande 1997; 2004) in this highly mystified, yet unexplored genre. Beside quantitative result interpretation, the analysis subsumes pragmatic explanation of linguistic (non)occurrences with regard to power, ideology and culture (see, e.g., Fairclough 2003; Van Leeuwen 2008; etc.), but also to more practical and situational interests.

Texts articulate parts of texts together and with their situational contexts, but at the same time can be seen as representations of (physical/social/mental) aspects of the world and as enactments of social relations between actors in social interactions and of the subjective experiences and inclinations of actors (cf. Fairclough 2003: 26-27; Halliday 1985). Thus the concern here with the representation of processes and the associated participants as major constituents of social

interactions. Our representation analysis includes, with respect to processes, grammatical metaphorisation (Halliday 1985; Fairclough 2003), along with conceptual metaphorisation (Lakoff and Johnson 2003), (de)agentisation, modalisation, abstraction (Van Leeuwen 2008: 68-70; Fairclough 2003), etc., and, with respect to participants, their (semantic) roles, inclusion/exclusion, prominence/backgrounding (Fairclough 2003; Van Leeuwen 2008).

Dispositive processes are a subtype of exocentric (or outer) processes that Beaugrande distinguishes from endocentric (or inner), representative and expressive. In opposition firstly to endocentric processes, which are inner-centred usually just registering the world, then to representative, concerned with identities and relations, and expressive processes (emotive and communicative), which externalise inner states and events, exocentric processes are outer-centred usually intervening in the environment (Beaugrande 1997: ch. 4; 2004: ch. 3). This classification, taking into consideration the interaction of linguistic, social and cognitive factors, builds upon Halliday (1985), while rejecting the mental-material dualism.

Dispositive processes apply in the sense of “have at your disposition and deal with” and have as the prototypes “doing to”, “making do” or “giving to” (Beaugrande 1997: IV.82). Within this large and diverse process type, a subclass particularly important in normative construction of power and quite productive, can be identified and labelled “managerial”. This class, directly associated with control and determination, has the prototype “manage” and could itself be divided to at least: determinative, governing, developmental and cognitive dispositive group of processes, that we are separately dealing here with.

1.2. Analysed Data in Sociohistorical Overview

Legal discourse is “an egregiously inaccessible specialized discourse”, “with the severest human consequence” (Beaugrande 1997: V.80), with laws being arguably the most perplex in the political domain in their construction of power relations.¹ The analysed data here include: the constitutions of Yugoslavia (1946-1992), Serbia (1990 and 2006), the United States (1787), and the European Union (signed 2004; full name: *Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe*), and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1952).²

In historical view, the post-WWII Y46 sanctioned the new Soviet-inspired federal statist republican system which arose from the war and the socialist revolution abolishing the monarchy and separation of powers. Following the breakup with the USSR, Y63 emerged as the emanation of the ideology of the ruling League of Communists, establishing socialist self-government and the rule of the working, class-conscious people. Y74 further elaborates the system of self-government democracy as a form of “dictatorship of the proletariat”, along with moving the mainstay of power to the republics and autonomous provinces, which facilitated the decline of the League of Communists, and, with it, the socialist Yugoslavia. In the circumstances of the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe and rise of nationalism, S90 returned to the tradition of Western civic constitutions, restoring statism, civic sovereignty, political pluralism, separation of powers, free-market economy, equality of private and social property, in collision with Y74. The two of six republics, Serbia and Montenegro, remained in the federal

¹ This, in good deal, accounts for their underrepresentedness in discourse analysis, as compared to widely studied political speeches.

² In the following text, these documents will be labelled: Y46 (the Yugoslav Constitution of 1946), Y63 (the Yugoslav Constitution of 1963), Y74 (the Yugoslav Constitution of 1976), Y92 (the Yugoslav Constitution of 1992), S90 (the Serbian Constitution of 1990), S06 (the Serbian Constitution of 2006), USC (the US Constitution), EC (the EU Constitution), CHR (the Convention on Human Rights).

Yugoslavia, as Y92 reinforced liberal democratic principles. Following further dissolution and Serbia's independence, S06, in addition to liberal democracy, proclaimed commitment to European principles and values and reinforced Serbia's claims to its contested province of Kosovo (and Metohija).

USC, the first modern and the oldest valid written constitution, amended 27 times, was drafted following the American War of Independence, at the height of the Industrial Revolution. It embraces federal republicanism with separation of powers, including the President, the bicameral Congress and the supreme and lower Courts. Being liberal in conception, it has occasionally extended rights to broader classes of people.

CHR and EC are the result of the chain of events essentially impelled by WWII. Drawing upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, CHR was signed in the newly formed Council of Europe and since then amended 14 times. It grants certain fundamental rights to all people of the signatory countries and establishes the European Court of Human Rights to deal with infringement. At the same time, in the era of the Cold War and diminished significance of European countries, some of these, initially belonging to the Western Bloc, begin integration, which gradually becomes closer and encompasses increasingly more countries. This has eventually led to the Union's Constitution, unratified as yet, though the later enacted Lisbon Treaty includes many of the changes laid down in the former. EC expresses commitment to liberal democracy, alongside cultural diversity, peace and tolerance, social justice and social market economy.

1.3. Framework of the Analysis

The identified recurrent processes are sorted in tables according to their core verbs (by which they will be referred to) and analysed in regard to the following parameters: polarity, modality (based on lexical markers; see Fairclough 2003: 164-171), transitivity³ (active, reflexive, passive; cf. Beaugrande 2004: II.87-89), (de)activation (dynamical/statical representation [Van Leeuwen 2008: 63-66]), as well as participant roles (agent, patient, beneficiary, instrument). The most frequent main participants of the each process group are given comparatively in separate tables.

The parameter "(de)activation" (cf. "(in)congruity" in Halliday 1985) processes concerns whether processes are represented dynamically ("activated" processes) or statically, as though they were entities or qualities ("deactivated" processes). The former are grammatically realised in the verbal group of a non-embedded clause, while the latter function as nouns or adjectives (see Van Leeuwen 2008: 63-66). Under this parameter we here subsume the analysis of the polarity, modality and participants of nominalised and adverbised/adjectivised processes as well.⁴

The analysed processes are grouped in tables by polarity, with modalities of low (possibility/permission) and high degree of commitment (necessity), along with categoric (non-modalised) ones, distinguished into separate cells within both polarities. These cells representing individual modalities include different frequency values with regard to process transitivity and (de)activation (see Table 1).

Within the quantitative modality analysis, we have counted process modalisation as

3 "The term Transitivity can supplant the traditional but abstruse term 'voice', which was narrowly applied to Verb forms, whereas the discursive concern is the roles of Participants in the whole Process" (Beaugrande 2004: II.87).

4 Nominalisations like *odredba/provision*, *odluka/decision*, and the like, that are fixed entities and just imply a process, are not counted as processes.

marked by modal verbs, but also by:

- modal nouns, e.g. “*right to maintain*” (low degree), “*obligation of enactment*” (high degree);
- modal adverbs, e.g. “*freely decide*” (low degree);
- modal adjectives, e.g. “*free elections*” (low degree), “... where *necessary*, shall coordinate”, “*required to enact*” (high degree).

Notice that low degree modalities in USC and CHR and median degree modalities are excluded from the analysis due to low frequency.

Also, it is important to note that, given that they are not actual, the analysed texts are in any case in irrealis modality, which is dominantly expressed by the imperfective modal present tense in the Serbian data, that mainly corresponds to the modal future tense indicated by *shall* in the English data (compare the forthcoming examples). But, this is not the kind of modality we are investigating here.

Table 1. Quantitative representation of processes: a – number of active forms, r – number of reflexive forms (only in the Serbian data), p – number of past participle forms, n – number of nominalised forms, v – number of present participle forms; no – no modalisation, hi – high degree modality, lo – low degree modality; i – imperfective verb form, c – perfective verb form.

constitution	Constitution					
	positive			negative		
polarity						
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process						
verb1 [transl.] (i)	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v
verb2 [transl.] (c)	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v
...	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v	a r p n v

Enhancing the analysis of metaphorical representation, conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 2003) underlying the analysed processes are examined in addition to grammatical metaphors (represented by deactivated processes).⁵ Furthermore, etymological metaphors (see Sweetser 1990) as testimonies of conceptual ones are taken into account.

2. ANALYSIS

2.1. Determinative processes

Determinative processes with the prototype “determine” are among the most numerous dispositive processes in the Serbian data (1) and will accordingly be given the largest attention. The analysed texts with their provisions are, of course, in themselves determinative.

(1a) Osnivanje, organizacija i nadležnost javnog tužilaštva *uređuje se zakonom*.
[Establishment, organisation and jurisdiction of the Public Prosecutor’s Office *is regulated by*

⁵ As a matter of fact, grammatical metaphors (a term from Halliday 1985) are suggested to be based on equivalent conceptual ones in Panther and Thornburg (2008).

the Law.] (S90: Art. 104; S06: Art. 157)

(1b) Narodna skupština ... *donosi zakone, druge propise i opšte akte* ... [The National Assembly ... *enacts laws, other regulations and general enactments* ...] (S90: Art. 73)

(1c) A European law of the Council *shall lay down* the provisions relating to the system of own resources of the Union. (EC: Art. I-54)

Tables 2-5. Quantitative distribution of determinative processes.

constitution	Y46						Y63					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
doneti [enact (c)]	3 0 1 -	-	-	1 0 1 -	-	-	2 0 17 -	1 1 0 -	1 - - -	0 1 0 -	- - 3 -	-
donositi [enact (i)]	7 - - 3 0	-	1 - - -	-	-	-	37 2 0 18 0	1 - - 1 0	4 1 0 -	-	-	-
odrediti [determine (c)]	0 1 10 -	-	1 - - -	1 - - -	-	-	13 0 97 -	-	2 11 0 -	1 0 6 -	-	-
određivati [determine (i)]	7 7 0 -	-	-	-	-	-	8 23 0 -	1 - - -	4 - - -	-	1 - - -	-
predvideti [provide for(c)]	- - 2 -	-	-	- - 1 -	-	-	- - 24 -	-	- - 13 -	- - 4 -	-	-
propisati [prescribe (c)]	0 2 2 -	-	-	-	-	-	- - 7 -	-	0 5 0 -	- - 1 -	-	-
urediti [regulate (c)]	- 7 0	-	-	-	-	-	1 0 1 11 0	-	-	-	-	-
uređivati [regulate (i)]	1 2 0 -	-	-	-	-	-	2 9 0 5 0	2 - - -	1 - - -	-	-	-
utvrditi [establish (c)]	- - 1 -	-	-	-	-	-	9 0 47 -	-	1 1 0 -	- - 1 -	-	-
utvrđivati [establish (i)]	2 - - 1 0	-	-	-	-	-	22 18 0 6 0	1 - - -	2 1 0 -	-	-	-

constitution	Y74						Y92					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
doneti [enact (c)]	6 ⁶ 0 13 -	1 1 0 -	1 1 0 -	3 0 2 -	0 1 0 -	-	- - 2 -	-	-	0 1 0 -	-	-
donositi [enact (i)]	59 9 0 42 0	1 - - -	6 1 0 -	-	1 2 0 -	-	7 2 0 4 0	-	-	-	-	-

6 Five occurrences of past tense in relative clauses and one occurrence of future tense, which are both rare in the analysed data.

odrediti [determine (c)]	4 0 106 -	-	1 10 0 -	- 6 -	-	-	- 11 -	-	-	- 1 -	-	-
odrediti [determine (i)]	4 19 0 1 0	-	2 - -	-	1 - .	-	0 3 0 -	-	-	-	-	-
predvideti [provide for (c)]	- 12 -	-	- 4 -	- 5 -	-	-	- 4 -	-	-	0 1 5 -	1 - -	-
propisati [prescribe (c)]	- 20 -	-	1 15 0 -	-	-	-	- 3 -	-	0 3 0 -	-	-	-
urediti [regulate (c)]	1 0 2 14 0	1 0 1 -	0 4 0 -	-	-	-	- 1 0	-	1 - -	-	-	-
ure divati [regulate (i)]	84 48 0 4 0	1 - -	- 1 0	-	-	-	2 7 0 -	-	-	-	-	-
utvrditi [establish (c)]	14 3 145 -	-	4 13 0 -	2 0 3 -	-	-	4 1 28 -	-	-	- 2 -	-	-
utvrđivati [establish (i)]	66 47 0 16 0	-	1 - -	-	-	-	10 2 0 1 0	-	0 1 0 -	-	-	-

constitution	S90						S06					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
doneti [enact (c)]	2 0 3 -	-	-	-	0 1 0 -	-	1 0 7 -	1 - -	-	2 - -	-	-
donositi [enact (i)]	17 1 0 2 0	-	-	-	-	-	27 11 0 11 0	-	-	-	-	-
odrediti [determine (c)]	- 15 -	-	0 3 0 -	-	-	-	- 37 -	-	-	- 1 -	-	-
odrediti [determine (i)]	0 5 0 -	-	-	-	-	-	1 10 0 -	-	-	-	-	-
predvideti [provide for(c)]	- 9 -	-	-	- 4 -	-	-	- 23 -	-	0 2 0 -	- 4 -	-	-
propisati [prescribe (c)]	- 2 -	-	0 5 0 -	-	-	-	1 0 13 -	-	3 3 0 -	1 - -	-	-
urediti [regulate (c)]	- 3 0	-	-	-	-	-	1 - 13 0	-	-	-	-	-
ure divati [regulate (i)]	8 18 0 -	-	-	-	-	-	8 32 0 2 0	-	1 - -	-	-	-
utvrditi [establish (c)]	2 1 46 -	-	0 2 0 -	1 0 1 -	-	-	- 13 -	-	-	1 - -	-	-
utvrđivati [establish (i)]	7 8 0 -	-	-	-	-	-	5 1 0 -	-	-	-	-	-

constitution	USC				EC						CHR			
polarity	+		-		+			-			+		-	
modality	no	lo	no	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	lo	no	lo
process														
define	1 0 -	-	-	-	20 32 8 8	-	1 0 -	1 0 -	-	-	0 5 -	-	-	-
determine	1 2 -	2 0 -	-	-	27 11 4 10	-	2 0 -	-	-	-	1 0 1 0	-	-	-
impose	-	0 1 -	0 1 -	-	5 8 3 1	-	3 0 -	2 1 -	0 1 -	-	0 2 2 0	-	0 1 -	-
lay down	-	-	-	-	31 90 1 11	0 1 -	-	-	-	-	0 2 -	-	-	-
prescribe	0 4 -	1 0 -	-	-	0 1 -	-	1 0 -	-	-	-	0 7 -	-	-	-
provide (for)	1 3 -	5 0 -	-	-	2 70 -	0 1 -	3 0 -	4 1 -	-	-	0 10 -	-	-	-
specify	-		-	-	2 10 1 2	-	1 1 -	3 0 -	-	-	0 8 -	4 0 -	-	-

Reading tables 2-4, systematically in the analysed data, the imperfective process *donositi* (“enact”, lit. “bring”) is represented mostly actively, whereas the imperfective *određivati* (“determine”) mainly reflexively. The imperfectives *uređivati* (“regulate”) and *utvrđivati* (“establish”) are represented by both active and reflexive.

Their counterpart forms *doneti*, *odrediti*, *utvrditi*, along with *predvideti* (“provide for”), being perfective, are mostly passivated with the participle, while the perfective *propisati* (“prescribe”) is also substantially realised reflexively. As seen in the tables, the reflexive representation of these perfective determinatives is regularly in low degree modality, realising possibility which is actual by itself only until made use of, eliminating the need for the imperfective form. Anyhow, the perfective processes in the Serbian data tend to avoid activation, because of the domination of the forementioned imperfective present tense, which serves to perpetuate norm validity, leaving few activated perfective processes realised only as dependent clauses.

The peculiar process *doneti/donositi* (“pass”) with “laws (and other acts)” as the patient, generalises the representation to the level of the whole social practice of lawmaking. In the absence of its constitutional elaboration (save a small extent of it in Y64 and Y74), this process, realised by decomposed predicate (1b), obscures a complex legislative chain of events, which makes room for manipulation of this essential practice and its transparency. The process *odrediti/određivati* is usually deagentised, even in its imperfective form, plausibly because, with regard to the recipients (“the people”, “the citizens”), it is less polite than *uređiti/uređivati* or *utvrditi/utvrđivati* (“negative politeness”, according to Brown and Levinson 1987).

The determinative processes in the English data are predominantly passivized. Like the deagentised determinatives in the Serbian data, they frequently rely on an instrument to determine the manner and conditions of provision application. EC also makes use of condensation by present participle, with no correspondent construction in the Serbian data. In EC, even when activated, the determinative processes are largely deagentised, wherein the instrument assumes the subject function (the case of “eventuation”, in Van Leeuwen’s (2008)

terms; see example (1c)). To some extent comparable to the process *doneti/donositi*, the process *adopt*, belonging to a different subclass of dispositives, is extensively used in EC with various legal documents as patients, and subsumes their enactment.

Metaphors that mediate the representation of the determinatives can be identified as the following:

- 1) the etymologically attested ANTICIPATION metaphors, as in *predvideti*, *provide for* (prefix *pred/pro* “before” + verb “to see”), *propisati*, *prescribe* (prefix *pre/pro* “before” + verb “write”);
- 2) the ORDER metaphors, as in *odrediti/određivati*, *urediti/uređivati* (with the noun *red* “order” as their root);
- 3) the SETTLING metaphors, as in *lay down*, *utvrditi/utvrđivati* (lit. “fortify”), *determine* (from lat. *determinare* “limit, fix” [Oxford Dictionaries Online 2013]), *define* (from lat. *definire*, from *finis* “end” [Oxford Dictionaries Online 2013]);
- 4) the carrying metaphor *doneti/donositi* (lit. “bring”).

The ANTICIPATION metaphor entails that norms will map onto facts, that what is written or “seen” (evidence of the common SEEING IS KNOWING metaphor) will actualise. Its use can be accounted for by the legislator’s endeavour to make the propositional content of norms true (i.e. factual). Furthermore, norms serve to delimit, steady human behaviour, which probably motivates the SETTLING metaphor. Motivation for the LAW IS ORDER metaphor (evidenced also by *narediti* “to order” [Y74] and, etymologically, by *ordain* [USC]) may be found at least as early as Aristotle (350 B.C: Book VII): “law is order, and good law is the good order”.

The instrument is an important component of the deagentised determinative processes, which marks:

- (a) textuality between parts of a constitution, where the instrument is either the Constitution itself or some its part (e.g. “Article”), and/or
- (b) intertextuality between the constitution and some other legal act, wherein the latter is the instrument (e.g. “law”).

As can be seen in tables 6-8, both when expressed and when omitted, the most common agents of the determinative processes are the members of the legislative representative bodies commonly institutionalised by the metonymy INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE. The other prominent agents are represented as the whole units of territorial organisation, and the “working people or citizens” in Y64 and Y74. The common people are systematically backgrounded in relation to their “rights”, when dealt with “manner” of provision application, i.e. right realisation (see tables 12-14).

Tables 6-8. Agent of determinative processes (determiner).

Y46	Y63	Y74
Unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
“National Assembly”, its “legislative committees”	“(Federal) assembly”, Federal Chamber	Councils of “the Assembly of SFRY”
“Government”	“federation”	“federation”, “federal organs”
-	“working people / citizens”	“working people / citizens”
-	“Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia”	“Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia”

Y92	S90	S06
Unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
“Federal Assembly”	“National Assembly”	“National Assembly”
-	“municipality”	“municipality”
-	“autonomous provinces”	“autonomous provinces”

USC	EC	CHR
Unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
-	Member States	any State
the Congress	the (European) Council	-
-	the Union	-

Tables 9-11. Instrument of determinative processes (determining).

Y46	Y63	Y74
“law”	“(federal) law”	“(federal) law”
-	“(this) Constitution and/or law”	“(this) Constitution (and [federal] law)”
-	-	“self-government agreement”

Y92	S90	S06
“(federal) law”	“law”	“law”
“this Constitution”	“Constitution (and law)”	“Constitution (and law)”

USC	EC	CHR
-	“Article ... [label]”	“Article ... [label] of the Convention”
“the Constitution”	the Constitution	“Convention”
“law”	“(Union/European) law”	“law”
-	-	“declaration”

Tables 12-14. Patient of determinative processes (determined).

Y46	Y63	Y74
—	“conditions” of provision application	“conditions” of provision application
	particular normative cases	particular normative cases
“decrees for (federal) law enforcement” and other “decrees”	“laws (and other acts)”	“(federal) laws”, “(other) regulations (and general acts)”
—	“rights”	“rights”, “duties”, “obligations”
	functioning/”affairs” of the institutions	functioning/”affairs” of the institutions
	matters of common interest	workers’ “mutual relations”
-	various “decisions”	various “decisions”

Y92	S90	S06
“conditions”, manner of provision application	“conditions”, “manner” of provision application	manner, “conditions” of provision application
particular normative “cases”	particular normative “cases”	particular normative “cases”
“federal law(s)”, “(other) regulations (and general acts)”	“laws”, “(other) regulations (and general acts)”	“law(s)”, “other general acts”
“rights”, “(general) interest”	“rights (and duties)”	“rights”
functioning/“affairs” of the institutions	functioning/“affairs” of the institutions	functioning/“affairs” of the institutions
-	-	“decision on the end of term of [juridic] office ...” and other decisions
USC	EC	CHR
“manner” of provision application	“conditions”, “the procedure” of provision application	“conditions” of provision application
specific “case”	specific “case(s)”	“territory or territories to which this Protocol shall apply”

2.2. Governing processes

Governing processes apply in the sense of “direct activities in connection with” and have the prototype “govern” or “direct”.

(2a) The limits of Union competences *are governed* by the principle of conferral. (EC: Art. I-11)

(2b) Socijalistička republika je država zasnovana na suverenosti naroda i na vlasti i *samoupravljanju* radničke klase i svih radnih ljudi ... [The Socialist Republic is a state based on the sovereignty of the people and on the powers and *self-government* of the working class and all working people ...] (Y74: Art. 3)

Tables 15-18. Quantitative distribution of governing processes.

constitution	Y46						Y63					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
voditi [manage (i)]	0 2 0 -	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 0 4 0	-	0 1 0 -	-	-	-
rukovoditi [direct (i)]	14 - - 1 0	-	-	-	-	-	11 - - 1 1	-	-	-	-	-
samoupravlјati [self-govern (i)]	-	-	-	-	-	-	- 59 0	-	- 8 0	-	-	-
upravlјati [govern (i)]	- 1 0	-	1 - - -	-	-	-	8 - - 34 0	1 - - -	1 - - -	-	1 - - -	-

constitution	Y74						Y92					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
voditi [manage (i)]	1 1 0 5 2	-	2 - -	-	-	-	1 - - 5 0	-	-	-	-	-
rukovoditi [direct (i)]	16 - - 6 3	2 - -	-	-	-	-	4 - -	-	-	-	-	-
samoupravlјati [self-govern (i)]	- 52 0	-	-	-	-	-	- 1 0	-	-	1 0	-	-
upravlјati [govern (i)]	17 - - 45 0	-	5 - -	-	2 - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

constitution	S90						S06					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
voditi [manage (i)]	1 1 0 5 0	-	-	-	-	-	2 3 0 5 0	-	1 - -	-	0 1 0 -	-
rukovoditi [direct (i)]	1 - - -	-	-	-	-	-	1 - - -	-	-	-	-	-
samoupravlјati [self-govern (i)]	- 2 0	-	-	-	-	-	- 59 0	-	-	5 0	-	-
upravlјati [govern (i)]	2 - - 6 0	-	-	-	-	-	2 - - 4 0	-	1 - -	-	-	-

constitution	USC				EC						CHR			
polarity	+		-		+			-			+		-	
modality	no	lo	no	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	lo	no	lo
process														
govern	- 2	-	-	-	1 19 10 22	-	-	0 1 -	-	-	0 1 0 1	-	-	-
conduct	-	-	-	-	15 7 -	0 1 -	1 0 -	-	-	-	0 1 -	-	-	-
coordinate	-	-	-	-	17 2 34 5	1 0 -	1 0 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
manage	-	-	-	-	3 1 18 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The processes *rukovoditi* (“direct”), *(samo)upravlјati* (“self-govern”), *coordinate* and *manage* are mostly represented nominalised and active. Passivization is avoided given that, with respect to their participants (tables 19-20 and 22-23), they are essential in the functioning of state structures, ie. it is required to know who is in charge of what.

The proces *govern*, however, is almost always deactivated, heavily adjectivised, with various regulations as instruments, and thus corresponding to the determinative processes (see example (2a)). The process *samoupravlјati*, derived from *upravlјati* (“govern”) is represented: (a) in Y63 and Y74 as nominalisation “samoupravlјanje”, with “the working people” or

“the workers” as the expressed agents (2b), and (b) in the later constitutions as postverbal “samouprava”, with omitted agent(s). Both process (*samo*)*upravljati* (lit. “give direction”) and, in diachronic view, process *govern* (from Lat. *gubernare* “to steer, rule”, from Greek *kubernan* “to steer” [Oxford Dictionaries Online 2013]) can be seen as instances of the ACTION IS MOVEMENT metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 271).

The related process *vladati/rule* is not represented in the data, and (im)politeness is again the probable reason. Yet, there are the morphologically related Serbian postverbal *Vlada* (“the Government”) and the abstract noun *vlast* (“power”). “Vlada”/“the Government” is used for “the supreme executive power”, as an instance of the double metonymy WHOLE FOR PART (there are two more governing powers: legislative and judicial) and INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE, with the pragmatic effect of “the Government” being the only veritable power, where in fact there are, or should be, three of them (Montesquieuian “separation of powers”).⁷

When expressed, the agents are usually the “officials” or “organs” of state power, mostly the executive ones (tables 19-21). As can be seen in table 22, the constitutions of SFRY deal with managing socioeconomic relations notably more than the others, and declaratively base them on the (self)government of “the working people” (table 19), which accounts for their activation. In contrast, the other constitutions dealing with that subject vaguely leave it to the “free market”, which is, of course, essentially dedicated to capital at the cost of workers.

Tables 19-21. Agent of governing processes (governor).

Y46	Y63	Y74
unexpressed	Unexpressed	unexpressed
“ministries” / “the Government of FPRY”	“(federal) officers”	officers
-	“working people”	“workers / working class (and all working people)” / “working people”
Y92	S90	S06
unexpressed	Unexpressed	unexpressed
executives of federal organs	organs of the executive power	“state organs”
-	“insured persons”	-
USC	EC	CHR
unexpressed	Unexpressed	unexpressed
-	the Member States	-
-	the Union	-

Tables 22-24. Patient of governing processes (governed).

Y46	Y63	Y74
“[particular] branch of public administration”	“federal organs of administration”	“(federal) organs of administration (and federal organisations)”
-	“social means”	“(social) means”

⁷ This is similar to the “Europe for the EU” metonymy in the Preamble of the EU Constitution, contributing to a more universal EU representation and thus reflecting the Union’s ideological standpoint and hegemonic tendency (see the notion of “hegemony as a universalisation of a particular”, as in Fairclough 2003: 45-46) to impose itself as the only legitimate, true representative of the “Old Continent”, as the authentic Europe.

various executive affairs	“social affairs”	“(other) social affairs”
-	“(criminal) procedure”	“(criminal) procedure”
Y92	S90	S06
“(criminal) procedure”	“(criminal) procedure”	“(criminal) procedure”
federal organs	-	“public affairs”
USC	EC	CHR
-	various “policies”	-
-	“the exercise of a right”	“the exercise of this right”
“land and naval Forces”	“public authorities”, “other bodies”	-

2.3. Developmental dispositive processes

Developmental dispositive processes with the prototype “develop” could, somewhat conditionally, be distinguished from developmental processes as a distinct subclass of exocentric processes, which occurs without deliberate intention and control, being medial in general (see Beaugrande 1997: ch. IV; Beaugrande 2004: ch. III). A continuum of intention/control level can be argued for in which these two classes would complement each other, as in example (3).

(3a) The Union shall work for the sustainable *development* of Europe ... aiming at full employment and social *progress* ... (EC: Art. I-3)

(3b) Svako ima pravo na slobodan razvoj ličnosti ... [Everyone has the right to free *development* of personality ...] (S06: Art. 23)

Tables 25-28. Quantitative distribution of developmental processes.

constitution	Y46						Y63					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
razvijati [develop (i)]	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 - 26 0	-	1 - -	-	-	-
razviti [develop (c)]	- 3 0	-	- 1 0	-	-	-	- - 5 46 0	- 1 0	- 1 0	-	-	-
unapređivati [improve (i)]	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 - 9 0	1 - -	-	-	-	-

constitution	Y74						Y92					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
razvijati [develop (i)]	6 1 0 83 0	-	2 - 5 0	-	-	-	- 3 0	-	- 1 0	-	-	-
razviti [develop (c)]	0 1 10 21 0	-	- 1 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
unapređivati [improve (i)]	5 - 20 0	-	-	-	-	-	1 - 1 0	-	-	-	-	-

constitution	S90						S06					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
razvijati [develop (i)]	- 12 0	-	-	-	-	-	2 - 17 0	-	- 3 0	-	-	-
razviti [develop (c)]	- - 1 -	-	-	-	-	-	- - 1 -	-	-	-	-	-
unapređivati [improve (i)]	- 5 0	1 - -	-	-	-	-	2 - 1 0	-	-	-	-	-

constitution	USC				EC						CHR			
polarity	+		-		+			-			+		-	
modality	no	lo	no	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	lo	no	lo
process														
develop	-	-	-	-	12 3 106 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
maintain	1 0 -	-	-	-	12 1 17 0	1 0 -	1 0 -	-	-	-	0 1 1	-	-	-
progress	- 1	-	-	-	- 16 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

It seems that developmental processes are more characteristic of the socialist constitutions of our data, arguably also including EC. This can be accounted for by the progressivist discourse, conspicuous in socialism, which places heavy emphasis on the scope for social and personal development (Heywood 2003: 322). However, represented mostly as nominalisations (“razvoj”, “razvitak”, “development”, etc. or “unapređivanje”, “progress”), and being already in themselves abstract, these processes rather reflect a conceptual desire than actual determination or practical commitment of the legislator.

The related process *promeniti/change* and semantically similar ones are rarely found in the data, which can be linked to the conservative character of norms in general. Thus, constitutions inevitably become surpassed by sociohistorical requirements and they are seldom flexible enough to withstand amendments, like the USC.

The processes *unapređivati* (“advance”) and *progress* provide evidence for the MAKING PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT metaphor (recorded, e.g., in Lakoff 1993: 221).

In Y63 and Y74, apart from “the working people” being responsible for socioeconomic relations, people are activated with regard to “personality” (Y63: II; Y74: II), while backgrounded by agentless nominalisation in S06 (3b), effectively allowing for someone else to shape their “personality”. Backgrounding of people is also done with regard to the “environment” in Y74, S90 and S06. In addition, the national minorities are backgrounded in Y92 and S06 (see tables 32-33).

Tables 29-31. Agent of developmental processes (developer).

Y46	Y63	Y74
unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
	“the working people”, “citizens”	“the working people”, “workers”
Y92	S90	S06
unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
		“the Republic of Serbia” / “the State”
USC	EC	CHR
unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
-	“the Union”	-

Tables 32-34. Patient of developmental processes (developed).

Y46	Y63	Y74
–	“socialist social relations”	“socialist (self-government) society”
	“material basis of work”	“material basis of work”
	“productive forces”, “economy”	“productive forces”
	“personality”	“personality”
-	-	human environment
Y92	S90	S06
“specificity” of “national minorities”	–	“culture”, “specificity” of “national minorities”
–		“personality”
	“environment”	“living environment”
USC	EC	CHR
–	various “policy”	–
	“relationship(s)” with “third countries”	

2.4. Cognitive dispositive processes

Cognitive processes are generally of two kinds: (a) those involving intention and control, with the prototype “learning” or “finding out”, and (b) those which lack them and have the prototype “knowing” understood as “having knowledge” (Beaugrande 2004: III.40). Cognitive dispositive processes naturally belong to the first group, in the sense that they involve particular cognitive search for knowledge in the form of decision, solution etc. (4).

(4) Sud *sudi* u veću. [The Court *decides* on matters within the Council.] (Y63: Art. 140; Y74: Art. 228; S90: Art. 98)

Tables 35-38. Quantitative distribution of cognitive processes.

constitution	Y46						Y63					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
odlučivati [decide (i)]	-	-	-	-	-	-	43 1 0 12 0	-	-	-	-	-
odlučiti [decide (c)]	-	-	1 - - -	-	-	-	2 - - -	-	5 - - -	-	-	-
suditi [judge (i/c)]	4 - - 1 0	-	-	-	- - 1 -	-	3 - - 5 0	-	-	-	-	-

constitution	Y74						Y92					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
odlučivati [decide (i)]	69 2 0 25 3	-	-	-	-	-	23 - - 1 0	-	1 - - -	-	-	-
odlučiti [decide (c)]	1 - - -	-	6 - - -	-	-	-	-	4 - - -	-	-	-	-
suditi [judge (i/c)]	4 - - 7 0	-	-	-	-	-	1 - - -	-	-	-	-	-

constitution	S90						S06					
polarity	+			-			+			-		
modality	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo
process												
odlučivati [decide (i)]	14 1 0 2 0	-	-	-	-	-	27 2 0 6 0	-	-	-	-	-
odlučiti [decide (c)]	-	1 - - -	5 - - -	-	-	-	6 1 0 -	-	1 - - -	1 - - -	-	-
suditi [judge (i/c)]	4 - - 2 0	-	-	-	-	-	4 3 0 2 0	-	0 2 0 1 0	-	-	-

constitution	USC				EC				CHR			
polarity	+		-		+		-		+		-	
modality	no	lo	no	lo	no	hi	lo	no	hi	lo	no	lo
process												
(re)consider	1 2 1 0	-	-	-	35 5 9 2	-	0 1 -	-	-	-	6 0 1 4	-
decide	1 0 -	-	-	-	13 4 -	-	9 0 -	2 0 -	-	-	9 2 3 0 -	-

For reasons similar to those given for the governing processes, the analysed cognitive processes are represented mostly by active forms, occasionally nominalised, with only the process *suditi* (“judge”) in S06 sometimes reflexivised. The perfective *odlučiti* (“decide”) is mostly in low degree modality, realising hypothetical, ad-hoc character decisions of the

legislatures (except in S06). This is characteristic of treaty-based organisations, as exhibited by the process *decide* in EC and CHR.

As rather expected, since the systems in question are representative, the process *odluči(va) ti/decide* is in large measure bestowed on the representative bodies, mostly with internal bureaucratic matters as patients (see tables 42-44). In the self-government of Y63 and Y74, compared to the other managerial processes, “the working people” or “workers” are even more frequent agents of this process, with various social matters as patients (a kind of “direct democracy”).

Tables 39-41. Agent of cognitive processes (cogniser).

Y46	Y63	Y74
unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
-	“the Assembly”	the Councils of “the Assembly of SFRY”
-	“working people”	“workers”, “working people”
“Court(s)”	“the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia”	“the Federal Constitutional Court”
	“the Supreme Court of Yugoslavia”	“the Federal Court”
Y92	S90	S06
unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
“the Federal Assembly”	“the National Assembly”	“the National Assembly”
“the Federal Constitutional Court”	“the Constitutional Court”	“the Constitutional Court”
“the Federal Court”	-	-
-	“citizens”	“everyone”; certain groups
USC	EC	CHR
unexpressed	unexpressed	unexpressed
“Congress”	“the European Council”	-
-	“the Commission”	“the Court” [of Human Rights]

Tables 42-44. Patient of cognitive processes (cognised).

Y46	Y63	Y74
-	“social affairs”	matters of “work”, “income”
	various legal matters	various legal matters
Y92	S90	S06
constitutionality and legality of legal acts; institutional disputes	constitutionality and legality of legal acts; institutional disputes	“rights”, “obligations”
“immunity” of federal officers	matters of “immunity”, terms of officers	“election”, “end of the function/term”, “immunity” of officers

USC	EC	CHR
-	various bureaucratic matters	individual and State “applications” and their admissibility
“Bill”	matters regarding draft Union laws	other judicial decisions
-	failure (of Member States) to fulfill conditions	-

3. CONCLUSION

The integral analytic framework introduced provides extensive results and is virtually applicable to other text types and multi-purpose analyses. Its exactness powered by a relatively elaborate quantitative method reinforces analytic generalisability, reliability and soundness. Though just a modest instance, the analysis conducted of the modern-diachronic multicultural data, we argue, nevertheless reaffirms the view that legal discourse calls for major attention of critical approaches and accounts.

The non-agentive and deactivated processes are more frequent than the agentive and activated ones, with the cognitive processes being an exception. This fact not only justifies the introduction of the (de)activation parameter, but also suggests its requisiteness for accurate accounts of process representation.

The regular process abstraction on the semantic plane, sometimes to the level of whole social practices, though typical of general legal acts, alienates norms from the situational context, which, as a result, can render them dead letters or change inhibitors, and fuels their “multiaccentuality” (in Bakhtinian terms, or divergent ideological accents, cf. Gardiner 1992), providing room for manipulation.

Modalisation is predominantly low-degreed (permission), whereas exclusively high-degreed in the negative processes (prohibition). The English data are less frequently modalised, rendering norms more categorical. In the Serbian data the imperfective processes are dominant in active and reflexive, reflecting the pretension to virtual temporal infinity of norms, while the perfective ones usually employ the passive participle.

Metaphor plays a distinct role in process representation, especially when observed in etymology, revealing long-standing patterns of bureaucratic thought. Indeed, most of the identified conceptual metaphors are verified by both contemporary and etymological metaphors, which proves the fairly distant historical roots of these cognitive processes.

The most recurrent agents are the legislatures, which reflects and constructs the (democratic) representative ideology. The (common) people themselves are backgrounded, which systematically occurs in relation to their “rights”. However, “the working people” are prominent agents in the socialist constitutions of 1963/1974, reflecting/constructing the socialist self-government ideology, which conjoins direct (personally involving) with indirect (representative) participation.

Marko Janičijević
State University of Novi Pazar
trupko@outlook.com

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THE INFLUENCE OF PREFIXES ON ASPECT AND TELICITY IN ENGLISH, ROMANIAN AND SERBIAN

This paper is a synchronic, contrastive analysis of prefixed verbs in contemporary English, Romanian and Serbian which aims to connect the semantic category of telicity and the grammatical category of aspect in these three languages. Furthermore, it attempts to establish whether the prefixes modify the distinctive features of base verbs and whether a change in verbal aspect and/or Aktionsart has occurred as well to give an analysis of the translation equivalents of prefixed verbs and determine which syntactical and morphological means have been used to translate the prefixed verbs in the other two languages. Additionally, the study attempts to identify and define the semantic category of telicity in Romanian since it is not mentioned in the Romanian linguistic literature. This study of English, Serbian and Romanian prefixed verbs gives a better insight into the nature of telicity and aspect in all three languages as well as an opportunity to establish parametric and systematic similarities and differences, giving a specific contribution to aspectology in general.

The research conducted for this study is based on an English, Romanian and Serbian corpus which consists of 210 prefixed verbs. Since prefixation has both lexical and grammatical function, it affects the meaning of verbs as well as verbal aspect. The analysis has shown that the correlation between the lexical meaning (Aktionsart) and grammar (aspect) is often realized via the distinctive feature [goal], i.e. semantic category named telicity. Hence, this paper offers an analysis of the link between verbal aspect, telicity and prefixation and examines the presence of certain distinctive features with prefixed verbs in order to determine the aspect.

Key words: telicity, aspect, Aktionsart, prefixes, distinctive features, English, Romanian, Serbian

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of verbal prefixes is significant because prefixation has both lexical and grammatical function, and thus affects the meaning of verbs as well as the verbal aspect. The analysis has shown that the correlation between the lexical meaning (Aktionsart) and grammar (aspect) is often realized via the distinctive feature [goal], i.e. semantic category named telicity. In this paper we analyzed the link between verbal aspect, telicity and prefixation and examined the presence of certain distinctive features with prefixed verbs in order to determine the aspect.

1.1. The Corpus

The research conducted for this study is based on a corpus consisting of 70 English, 70 Romanian and 70 Serbian verbs with prefixes and their translational equivalents into the other two languages. In addition, the analysis included the base verbs onto which the prefixes were added.

The selection of prefixes was based on their frequency. The corpus includes contemporary English, Romanian and Serbian prefixed verbs. Thus, archaic verbs as well as provincialisms and dialects were not incorporated in the corpus. The corpus consists of verbs which are found

in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries together with the prefix in all three languages. The Serbian part of the corpus consists of verbs with the following prefixes: *do-*, *za-*, *iz-*, *na-*, *od-*, *po-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *s(a)-*, *u-*. The English part of the corpus comprises of verbs with the following prefixes: *co-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *inter-*, *mal-*, *mis-*, *out-*, *over-*, *re-*, *sub-*, *trans-*, *un-*, *under-*. Finally, the Romanian part of the corpus contains verbs with prefixes such as: *a-*, *pre-*, *po-*, *răz-*, *ză-*, *în-*, *îm-*, *nă-*, *iz-*, *is-* *re-*.

The prefixed verbs analyzed were taken from the following dictionaries: *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*, *DEX (Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române)*, *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (1992), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (1995) and *Webster's New Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1990). Their translation equivalents were then taken from the following dictionaries: *Dicționar român-englez*, *Dicționar englez-român*, *Veliki hrvatsko-engleski rječnik*, *Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik*, *Srpsko-rumunski rečnik*, *Rumunsko-srpski rečnik*.

The central part of the study is a synchronic, contrastive analysis of prefixed verbs and their translational equivalents in contemporary English, Romanian and Serbian. The aim of the research is to determine the existing correlations between the analyzed prefixed verbs in the three languages with respect to verbal aspect and Aktionsart. Namely, the study attempts to determine whether the use of prefixes modifies the distinctive features of base verbs and whether a change in verbal aspect and/or Aktionsart has occurred. Furthermore, the paper studies the translation equivalents of prefixed verbs and determines which syntactic and morphological means have been used to translate the prefixed verbs in the other two languages.

1.2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This study starts from the typological definition of aspect as a category which makes it possible to view and present a situation as a single whole (perfective aspect) or as a structure (imperfective aspect) (Comrie 1976:3; Novakov 2005:140). By analogy, all three languages distinguish: perfective aspect (English non-progressive forms, Romanian perfective forms, Serbian prefixed verbs) and imperfective aspect (English progressive forms, Romanian imperfective, Serbian non-prefixed verbs).

The semantic category of telicity may represent the basis for lexical, i.e. semantic classification of verbs and verb phrases into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments (Aktionsart). Each of the four types of the verb situation was defined according to three distinctive features: *stativity*, *duration* and *telicity*. The presence of a certain feature was determined according to Vendler's syntactic tests (Vendler 1967:97-121).

Based on the semantic characteristic of telicity, situations can be divided into telic and atelic. The difference between these two types of situations is very significant for the study of verbal aspect and Aktionsart, since telicity is one of the basic semantic characteristics or distinctive features of verbs. Telic situations tend towards a specified goal, thus they have a natural endpoint, while atelic situations do not tend towards a goal and do not have an endpoint (Comrie 1976:44; Declerck 1979:761-793; Brinton 1988:54; Novakov 2005:115; Rothstein 2004:1).

The category of aspect is most often connected with Slavic languages since there aspect is morphologically expressed via prefixes. For this reason, the starting point of this research will be Serbian. Numerous Serbian linguists (Belić 1924; Grubor 1953; Riđanović 1976) agree that in Slavic languages, verbal aspect is morphologically expressed by the use of prefixes. Furthermore, in Serbian linguistic literature, aspectual meanings are conceived as a grammatical

issue, while *Aktionart* is a lexical i.e. semantic category (Riđanović 1976:7). Babić (1986:477) points out that prefixed verbs are perfective since imperfective verbs are rendered perfective if we add a prefix to them. On the other hand, if a prefix is added to a perfective verb it stays perfective. Similarly, Novakov (2005:81) argues that base verbs onto which prefixes are added almost always differ in *Aktionsart* from their prefixed counterparts. The prefix alters the distinctive feature [goal] and introduces the final segment of the situation. He also points out that, in Serbian, the connection with the grammatical category of aspect is achieved via the distinctive feature [goal] (Novakov 2005:85). Namely, verbs with the distinctive feature [+goal] present the situation as a single whole (perfective aspect) while verbs with the distinctive feature [-goal] present the situation as a structure (imperfective aspect). Thus, prefixation in Serbian has both a lexical and a grammatical function and as such it influences both verbal semantics and aspect and the connection between these two categories is achieved through telicity.

The analysis of the relevant linguistic literature in English and Romanian has revealed that prefixation has a different impact on verbal aspect in these two languages. In the English literature (Brinton 1988:188; Novakov 2005:85), prefixes are connected to the notion of a goal towards which the situation is directed. Therefore, in English prefixes introduce the notion of completion of a situation, thus prefixed verbs are most often accomplishments, while their base verbs are activities (Brinton 1988:188).

It has to be pointed out that in the older Romanian literature, verbal aspect was not treated as an independent verbal category; it was considered a tense, whereas the semantic category of telicity was not mentioned at all. For that reason, the comparison with the English and Serbian verb systems helped distinguish the mentioned categories in Romanian and contribute to a better and more complete understanding of this phenomenon in Romanian.

Nevertheless, some Romanian linguists (Luchian 2007:64; Rosetti 1968:306; Mișan 1970:139) argue that Romanian prefixed verbs are in fact borrowings from Latin and Serbian and that they have the sole grammatical function to denote perfective aspect. Other linguists (Vraciu 1984; Luchian 2007) believe that apart from their grammatical function prefixes also have a lexical meaning. Similarly, Vraciu (1984:20) argues that there are no prefixes with only a grammatical function denoting perfective situations, thus prefixes have a both a lexical and a grammatical function.

The analysis of the relevant English, Romanian and Serbian linguistic literature in this field has revealed that prefixes influence the verbal aspect very differently in these three languages. Thus, there is a need for a deeper and more detailed analysis of the grammatical use as well as the lexical meaning of prefixes in all three languages.

2. VERBAL PREFIXATION IN SERBIAN

In Serbian, prefixes play a very important role in the process of perfectivization since they influence the verbal aspect in the sense that they render the imperfective verbs perfective. The Serbian prefixes relevant for determining the verbal aspect are: *do-*, *za-*, *iz-*, *na-*, *od-*, *po-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *s(a)-*, *u-*, etc. (Klajn 2002:205-286; Novakov 2005:61-86).

The analysis has proven the hypothesis that the Serbian prefixed verbs denote perfectivity, while their base verbs are imperfective. The base verbs onto which the prefixes are added are usually activities, rarely achievements or states. When a prefix is added to achievements it does not change its distinctive features. On the other hand, when added to activities and states,

prefixes modify the features (Novakov 2005:81).

Prefixation primarily alters the feature [goal] i.e. it introduces the final segment or a natural ending of a situation. Thus, in Serbian, the link between grammatical category and verbal aspect is realized by the distinctive feature [goal]. Consequently, the lexical feature [goal] can be directly linked to verbal aspect in the sense that a situation which tends towards a goal can be perceived as a whole (perfectivity), and a situation which does not tend towards a goal as a structure (imperfectivity). For example:

(1) *sagraditi (kuću)* (to build (a house) / a *clădi* (o casă))

On the other hand, the absence of a goal denotes a situation which can last without any limitation or boundary. Such a situation can be interrupted at any time without changing the features of the situation itself. The absence of a goal allows the situation to be presented as a structure in Serbian, for example:

(2) *graditi* (to build / a *clădi*)

Therefore, prefixes modify both telicity and aspect in Serbian. Due to the fact that Serbian prefixed verbs indicate the feature [goal] at the lexical level, it is not necessary to introduce other lexical means, as is the case in English and Romanian.

The analysis of the Serbian part of the corpus has proven that prefixation has both a lexical and a grammatical function. Thus, it influences both semantics and aspect, and the link between verbal meaning and grammar is realized via the distinctive feature [goal].

2.1. Translation of Some Serbian Prefixed Verbs into English and Romanian

Translation of Serbian prefixed verbs was rather challenging due to the fact that different syntactic constructions had to be introduced in order to translate Serbian prefixed verbs into English and Romanian. The analysis of the corpus had shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are very rarely translated by prefixed verbs (examples 3-6), most often they are translated by verbal phrases with direct objects and adverbials (examples 7-12). Furthermore, in English some translational equivalents are phrasal verbs (examples 13-16). The prefix *re-* in Romanian as well as in English introduces iterative meaning (examples 3-4). Similarly to the English prefix *en-* and the Serbian prefix *za-*, the Romanian prefix *în-* has a telic meaning (examples 5, 13). The Romanian prefix *de-* and the English prefix *un-* indicate a situation contrary to the situation denoted by the base verb (examples 6). The corpus has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are more frequently translated by prefixed verbs into Romanian than into English language, as it can be seen from examples (3-6,13).

(3) *pregrupisati* (to regroup / a *regrupa*)

(4) *preispitati* (to reexamine / a *reexamina*)

(5) *zaokružiti* (to encircle / a *înconjura*)

(6) *odviti* (to unwind / a *desfășura, derula*)

(7) *dokuvati* (to cook more until ready / a *termina de gătit*)

(8) *dotrčati* (to come running / a *veni în fugă*)

(9) *zapevati* (to begin to sing / a *începe să cânte, a înțona un cântec*)

(10) *odbraniti* (to defend successfully / a *reuși să apere*)

(11) *pobesneti* (to become furious / a *se înfuria*)

(12) *pobacati* (to throw away one by one / a *arunca unul după altul*)

(13) *zagrejati* (to warm up / a *încălzi*)

(14) *izgoreti* (to burn down / a *arde complet*)

(15) *izbaciti* (to throw out / a *da afară*)

(16) *nabrati* (*to pick up enough / a astrânge destul*)

3. VERBAL PREFIXATION IN ROMANIAN

The analysis of the corpus has shown that prefixes in Romanian are often added to base verbs which are already perfective. For example:

(17) *a făce* (*napraviti / to make, to create*)

(18) *a prefăce* (*dati novi oblik ili sadržaj, transformisati, modifikovati, promeniti (se) / to give a new shape or content, to transform, to modify, to change*)

In the examples above, the prefix *pre-* has a perfective meaning, but not with regard to the base verb (*face / make*), which is also perfective. The examples also show that the verb *face* can have both perfective and imperfective meaning (*praviti / napraviti*) depending on the context. Therefore, it can be argued that the Romanian verbs *face* and *preface* do not make an aspectual pair, but have different meanings. The mentioned Romanian prefix denotes that something is modified or transformed.

On the other hand, there are some examples where the prefix does not change the meaning of the base verb:

(19) *a schimbă* (*zameniti, transformisati, modifikovati / to replace, to transform, to modify*)

(20) *a preschimbă* (*zameniti, transformisati, promeniti / to replace, to transform, to change*)

(21) *a uită* (*zaboraviti / to forget*)

(22) *a zăuită* (*zaboraviti / to forget*)

It can be argued that the verbs mentioned above with the prefixes *pre-* and *za-* are not in the perfective/imperfective opposition with their base verbs. The prefix *pre-* implies that something is being transformed, thus, it can be linked to Aktionsart, not to aspect. Romanian verbs with the prefix *pre-* are accomplishments as well as their base verbs.

The corpus also contains prefixed verbs which have a completely different meaning compared to the meaning of their respective base verbs. For example:

(23) *a negri* (*pocrneti / to become black, darken*)

(24) *a ponegri* (*kuditi nekog, govoriti ružno o nekome, ocrniti nekog / to criticize, disapprove of*)

Contrary to some Romanian linguists (Mișan 1973:108; Luchian 2007:64) who argue that Romanian prefixed verbs do not create an aspectual pair with the base verbs, the corpus has proven that some verbs do create an aspectual pair with the base verb, thus create the perfective/imperfective opposition. For example:

(25) *a dormi* (*spavati / to sleep*)

(26) *a adormi* (*zaspati / to fall asleep*)

The above examples show that Romanian verbs can create aspectual pairs where one verb is perfective (example 26) and the other imperfective (example 25). Thus, the prefix *a-* introduces the notion of a goal and consequently it perfectivizes the base verb. In Romanian, this prefix can connect aspect and Aktionsart in the sense that the perfective verb implies the attainment of the goal (achievement), and the imperfective form does not imply a goal (state).

Some aspectual prefixes still exist in the Romanian dialect spoken in Banat. They retained their grammatical function and the possibility to perfectivize verbs and create aspectual pairs. Such a prefix is the prefix *do-* which denotes a situation which has reached its goal. For example:

(27) *a merge (hodati / to walk)*

(28) *a domerge (hodati do kraja puta / to walk to the end of the road)*

However, this is not always the case. For example:

(29) *a dolua (uzeti sve / to take all)*

(30) *a doajunge (stići do kraja puta / to reach the end of the road)*

In the examples above, the verbs without the prefix are also perfective, thus the prefix does not change the verbal aspect and does not perfectivize the base verb, it just adds the fact that the situation has come to an end. This prefix can also be connected to telicity since it implies that the goal has been reached. Therefore, we may say that in some cases the Romanian prefix *do-* does have the possibility to perfectivize the imperfective base verbs.

It should be pointed out that some Romanian linguists (Evseev 1974:87-93) argue that the prefix *în-* / *îm-* denotes a change of state (transformative) or the beginning of a situation (inchoative), creating perfective forms. The verbs with the mentioned prefixes are telic. For example:

(31) *a întineri (podmladiti se / to become younger)*

(32) *a înflori (cvetati, procvetati / to blossom, to burst into flower, to bloom up)*

A more detailed analysis as well as the definitions of the verbs mentioned above provided by DEX have proven that, in Romanian, there are no such verbs as *tineri* or *flori*. The mentioned dictionary lists the adjective *tânăr* / *mlad* / *young* and the noun *floare*, *flori* / *cvet*, *cveče* / *flower*, *flowers*. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Romanian verbs which start with *în-* / *îm-* are in fact monomorphemic lexemes without the possibility to form aspectual pairs i.e. perfective / imperfective oppositions.

It can be argued that in Romanian, prefixation does not perfectivize verbs, with the exception of the prefix *a-* which introduces the notion of a goal. Similarly, the prefix *pre-* denotes a change of state, modification or transformation of some sort. Since the mentioned prefixes imply the existence of a goal, they are telic. In other instances prefixation cannot be linked to aspect in Romanian, as it is the case in Serbian.

4. VERBAL PREFIXATION IN ENGLISH

The analysis of the corpus has proven that prefixation in English does not have the same function as in Serbian, but some aspectual characteristics of prefixation can be detected. Quirk et al. (1985:981-992) mention prefixes such as: *co-*, *counter-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *fore-*, *inter-*, *mal-*, *mis-*, *non-*, *out-*, *over-*, *re-*, *sub-*, *trans-*, *un-*, *under-*.

The analysis has shown that prefixes in English mainly have spatial meaning, or denote movement in a certain direction and orientation towards a goal. The corpus consists of examples where prefixes have an abstract meaning. Syntactic tests¹ have proven that prefixes have a telic meaning, thus prefixed verbs are mostly achievements or accomplishments. For example:

(33) *to lock (zaključati / a încuia)*

(34) *to unlock (otključati / a descuia),*

(35) *to do (uraditi / a face)*

(36) *to undo (poništiti, odvezati, rasplesti, otkopčati / a anula, a desface, a deznoda,*

1 The following syntactic tests denote telic situations:

a) *Koliko dugo je trebalo da V (how long did it take to V / Câț timp a trebuit să V)*

b) *Za X vremena (in X time / în X timp)*

c) *Čim neko prestane da realizuje V, on jeste realizovao V (as soon as one V's, one has Ved / în momentul când cineva a V, el a realizat V)*

a dezlega, a descheia),

(37) *to embark (ukrcati se na brod / a înbarca)*

(38) *to disembark (sići s broda / a debarca)*

These examples clearly show that the prefix *un-* does not influence the telicity of the situation since the base verbs are telic as well. Similarly, the prefix *dis-* does not change the distinctive features of the base verb (*embark*) and its Romanian equivalent (*înbarca / ukrcati se*) which are also achievements.

The prefixes *dis-* and *un-* denote a situation which is contrary to the situation denoted by the base verb. Verbs with these prefixes do not have a spatial meaning; the movement is merely implied and is a result of the semantic link between the verb and the prefix. For example:

(39) *to dismount (sjahati / a se da jos de pe cal / a descăleca),*

(40) *to disarm (razoružati / a dezarma),*

(41) *to disapprove (neodobravati / a dezaproba),*

(42) *to disappear (nestati / a dispărea),*

(43) *to disallow (zabraniti / a interzice),*

(44) *to disagree (neslagati se / a nu fi de acord), etc.*

(45) *to unseal (otpečatiti / a rupe sigiliul / a pecetea de pe ceva),*

(46) *to unbutton (otkopčati dugme / a dezbumba),*

(47) *to undress (skinuti odeću / a dezbrăca),*

(48) *to unfasten (odvezati / a dezlega),*

(49) *to unveil (otkriti / a dezvălui),*

(50) *to unwrap (otpakovati / a desface un pachet), etc.*

The prefix *de-* can carry a similar meaning, for example:

(51) *to defrost (odlediti / a dezgheța),*

(52) *to deforest (poseći svo drveće iz šume / a tăia toți arbori din o pădure),*

(53) *to deactivate (deaktivirati / a deactiva),*

(54) *to deplane (sići iz aviona / a cobori din avion), etc.*

Based on the examples from the corpus, it can be argued that the use of these prefixes does not introduce the notion of telicity since the base verbs are already telic. In these examples, the prefixes introduce an additional meaning i.e. they denote a situation which is opposite to the situation denoted by the base verb. Furthermore, the use of the prefixes *dis-*, *un-* and *de-* does not change the verbal aspect, i.e. it does not perfectivize the base verb as is the case in Serbian. Namely, in the English and Romanian the notions of perfectivity and imperfectivity are not perceptible at the lexical level, but at the syntactic level or in context.

On the other hand, verbs with the prefix *re-* denote an iterative situation. The prefix *re-* has an atelic meaning, thus it denotes an iterative situation which does not tend towards a goal. This prefix is compatible with achievements (examples 55-56) as well as with accomplishments (examples 57-59).

(55) *to reemerge (ponovo se pojaviti / a reapărea, a apărea din nou),*

(56) *to reenter (ponovo ući / reintra, a intra din nou)*

(57) *to reelect (ponovo izabrati / a realege),*

(58) *to reexamine (ponovo proučiti / a reexamina), resell (preprodati / a revinde),*

(59) *to rewrite (ponovo napisati / a rescrie), etc.*

However, there are examples in the corpus where this prefix is added to activities:

(60) *to reecho (ponovo odzvanjati / a răsună)*

In example (60), the prefix *re-* introduces the notion of a goal to an atelic verb. The verb

rerun is an accomplishment, while the base verb *run* is an activity. Thus, the prefix *re-* may render atelic verbs telic. However, it has a few different meanings:

(61) *to rerun* (*reprizirati film ili emisiju / a relua*)

(62) *to rerun* (*ponovo trčati određenu trku / a alerga în cursă din nou*)

The prefix *mis-* indicates a certain development of the situation until the effect of the situation is diminished or a mistake is made. For example:

(63) *to misunderstand* (*a înțelege greșit / razumeti pogrešno*)

The prefix does not modify any distinctive features since the base verb *understand* is an achievement as well. The Serbian and Romanian translational equivalents are phrases, not prefixed verbs.

In the English part of the corpus, there are prefixes which denote a degree of realization of a certain situation. Such prefixes are: *under-*, *over-*, *out-*. The prefix *under-* denotes a situation which is not fully realized, i.e. where the goal has not been reached.

(64) *to undercook* (*ne skuvati do kraja / nu găti până la capăt*)

The prefix *over-* denotes a situation which has been continued after the goal has been reached (65), whereas the prefix *out-* denotes a situation which exceeds the goal (examples 66-67) and may also denote a change of state (example 66):

(65) *to overcook* (*prekuvati / a fierbe prea mult*)

(66) *to outgrow* (*prerasti / a deveni prea mare pentru ceva*),

(67) *to outvote* (*nadglasati / a învinge cu majoritate de voturi*)

The analysis of the corpus has revealed that the prefix *out-* introduces a telic meaning if it is added to an atelic verb (examples 68-70).

(68) *to outrun* (*trčati brže od nekog drugog / a alerga mai repede decât altcineva*),

(69) *to outlive* (*nadživeti / a trăi mai mult decât altcineva*),

(70) *to outplay* (*nadigrati / a juca mai bine decât altcineva*)

The prefix *trans-* may denote a change of a position (71) as well as a change of state (72):

(71) *to transplant* (*presaditi / a transplanta*)

(72) *to transform* (*transformisati / a transforma*)

The majority of the above mentioned verbs (and their translational equivalents) are telic. Therefore, verbal prefixes in English do not introduce the notion of a goal since the base verbs onto which the prefixes are added are already telic.

The analysis has proven that the use of prefixes does not alter verbal aspect and Aktionsart; it just introduces an additional meaning which varies depending of the prefix. Therefore, it can be concluded that prefixes in English do not render atelic verbs telic, i.e. they do not perfectivize verbs, but are added to verbs which are telic themselves.

5. CONCLUSION

This study has shown that prefixes express aspectual meanings in all three languages. The analysis of English, Romanian and Serbian prefixed verbs involved many difficulties because the prefixation influences the verbal aspect as well as the meaning of verbs. Consequently, it is not always easy to differentiate the semantic and grammatical level, or to determine the domain of aspect on one hand and Aktionsart on the other. This research has proven that the change in aspect and verbal semantics brings about a change in Aktionsart as well. Thus, some prefixes introduce additional meanings to the base verb which alters the verbal aspect and Aktionsart.

In Serbian, verbal aspect and telicity are morphologically expressed by means of verbal

prefixes. Therefore, aspectual and semantic distinctions are visible in the infinitive which is not the case in English and Romanian where different syntactic means are used to express verbal aspect (e.g. adverbs). This is the reason why Serbian prefixed verbs represented the basis for this research. The analysis has shown that the primary function of Serbian prefixes is to perfectivize the base verb. In other words, imperfective verbs are rendered perfective if we add a prefix to them, whereas if a prefix is added to a perfective verb it stays perfective.

In English and Romanian, on the other hand, prefixes very rarely perfectivize the base verb. Therefore, they usually do not modify aspect and telicity, but they denote verbs with a different or sometimes completely new meaning. In Romanian, there are just a few prefixes with aspectual values (*a-* and *-pre*, which introduce the notion of a goal). Furthermore, the analysis of the Romanian prefixed verbs has shown that some prefixed verbs do not show any difference in meaning when compared to their base verbs, which is due to the fact that these prefixed verbs are borrowings mainly from Serbian or Latin. In such examples, the prefixes retain the meaning they had in the language of origin and the prefixed verb is borrowed into Romanian as a word with a meaning of its own meaning, independent from the corresponding native base verb.

Verbal prefixes influence the base verb in various ways in Romanian. Sometimes they do not introduce a new meaning but often prefixed verbs make an aspectual pair with their base verbs. Furthermore, the analysis has shown that some Romanian verbs without a prefix can have both perfective and imperfective meaning depending on the context. Moreover, in Romanian, the prefix is not necessarily added to a verb, but the prefix *în-* / *im* can also be added to a noun or adjective. In English, verbal prefixes usually have spatial meaning, or they denote a movement in a certain direction, and orientation towards a goal or have an abstract meaning. Syntactic tests have proven that prefixes possess the distinctive feature [+goal]. Consequently, prefixed verbs are achievements or accomplishments, and rarely activities. It is important to point out that, in this language, prefixes rarely render atelic verbs telic, most often they are added to base verbs which are telic themselves. If prefixes are added to atelic verbs, the prefix introduces the notion of a goal.

The contrastive analysis of the translational equivalents has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are very rarely translated into English and Romanian by prefixed verbs, most often they are translated by phrases with or without modifiers like adverbials, direct objects, catenative constructions consisting of phrase verbs like *begin* / *a începe* / *početi*. In English, phrasal verbs are frequently used to translate Serbian prefixed verbs.

In all three languages, the lexical feature [goal] has proven to be directly linked to verbal aspect in the sense that a situation which tends towards a goal can be perceived as a whole (perfectivity), and a situation which does not tend towards a goal can be perceived as a structure (imperfectivity).

Mihaela Lazović
College of Hotel Management, University of Belgrade
laz_13@yahoo.com

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTIVATION TYPE AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE ACHIEVEMENT OF SERBIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

The present study examines motivation itself and provides an account of the basic theories of motivation in psychology, drawing special attention to the theories of motivation in foreign language learning. The study is meant to determine if there is a correlation between the type of motivation (integrative and instrumental) and students' achievement in English language learning. It also examines the influence of students' overall motivation on their language achievement. The author assumes that integratively oriented students achieve greater success in learning, which is the result of the desire of adolescents to assimilate with an Anglophone subject, which has been popularized through culture, industry and everyday life. The research was carried out with third year secondary school students (around 60 examinees). Based on the results of a translated and adapted version Gardner's (1985) questionnaire, we determined whether the students are instrumentally or integratively motivated, and then we examined how their orientation correlates with their achievement in English language learning.

Keywords: motivation, integrative motivation, instrumental motivation, achievement.

1. INTRODUCTION

Motivation is one of the crucial elements that influence foreign language learning. It is one of the decisive factors that determine students' achievement in that endeavour (Dörnyei 1994). It can also be a sign of students' success in language learning. Therefore, it is important to determine how students are motivated and examine if there is a correlation between the type of motivation and students' achievement in foreign language learning. Despite numerous studies defining the correlation between the level of motivation and students' achievement in English language learning, few studies have examined the correlation between the type of motivation and students' achievement. The present study examines instrumental and integrative motivation among Serbian students. The study is meant to determine what motivates Serbian secondary school students to learn English and to examine if there is a correlation between the type of motivation (integrative and instrumental) and students' achievement in English language learning. It also examines the correlation between the level of students' motivation and their language achievement. The findings might provide practical assistance for teachers and help them to improve their teaching methods and materials in order to enhance their students' motivation, and consequently their achievement in English language learning.

2. THE DEFINITION OF MOTIVATION

Motivation has been defined in different ways in various scientific fields. In psychology, motivation is thought to be a complex, multidimensional phenomenon. In applied linguistics,

motivation is defined as “the driving force in any situation that leads to action.”¹ Williams and Burden (1997) determined it as a state of cognitive and emotional arousal, which leads to a decision to act in order to achieve previously set goals. According to Gardner (1972), motivation is a combination of an individual’s attitudes, effort and desire to attain certain goals.

Generally, it has been claimed (Brown 2001; Dörnyei 2001) that motivation is of great importance for achievement in any type of learning. Thus, motivation is one of the crucial factors in foreign language learning as well. Therefore, it has been studied systematically and thoroughly both in the field of psychology and foreign language learning. The results of various kinds of research (e.g. Gardner and Lambert 1972) have shown a positive correlation between the level of motivation and students’ achievement in language learning. Gardner and Lambert (1972) claim that motivation is interdependent with achievement, that is, students’ motivation leads to higher achievement, while achievement increases the level of motivation. Ryan and Deci (2000:54) claim that people vary not only in the level of motivation, but also in the orientation of motivation. The orientation reveals the attitudes and goals of an individual, that is, it deals with the why of action. Since motivation refers to the “antecedents of action” (Dörnyei 2001:6), the main task of educational psychology is to determine what these antecedents are. Dörnyei (2001) explains that motivation reveals why people do something, how hard they do it and how long they sustain the activity.

During the twentieth century, various theories were developed to define the phenomenon of motivation. At the beginning of the century, in the theory of Sigmund Freud, for example, motivation was defined in terms of human drives and instincts. Later, behaviorists put stress on the importance of reward in motivating behaviour and explained that motivation is the key to understanding various aspects of human behavior. Behaviorist psychologists, like Skinner and Watson, define motivation as “the anticipation of reinforcement” (Brown 2001: 73). During the 1960s a new stream emerged from cognitive psychology and it offered cognitive definitions of motivation. The theorists focused on how the individual’s conscious attitudes, thoughts, beliefs, and interpretations of events influence their behavior (Dörnyei 2001: 8). This approach also focuses on the importance of reward in motivating behavior, but it also emphasizes the importance of motivation resources, as well as self-reward.

Various other theories have appeared differing basically in the ‘most important’ motives. The most well-known contemporary motivation theories in psychology include expectancy-value theories, achievement motivation theory, self-efficacy theory, attribution theory, self-worth theory, goal setting theory, goal orientation theory, self-determination theory, social motivation theory, and theory of planned behavior (Dörnyei 2001: 11).

3. MOTIVATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

The pioneering studies of motivation in the field of foreign language teaching were conducted by Gardner and Lambert (1972) in bilingual regions in Canada. The researchers found that attitudes related to the second language (L2) community have a strong influence on one’s L2 learning. Generally, most studies on L2 motivation published between the 1960s and 1990s examine how the students’ attitudes towards the L2, the L2 speakers and the L2 culture influence their desire to learn the language. These studies of L2 motivation emerged from social psychology and they treated L2 learning as a social issue, and consequently L2 motivation as a social factor (Gardner 1972), i.e. they were socio-culturally oriented.

¹ *Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* (2010).

In the 1990s the theory of motivation in foreign language learning changed. The new theories insisted on the introduction of recent findings in educational psychology into L2 motivation studies. Crookes and Schmidt (1991) claimed that motivation is more than students' attitudes towards the target language, people and culture. Dörnyei (2001) asserts that the researchers wanted to reconcile motivational theories in educational psychology and in the L2 field, claiming that by focusing so much on these social aspects, other crucial features of motivation were neglected. Thus, the new concept of motivation did not denounce the previous theories, but it provided the reconciliation of old and new attitudes. Dörnyei (2001) proposed his framework of L2 motivation based on three perspectives relevant to L2 learning. He separated the motivation-affecting components into the following levels: the language level, the learner level and the learning situation level. The language level refers to the L2 culture and community, as well as the benefits associated with learning the language. It is also associated with integrative and instrumental orientation. The learner level refers to the individual characteristics of a learner, while the learning situation level is determined by "situation-specific motives rooted in various aspects of L2 learning within a classroom setting" (Dörnyei 2001: 19).

The 1990s also introduced a new framework of motivational components proposed by Williams and Burden (1997). These researchers also claimed that motivation is a multidimensional, complex phenomenon, but they emphasized the distinction between the internal and external influence of motivation. They focused on the factors that affect L2 motivation and divided them into two categories: internal and external factors. The authors also proposed a number of subcomponents of these two categories following the main themes in educational psychology (Dörnyei 2001: 19). The process model of language learning motivation is one of the more recent concepts of motivation proposed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998). The authors introduced the temporal dimension into the motivation model, claiming that motivation is not constant and stable but that it is a dynamic category that changes over time. Thus, their approach could be defined as a process-oriented approach.

To sum up, the understanding of motivation in L2 learning has changed from socio-culturally oriented theories to dynamic, process-oriented models of it. Dörnyei (1998) claims that L2 motivation is a complex phenomenon and these different approaches to its complexity should reveal different aspects of it. Thus, these approaches do not necessarily conflict, but complement each other and contribute to a complete understanding of L2 motivation.

3.1. Types of motivation

3.1.1. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation

The division into intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is related to the source of motivation, i.e. whether it comes from outside or inside. Extrinsic motivation is the result of various outside factors, for example, the need to pass an exam, the hope of financial reward or the possibility of future travel (Harmer 2003: 51). On the other hand, intrinsically motivated learning is the one that satisfies innate psychological needs (Ryan and Deci 2000: 57). An intrinsically motivated student enjoys the very process of learning without the expectation of an external reward.

Various researchers (Ryan and Deci 2000; Noels et al. 1999) have shown the correlation between intrinsic motivation and achievement in foreign language learning. Thus, this type of motivation is of great significance for foreign language teaching and the foreign language classroom.

3.1.2. Integrative and instrumental motivation

The other classification of motivation is into integrative and instrumental motivation. Motivation is determined by two factors: the learners' communicative needs and their attitudes towards the second language community. On the one hand, if learners need the second language for various social and professional purposes, they will realize the communicative value of the language and they will be motivated to learn it. On the other hand, if learners have positive attitudes towards the second language community, they will learn the second language in order to be able to communicate with the L2 people, or to become a part of their community (Lightbown and Spada 2006: 63).

Gardner and Lambert (1972) were the first to draw this sharp distinction between integrative and instrumental orientation. They defined integrative orientation as the desire to learn a second language which is the result of a positive attitude toward a community of its speakers, and instrumental orientation as the desire to learn a second language in order to achieve certain goals (Brown 2001: 75). Gardner and Lambert (1972) defined integrativeness and instrumentality as orientations, not as types of motivation. Gardner and his colleagues focused on the dichotomy of orientation, not motivation. Orientation refers to a context or purpose for learning, while motivation refers to the intensity of a student's wish to learn. Thus, an integratively motivated learner wants to learn a second language for certain social purposes, but the level of his motivation can be high or low. In the same way, an instrumentally motivated learner wants to master a second language for some academic or professional purposes, but his motivation can also be at different levels. The distinction between orientation and motivation is the key for establishing the difference between integrative/ instrumental orientation and intrinsic/extrinsic motivation. The distinction between integrative and instrumental orientation is determined by the context of learning and it is a true dichotomy. On the other hand, the division into intrinsic and extrinsic motivation refers to the levels of learners' feeling or drive (Brown 2001:75).

Numerous researchers have indicated the correlation between integrative orientation and success in L2 learning. Gardner (1972) claimed that success in learning French in Canada was associated with whether students wanted to integrate into the French culture, or whether they needed the language for some instrumental purposes. Lambert (1972) indicated that integrative orientation was associated with high scores on proficiency tests. These pioneering studies, based on social psychology, approached the concept of motivation by viewing L2 learning as a social phenomenon. Later studies (e.g., Dörnyei 1998; Crooks and Schmidt 1991) changed the focus, treating motivation as a psychological and educational entity. The new findings indicated that integrative motivation was not necessarily the predictor of success in L2 learning. For example, Dörnyei (1990) emphasizes the importance of context in language learning and claims that in the contexts where learners do not have sufficient experience with L2 speakers and their culture, instrumental motivation should receive special attention. The contradictory findings show that the success in L2 learning depends on the context in which the learning occurs. Some learners in specific contexts are more successful in L2 learning if they are integratively oriented, while others will achieve higher scores if they are instrumentally oriented.

These four types of motivation (intrinsic/extrinsic) or orientation (integrative/instrumental) make it a truly complex phenomenon. Ellis (1997) claims that they should not be considered as opposite and mutually exclusive, but they should be treated as complementary. A learner could

be instrumentally and integratively oriented, or intrinsically and extrinsically motivated at the same time. Moreover, motivation is not a constant category, but it is dynamic and subject to change. All these characteristics make it a complex and crucial phenomenon in the process of foreign language learning.

4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF MOTIVATION AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE ACHIEVEMENT - AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

4.1. Methodology

The aim of this study is to determine if there is a correlation between the type of orientation (integrative and instrumental) and achievement in English language learning among secondary school students in Serbia. The study is designed to reveal if integratively motivated students are more successful in English language learning, as well as to determine if overall motivation is associated with the students' success. The assumption of this study is that the type of motivation (instrumental or integrative) affects success in English language learning among secondary school students in Serbia. The paper assumes that integratively motivated students achieve greater success in learning, which is the result of the popularization and promotion of English through culture, industry and media in Serbia. Prčić (2006) claims that this popularization includes the popular attitudes, beliefs, behaviour and thought patterns that individuals adopt to make themselves modern, urbane and socially superior. The elements of this influence are present in various areas of everyday life: entertainment, fashion, sport, tourism, arts, science, trade, economics, politics, and education (Prčić 2006: 527). As a result of its popularization, there is a tendency among adolescents to assimilate with the L2 speakers and their culture, and to increasingly use Anglicisms at the level of spelling, pronunciation, grammar, semantics and pragmatics (Prčić 2005).

This tendency is partly reflected in the students' desire to learn English. Namely, we assume that integratively oriented students in Serbia, that is, the students who wish to learn English in order to identify with the target people and culture, develop high motivation, and thus achieve better results in learning this language. On the other hand, the instrumentally oriented students, that is, the students who learn English in order to achieve specific academic or professional goals, have limited success in learning.

At the beginning of the research we posed three research questions:

- 1) Is integrative orientation a predictor of success in English language learning among secondary school students in Serbia?
- 2) Is instrumental orientation a predictor of success in English language learning among these students?
- 3) Is there a correlation between overall motivation for learning English and success in learning among Serbian students?

After establishing these research questions, we developed three hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Integrative orientation predicts greater success in English language learning among secondary school students in Serbia.

Hypothesis 2: Instrumental motivation is not associated with greater success in English language learning among secondary school students in Serbia.

Hypothesis 3: There is a correlation between overall motivation and success in English language learning among secondary school students in Serbia.

The study was carried out at the First Grammar School in Kragujevac in October 2012. A total of 60 third-year students participated in the study (two classes). The students are at an intermediate level of proficiency (B1 level CEFR). They are taught by the same English teacher.

In order to examine the hypotheses we set, we distributed a questionnaire (Appendix A) to the students. The questionnaire was designed to reveal whether the students were integratively or instrumentally oriented. It was taken from research conducted among English students in Iran (Vaezi 2008). The integrative and instrumental motivation scale was designed according to Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) (Gardner 1985) and Clement's scale (Clement et al. 1994) but some questions were changed to adapt the questionnaire to the particular subject of the study. The questionnaire includes 25 questions, each followed by a five-point Likert scale on which the participants had to indicate their answers. There are 12 items that refer to integrative orientation, and 13 questions that measure instrumental orientation. To facilitate the task of participants and avoid any misunderstanding of the items, the Serbian translation of the questionnaire was used in this research (Appendix B).

The English course grades which the students achieved at the end of the previous school year were used as the second parameter in this research. The grades were used as a measure of English language achievement.

We used regression to test the first and second hypotheses, i.e. to check if integrative and instrumental orientation are predictors of success in English language learning. In the analysis we used instrumental and integrative orientation as predictors and students' grades as criteria. We also used correlation to test the third hypothesis, that is, to check if overall motivation has an influence on the students' success in English language learning.

4.2. Results

The initial descriptive analysis (Table 1) includes the following results: the mean score of overall motivation ($M=94.5167$), the mean score of the integrative motivation items ($M=43.8000$), and the mean score of the instrumental motivation items ($M=50.7167$). It also shows the mean score of the responses to each item individually (column 5).

The analysis indicates that the highest mean scores were given to item 1 ('Studying English can be important to me because it will allow me to be more at ease with other people who speak English'), item 2 ('Studying English can be important for me because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people'), item 13 ('Studying English can be important for me because I'll need it for my future career') and item 15 ('Studying English can be important for me because it will someday be useful in getting a good job'). The analysis shows that items 11 ('The British are kind and friendly') and 12 ('The Americans are kind and cheerful') receive the lowest mean scores. The results also reveal that the average grade that the students achieved at the end of the previous school year is 3.98.

Table 1. Descriptive analysis

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Grade	60	2.00	5.00	3.9833	1.11221
Integr.	60	32.00	60.00	43.8000	6.11417
Instrum.	60	29.00	63.00	50.7167	7.73741
Motivation	60	66.00	118.00	94.5167	11.81853
item1	59	4.00	5.00	4.7966	.40598
item2	60	3.00	5.00	4.6000	.55845
item3	60	1.00	5.00	3.4000	.94241
item4	60	2.00	5.00	3.9000	.95136
item5	60		5.00	3.4833	1.06551
item6	59	1.00	5.00	3.4915	1.11993
item7	59	1.00	5.00	3.3051	.95148
item8	60	2.00	5.00	3.9500	.81146
item9	60	2.00	5.00	4.4833	.85354
item10	60	1.00	5.00	3.1667	.80605
item11	59	1.00	5.00	2.4576	1.05572
item12	59	1.00	5.00	2.8814	1.05184
item13	58	2.00	5.00	4.6379	.64068
item14	60	2.00	5.00	4.5667	.74485
item15	60	2.00	5.00	4.6167	.66617
item16	60	1.00	5.00	3.4333	.87074
item17	60	1.00	5.00	4.1500	.93564
item18	60	2.00	5.00	3.8333	.99433
item19	60	1.00	5.00	3.5000	1.09699
item20	60	1.00	5.00	3.3333	1.05230
item21	60	1.00	5.00	3.8500	1.03866
item22	60	2.00	5.00	4.2000	.85964
item23	60	1.00	5.00	3.7667	.98060
item24	60	2.00	5.00	4.2667	.79972
item25	60	1.00	5.00	3.0333	1.24828
Valid N (listwise)	54				

Table 2 and Table 3 show that the descriptive analysis indicates that most students chose neutral responses to item 11 ('The British are kind and friendly') and item 12 ('The Americans are kind and cheerful').

Table 2. Item 11 – frequency distribution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1.00	14	23.3	23.7	23.7
2.00	13	21.7	22.0	45.8
3.00	25	41.7	42.4	88.1
4.00	5	8.3	8.5	96.6
5.00	2	3.3	3.4	100.0
Total	59	98.3	100.0	
Missing System	1	1.7		
Total	60	100.0		

Table 3. Item 12 – frequency distribution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1.00	6	10.0	10.2	10.2
2.00	13	21.7	22.0	32.2
3.00	27	45.0	45.8	78.0
4.00	8	13.3	13.6	91.5
5.00	5	8.3	8.5	100.0
Total	59	98.3	100.0	
Missing System	1	1.7		
Total	60	100.0		

Regression analysis (Table 4), used to test the first two hypotheses, determined the statistical significance of integrative and instrumental orientation (p-value), and the influence of these predictor variables (Beta value). The results indicate that integrative orientation is a significant predictor of better grades (Beta=0.384; p=0.008; p<0.05). On the other hand, it shows that instrumental orientation is not associated with better grades, and thus with greater success of the students in English language learning (Beta=-0.102; p=0.466; p>0.05).

Table 4. Regression (predictors: instrumental motivation, integrative motivation; criterion: grade) Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.665	1.123		1.483	.144
	Instrum	-.015	.020	-.102	-.734	.466
	Integr	.070	.025	.384	2.768	.008

a. Dependent Variable: grade

To test the third hypothesis, we used correlation (Table 5) between the variable of motivation and the variable of the grades. It proves to be positive (r=0.221) but not statistically significant (p=0.08; p>0.05).

Table 5. Correlation between motivation and grade

		Grade	Motivation
Grade	Pearson Correlation	1	.221
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.089
	N	60	60
Motivation	Pearson Correlation	.221	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.089	
	N	60	60

4.3. Discussion

The initial descriptive analysis showed that some items received high mean scores, especially items 1 and 2, which refer to integrative orientation and items 13 and 15, which test instrumental orientation. The results revealed that some students learn English because it will allow them to meet and communicate with other people. The results show their strong integrative orientation. On the other hand, the analysis also showed that some students want to learn English because it could be useful for their professional goals. These responses indicate strong instrumental orientation of the students.

The descriptive statistics also revealed that most students have neutral attitudes towards the statements that the British and Americans are kind, friendly and cheerful. It might be due to the fact that the students have not had the opportunity to meet native speakers. Their attitudes towards the language are mainly based on their contact with English books, movies, music, culture, and so on.

The analysis showed that integrative orientation and better grades of the students are linked. Thus the results confirmed the first hypothesis. Namely, the analysis proved that integrative orientation is a predictor for greater success in English language learning among Serbian secondary school learners. This might be the result of the popularization of English through culture, industry, and everyday life in Serbia. This popularization might be considered to have

a profound impact on adolescents and that consequently they express their desire to assimilate with the L2 speakers and their culture. Therefore, these students become more integratively oriented, and they develop higher motivation for English language learning, which is reflected in the better grades of these students.

The results of the study also showed that there is no correlation between instrumental orientation and better grades of the students. Namely, the results indicated that instrumental motivation bears no relevance to the prediction of success. Thus the results confirmed the second hypothesis. We can conclude that instrumentally oriented Serbian students, that is, the students that consider English as an instrument for achieving specific goals, do not develop high motivation, which is reflected in their limited success in English language learning.

These findings are consistent with the findings of Gardner and Lambert (1972), who found integrative motivation to be a significant predictor of students' achievement in L2 learning. The results also provide support for Dörnyei's (1990) claim that students achieve success in L2 learning depending on the context of learning. The context in which English language learning occurs in Serbia includes a strong influence of English culture. Under this influence, some students become integratively oriented and highly motivated for English language learning. Higher levels of motivation result in higher achievement of these students.

The analysis showed that the results refuted the third hypothesis. Namely, the analysis indicated that the correlation between the level of students' motivation and their grades is not statistically significant. This might be due to the existence of numerous factors that influence success in English language learning in addition to motivation, such as class atmosphere, the course content, materials or personal characteristics, to name but a few.

5. CONCLUSION

Since motivation is an important factor in L2 learning, it is important to define it, determine what type of motivation or orientation results in higher achievement, and to identify the factors that are responsible for the type of motivation or orientation. Considering these facts can help teachers or curriculum planners to organize the teaching process in a way that will enhance students' motivation and thus increase their proficiency. The paper presented a study aimed at determining the influence of various types of orientation (integrative/instrumental) on achievement in English language learning among secondary school students in Serbia. The results proved that integratively oriented students, who want to learn English in order to identify with the target people and culture, achieve better results in learning this language. On the other hand, instrumentally oriented students, who learn English in order to achieve specific goals, have limited success in learning. We explained this focusing on the popularization and the impact of Anglophone culture, industry and media in Serbia. As a result of this popularization, there is a tendency among adolescents to assimilate with the L2 speakers and to identify with their culture. Thus, the students become highly integratively oriented. This type of orientation leads to higher levels of motivation and subsequently, to higher achievement in English language learning.

To sum up, the study reveals what motivates Serbian students who participated in the study and what type of orientation leads to higher achievement in English language learning. The findings have considerable implications for teachers of English. Employing various teaching methods and techniques, they should promote their students' interest in English speakers, their

culture and language. This could raise their integrative motivation which, based on the results of the study, leads to higher achievement in English language learning among Serbian students.

Anica Radosavljević
Faculty of Philology and Arts, University of Kragujevac
anicarad@yahoo.com

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Gender: M/F

Your grade at the end of the previous school year: _____

1= strongly disagree; 2= disagree; 3 = neutral; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
1. Studying English can be important to me because it will allow me to be more at ease with other people who speak English.					
2. Studying English can be important to me because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people.					
3. Studying English can be important to me because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate English art and literature.					
4. Studying English can be important to me because I will be able to participate more freely in the activities of other cultural groups.					
5. It is important for me know English in order to know the life of the English-speaking nations.					
6. Studying English is important to me so that I can understand English pop music.					
7. The more I get to know native English speakers, the more I like them.					
8. Studying English can be important to me because it will enable me to get to know various cultures and peoples.					
9. Studying English is important to me so that I can keep in touch with foreign friends and acquaintances.					
10. I would like to know more about native English speakers.					
11. The British are kind and friendly.					
12. The Americans are kind and cheerful.					
13. Studying English can be important for me because I'll need it for my future career.					
14. Studying English can be important for me because it will make me a more knowledgeable person.					
15. Studying English can be important for me because it will someday be useful in getting a good job.					
16. Studying English can be important for me because other people will respect me more if I know English.					
17. Studying English can be important for me because I will be able to search for information and materials in English on the Internet.					
18. Studying English can be important for me because I will learn more about what's happening in the world.					
19. Studying English can be important for me because language learning often gives me a feeling of success.					
20. Studying English can be important for me because language learning often makes me happy.					
21. Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.					
22. Studying English is important to me so that I can understand English-speaking films, videos, TV or radio.					
23. Studying English is important to me so that I can read English books.					
24. Studying English is important to me because it will enable me to get to know new people from different parts of the world.					
25. Studying English is important to me because without it one cannot be successful in any field.					

Appendix B

Пол: м/ж

1= уопште се не слажем; 2= не слажем се; 3 = неутрално; 4 =слажем се; 5 = у потпуности се слажем.

Изјава	1	2	3	4	5
1. Учење енглеског језика може да буде веома важно за мене јер ће ми омогућити да се лакше споразумем са људима који говоре овај језик.					
2. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ће ми омогућити да упознам и пуно различитих људи и да разговарам са њима.					
3. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ће ми омогућити да боље разумем енглеску уметност и књижевност.					
4. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ће ми омогућити да учествујем слободније у активностима других културалних група.					
5. Важно ми је да знам енглески језик да бих упознао живот нација чији је матерњи језик енглески.					
6. Учење енглеског језика ми је важно да бих могао да разумем енглеску поп музику.					
7. Што више упознајем матерње говорнике енглеског језика, све ми се више допадају.					
8. Учење енглеског језика ми је важно јер ће ми омогућити да упознам разне културе и народе.					
9. Учење енглеског језика ми је важно јер могу да останем у контакту са пријатељима и познаницима који су странци.					
10. Волео/волела бих да знам више о матерњим говорницима енглеског језика.					
11. Британци су пријатни и срдачни.					
12. Американци су пријатни и весели.					
13. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ће ми тај језик бити потребан за будућу каријеру.					
14. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ће ме учинити образованијом особом.					
15. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ће једног дана бити користан при проналажењу новог посла.					
16. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ће ме људи више поштовати ако будем знао тај језик.					
17. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ће ми омогућити да претражујем информације и материјале на енглеском језику на интернету.					
18. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ћу бити у могућности да сазнајем шта се дешава у свету.					
19. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ми познавање језика ствара осећај успеха.					
20. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер ме познавање језика често чини срећним.					
21. Учење енглеског језика може да буде важно за мене јер подразумева да образована особа говори енглески језик.					
22. Учење енглеског језика је важно за мене јер ми омогућује да разумем филмове, снимке, телевизијске и радио емисије на енглеском језику.					
23. Учење енглеског језика је важно за мене јер ми омогућује да читам књиге на енглеском језику.					

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTIVATION TYPE AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE ACHIEVEMENT

24.Учење енглеског језика је важно за мене јер ће ми омогућити да упознајем нове људе из различитих крајева света.					
25.Учење енглеског језика је важно за мене јер без познавања овог језика човек не може да буде успешан ни на једном пољу.					

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY AND CLASSROOM ORAL ACTIVITIES

Foreign language anxiety is a type of situation-specific anxiety. It is a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, and behaviours arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process. Various sources of foreign language classroom anxiety are presented. A model of foreign language anxiety is illustrated. It consists of three categories – communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation. Oral performance practice in the foreign language classroom is evaluated. Two instruments are applied for measuring the previously mentioned variables: the Foreign language classroom anxiety scale and the Students' oral practice classroom activities evaluation scale. The sample consists of 60 participants, students of the Faculty of Agronomy in Čačak, learning English as a foreign language (precisely, English for Specific Purposes – English in food technology, agronomy and agricultural economy). The results obtained indicate that foreign language classroom anxiety is related to the student's evaluation of classroom oral activities in a foreign language. Their overall evaluation of classroom foreign language oral practice activities correlates positively and significantly with foreign language anxiety, communication apprehension, and fear of negative evaluation.

Keywords: foreign language, anxiety, classroom oral performance

1. INTRODUCTION

The complexity of learning foreign languages is manifested in the learners' success in learning a foreign language, as well as in their inability to achieve the desired level of foreign language proficiency. The reasons for both are often seen not only in cognitive factors such as intelligence, aptitude, learning styles, learning strategies but also in affective factors such as beliefs and attitudes, anxiety, interests, motivation, and inhibition. Anxiety is believed to be that affective factor which is initiated in the classroom context of foreign language learning (MacIntyre 1995; MacIntyre and Gardner 1991a; Ohata 2005). Researchers in second language acquisition and foreign language learning (Gardner and Lambert 1972; Horwitz and Young 1991; Schumann 1975; all cited in Samimy 1994: 29-30) have been increasingly recognizing affective variables as one set of the critical factors for explaining varying success among second/foreign language learners. They seem to agree that for a thorough understanding of learning process anxiety, besides other effective variables (for example, motivation and risk taking), it needs to be examined so that learners' diverse needs and interests can be better understood.

Anxiety is fundamentally a psychological construct. It is defined as "an emotional state of apprehension, a vague fear that is only indirectly associated with an object appearing with arousal of limbic system which has an important indirect role in various aspects of human performance including communication" (Scovel 1978: 134). It also refers to the subjective feeling of tension, apprehension, nervousness and worry associated with the arousal of autonomic nervous system (Spielberger 1983). This emotional state can have both positive and negative effects: it motivates and facilitates as well as disrupts and inhibits cognitive actions

such as learning.

The 1960s were a prolific period for the development of the concept of anxiety (Spielberger and Sydeman 1994; Tovilović et al. 2009; Toth 2010). The distinction between trait and state anxiety has become commonplace since then. Trait anxiety reflects the existence of stable individual differences in the tendency to respond with state anxiety in the anticipation of threatening situations; it is a relatively stable personal characteristic (Spielberger 1983: 1). State anxiety, on the other hand, is defined as an unpleasant emotional arousal in the face of threatening demands or dangers or other anxiety-provoking stimuli (such as an important test). It is a transient anxiety that can fluctuate over time and vary in intensity (Spielberger 1983). These two dimensions are interconnected - the higher the level of trait anxiety the higher the level of state anxiety, particularly in stressful situations. Besides trait and state anxiety, a third approach to anxiety is added - the dimension of situation-specific anxiety (Izard 1972). Situation-specific anxiety refers to the probability of becoming anxious in a particular type of context or situation (for example, test anxiety, math anxiety, language anxiety) and reflects the persistent and multi-faceted nature of some anxieties (McIntyre and Gardner 1991b, cited in Horwitz, 2001; Spielberger et al. 1976, cited in Woodrow 2006: 310). When anxiety is limited to the language learning situation it falls into the category of specific anxiety reactions. Just as anxiety prevents some people from performing successfully in science or mathematics, foreign language (FL) learning, especially in classroom situations, can also be particularly stressful.

Foreign language researchers and theorists have been aware that anxiety is often associated with language learning. However, foreign language research neither adequately defined foreign language anxiety until the mid-1980s, nor did it describe its effects on foreign language learning. Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) attempted to fill this gap by identifying foreign language anxiety as a conceptually distinct variable in FL learning. A unique form of anxiety that some people experience in response to learning and/or using a foreign language is typically referred to as language anxiety or foreign language anxiety (FLA) (Horwitz 2010: 154). Foreign language anxiety is an aspect of situation-specific anxiety. It is conceived as “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviours related to *classroom language learning* arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process” (Horwitz et al. 1986: 128). Since the construct of FLA is associated with FL learning in the classroom context (Horwitz 1986; Horwitz et al. 1986) and since empirical studies on FLA have been carried out in the classroom environment, the term *foreign language classroom anxiety* is also frequently used.

2. SOURCES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY

Foreign language anxiety has its origins in inherent inauthenticity related to inadequately developed communicative skills in a foreign language. The various sources of anxiety are considered by the applied linguists and researchers dealing with foreign language.

Various research projects have indicated a number of ways in which learning a foreign language can cause anxiety for language learners. According to Horwitz et al. (1986), FLA is associated with the fear of communicating with people, with students' discomfort in testing situations, and with students' sensitivity to the evaluations, real or imagined, of their peers. According to Young (1991: 427) language anxiety arises from: 1) personal and interpersonal issues; 2) learner beliefs about foreign language learning; 3) FL teacher beliefs about foreign language teaching; 4) teacher-student interaction; 5) classroom activities and procedures; and 6) language testing.

Generally, the six factors proposed by Young (1991) combine with other factors indicated by other researchers to form three main sources of FLA: learner's characteristics, teacher's characteristics, and classroom's characteristics (Tallon 2008: 2).

2.1. Personal factors

Learner's characteristics or personal factors involve *personal and interpersonal issues* and *learners' beliefs about foreign language learning*.

Personal and interpersonal issues are probably the most commonly discussed sources of language anxiety. Low proficiency (Aida 1994; Young 1991), immature communicative language ability in a foreign language (Horwitz 1986), low self-esteem (Hembree 1988; Krashen 1981; Price 1991, cited in Ohata 2005: 5) competitiveness (Bailey 1983, cited in Young 1991: 427) are the significant sources of FLA. Other personality traits that have positive correlations with FLA are perfectionism (Gregersen and Horwitz 2002) and shyness (Chu 2008).

Learners' beliefs about language learning can also be associated with anxiety (Horwitz 1988; Horwitz et al. 1986; Young 1991). When students' unrealistic expectations about language learning are not met, it can lead to negative feelings about one's intelligence and abilities (Tallon 2008: 4). The following beliefs are found to be associated with learner anxiety: the belief that mastering a language is an overwhelming task, the belief that one needs to go through a translation process in order to communicate in the target language, the belief that it is difficult to keep everything in one's head, and the belief that learning a language is easier at an earlier age (Palacios 1998, cited in Tallon 2008: 5); there is also the belief that pronunciation is the most important aspect of the language, that language learning is primarily translating from a foreign language and memorizing vocabulary words and grammatical rules, and that two years is enough time to become fluent in another language (Horwitz 1988). In other words, when beliefs and reality clash, the anxiety arises.

2.2. Instructional factors

Instructional factors refer to teacher's characteristics and classroom characteristics.

- 1) teacher characteristics consider FL teacher beliefs about foreign language learning and teacher-student interaction;
 - teacher characteristics that are found to be associated with anxiety are as follows: absence of teacher support, unsympathetic personalities, absence of personal attention to each student, favouritism, or the teacher not providing students with the tools necessary to match up with the teacher's expectations in the classroom (Palacios 1998, cited in Tallon 2008: 5);
 - language teacher beliefs about foreign language learning which have been shown to evoke feelings of anxiety in students: it is necessary for the teacher to be intimidating at times; the instructor is supposed to correct every single mistake made by the students; group or pair work is not appropriate because it can get out of control; the teacher should do most of the talking; and the instructor's role is that of a drill sergeant (Young 1991);
 - teacher-student interaction - a harsh manner of teaching (Aida 1994) and a judgmental teaching attitude (Samimy 1994) are closely linked to student fear in the classroom.
- 2) classroom characteristics refer to teaching activities and procedures, and language testing;

- the classroom procedures which are perceived as anxiety-provoking (Young 1990, cited in Tallon 2008: 6) involve: speaking in general; role plays, oral presentations, presenting a prepared dialogue, all of these in front of the class;
- it is understandable that language testing may lead to foreign language anxiety (Young 1991); difficult tests, especially tests that do not match the teaching in class, as well as unclear or unfamiliar test tasks and formats can all create learner anxiety.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY

From a theoretical viewpoint, Horwitz et al. (1986: 127) argued that FLA implies “performance evaluation within an academic and social context.” They, therefore, identified three related performance anxieties: *communication apprehension*, *test anxiety*, and *fear of negative evaluation*, which are believed to “provide useful conceptual building blocks for a description of foreign language anxiety” (Horwitz 1986: 128).

Communication apprehension, a subtype of social anxiety, refers to shyness, fear and anxiety experienced when an individual has to communicate with others, manifested as difficulties and discomfort in speaking in dyads or groups (oral communication anxiety or speaking anxiety) or in public (“stage fright”), or in listening to or learning a spoken message (receiver anxiety) (Horwitz et al. 1986: 127). Typical behaviour patterns of communicatively apprehensive people are communication avoidance and communication withdrawal (McCroskey 1984, cited in Aida 1994: 156). Horwitz et al. (1986) found that anxious students reveal that speaking in the foreign language is the most anxiety-producing experience. Speaking in the FL class can be even more difficult for communication apprehensive people because they have little control of the communicative situation and their performance is constantly monitored by their teachers and peers; moreover, the communication apprehension seems to be augmented in relation to the learners’ negative self-perception caused by the inability to understand others and make oneself understood (McIntyre and Gardner 1991a).

The second element of FLA, *test anxiety*, is a tendency to become alarmed about the consequences of inadequate performance on a test or other evaluation (Sarason 1978: 214, cited in Aida 1994: 157), the type of performance anxiety stemming from a fear of failure (Gordon and Sarason 1955). Test-anxious students frequently have unrealistic goals feeling that anything less than perfect test performance is a failure. Oral tests have the potential of provoking both test- and oral communication anxiety simultaneously.

Fear of negative evaluation is an individual’s fear of being evaluated, avoiding evaluating situations and expectations of being negatively evaluated (Watson and Friend 1969: 449). It is a broader term than test anxiety since it is not constrained to the testing context but it can be applied to any aspect of a social and evaluative context (e.g., job interview, oral presentation in the foreign language classroom). Students may also be sensitive to real or imagined evaluations by their peers.

On the basis of the above described theoretical principles, the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) was created in the 1980s (Horwitz 1986; Horwitz et al. 1986), becoming the most applied instrument and standard measure of foreign language anxiety (Horwitz 2010: 158).

4. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The focus of the present research is the foreign language anxiety of students learning English as a foreign language (EFL). The aim of this study is to determine the level of foreign language classroom anxiety (FLCA), levels of evaluated parameters of oral classroom foreign language performance as well as the potential relationships between FLA and students' evaluation of oral FL classroom performance.

The main hypothesis in the study is that FLCA is related to the student's evaluation of classroom FL oral activities.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1. Participants

The sample involved 60 participants-students of the Faculty of Agronomy in Čačak, University in Kragujevac, Serbia. The participants are prospective engineers in the field of biotechnology, learning EFL - more precisely, learning English for Specific Purposes (ESP), English language in food technology, agronomy, and agricultural economy.

5.2. Variables

The variables used in the study are as follows:

- 1) foreign language classroom anxiety and its performance anxieties: communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation;
- 2) oral performance practice in a foreign language, specifically in the ESP classroom including the students' evaluation of: the frequency of oral practice in the FL classroom; the effects of FL oral practice on foreign language communication; the difficulty of FL oral exercises; the frequency of FL oral practice - previous experience; and finally, self-confidence in successful FL oral practice performance.

5.3. Instruments

The research instruments include the *Foreign language classroom anxiety scale* (FLCAS) (Horwitz 1986; Horwitz et al. 1986) and the *Students' oral practice classroom activities evaluation scale* (Bojović 2012a).

FLCAS items measure foreign language learner's anxiety from the perspective of total anxiety in the foreign language, communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation. The instrument was designed to measure the level of anxiety FL learners experience in the language classroom. The scale consists of 33 items and is of the Likert-type, with choices ranging from "strongly agree" (1) to "strongly disagree" (5). The theoretical range of the FLCAS is from 33 to 165. The positively worded statements express low levels of anxiety and negatively worded statements express high levels of anxiety. The positively worded statements were reverse scored, ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5) – now, lower scores indicate higher levels of anxiety while higher scores indicate lower levels of anxiety. The scale is adapted so that the items pertain to learning English as a foreign language.

The Students' oral practice classroom activities evaluation scale (Bojović 2012a) measures the frequency of oral practice in the FL classroom and past experience, the effects of FL oral practice on FL communication, the difficulty of FL oral practice exercises, and self-confidence

in successful FL oral practice performance. It is also a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1-5 – the low end indicating low frequency of oral practice in the FL, the negative effects of FL oral practice on FL communication skills, the high level of difficulty of FL oral practice exercises and the low level of students' self-confidence and vice versa.

5.4. Procedure

The instruments were used as data collection instruments in the study. They were administered to the participants by their English language teacher during their regular lectures. The lectures involved regular classroom activities based on content-based learning and communicative approach. The teaching process reflects the contents, methods, tasks and procedures typical for the biotechnical engineering profession including the development of speaking skills through very diverse activities (e.g., descriptions, presentations, discussions, simulations, negotiations, conflict resolving, and role-plays).

The measures of descriptive (frequency analysis, mean values and standard deviation) and correlation statistics were used for data processing. The obtained data were analyzed using the *SPSS 13.0 Package for Windows*.

6. RESULTS

In this study the FLCAS, the instrument used for measuring FLA, was found to be reliable and highly internally consistent since the coefficient Cronbach alpha is $r=0.93$. This result is within the scope of values found in the literature ranging from 0.90-0.96 (Aida 1994; Cheng et al. 1999; Horwitz 1986; Horwitz et al. 1986; Rodriguez and Abreu 2003; Tallon 2011; Toth 2008; Yan and Horwitz 2008).

6.1. Levels of foreign language anxiety and oral foreign language classroom activities

The frequency analysis shows the following: almost one third of the participants are highly and moderately relaxed (31.7%); almost one half of the participants are mildly anxious (25 participants, 41.7% of the sample), while approximately one quarter of the participants (26.6%) are highly and moderately anxious.

The level of total foreign language anxiety for all the participants is relatively mild as the mean value is $M=102.55$ (or $M=3.11$ as in Table 1). The range of the scale is from 33 to 165 – the low end of the scale indicating high levels of anxiety, the high end of the scale indicating high levels of relaxation.

Comparing the mean values of the total anxiety in FL learning and its performance anxieties (Table 1), obtained by the measures of descriptive statistics (mean values, ranging from 1-5, and standard deviation), it can be concluded that mean values for each factor indicate moderate levels of anxieties. The highest level of anxiety is recorded for communication apprehension ($M=2.90$), while the lowest level of anxiety (the highest level of relaxation) is recorded for the test anxiety factor ($M=3.31$), having in mind that the lower the mean values, the higher the anxiety level and vice versa. The level of students' test anxiety has a tendency toward moderate levels of relaxation.

Considering communication apprehension (Table 1), very high and very low levels of anxiety are recorded; most students have mild levels of communication apprehension ($M=2.90$). There are no the lowest levels of students' test anxiety as the minimum mean value is $M=1.80$

(Table 1), most of the participants showing mild anxiety or even moderate relaxation in the testing context ($M=3.31$). Finally, referring to the fear of negative evaluation, all the levels of anxiety are recorded ($1.29 < M < 4.71$) among the participants (Table 1); however, most participants have the tendency toward a mild level of fear of negative evaluation.

Table 1. Levels of foreign language anxiety

Anxiety – factors	Minimum	Maximum	M	SD
Communication apprehension	1.36	4.91	2.90	.721
Test anxiety	1.80	4.33	3.31	.649
Fear of negative evaluation	1.29	4.71	2.98	.906
Total anxiety	1.58	4.55	3.11	.662

N = 60

M – mean value, SD – standard deviation, N – number of participants

Analyzing the results of students' evaluation of FL oral classroom activities and its factors, it can be concluded that (Table 2):

- the frequency of oral practice in the FL classroom was high ($M= 4.15$);
- the practice of oral communication in the FL classroom has highly positive effects on communication in EFL ($M=4.50$);
- the difficulty of speaking exercises in English language classes is moderate ($M=3.22$);
- at primary and secondary education levels, the oral practice in EFL was far less frequent (moderate frequency tending to lower frequency where the mean value is $M=2.87$) compared to higher education; and finally,
- students perceive themselves as self-confident in successful English language oral performance in the classroom context ($M=3.67$).

Table 2. Students' evaluation of oral FL classroom activities

Oral classroom activities - categories	M	SD
Frequency of oral practice in FL classroom	4.15	.840
Effects of FL oral practice on FL communication	4.50	.624
Difficulty of FL oral practice exercises	3.22	.691
Frequency of FL oral practice - former experience	2.87	1.241
Self-confidence in successful FL oral practice performance	3.62	.783
Total classroom activities	3.67	.440

N = 60

FL – foreign language, M – mean value, SD – standard deviation, N – number of participants

6.2. Foreign language classroom anxiety and classroom foreign language speaking activities: relationships

In an attempt to determine the potential relations between foreign language classroom anxiety and students' evaluation of FL classroom oral exercises/activities, the correlation analysis was carried out and the results are presented in Table 3.

The correlation coefficient between classroom foreign language anxiety and foreign language speaking activities was calculated with a Pearson product-moment correlation. Since the scores for the positively worded statements in the FLCAS were reversed (higher scores indicating lower levels of anxiety), it is necessary to emphasize that positive correlations mean that higher scores of the FLCAS mean higher scores of students' evaluation of FL classroom oral exercises. On the other hand, negative correlations mean that higher scores of the FLCAS mean lower scores of students' evaluation of FL classroom oral exercises and vice versa.

Table 3. Correlation of foreign language anxiety and evaluation of classroom foreign language activities

Oral classroom activities - categories	Foreign language anxiety			
	CA	TA	FNE	Total A
Frequency of oral practice in FL classroom	.21	.14	.26*	.21
Effects of FL oral practice on FL communication	.06	.08	.18	.11
Difficulty of FL oral practice exercises	-.15	-.23	-.27*	-.24
Frequency of FL oral practice - former experience	-.25	.04	.14	.15
Self-confidence in successful FL oral practice performance	.44**	.30*	.37**	.40**
Total classroom activities	.35**	.14	.27*	.27*
N= 60 ** p < 0.01 * p < 0.05				

FL – foreign language, CA – communication apprehension, TA – test anxiety, FNE – fear of negative evaluation, Total A – total anxiety, N – number of participants, p – statistical significance

The overall students evaluation of classroom FL oral practice activities shows a weak positive correlation with overall foreign language anxiety (coefficient of correlation $r=0.27$, $p<0.05$) and fear of negative evaluation ($r=0.27$, $p<0.05$), while the overall evaluation of oral practice activities in the classroom shows a significant positive correlation with communication apprehension ($r=0.35$, $p<0.01$). The fear of negative evaluation shows a weak positive correlation with the frequency of oral practice in the FL classroom ($r=0.26$, $p<0.05$). In addition, it produces a weak negative correlation with the students' evaluation of difficulties of FL classroom oral practice ($r=-0.27$, $p<0.05$). Finally, general foreign language anxiety as well as its performance anxieties, namely communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation, show significant positive correlations with self-confidence in the successful performance of oral practice exercises in the FL classroom ($r=0.40$, $r=0.44$, and $r=0.37$, respectively, in all these cases significance value is $p<0.01$), while test anxiety produces a weak positive correlation with students' self-confidence ($r=0.30$, $p<0.05$).

7. DISCUSSION

The findings revealed that the students' FLA is at a moderate level and individual performance anxieties remain at the same moderate levels. These findings are consistent with the results obtained in other research studying the language anxiety levels of students learning English as a foreign language (Arnaiz and Guillen 2012; Chiang 2006; Lucas et al. 2011; Rodriguez and Abreu 2003); also, the other FLCAS scores of the students studying Japanese (Aida 1994) or Spanish as a foreign language (Horwitz 1986, Tallon, 2011) are similar. However, there are studies in which both higher levels of FLA (Gregersen and Horwitz 2002, Maros-Llinas and Garan 2009) and higher levels of relaxation in the FL classroom (Pichette 2009) are recorded.

It should be emphasized that test anxiety in this study has a tendency toward moderate levels of relaxation, which can be ascribed to the moderate-to-high frequency of testing different language skills in the EFL/ESP classroom (reading comprehension, speaking skills, according to teaching programmes the participants were exposed to). Test anxiety can be seen as one of the most important aspects of negative motivation in learning in general (Cubukcu, 2007). Learners may fear taking tests, because test-taking situations would make them anxious about negative consequences of getting a bad grade (Ohata 2005).

The results also revealed that the students' levels of communication apprehension are somewhat higher compared with overall anxiety and the other two performance anxieties (test anxiety and fear of negative evaluation), meaning that speaking activities are more anxiety-provoking than the other two performance anxieties. This result is in the line with the findings which reveal that higher levels of language anxiety are experienced in the conversation courses than in the reading courses (Kim, 2009). Also, communicating in the FL class with the teacher and performing in front of the class can be more stressful than speaking in an out-of-class context (Woodrow 2006). Instructional conditions may reduce the levels of speaking anxiety of students; students would be more comfortable participating in oral activities in smaller groups rather than in front of the whole class (Young 1990, cited in Horwitz 2001). Language anxiety and its performance anxieties, communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation, could be reduced by the communicative language approach applied in the EFL/ESP classroom and optimal duration of foreign language instruction (Bojović 2012b).

There is an indication that classroom atmosphere rather than specific instructional activities may decrease student anxiety levels. In Palacios' study (Palacios 1998, cited in Horwitz 2001) several components of classroom climates were associated with higher/lower levels of anxiety. Most importantly, the level of perceived teacher support had the strongest relationship with students' anxiety. It was also found that classroom levels of affiliation among the learners, lack of competition, and clear task orientation were associated with lower anxiety levels.

Although the focus of a number of studies is on FLA of the students participating in oral performance in their FL class (Cheng et al. 1999; Gregersen and Horwitz 2002; Horwitz et al. 1986; Kim 2009; Kitano 2001; Price 1991; Woodrow 2006; Young 1991), there is a paucity of research that considers students' evaluation of FL oral practice classroom activities in terms of the students' perception of: the frequency of oral practice in academic and primary/secondary school contexts, the possible impact of oral classroom practice on FL communication, the difficulty of oral practice exercises in FL/EFL classroom, and their own self-confidence in successful oral practice performance in a foreign language (Bojović 2012a). The results obtained revealed that the oral practice activities in EFL/ESP are significantly more frequent in academic

learning context than in primary/secondary education context. In the students' opinion, FL speaking exercises in the classroom context have significant effect on communication skills in a foreign language. In the classroom environment where much attention is paid to students' regular oral performance, students feel self-confident when they speak in English classes; in addition, they also think that speaking exercises are not particularly difficult.

The findings also revealed that foreign language classroom anxiety is related with the student's evaluation of FL classroom oral activities. Lower levels of FLA, particularly lower levels of communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation, indicate students' affirmative evaluation of FL classroom oral practice in terms of the frequency of speaking exercises and their lower difficulty, and higher levels of students' self-confidence. These correlations are not very strong since anxiety is just one of a number of variables influencing communication and speaking activities in a FL classroom. It is necessary to emphasize that students' self-confidence is increased particularly if the levels of communication apprehension (speaking anxiety), test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation are decreased. The association between low self-confidence in language ability and language-related anxiety are identified in quantitative (Clement et al. 1977; MacIntyre et al. 1997) and qualitative studies (Cohen and Norst, 1989).

Fear of negative evaluation is also the prominent performance anxiety in the study since it is correlated with most categories of students' oral practice evaluation. The increased levels of fear of negative evaluation contribute to the students' lower self-confidence and lower frequency of classroom oral performance. The correlation data also indicate that the students with the higher levels of fear of negative evaluation think that FL speaking exercises are not particularly difficult. One possible explanation is the probable facilitating effect of the fear of negative evaluation in the classroom context. Facilitating anxiety motivates the learner to "fight" the new learning task (Scovel 1978), making them invest extra effort to overcome the difficulties the task may cause although, according to Horwitz (1986), this only happens in the accomplishment of simple tasks. The moderate intensity of students' fear of negative evaluation obviously corresponds to its facilitating function.

The correlation data also indicate that communication apprehension and test anxiety are the anxiety variables that are not correlated with the students' perception of the frequency of oral practice in the classroom, the difficulty of oral practice tasks, and the possible effects of speaking exercises on FL communication. This would be an interesting avenue for further research.

8. CONCLUSION

Foreign language anxiety is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon. As it manifests itself in students quite differently depending on previous language experience, learner personality and classroom environment, it is not easy to assess its impact on the language learning experience.

In an attempt to contribute to studying the issue of foreign language anxiety and its potential relations to oral practice activities in a FL classroom, we have come up with some interesting findings. The more speaking in a foreign language is practiced in education and classroom contexts, the lower the level of the students' fear of negative evaluation, the less difficult the oral classroom exercises are perceived by the students, the higher the level of fear of negative evaluation. Moreover, the more self-confident students are in successful FL oral

classroom performance, the lower is the level of the overall language anxiety, communication apprehension and the fear of negative evaluation.

Foreign language learners often experience unnecessary levels of anxiety and resulting stress as they learn a foreign language. Foreign language anxiety may have a debilitating effect on some students, so it is important that teachers are sensitive to this in classroom interactions. The task of FL teachers is to identify anxious learners and create the right atmosphere in the classroom context for effective language learning by reducing language anxiety. As our research illustrates, an efficient method of decreasing students' language anxiety is to offer students the opportunity to practice their speaking skills in the classroom and to increase their self-confidence.

The first step in reducing anxiety is to have students participate in speaking tasks. The communication-oriented approach in a FL classroom based on various speaking activities (simulations, role-plays, discussions, negotiations, problem solving, etc.), which are organized through pair or group work, will enhance students' speaking skills and lower their language anxiety. Pair, group or project work can provide anxious and non-anxious students alike with abundant opportunities to use language in a non-threatening context. Furthermore, a supportive classroom atmosphere, in which language errors are considered to be natural in the process of language acquisition, without overcorrection which can provoke anxiety and draw students' attention away from communication and toward a focus on form and accuracy (Gregersen 2003: 31), can be beneficial in helping anxious students overcome their perception of low ability and fear of negative evaluation.

Recent research on foreign language anxiety appears to support language-skill specific anxiety – speaking anxiety (the focus of most of the FLA studies referred, both theoretical and empirical, is on oral performance anxiety), writing anxiety (Cheng et al. 1999), and reading anxiety (Saito et al. 1999) are clearly recognized. This trend anticipates the development of appropriate instruments that can diagnose learners' anxiety problems more accurately and promises the use of multiple measurements in exploring the relationships among various aspects of foreign language anxiety. Further research on the nature and effects of the underlying mechanisms that define each of these anxieties and the context characteristics that enhance them might lead to a more refined theoretical model of foreign language anxiety.

Milevica Bojović

Faculty of Agronomy, University in Kragujevac

milevicabojoovic@gmail.com

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LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES USED BY CHILDREN, TEENAGERS AND ADULTS

This paper aims to analyse whether significant differences in the use of language learning strategies can be found between the learners of three different age groups: children, teenagers and adults. The research involved 144 students who learn English as a foreign language: 48 children aged 9-10, 53 teenagers aged 14-16 and 43 adults aged 20-30. The instrument used in this research was the *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning* questionnaire, comprised of 50 closed-ended items, each measuring the frequency with which participants use a particular strategy. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 13.0) was used for descriptive statistics, analysis of variance and Pearson's correlation. The results show higher overall strategy use in the group of young learners and common preferences of metacognitive and social strategies regardless of the age. Insufficient use of memory strategies can be observed in all the three groups as well as the decline in the use of affective strategies that happens with age.

Keywords: language learning strategies, age, foreign language acquisition

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the relationship between age and the choice of learning strategies. Age has always been considered one of the crucial factors in second language acquisition. A number of neurological, cognitive and psychological changes determine the general way of learning and the style of second language acquisition in certain periods of life. Since learning styles are closely linked to the choice of learning strategies, it is reasonable to assume that there may be significant differences between children, teenagers and adults in the employment of learning strategies. A widespread belief that children learn better than adults has already been disputed in relevant studies, but significant differences between the learning of children, teenagers and adults are undoubtedly present and result in different approaches to the process of learning. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the differences in the choice of learning strategies between the three groups of learners, which may lead to a better understanding of learners' preferences and needs, and thus contribute to further progress in foreign language teaching.

2. LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES

The contemporary approach to foreign language teaching emphasises the learner's responsibility and their conscious influence on the learning process. What often makes the difference between successful and unsuccessful language learners (other things being equal) is the way they cope with potential difficulties in the process of learning.

In the literature, differing definitions have been applied to learning strategies. Rubin viewed them as "the techniques or devices which a learner may use to acquire knowledge" (Rubin 1975: 43), and distinguished two types depending on whether they contribute directly or indirectly to learning. Stern defined strategies as "general tendencies or overall characteristics

of the approach employed by the language learner” linked to “particular forms of observable learner behaviour” (Stern 1983: 405), and identified ten relevant categories.

The first widely-accepted comprehensive classification of strategies was provided by O'Malley et al., who defined strategies as “operations or steps used by a learner that will facilitate the acquisition, storage, retrieval or use of information” (O'Malley et al. 1985: 23). O'Malley et al. developed a taxonomy that included 26 strategies divided into three categories: cognitive, metacognitive and social.

Whether learning strategies may include communication strategies was a controversial issue for some time. Tarone's classification of learning strategies did involve communication strategies, since “they help students to extend their knowledge” (Tarone 1981), while Brown held an alternate view, claiming that learning strategies deal with the receptive domain, whereas communication strategies deal with language production (Brown 2000: 118).

Eventually, the most comprehensive and the most systematised taxonomy of strategies was provided by Rebecca Oxford, who defined strategies as “steps taken by students to enhance their own learning” (Oxford 1990: 1). Oxford distinguishes six categories of strategies divided into two major classes: direct and indirect. According to Oxford, all direct strategies involve some kind of mental processing of the target language, but in different ways. Memory strategies help students store and retrieve new information, cognitive strategies enable learners to understand and produce new language, while compensation strategies allow learners to use the language despite their often large gaps of knowledge (Oxford 1990: 37). Indirect strategies provide indirect support for language learning without directly involving the target language. They involve metacognitive strategies that enable learners to coordinate their learning by planning, centring, arranging and evaluating, affective strategies that help in regulating emotions, attitudes and motivations as well as social strategies that help students learn through interactions with others (Oxford 1990: 135).

These classifications have been widely employed in this field, particularly in a great deal of research focusing on a number of factors influencing the choice of strategies: the stage of learning, age, sex, nationality, general learning style, and so on. Some studies investigating the relationship between the use of strategies and gender have shown mixed results, but in most cases a wider range of strategies used by females were identified (Ehrman and Oxford 1989; Oxford and Nyikos 1989; Ehrman and Oxford 1990; Bikicki 2013). A great number of studies have investigated the relationship between strategy use and language proficiency, most of them showing that more proficient learners employ a wider range of strategies more efficiently than less proficient learners (Green and Oxford 1995; Lan and Oxford 2003). Additional studies have compared younger learners with college students (Dörnyei 1995; Kaylani 1996; Lan and Oxford 2003), and have shown that young learners tend to use social or affective strategies more than other types of strategies, but more investigation is required in this field, since nowadays most children start learning a foreign language relatively early and their specific approach to learning should be better understood.

3. AGE AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Age has always been considered an important factor in second language acquisition. Intellectually, adults are superior to children, and even to teenagers whose intellectual development is undoubtedly intensive, but still in progress. On the other hand, most adults have already developed firm attitudes and ego boundaries that might lead to less flexibility and

less successful learning (Brown 2000: 64; Schumann 1975: 229). Teenagers also have excellent intellectual capacity, good memory and tend to be more flexible than adults, but they could be insufficiently motivated and unwilling to invest much energy into the learning process. Moreover, the teenage period is one of the most sensitive periods of life, when inhibition and a lack of self-esteem are often felt, affecting, to some extent, second language acquisition. Young learners have a shorter concentration span and a weaker capacity to organise and centre their learning. On the other hand, they are often quite enthusiastic, eager to learn, flexible and open-minded, which may facilitate some aspects of second language acquisition (Cameron 2001: xvi).

For some time, a widespread belief that children learn faster than adults was accepted in applied linguistics and presented in the form of a critical period hypothesis. The assumption that, after puberty, successful second language acquisition is impossible was often supported by cognitive explanations of intellectual development (Krashen 1973) and neurological explanations of brain lateralisation (Lenneberg 1967; Scovel 1969). It was not until the 1970s that this long lasting assumption of children's superiority in second language acquisition was seriously investigated (Fathman 1975; Snow and Hoefnagel-Hohle 1978), resulting in the finding that older learners are more successful than younger ones with regard to morphology, syntax and vocabulary, while young learners tend to be superior in terms of pronunciation. However, various assumptions regarding the effects of maturation on second language acquisition have been held ever since. Some researchers claim that "somewhere between early childhood and puberty children gradually lose the ability to learn a language successfully through implicit mechanisms only" (DeKeyser 2003: 335), and that this deterioration might continue progressively after puberty (Long 1990). What does seem certain is that significant differences in second language acquisition related to cognitive or neurological factors may be observed between different age groups of learners.

Brown states that a critical period of second language acquisition appears around puberty, when there is a transition from the concrete operational stage to the formal operational stage in human cognitive development (Brown 2000: 61). Children are unable to understand abstractions and deductive explanations until they reach the formal operational stage, which takes place around the age of eleven (Piaget and Inhelder 1969). On the other hand, well-developed problem-solving cognitive structures in adolescents and their growing tendency towards constructing theories are considered to be harmful in the process of natural language acquisition (Krashen 1975). It is quite likely that differences in the stages of cognitive development may result in different approaches to language learning.

Another crucial difference might be linked to the role of the two brain hemispheres. As a child is growing into adolescence and adulthood, the left hemisphere, responsible for language functions and analytical thinking, becomes more dominant than the right one (Brown 2000: 62), and this may affect the style of second language learning. In contrast, the dominance of the right hemisphere being more common in younger than in adult learners may affect their learning styles significantly since left-brain dominant learners are better at gathering the specifics of a language, dealing with abstractions, classifications and reorganising, while right-brain dominant learners deal better with whole images, generalisations, emotional reactions and artistic expressions (Stevick 1982).

To conclude, age and the effects of maturation seem to be closely related to the style of second language learning and, consequently, to the preference of learning strategies, since language learners always employ learning strategies that reflect their basic learning styles

(Oxford and Nyikos 1989). It might be thus assumed that the more mature the learners are, the better their use of cognitive and metacognitive strategies will be, or that the younger the learners are, the better their employment of social and affective strategies will be. Moreover, there is a significant right hemisphere involvement in the early stages of second language learning (Oblor 1981: 58), which is often manifested as the guessing of an unknown meaning, as well as in the use of formulaic speech, which might suggest that younger learners tend to use compensation strategies better than older learners.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

The research conducted for this study involved 144 students learning English as a foreign language: 48 children aged 9-10, 53 teenagers aged 14-16 and 43 adults aged 20-30. The primary school students (PS)¹ involved in this research attend the fourth grade of "Đura Daničić" primary school, the 32 secondary school students (SS) attend the second grade of the Vocational Secondary School of Electrical Engineering "Mihajlo Pupin" in Novi Sad and 21 of them attend the Grammar school in Sremski Karlovci, while the adults (US) involved in this research study Law or Psychology at the Lazar Vrkatić Faculty of Law and Business Studies in Novi Sad.

The instrument used in this research was the SILL² questionnaire, designed by Rebecca Oxford (1990). This questionnaire contains 50 closed-ended items, divided into six categories that measure the employment of six sets of strategies: memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, affective, and social. A number of researchers have expressed doubts as to whether the SILL questionnaire is suitable when investigating children's language learning strategies since their way of learning might be different than other respective groups, and some strategies may have different forms depending on the age of participants. In this research, the Serbian version of the questionnaire was distributed and the researcher took special care to further clarify the meaning of each question to the youngest students (explaining, for example, that the statement "I watch English language TV shows spoken in English or go to movies spoken in English" might also mean "I watch English cartoons") and to answer any questions they had if a statement was not clear enough. Since the research was done as a teacher-centred activity (the researcher reading a statement and explaining it, then giving some time for the students to choose their answers) and as the youngest participants are fourth-graders who have already been practicing all language skills for almost two years, no problems in using the SILL questionnaire were detected.

The participants were asked to give their answers according to the 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ("never true of me") to 5 ("almost always true of me"). The *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (SPSS 13.0) was used for the descriptive analysis, analysis of variance, independent samples T-tests and Pearson's correlations.

The basic research questions were the following:

- Is there any difference in strategy preferences among the three groups of learners?
- Which of the tested groups uses the greatest range of strategies?
- Is there a difference between male and female students in their use of strategies?
- Which specific strategies are the most preferred and the least preferred ones in a

¹ The abbreviations PS, SS and US are used in some parts of the paper to refer to 'primary school students', 'secondary school students' and 'university students'.

² SILL - Strategy Inventory for Language Learning

particular learner group?

5. THE RESULTS

In reporting the frequency of use of learning strategies, Oxford's key is often employed to understand mean scores. It is considered that high use ranges from 3.5 to 5, medium use - from 2.5 to 3.4 and low use ranges from 1 to 2.4. The primary school students participating in this research had a mean of 3.5 in overall strategy use, being the only group that reported high strategy use (the results are shown in Table 1). The other two groups reported medium strategy use, with overall means of 2.78 (SS) and 2.99 (US).

Table 1. Frequency of Strategy Use

	Primary school (PS)	Secondary school (SS)	University students (US)
1.	Metacognitive (4.09)	Metacognitive (3.16) (2.69) / (3.86)	Metacognitive (3.37)
2.	Social (3.70)	Social (2.94) (2.64) / (3.39)	Social (3.21)
3.	Cognitive (3.60)	Compensation (2.92) (2.73) / (3.19)	Cognitive (3.04)
4.	Affective (3.18)	Cognitive (2.79) (2.55) / (3.16)	Compensation (3.03)
5.	Compensation (3.15)	Memory (2.44) (2.39) / (2.52)	Memory (2.72)
6.	Memory (3.07)	Affective (2.38) (2.30) / (2.51)	Affective (2.47)
Total	(3.50)	(2.78) (2.55) / (3.12)	(2.99)

Strategy use in the group of primary school fourth-graders is considerably higher than in the other two groups in all strategy categories, and the analysis of variance confirmed significant statistical differences between the youngest group of learners and the other two groups in five out of six strategy categories (Table 2). The only category where the mean score of ten-year-olds was not significantly higher is the set of compensation strategies, which is also surprising since these strategies, useful in overcoming difficulties in comprehension and production, are typically employed by less competent students.

Table 2. ANOVA – Strategy Use

Dependent Variable	(I) Groups	(J) Groups	Mean Diff.(I-J)	Significance
Memory Mean	Primary	Secondary	.62919(*)	0.00
		University	.35368(*)	0.02
Cognitive Mean	Primary	Secondary	.80697(*)	0.00
		University	.55354(*)	0.00
Metacognitive Mean	Primary	Secondary	.93051(*)	0.00
		University	.71097(*)	0.00
Affective Mean	Primary	Secondary	.79658(*)	0.00
		University	.71197(*)	0.00
Social Mean	Primary	Secondary	.76428(*)	0.00
		University	.48821(*)	0.02

The results were further checked and confirmed by means of Pearson's correlations (Table 3), which showed a significant negative correlation between the age of learners and strategy use in all strategy categories, with the exception of compensation strategies.

Table 3. Pearson's Correlations – Strategy Use

		Age			Age
Memory	Pearson Correlation	-.185(*)	Metacognitive	Pearson Correlation	-.306(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.02		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00
	N	164		N	164
Cognitive	Pearson Correlation	-.286(**)	Affective	Pearson Correlation	-.288(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00
	N	164		N	164
Compensation	Pearson Correlation	-0.08	Social	Pearson Correlation	-.166(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.33		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.03
	N	164		N	164

A number of studies have shown that higher level students generally report a greater use of strategies of all types (Green and Oxford 1995; Griffiths 2003). However, the results of this study show a greater use of strategies by 10 year-olds. This might suggest that in our school system, the use of language learning strategies declines with age. Since these results are quite surprising and contrary to the results of similar studies conducted in other countries, one of the possible explanations might be a decline in motivation that seems to take place as students grow older and proceed to further levels of education. Motivation is one of the most important factors influencing the choice and use of strategies (Oxford and Nyikos 1989). During the conducting of this research, the youngest learners seemed genuinely interested and eager to participate, often giving their answers aloud and checking whether they had understood the statement well, while in regard to the older learners, the older they were, the more mechanically they were responding to the task. The indications of these findings, however, must be affirmed through additional research.

The hypothesis of this research was that younger students might show a tendency to use social, affective (Lan and Oxford 2003) or compensation strategies (Green and Oxford 1995) more often, as had been demonstrated in relevant studies, but, surprisingly, this study indicates that young learners, in spite of their lower cognitive development and less training, also use metacognitive and cognitive strategies more than older learners. The two most preferred strategy categories were the same in all the three groups of learners - metacognitive strategies ranked first (PS - 4.09; SS - 3.16; US - 3.37) and social strategies ranked second (PS - 3.70; SS - 2.94; US - 3.21). Previous researchers in this field have concluded that more successful and higher level students are able to exercise greater control over their learning (O'Malley et al. 1985) and tend to use metacognitive strategies more often than less successful students. The

strong common preferences shown towards metacognitive strategies in this research, regardless of the age of learners, might therefore be the result of the type of training administered in the Serbian school system. This high use of metacognitive strategies is, admittedly, quite promising since, according to Rebecca Oxford, they are often strong predictors of success in foreign language acquisition (Oxford 1990: 136).

The results of this research also show a decline in the use of affective strategies with age (PS - 3.18; SS - 2.38; US - 2.47) and an insufficient use of memory strategies by all three groups of learners that participated in the research (PS - 3.07; SS - 2.44; US - 2.72).

One of the aims of this study was to find out which specific strategies are the least or most preferred ones among different age groups of learners (Tables 4 and 5).

Table 4. The Most Preferred Strategies

	Primary school (PS)	Secondary School (SS)	University (US)
The most preferred strategies	MC: Noticing their English mistakes and using that information to help them do better (4.73)	Cg: Watching TV shows or movies in English (4.00)	Cg: Watching TV shows or movies in English (4.56)
	S: Asking other people to slow down or repeat when they do not understand (4.31)	MC: Trying to find out how to be a better learner of English (3.68)	S: Asking for help from English speakers (4.16)
	MC: Having clear goals for improving their English skills (4.56)	MC: Paying attention when someone is speaking English (3.58)	MC: Paying attention when someone is speaking English (4.09)
	MC: Trying to find out how to be a better learner of English (4.46)	A: Trying to relax whenever they feel afraid of using English (3.57)	M: Thinking of the relationships of what is known and what is to be learnt (4.02)
	M: Reviewing English lessons often (4.42)	MC: Thinking about their progress in learning English (3.57)	MC: Noticing their English mistakes and using that information to help them do better (3.93)

According to the findings presented in Table 4, the most preferred strategy for the group of primary school students is a metacognitive strategy - *noticing their English mistakes and using that information to help them do better*, while in the other two groups, it is *watching TV shows or movies in English* (likely an easier and a more pleasant one). Surprisingly, this indicates that young students seem to approach their learning tasks more responsibly than older students.

Also demonstrated is a preference among all the three groups of learners towards metacognitive strategies: three out of the five strategies reported as the most preferred ones in the primary school group as well as in the secondary school group are metacognitive strategies (PS: *noticing their English mistakes and using that information to help them do better*; *having clear goals for improving their English skills*, PS and SS: *trying to find out how to be a better*

learner of English, SS: *paying attention when someone is speaking English and thinking about their progress in learning English*). Two out of the five most preferred strategies in the university students' group are also metacognitive strategies (FS: *paying attention when someone is speaking English and noticing their English mistakes and using that information to help them do better*). The other strategies listed here belong to different strategy categories.

As for the least preferred strategies, it is interesting to note that these are generally memory and affective strategies (shown in Table 5).

Table 5. The Least Preferred Strategies

	Primary school	Secondary School	University
The least preferred strategies	A: Writing down feelings in a language diary (1.90)	M: Using flashcards to remember new words (1.40)	M: Using flashcards to remember new words (1.28)
	M: Acting out a new word physically (1.92)	M: Acting out a new word physically (1.49)	A: Writing down feelings in a language diary (1.63)
	M: Using rhymes to remember new words (1.98)	A: Writing down feelings in a language diary (1.51)	M: Acting out a new word physically (1.65)
	M: Using flashcards to remember new words (2.27)	A: Talking to someone about how the student feels when learning English (1.81)	A: Talking to someone about how the student feels when learning English (1.67)
	C: Making up new words when they do not know the right ones in English (2.33)	A: Giving themselves reward or treat when they do well in English (2.11)	A: Giving themselves reward or treat when they do well in English (2.02)

Both the group of secondary school students and the group of university students reported three affective strategies and two memory strategies as their least favourite ones. The affective strategies insufficiently employed are: *writing down feelings in a language diary*, *talking to someone about how the student feels when learning English* and *giving themselves a reward or treat when they do well in English*, while the least preferred memory strategies in these groups are: *acting out a new word physically* and *using flashcards to remember new words*. The group of primary school children reported three memory strategies (*acting out a new word physically*, *using flashcards to remember new words* and *using rhymes to remember new words*), one affective strategy and one compensation strategy as their least employed ones (Table 5).

An insufficient use of affective strategies by older students has already been detected in Serbia (Čirković-Miladinović 2012: 78) and elsewhere since little attention is given to the affective domain in the traditional teaching still dominant in some school systems.

What is more surprising is such a low level of use of memory strategies in all three research groups. It has already been demonstrated that children are less likely to use the set of memory strategies that require higher order cognitive skills (Gürsoy 2004), but the analysis of the whole set of strategies revealed that three out of the five least preferred strategies are relatively simple memory strategies like acting out a word physically and using rhyming and

flashcards to remember a word. These strategies may seem childish to older learners, but some of the teaching techniques that should be employed with younger ones involve activities that should aid the development of such strategies.

In order to find out whether there is a significant difference in the language learning strategy preferences of male and female participants, an independent samples t-test was conducted. The results show that there is a statistically significant difference between the two genders within the group of secondary school students in three out of six categories – female secondary school students tend to use cognitive (sig. 0.01), compensation (sig. 0.05) and metacognitive strategies (sig. 0.00) more than male participants. However, these findings should be regarded cautiously since significant differences were not found between male and female participants in the other two groups. Moreover, secondary school participants in this research were from two different schools – the Grammar School in Sremski Karlovci (where most students are girls with considerably higher competences in English) and from the Vocational Secondary School of Electrical Engineering (where students generally have more difficulty in learning foreign languages and the majority of students are boys). Further analysis needs to be carried out to demonstrate whether the differences found should be ascribed to their gender or to their language competence.

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to determine the relationship between age and language learning strategies. The results obtained that show relatively common preferences of metacognitive and social strategies regardless of the age of learners may suggest that this type of teaching seems to be a stronger factor in choosing language learning strategies than the age itself. This finding, combined with the strong preference shown toward metacognitive strategies in all the three groups involved, may be linked to the type of training dominant in state schools where a traditional approach to teaching is rather common.

The higher use of strategies reported by primary school children in this research is quite surprising and inconsistent with the results of similar studies conducted in other parts of the world. This might be due to a decline in motivation that happens with age, but this assumption, based on impressions gathered during the study should be further investigated through an additional study.

The results of this research bear important pedagogical implications. First, efforts should be taken to raise motivation for language learning and the awareness of the importance of language learning strategies at higher levels of education. Second, a great deal more should be done to improve the affective aspect of foreign language learning and teaching. And, lastly, better training in the use of memory strategies should be provided which, in the case of young learners, might be successfully realised through the consistent employment of contemporary techniques of foreign language teaching designed for teaching children. Such techniques may involve better use of visual resource materials, songs, rhymes and movement games as well as instruction on how to create mental linkages in order to improve memorisation.

Vesna Pilipović
Faculty of Law and Business Dr Lazar Vrkatić, Novi Sad
vesna_pilipovic@yahoo.com

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APPENDIX

Strategy Inventory for Language Learning

Version 7.0 (ESL/EFL)

1. Never or almost never true of me
2. Usually not true of me
3. Somewhat true of me
4. Usually true of me
5. Always or almost always true of me

Part A

1. I think of relationships between what I already know and new things I learn in English.
2. I use new English words in a sentence so I can remember them.
3. I connect the sound of a new English word and an image or picture of the word to help remember the word.
4. I remember a new English word by making a mental picture of a situation in which the word might be used.
5. I use rhymes to remember new English words.
6. I use flashcards to remember new English words.
7. I physically act out new English words.
8. I review English lessons often.
9. I remember new English words or phrases by remembering their location on the page, on the board, or on a street sign.

Part B

10. I say or write new English words several times.
11. I try to talk like native English speakers.
12. I practice the sounds of English.
13. I use the English words I know in different ways.

14. I start conversations in English.
15. I watch English language TV shows spoken in English or go to movies spoken in English.
16. I read for pleasure in English.
17. I write notes, messages, letters, or reports in English.
18. I first skim an English passage (read over the passage quickly) then go back and read carefully.
19. I look for words in my own language that are similar to new words in English.
20. I try to find patterns in English.
21. I find the meaning of an English word by dividing it into parts that I understand.
22. I try not to translate word-for-word.
23. I make summaries of information that I hear or read in English.

Part C

24. To understand unfamiliar English words, I make guesses.
25. When I can't think of a word during a conversation in English, I use gestures.
26. I make up new words if I do not know the right ones in English.
27. I read English without looking up every new word.
28. I try to guess what the other person will say next in English.
29. If I can't think of an English word, I use a word or phrase that means the same thing.

Part D

30. I try to find as many ways as I can to use my English.
31. I notice my English mistakes and use that information to help me do better.
32. I pay attention when someone is speaking English.
33. I try to find out how to be a better learner of English.
34. I plan my schedule so I will have enough time to study English.
35. I look for people I can talk to in English.
36. I look for opportunities to read as much as possible in English.
37. I have clear goals for improving my English skills.
38. I think about my progress in learning English.

Part E

39. I try to relax whenever I feel afraid of using English.
40. I encourage myself to speak English even when I am afraid of making a mistake.
41. I give myself a reward or treat when I do well in English.
42. I notice if I am tense or nervous when I am studying or using English.
43. I write down my feelings in a language learning diary.
44. I talk to someone else about how I feel when I am learning English.

Part F

45. If I do not understand something in English, I ask the other person to slow down or say it again.
46. I ask English speakers to correct me when I talk.
47. I practice English with other students.
48. I ask for help from English speakers.
49. I ask questions in English.
50. I try to learn about the culture of English speakers.

THE USE OF INEFFECTIVE EFL READING STRATEGIES AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

In the reported study, a total of four hundred and eighty six students (N=486) studying at three state universities in Serbia were tested with the aim of establishing which explanatory variables have the independent power to explain the use of ineffective reading strategies while reading academic texts. The response variable in the study was the average score of data gathered by means of a questionnaire, whereas the explanatory variables included gender, the year of study, the self-reported English language proficiency, the self-reported proficiency in reading English academic texts and the amount of exposure to English academic texts. The results indicate that the variables of gender, exposure to English texts and English language proficiency account for the highest percentage of the variance. One of the most important pedagogical implications of these findings is to recognize individuals who are likely to use ineffective strategies, so that appropriate steps may be taken to ensure positive outcomes of reading tasks.

Key words: reading strategies, English as a foreign language, university students.

1. INTRODUCTION

With the importance of English as a *lingua franca* of tertiary education, university students are more and more often required to read a large volume of academic texts in English. Reading requires students to comprehend written works and relate back to their prior knowledge, whereas the main purpose of academic reading is to achieve general comprehension, i.e. to understand main ideas and relevant supporting information (Grabe and Stoller 2001). A developed strategic repertoire and a higher frequency of its use are crucially important aspects of skilled reading. A critical significance is placed on the degree to which each learning strategy is effective across long retention intervals and can be generalized across different tasks. In educational contexts, tasks vary with respect to the specific kinds of knowledge they tap. Some tasks tap students' memory for information, others tap students' comprehension, and still others tap students' application of knowledge (cf. Bloom and Krathwohl 1956). With respect to a particular task, ineffective strategies are those learning techniques that do not aid the learner in accomplishing a given instructional objective (Dunlosky et al. 2013). In this paper, ineffective reading strategies are defined as those reading strategies that are not conducive to achieving a holistic view of an academic text and the comprehension of its main concepts. The aim of the paper is to give an analysis of ineffective reading strategies and learner characteristics that might influence the decision to use them and the frequency with which they are used.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON READING STRATEGIES

Reading strategies are commonly defined as "processes that are consciously controlled by readers to solve reading problems" (Grabe 2009: 221). One of the main goals of research in reading strategies is to determine the best methods and techniques the learners choose to utilize so that we can accomplish enhanced, effective instruction and better and more sophisticated

theory development. Research on proficient readers has found a distinct correlation between the success these readers achieve in reading and, on the one hand, their use of various reading strategies in order to understand the text, and the level of the metacognitive awareness of the process of their reading on the other (Anderson 1999; Grabe 2009; Koda 2004; Pressley 2006; Topalov 2012a).

Research has also shown that the use of reading strategies is significantly tied to foreign language proficiency and foreign language reading proficiency, in such a way that L2 language proficiency is more important than prior knowledge of cultural content to L2 reading comprehension. More advanced L2 proficiency often functions as a means of compensation for the lack of background knowledge, whereas less proficient learners depend more heavily on prior knowledge (Chan 2003).

In terms of the exposure to L2 texts, research results indicate that extensive reading develops speed and comprehension (Bell 2001), that it leads to better results in comprehension when compared to instruction alone (Hayashi 1999), and that it increases reading rate and overall proficiency (Iwahori 2008). Moreover, extensive reading studies have shown that their participants also improved their abilities in writing (Hafiz and Tudor 1989) and in vocabulary size (Horst 2005). Finally, the studies reported that learners who were more exposed to English texts developed positive attitudes toward reading and increased their motivation to read.

Women have been shown to be more active strategy users than men. A number of studies (Chavez 2001; Green and Oxford 1995; Topalov 2012b; Young and Oxford 1997) identified a significant variation in terms of the frequency and the adaptability of strategy use between genders. Namely, female students have a larger inventory of reading strategies at their disposal in dealing with the process of the comprehension of a text and the occurring breakdowns in comprehension than male students. These findings suggest that there is a gender gap in foreign language reading achievement that needs to be narrowed.

2.1. Ineffective reading strategies

In order for an action to be labeled as strategic, “it must be selected by the agent from alternative actions and it must be intended to attain the specific goal. Unless a reader acts in a selected manner to achieve a particular purpose, it is superfluous and erroneous to label the action strategic” (Paris, Lipson and Wixson 1983: 295). A crucial factor in achieving reading proficiency is the ability to detect and adequately repair one’s own comprehension difficulties. In other words, the knowledge of task characteristics and personal abilities, together with the information about the execution of various actions, form a person’s strategic inventory and the procedural rules for the implementation of strategies. However, they do not address the conditions under which it is appropriate to select or execute said actions. Paris, Lipson and Wixson (1983) emphasize that the knowledge of “when” and “why” to apply various actions, which they label as conditional knowledge, is key to reading proficiency. The choice of a strategy can determine whether we succeed or fail at a wide range of tasks. If it is understood that the goal of reading academic texts is a general comprehension of the main ideas in the text, then ineffective reading strategies are those that, once activated, do not lead to the reader’s holistic understanding of a text in situations where there has been a comprehension breakdown, and do not promote metacognitive awareness of the unity of the text.

The strategies that follow have so far been found to be ineffective in tackling obstacles to comprehension based on one or both of the following criteria: (1) they consume too much of the available cognitive capacity in the lower levels of cognitive processing, not leaving enough for

the creation of a situation model of the text and its executive control, and (2) they may lead the reader to make incorrect inferences about the text.

The first strategy that is the focus of this research is *When text becomes difficult, I read aloud to help me understand what I am reading*. For a skilled adult reader, who is reading a text carefully, each word is typically fixated for about a quarter of a second. That translates to about two hundred words per minute when readers are reading to learn. The less the reader is concentrating on learning, the faster the reading rate is. Reading at a relaxed pace typically occurs at a rate of between two hundred and fifty and three hundred words per minute (McConkie 1982). The process of vocalization inevitably slows down the rate of reading speed, and if the speed drops below one hundred words a minute, reading continuity becomes seriously endangered. Another problem with sounding out words stems from the fact that both word decoding and comprehension take place in short-term memory (Pressley 2006), where they compete for the available capacity. Much of this capacity is consumed by the slow process of putting a word together, so that the remaining capacity is insufficient for an adequate comprehension of the word, the sentence that contains the word and the paragraph that contains the sentence. When the goal of reading is to understand particular words and phrases in a text, then reading aloud is an effective strategy, as it helps us focus our attention on said words and phrases. However, in the context of the present study, where the goal of reading academic texts is to understand the gist of the entire passage and to achieve a holistic view of the text, reading aloud is not an effective strategy, as it hinders our ability to understand larger sections of the text, and allows for less cognitive processing capacity to be directed at higher cognitive levels, interfering with the formation of the situation model of the text.

The second strategy that is investigated in this research is *I always use reference materials such as dictionaries to help me understand what I am reading*. The use of a dictionary while learning and using a foreign language is by no means unwanted and can aid language learning, and particularly vocabulary learning. Especially with monolingual dictionaries, students are trained not only to find the information they need, but also to critically evaluate its usefulness, which, in turn, activates the mechanisms of cognitive and affective processing which, as a result, leads to better retention. However, some studies found that less successful L2 readers use dictionaries more frequently than more successful ones (Adamson 1990). Furthermore, the time it takes to look up words interferes with readers' short-term memory and prevents them from focusing on the text as a whole (Knight 1994). In other words, the unjustified use of a dictionary, by which we mean stopping the process of reading in order to check every unknown word in a text, disrupts the processes of the formation of assumptions about the text and their continual testing. The unjustified use of a dictionary also undermines the use of productive strategies and facilitates the creation of negative affective reactions to the text, since readers are painstakingly trying to translate every single sentence into their L1, and are at the same time attributing the difficulties they are facing to their lack of L2 knowledge (Auerbach and Paxton 1997).

The third and the fourth strategies that are the focus of this research are respectively *When reading, I translate from English into my native language* and *When reading, I think about information in both English and my mother tongue*. The issue of the usefulness of these strategies refers to a more general issue which concerns the mechanisms according to which data is processed in a foreign language and which inevitably also refers to the issue of transfer, i.e. the ability to learn new skills by using previously acquired knowledge (Koda 2004). Skills acquired while reading in one's L1 should, therefore, be successfully transferred to L2 reading. However, if the goal of reading is comprehension, and if these two strategies are activated when there is a

breakdown in comprehension, we cannot expect readers to be able to translate a part of the text if they are not able to understand it. For example, when less successful readers substitute words as they read in an effort to paraphrase an unclear part of the text, they often insert inappropriate or implausible words that do not improve comprehensibility (Beebe 1980; Kavale and Schreiner 1979). Only after readers understand the text can they translate it properly.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the present study a quantitative design research was implemented in order to answer the following research question:

- Which learner characteristics have independent power to explain and predict the use of less efficient reading strategies among university students?

Corresponding to the research question, the set of null hypotheses are as follows:

1. There is no difference in the use of less efficient strategies between male and female students.
2. There is no difference in the use of less efficient strategies between students of different years of study.
3. There is no correlation between learners' self-reported proficiency in the English language and the use of less efficient strategies.
4. There is no correlation between learners' exposure to English academic texts and their use of less efficient strategies.
5. There is no correlation between learners' self-reported proficiency in reading English academic texts and their use of less efficient strategies.

3.1. Participants

The participants in this research included a total of 486 students of all four years studying at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, the Faculty of Philology and Arts in Kragujevac, and the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš. The average age of the participants was 19.9 years.

		1 st Year	2 nd Year	3 rd Year	4 th Year	Total
Male	N	84	30	1	0	115
	%	17.3%	6.2%	.2%	.0%	23.7%
Female	N	242	115	11	3	371
	%	49.8%	23.7%	2.3%	.6%	76.3%
Total	N	326	145	12	3	486
	%	67.1%	29.8%	2.5%	.6%	100%

Table 1. Cross-tabulation of the sample

Of the total number of participants, 76.3% were female and 23.7% were male, which roughly corresponds to the gender structure of the entire population of students studying at the faculties of philosophy and philology in Serbia.

3.2. Instrument

The instrument used in the study was based on SORS (Survey of Reading Strategies) by Mokhtari and Sheorey (2002), and it included four items that tested ineffective reading strategies. The following strategies were tested:

1. When text becomes difficult, I read aloud to help me understand what I'm reading.
2. I always use reference materials such as dictionaries to help me understand what I'm reading.
3. When reading, I translate from English into my native language.
4. When reading, I think about information in both English and my mother tongue.

The internal consistency reliability coefficient (as determined by Cronbach's alpha) for the revised questionnaire was .818.

3.3. Variables

The response variable in the study was the average score of data gathered by means of the questionnaire, whereas the explanatory variables included gender, the year of study, the self-reported English language proficiency, the self-reported proficiency in reading English academic texts and the amount of exposure to English academic tests.

3.4. Data analysis

To test the model we used a sequential (hierarchical) regression, as our goal was to determine how much of a variance can each variable account for individually. The analysis was performed using the SPSS Statistics 17.0 software.

4. RESULTS

In examining reading strategy use among students on the SORS scale, which ranges from 1 to 5 (1=low strategy use; 5=high strategy use), three types of use as suggested by Oxford and Burry-Stock (1995) for general language learning strategy use and adopted by Mokhtari and Sheorey (2002) can be identified: high (mean \geq 3.5), medium (mean=2.5-3.4), and low (mean \leq 2.4).

Table 2 shows the results of an independent samples t-test which tested the differences in the reported use of strategies between male and female students. From the data, it is clear that girls reported a more frequent use of all strategies that were examined, with the results being statistical for the following individual strategies: *When text becomes difficult, I read aloud to help me understand what I'm reading* ($t=-5.113, p=.000$) and *I always use reference materials such as dictionaries to help me understand what I'm reading* ($t=-3.825, p=.000$), as well as for strategies in total ($t=-4.663, p=.000$). The first null hypothesis can, therefore, be rejected.

	Gender	Mean	StdDev	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Strat1	Male	2.63	1.43	-5.113	.000
	Female	3.39	1.37		
Strat2	Male	3.09	1.36	-3.825	.000
	Female	3.60	1.20		
Strat3	Male	3.50	1.37	-.981	.327
	Female	3.63	1.28		
Strat4	Male	3.63	1.25	-.973	.331
	Female	3.75	1.17		
StratTotal	Male	3.22	.76	-4.663	.000
	Female	3.61	.78		

Table 2. Use of strategies for male and female students

Table 3 shows the results of the ANOVA which tested differences in the reported use of strategies between students who are studying at different years of study. The results indicate that the students' use of strategies was of moderate intensity (mean values between 2.6 and 3.4) and high intensity (mean values of 3.5 and higher), with Strategy 4 (*When reading, I think about information in both English and my mother tongue*) having both the lowest mean (third year students, mean=2.75) and the highest mean (fourth year students, mean=4.67). Results of the ANOVA indicate that a statistical difference was found only in the reported use of Strategy 4 ($F=3.385$, $p=.018$). Further analysis was conducted using a Bonferroni post-hoc test as recommended by some authors (Howell 2002; Maxwell and Delaney 2004) when there are more than three means. The post-hoc test identified two sets of significant differences: firstly, it was revealed that first year students differ significantly in the use of Strategy 4 from fourth year students (mean difference=0.988); secondly, the post-hoc test showed that second year students differ from third year students in the reported use of Strategy 4 (mean difference=0.987). The second null hypothesis can be rejected only partially, as there were no significant differences in the overall reported use of strategies.

		Mean	StdDev	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Strat1	1st Year	3.20	1.46	.136	.938
	2nd Year	3.22	1.37		
	3rd Year	3.33	.87		
	4th Year	3.67	1.53		
Strat2	1st Year	3.44	1.27	.870	.456
	2nd Year	3.52	1.23		
	3rd Year	4.00	1.28		
	4th Year	3.33	.58		
Strat3	1st Year	3.58	1.34	.199	.897
	2nd Year	3.66	1.23		
	3rd Year	3.67	.98		
	4th Year	3.33	1.53		
Strat4	1st Year	3.74	1.21	3.385	.018
	2nd Year	3.74	1.15		
	3rd Year	2.75	.87		
	4th Year	4.67	.58		
StratTotal	1st Year	3.74	1.21	.261	.853
	2nd Year	3.54	.75		
	3rd Year	3.44	.47		
	4th Year	3.75	.66		

Table 3. Use of strategies for students at different years of study

Next, we used correlational analysis in order to test whether there is a statistically significant relationship between the reported use of ineffective strategies and the variables of self-reported proficiency in EL, self-reported reading proficiency and the amount of exposure to English academic texts. Table 4 summarizes the results. Significant correlations of a lower level for strategies in total were established for the variable of Proficiency in EL, and the

Exposure, whereas only Strategies 2, 3 and 4 were correlated with self-reported reading ability, but not strategies in total. The negative values of r coefficients indicate firstly that students who reported that they are more proficient in the English language also scored a lower frequency of use of less effective strategies, and secondly, that the students who are exposed more to English academic texts also use the aforementioned strategies less frequently. According to the results, it is possible to reject the third and the fourth null hypotheses, whereas the fifth null hypothesis can be rejected only partially.

		Proficiency In EL	Amount of Exposure	Proficiency In Reading
Strat1	r	-.035	.080	-.001
	p	.448	.080	.982
Strat2	r	-,111*	.084	-,132**
	p	.015	.066	.004
Strat3	r	-,243**	-,200**	-,121**
	p	.000	.000	.008
Strat4	r	.086	-.047	,135**
	p	.060	.309	.003
StratTotal	r	-,127**	-,133**	-.057
	p	.005	.003	.214
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed)				
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed)				

Table 4. Pearson's correlation coefficients for Proficiency in EL, Amount of exposure and Proficiency in reading

Finally, the variation in the frequency of use of ineffective reading strategies was tested with a multiple regression model which included all five independent variables. The variables were entered in the manner shown in Table 5 based on the results of the statistical analyses given above, in the order of descending statistical significance. The results shown in Table 5 indicate that the first model, with just gender entered as an explanatory variable, accounts for 43% of the variance ($R^2=.043$). The second model that was tested adds the predictor of self-reported proficiency in the English language. The R^2 is .057, with the second variable included in the model adding 13% of explanation for the variation in scores in the use of ineffective reading strategies. The third model included the predictor of the amount of exposure to English academic tests. With R^2 being 0.067, this variable can independently explain 10% of the variance in the reported use of ineffective reading strategies. The model with all five explanatory variables can explain 69% of the variance in the reported use of ineffective reading strategies.

As is evident from the results, significant values were not found for the fourth ($p=.949$) and the fifth model ($p=.305$), which further means that we can adopt the third regression model, according to which explanatory variables of gender, self-reported proficiency in the English language and the amount of exposure to English academic texts can together successfully account for 67% of the variation in the use of ineffective reading strategies among university students.

Model	R	R ²	R ² Change	Standardized Coefficients	p
1	.208 ^a	.043	.043	.208	.000
2	.238 ^b	.057	.013	.202	.000
				-.115	.010
3	.259 ^c	.067	.010	.199	.000
				-.092	.045
				.104	.023
4	.259 ^d	.067	.000	.198	.000
				-.091	.046
				.104	.023
				.003	.949
5	.263 ^e	.069	.002	.199	.000
				-.131	.029
				.106	.020
				.004	.934
				.061	.305

a. Predictors: (Constant), Gender

b. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, EL Proficiency

c. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, EL Proficiency, Amount of Exposure to English Texts

d. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, EL Proficiency, Amount of Exposure to English Texts, Year of Study

e. e. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, EL Proficiency, Amount of Exposure to English Texts, Year of Study, Proficiency in Reading

Table 5. Multiple regression models of the use of ineffective strategies

In examining the assumption of normality of the distribution of data, Figure 1 shows a P-P plot of the standardized residuals. Since the points are following a linear distribution it can be concluded that they are normally distributed.

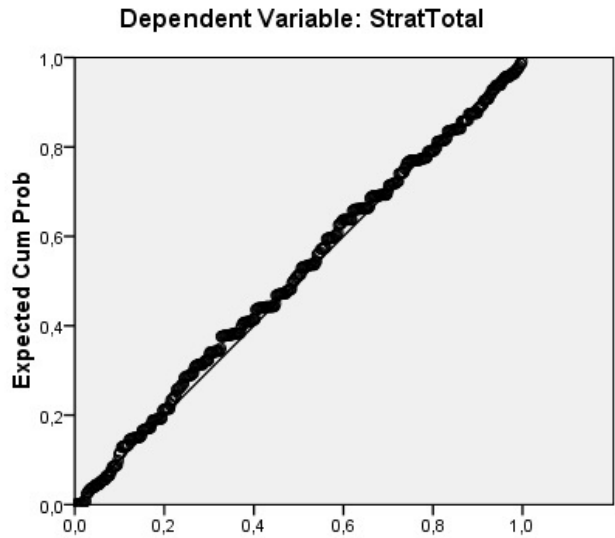


Figure 1. Normal P-P plot of regression standardized residuals

5. DISCUSSION

The aim of the research described in this paper was to gain insight into those learner characteristics that have independent power to account for and predict the use of inefficient reading strategies among university students.

The first characteristic that was tested was gender. As was mentioned above, the variable of gender was found in numerous previous studies to be significantly tied to the learner's size of the strategic repertoire and the frequency of its use. This investigation has confirmed previous research findings that female learners indeed more frequently activate conscious processes to help them understand the text and cope with comprehension breakdowns. However, in the context of the present study, this would further suggest that female students also more frequently do not discriminate between strategies that are efficient and those that are not. In other words, a developed strategic inventory is not a determinant of metacognition, nor does it inevitably lead to success in reading tasks. It is, therefore, important that instruction overtly addresses the mechanisms in which strategies may or may not be useful in repairing comprehension.

In testing the second null hypothesis, the research has yielded somewhat contradictory results. The analysis revealed that first year students less frequently think about information in both English and their mother tongue when they are reading English academic texts than their fourth year colleagues, which might indicate that fourth year students are less confident in their knowledge of English so that they have to resort to using their mother tongue, while second year students use this strategy more frequently than third year students, making third year students more confident in their knowledge of English. This contradiction in terms of the year of study would suggest that the relative age and experience of the students is not a significant factor in L2 reading achievement. Even though it could be expected that, since older students have more experience in dealing with academic texts in their mother tongue, they should also have a more developed L1 strategic awareness, the transfer to L2 does not occur, suggesting that some other factors play a more determining role. It is, however, possible that the results would be different if the sampling was more proportional in terms of the year of study. The reason why there is a noticeable disproportion in the subsample is because English, along with other foreign languages available at faculties, is in most cases taught as a first and second year required course, with only a small number of third and fourth year students opting to take English as an elective course.

The third null hypothesis, which investigated the relation of English language proficiency to the use of ineffective reading strategies, confirms the results of previous research in which syntactic and vocabulary proficiency significantly affect reading comprehension (Barnett 1986), with some researchers going so far as to say that a reader's linguistic proficiency is a key factor that ensures the reader's text comprehension. By using ineffective reading strategies less frequently, students who have reported a higher level of proficiency in the English language also exhibit higher metacognitive awareness in planning and monitoring reading processes and text comprehension, which would suggest that not only is better L2 knowledge tied to higher comprehension, but that it is also conducive to making informed choices with respect to strategy use. More proficient students do not overuse a dictionary in order to comprehend the text they are reading, indicating that they adopt a higher tolerance of temporary ambiguity with the purpose of achieving a holistic view of the text. Furthermore, they translate what they are reading into their mother tongue less frequently than the students who reported a lower level of knowledge of English, based on which it can be concluded that even though they have

a better grasp of the language, which would allow them to translate the text more efficiently, they choose not to repair the breakdowns in comprehension in this way, as it is impossible to properly translate something the reader does not understand.

The fourth null hypothesis tested correlations between the amount of exposure to English academic texts and the students' use of ineffective reading strategies. The findings of this study go hand in hand with numerous other studies that found that learners involved in extensive reading programs improved their reading comprehension, expanded their vocabulary knowledge, and enhanced their writing skills (Iwahori 2008). Students who indicated that they are more exposed to English texts also used ineffective strategies less frequently, which in turn means that they have a better chance of achieving success in reading comprehension.

Self-reported proficiency in reading English academic texts, as the fifth explanatory variable, has been found to be only partially negatively correlated with the use of ineffective reading strategies. Although more proficient readers less frequently rely on the heavy use of dictionaries and translation to help them cope with breakdowns in comprehension, they also reported a more frequent use of strategy four, i.e. thinking about the information in the text during reading both in English and their mother tongue. It is possible that the results would be different if the investigation included a comprehension test, rather than the students' perceptions of their reading proficiency.

The answer to the research question of which learner characteristics have independent power to explain and predict the use of less efficient reading strategies among university students can be found in the multiple regression model which included explanatory variables of gender, proficiency in the English language and the amount of exposure to English texts. From this, it is possible to compile a profile of a user of less effective reading strategies. In 67% of cases, this reader is female, has a lower level of proficiency in the English language and spends less time reading English academic texts than her classmates.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has explored the use of ineffective reading strategies among university students that are activated when reading EFL academic texts. Ineffective strategies were defined as those strategies that do not aid the reader in achieving a given instructional objective, i.e. a holistic comprehension of an academic text. The goal of the research was to identify individual learner characteristics that might account for the variation in the frequency of strategic use. The findings in this research allowed for at least a partial rejection of all five null hypotheses, with gender, proficiency in the English language and the amount of exposure to English academic texts being identified as three independent variables that can explain and predict much of the variation in the strategy use. Namely, female learners have been found to be more active users of ineffective strategies in coping with comprehension breakdowns. Furthermore, the findings indicate that more proficient students do not overuse a dictionary in order to comprehend the text they are reading, which could suggest that they adopt a higher tolerance of temporary ambiguity in order to achieve a holistic view of the text. Finally, the students who were exposed to English texts more often also used ineffective strategies less frequently.

The main pedagogical implication that can be drawn from the findings concerns the need for EFL instruction which directly addresses the usefulness of certain strategies in a given context. It is important that the strategy instruction is embedded in a content area, as Janzen (2002) proposes, since decontextualized teaching of individual strategies is unlikely to result in their

automatization and proper implementation. Similar to the instruction in effective strategies, ineffective reading strategies should also be taught over the following five stages: (1) general strategy instruction, (2) teacher modeling, (3) student reading, (4) analysis of strategies used by the teacher or by students when reading aloud and (5) the explanation and discussion of individual strategies on a regular basis (Janzen 2002: 289). However, the main goal of this instruction would be for students to recognize contexts in which they might use ineffective strategies and make the decision not to use them. In teaching their students what strategies are effective or how to use them effectively, in contrast with those that are not particularly helpful in a given situation, teachers will make sure that their students, besides learning content and critical-thinking skills, also acquire self-regulatory techniques. Surely, both successful and less successful readers will benefit from opportunities to develop their metacognitive awareness and expand their conditional strategic knowledge.

Jagoda Topalov

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad

jagoda.topalov@gmail.com

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LEVELS OF AWARENESS CONCERNING THE SCOPE AND BENEFITS OF COMPUTER-ASSISTED LANGUAGE LEARNING AMONG ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS IN SERBIA

After twelve years in the new millennium, information communication technology (ICT) has become one of the most celebrated and yet dreaded aspects of modern English language teaching (ELT). A very disturbing aspect is that little effective use of ICT by teachers in their everyday teaching has been presented. Thus the aim of this research is to investigate the scope of applicable knowledge of computer-assisted language learning (CALL) among English language teachers in Serbia without attempting to investigate the reasons for either positive or negative results as such an investigation goes beyond the scope of this article. The instrument used for the purpose of this research was a questionnaire including a total of 10 closed questions. Descriptive statistics have been used to provide a general summary of the sample and to enable insight into the current situation among EL teachers in Serbia. The results of the research, though limited in scope, confirm the initial hypothesis. More than half of the participating teachers generally use computers quite often, but do not seem to be aware of the scope of possibilities offered by CALL in general. A large majority use the computer to prepare their teaching material and to communicate with their students via email, yet many of them do not know about the benefits offered by Open Source programs, Web 2.0 and Authoring tools or workspaces.

Keywords: CALL, implementation, training, teachers, benefits and scope

1. INTRODUCTION

Information communication technology (ICT) in the 21st century has become one of the most controversial aspects of modern English language teaching (ELT). ICT is being celebrated and hailed in the literature and the classroom, where both researchers and practitioners stress the undoubted benefits technology offers in the modern classroom. At the same time, it has turned into the most dreaded aspect of modern teaching as many a teacher seems to be unable to cope with the prevailing trend of implementing available and accessible programs, tools and platforms provided in this area. Rapid development in the area of ICT in general is merciless, which is why even the most reluctant teacher should be more open-minded and embrace the fact that they need training in at least the basic aspects of technology-enhanced teaching.

Technological knowledge is characterised by the teacher's understanding of technology "broadly enough to apply it productively at work and in their everyday lives, to recognise when information technology can assist or impede the achievement of a goal, and to continually adapt to changes in information technology" (Koehler and Mishra 2008: 15). With this suggestion in mind, another important fact should be taken into consideration – that of ICT and CALL being extremely effective when properly adjusted to the objectives and outcomes planned by the teaching process. Although seemingly outdated, the list of points supplied by Hooegeveen (1995) referring to the positive outcomes of properly deployed technology in class is still applicable. The points may be summarized as follows:

1. Multimedia have a positive effect on the audio-visual skills of students;

2. The level of concentration and attention is elevated;
3. The psycho-physiological state of students is generally improved;
4. Learner autonomy is furthered considerably;
5. Students can develop and improve language, communicative and social competences (Hoogeveen 1995: 350).

The increasing recognition of the role of technology in the process of teaching in the 21st century is indisputable. In many countries, education policies are being revised and adapted providing a realistic foundation for the implementation of ICT in education, teacher training is being conducted and an organized strategic approach to the broader application of ICT in general can be recognized. Many researchers both abroad and in Serbia, such as Anderson (2008), Beatty (2010), Erben et al. (2008), Mariott et al. (2009), Thomas (2009) as well as Bajčetić and Lazarević (2007), Dovedan et al. (2002), Mandić (2003), Mandić and Ristić (2006), Mišić Ilić (2007), Ristić (2006), Seljan et al. (2004) engage in the exploration, justification and verification of possible forms of implementation and development in the area of ELT. Thus the prevailing fear for many years that technology might actually replace teachers is now being invalidated and “is being displaced by the desire to offer all learners access to the information systems that run the world economy” (Hanson-Smith 2001: 113). It is acceptable to say that if “technology is deployed to its best advantage, we should see teachers’ roles become that of a guide and mentor, encouraging students to take charge of their own learning, helping them to learn at their own pace” (Hanson-Smith 2001: 113).

The necessity of involving researchers, practitioners, teachers, curriculum designers, governmental authorities and financial institutions in the process of CALL is more than obvious, so different segments within this area ought to be investigated properly. In line with that, Ken Beatty insists on the yet broader concept of teacher as researcher (Beatty 2010: 7). What he points out is that the line between the teacher and the researcher as far as CALL is concerned is rather thin. Since teachers experiment with various tools and programs on a daily basis while using technology in their classrooms, they may qualify as researchers. In that way, they can contribute to the further and broader implementation of technology in the process of teaching (Beatty 2010: 7).

In other words, the topic of research within CALL should no longer be the comparison between traditional and technology-enhanced teaching. Nobody questions the usefulness of the computer in general. “Computers, or whatever technical marvels and variations they evolve into, are here to stay” (Beatty 2010: 15). Researchers’ attention has shifted from the research model directed at the usefulness of programs and tools (Neuwirth and Kaufer 1992: 173), dominant in the nineties, to the adequate training of teachers to use the computer properly and efficiently (Kessler and Plakans 2008) as well as to the development of students’ skills to use technology both in the classroom and outside of it (Winke and Goertler 2008). That is why it is now considered that the competent 21st century teacher should no longer focus on teaching how to use the tool but on teaching with the tool. Suffice it to say that such a new approach requires adequate research into the “most effective ways to help teachers take advantage of technology” (Thompson and Mishra 2008: 38).

The aim of this research was to investigate the scope of applicable knowledge of CALL among English language (EL) teachers in Serbia without attempting to investigate the reasons for either positive or negative results as such an investigation would have exceeded the initial intention of this article. Based on an online survey consisting of 10 closed questions, the answers of a total of 36 participants were collected, statistically analysed and cross tabulated.

The initial hypothesis was that teachers do not use ICT and CALL effectively, i.e. they use technology without actually exhausting all the possibilities and without being fully aware of the available and accessible options and possibilities provided by technology in general. The overall conclusion points to a rather disturbing fact – most English language teachers who do use technology in their classrooms are enthusiastic about it, but generally unaware of all the potentials provided. The use of technology does not exceed the scope of experimental and more or less sporadic applications of gadgets, programs and online tools.

2. THE RESEARCH

2.1. Research sample, instrument and methodology

The instrument used for the purpose of this research was a questionnaire created by means of the online tool “Survey Monkey”. The link to the survey, consisting of a total of 10 closed questions was emailed to 58 English language teachers who the author knows personally and who are employed at different elementary, secondary and tertiary education institutions. Additionally, a web link on the Facebook page of the English Language Teachers’ Association (ELTA) was posted as this association’s membership comprises EL teachers from Serbia. All the emailed recipients were expected to respond as they were selected based on the criterion that they claim to be using the computer. Moreover, far more members of the ELTA were expected take the survey as several ELTA conferences were in fact devoted to the topic of modernizing classrooms and technology-enhanced teaching.¹

Despite high expectations, of 58 colleagues personally invited via email, only a total of 27 colleagues responded and a further 9 via the web link posted on the ELTA Facebook page. Three weeks later and after a repeated invitation sent to email recipients, a total of 31 colleagues did not respond. The reason for the lack of interest remains unknown as there was no possibility of investigating this situation. The conclusions (Section 2.2) drawn from this research should be considered only preliminary as due to its limited scope, the sample could not provide valid and scientifically supported insights.²

The set of 10 closed questions (Table 1) was designed with the purpose of discovering whether or not EL teachers are fully aware of the scope, benefits and potential CALL can have in the language classroom. There was no intention of investigating particular aspects of the usage of the computer and other technology among the participants in a more elaborate way as the sole purpose of this research was to provide a general estimate of the prevailing situation. Accordingly, the questions were short and precise while the whole survey was user-friendly and easy to complete. Each question was a multiple choice one and the respondents could choose the most appropriate answers and submit the questionnaire. The estimated time needed to complete the questionnaire was about 10 minutes.

1 See <http://elta.org.rs/elta-conferences/other-conferences/> for a detailed list of past conferences among which at least five were devoted to modernizing teaching, ICT and CALL.

2 In August 2013, the author started a more elaborate research regarding this matter at an international level. The link to the survey was posted on the page of the LinkedIn Computer Assisted Language Learning group. The analysis of the data is being prepared to be presented at the 4th *International conference of Applied Linguistics and Professional Practice* to be held in Geneva, Switzerland in September 2014.

1. How many years of teaching experience do you have?
 - a) Less than 5 years.
 - b) 5 - 10 years.
 - c) 10 - 15.
 - d) More than 15.
2. Which level do you teach at?
 - a) Elementary education.
 - b) Secondary education.
 - c) Tertiary education.
 - d) Several institutions/ different levels.
3. Do you use the computer in your teaching?
 - a) Yes.
 - b) No.
 - c) Occasionally.
 - d) Never.
4. If you do, which aspect of your teaching do you prepare on the computer?
 - a) I use the computer to prepare all my teaching material: additional reading, practice material, tests, etc.
 - b) I use the computer to prepare practice material and/ or tests.
 - c) I use the computer to prepare additional reading material.
 - d) None of the above.
5. Do you communicate with your students via e-mail?
 - a) Yes.
 - b) No.
 - c) Occasionally.
 - d) Never.
6. Do you use an online workspace, blog, forum or similar aid on the Internet for the purpose of communication with your students?
 - a) Yes.
 - b) No.
 - c) Occasionally.
 - d) Never.
7. Do you know what the following terms refer to: Open Source, Authoring Tools, and Web 2.0?
 - a) Yes.
 - b) No.
 - c) I know about some of them, but not all of them.
 - d) I do not know about any of these terms.
8. What would motivate you for a more elaborate and versatile use of the computer in your classroom?
 - a) Money to improve the quality of my computer, or to buy a new one.
 - b) A salary increase.
 - c) Better equipment in the classroom I teach in so that my effort could yield more positive teaching results.
 - d) Nothing can motivate me to use anything more except the textbook and the basic teaching aids.
9. In your opinion, can the computer positively influence foreign language teaching in the environment you are active in?
 - a) Yes, considerably.
 - b) Yes, to some extent.
 - c) Slightly.

- d) Nowadays, nothing can motivate students to work harder.
10. If you had the opportunity and available financial resources, in what way would you try to improve FLT in your own environment?
- a) I would enable equipping language classrooms with modern technology, purchasing and installing language labs, organising foreign language teacher training, etc.
- b) I would enable foreign language teacher training in popular locations so that teachers could travel and see the world.
- c) I would enable the purchase of computers and modern technology.
- d) I would do nothing. Let others worry about these things.

Table 1. The survey used in the research

The collected data have been analysed only statistically, i.e. quantitatively. No qualitative analysis can be provided as the possibility of introducing open questions was dropped. However, as “Survey Monkey” provides the option of cross tabulating responses based on different criteria, such as years of experience, level of teaching and the use of the computer, this option was used to investigate different relationships, which will be presented in the section to follow. At this point it should be stressed that the findings from this research, though limited in scope, certainly call for more extensive research in the future. Topics to be included in such research ought to include a more elaborate investigation into the competences of EL teachers regarding their computer literacy and the use of technology and web skills.

2.2. Results and discussion

The data collected by means of the questionnaire are both very conclusive and contradictory concerning many aspects which I initially expected to become clear. First of all, it was expected that far more EL teachers use the computer in ways other than the basic Microsoft Office applications. The finding that many EL teachers do not use any workspace or Web 2.0 tool is quite discouraging. If teachers of English are ignorant of the benefits and scope offered by online and/ or offline programs and tools (written primarily in English and thus easy to understand and use), not much is to be expected of teachers of other languages (and other subjects) without such a broad representation in all the different forms of digital media available nowadays. As already pointed out, the results gathered in this research have been cross tabulated with regard to several different criteria, such as level of teaching, frequency and scope of technology used, years of experience, etc. One of the initial assumptions made at the beginning of this research was that younger teachers are more enthusiastic about CALL and ICT in the classroom. However, as shall be presented, the cross tabulations between the years of experience, the level of teaching and the particular responses to the question about certain CALL possibilities showed different results.

For the purpose of displaying the results in a more comprehensive way, the cross tabulated results shall be elaborated in the form of five rather conclusive statements that could be drawn. These statements, further referred to as conclusions, should serve as a general reflection of the current situation among EL teachers in Serbia concerning their knowledge and use of CALL. Since the sample of participants is limited, the conclusions presented are not in any way meant to be considered definitive. Yet, given the fact that the recipients had been chosen according to precisely defined criteria, the most important among which being their claim that they use the computer in language teaching, it may be assumed that a similar research with a larger sample might yield similar results.

First conclusion (Figure 1): Many teachers do use the computer in their everyday teaching practice.

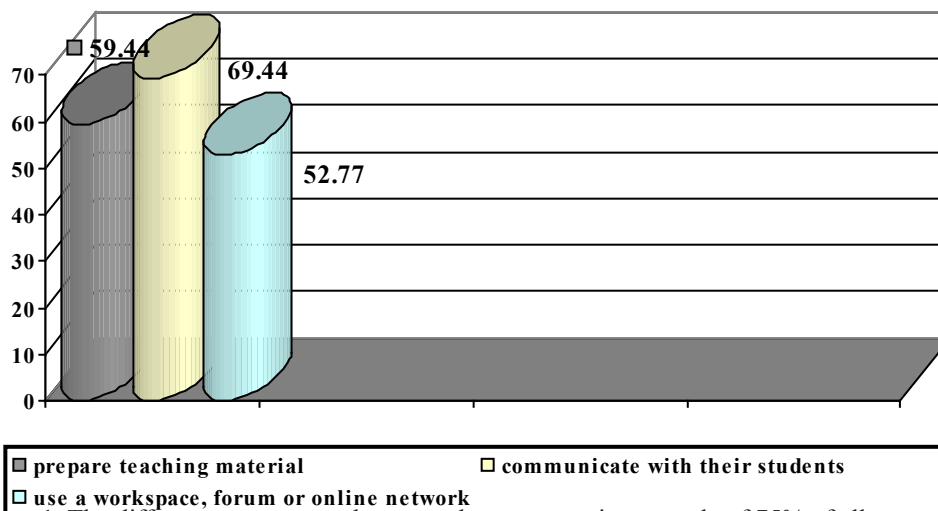


Figure 1. The different ways respondents use the computer in a sample of 75% of all respondents who claimed to use the computer in their everyday teaching

It could be established that a total of 75% of the respondents use the computer in their everyday teaching. As can be seen in Figure 1, among them, a total of 59.44% prepare their teaching material on the computer, a total of 69.44% communicate with their students per email, Facebook or some similar service and a total of 52.77% use a workspace, forum or online network for teaching purposes.

Second conclusion (Figure 2): Younger teachers (less than 10 years of teaching experience) seem to use the computer less frequently than older teachers (more than 10 years of teaching experience) in everyday teaching.

To be more precise, the cross tabulation between the number of older and younger teachers and those who use the computer in their everyday teaching showed that in the total sample of respondents, a total of 27.77% of teachers with less than 10 years of teaching experience use the computer in their everyday teaching. In comparison to that, a total of 47.22% of teachers with more than 10 years of teaching experience use the computer actively in their everyday teaching.

It could also be established (Figure 2) that 25% of all the respondents are employed in tertiary education and have more than 15 years of teaching experience. When cross tabulated with the 75% of teachers using the computer in their everyday teaching, it can be seen that 88.88% use the computer in their everyday teaching. In other words, a total of 22.22% of respondents in the entire sample are employed in tertiary education, have more than 15 years of teaching experience and use the computer in their everyday teaching.

In comparison to that a total of 25% of respondents are employed at the elementary and the secondary levels of education.³ Among them, 55.55% have more than 15 years of teaching

³ One of the provided answers to the second question in the questionnaire was meant to include those teachers who are

experience. When cross tabulated with the 75% of teachers using the computer in their everyday teaching, it can be seen that only 33.33% among them use the computer in their everyday teaching, which is only 8.33% in the entire sample.

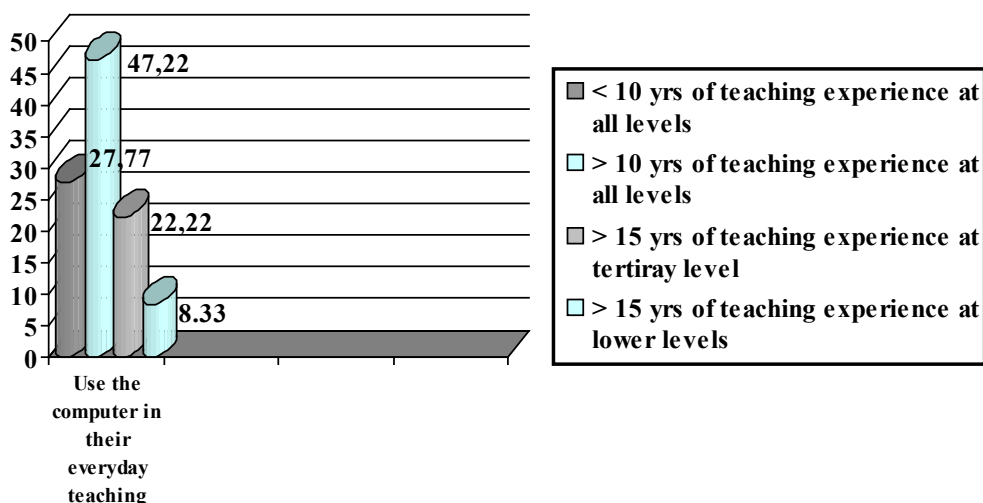


Figure 2. Distribution of EL teachers who use the computer in their everyday teaching (75% of participants) in regard to teaching experience and level

Third conclusion (Table 2): In spite of the overall use of the computer, programs and software available on the internet remain rather unknown to most of the respondents.

Teachers	Lower levels of education (%)	Tertiary level of education (%)	Total (%)
Know about programs and tools	19.43	19.44	38.88
Do not know/ have not heard of some/ any programs and tools	24.99	19.44	61.12
Skipped the question	19.44		

Table 2. Knowledge of separate programs and tools among EL teachers at different levels

Table 2 reveals that although 75% of the respondents claim to use the computer in their everyday teaching, most of them are unaware of some very useful teaching tools. Such tools include Open Source programs and software, Web 2.0 tools and Authoring tools. These programs and tools are available on the Internet nowadays. Access is free and they are generally user-friendly, accompanied by a set of clear instructions. User forums are also quite common. The third conclusion indicates that only a total of 38.88% out of the 75% of the respondents who use the computer in their everyday teaching actually know about the afore- mentioned programs and tools. More precisely, a total of 61.12% of the respondents said that they do not know or have not heard of some or any of them and 19.44% of teachers chose to skip this

employed at more than one level or at a private language school. A total of 27.77% of respondents chose this answer. Since it could be verified that none of them is employed in tertiary education, these respondents were included in the group of respondents who teach at an elementary or secondary school.

question altogether.

Fourth conclusion (Table 3): Although EL teachers show an obvious lack of knowledge of different programs and tools, a large number of them would be very motivated to use the computer in their teaching under certain conditions.

Teachers	Lower levels of education (%)	Tertiary level of education (%)	Total (%)
Money to improve the quality of computers	5.55	0	5.55
Salary increase	8.33	2.77	11.11
Better equipped classrooms	44.44	41.66	86.10
Nothing can make them use the computer	0	2.77	2.77

Table 3. Motives for using computers more frequently

In the entire sample of respondents, a total of 86.10% of respondents clearly indicated that they would be more motivated to use the computer in their everyday teaching if they had better equipped classrooms. Among these 86.10%, a total of 41.66% of respondents teach at tertiary education institutions and almost half of them, a total of 46.66% (or a total of 19.44% in the entire sample) have more than 15 years of teaching experience. This fact seems interesting as it shows that the academic environment in which teachers at tertiary level are involved necessitates the use of the computer for the purpose of academic production. By preparing for conference presentations or when writing scientific and/or academic papers, tertiary level teachers have more opportunities to familiarise themselves with the different ways in which the computer may be used. It may be assumed that while familiarising themselves with the scopes and benefits of the computer in the way indicated, these teachers start using the computer in their everyday teaching more frequently.

Fifth conclusion (Table 4): In spite of the obvious lack of knowledge regarding the scope and benefits of the computer, a large number of teachers would know how to make use financial funding to improve their teaching by means of technology if there were any.

Suggestions for the use of financial aid for the purpose of improvement of CALL	Lower levels of education (%)	Tertiary level of education (%)	Total (%)
Classroom equipment, modern technology, teacher training	47.21	41.66	88.87
Seminars and teacher training so that teachers could travel	5.54	2.77	8.31
New computers and modern technology	2.77	2.77	5.54
Nothing at all	0	0	0

Table 4. Suggestions for the use of financial aid for the purpose of improvement of CALL

An obviously encouraging result is that a total of 88.87% of all the respondents participating in this research recognize that what they need is classroom equipment, modern technology and adequate training to use both equipment and technology. However, when compared to previous

results and conclusions, this result seems to raise new issues. First of all, as presented in the third conclusion, it is quite strange that 61.12% of the respondents said that they do not know or have not heard of Open Source, Web 2.0 and Authoring tools, while 88.87%, as seen in the fifth conclusion, know what they would do with financial aid if they had any. Among all the conclusions provided in this research, this is the most contradictory one. The reason might be that the respondents would be more motivated to use the computer more frequently and more elaborately in a better equipped classroom. The fact that teachers are not provided any formal training might also be a contributing factor. Many schools encourage the use of the computer in the teaching process but do not assist their staff in gaining the necessary skills. It might even be assumed that most teachers actually use the lack of funding, equipment and training opportunities as an excuse. Obviously, more elaborate research will have to be conducted to clarify this issue.

3. CONCLUSION

The scope and findings of this research could not provide conclusive insights into the reasons for the lack of applicable knowledge in the area of CALL and ICT among English language teachers. A more in-depth analysis of this aspect of the problem presented in this discussion would require a more elaborate pool of data to rely on. Thus more extensive research based on both quantitatively and qualitatively collected data should be conducted in the future to provide clarification and perhaps even more detailed conclusions. Because of that, this final section cannot provide more than a summary of the conclusions presented herein.

The most obvious question seems to be related to what exactly EL teachers expect to be improved considering they have rather limited knowledge of certain programs and tools that are available and accessible on the Internet. On the other hand, a completely different conclusion might be drawn that EL teachers need guidance, instruction and training in the area of technology-enhanced teaching and CALL. An obvious conclusion is that elaborate training should be planned for teachers at all levels and conducted so as to enable them to familiarize themselves with the various possibilities both CALL and ICT may provide.

Since 75% of all the respondents in this research stated that they do use the computer in their everyday teaching, it may be concluded that the computer is used quite enough. Unfortunately, this number of users may be related only to basic application possibilities as most of the participants (61.12% out of the 75%) know little about Open Source, Web 2.0 or Authoring tools, which would be a reflection of their solid knowledge of using programs, software and tools in their teaching. Therefore, it may be assumed that despite the awareness that there are more complex features and possibilities, teachers are generally not familiar with them.

A rather unexpected conclusion is that there are more users of the computer among older EL teachers than among younger ones. A total of 47.22% of teachers with more than 10 years of teaching experience use the computer actively in their everyday teaching. This does not necessarily indicate greater computer illiteracy among younger teachers but it does lead to the conclusion that younger teachers seem to be far less enthusiastic when it comes to improving their teaching. Some form of future training should probably be directed at this aspect to raise the level of interest and enthusiasm among younger teachers to use the computer more.

The reason why EL teachers at tertiary education, especially those with more than 15 years of education (22.22%) might be using the computer more frequently than their colleagues at

lower levels of education and with fewer years of teaching experience might be the constant obligation imposed on tertiary educators to conduct research and publish their findings either in the form of scientific papers or at conferences. Most authors and speakers nowadays prepare presentations by means of which they present their results and findings. This clearly leads to the conclusion that they have at least acquired some basic knowledge of using Microsoft Office tools, such as Excel, Word and PowerPoint.

The final conclusion to be offered at this point should probably be in the form of a proposal for a solution to resolve the issues presented in this article. The encouraging number of 88.87% of respondents who recognize that they need classroom equipment, modern technology and adequate training to use both equipment and technology indicates the direction future implementation of CALL and technology-enhanced teaching should take. A far more organized and structured approach of encouragement and training is needed. EL teachers should not be expected to engage in any kind of improvement without adequate support from authorities, curriculum designers, teaching material providers and other bodies participating in a country's education policies. Unfortunately, EL teachers, especially those at lower levels, are expected to take initiatives, be enthusiastic and invest time and effort without being provided proper support in the form of funded teacher training, modern equipment and classrooms. Therefore, until some of the steps mentioned herein are taken, the situation described in this article might not be expected to change considerably and substantially.

Jasmina Đorđević
Faculty of Law and Business Dr Lazar Vrkatić, Novi Sad
Union University, Belgrade
djordjevic.jasmina@gmail.com

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ON THE NEED TO TEACH CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY TO BUSINESS ENGLISH STUDENTS

The present study is aimed at studying business English students' attitude to classical mythology, examining the student's awareness of the presence of mythological references in business English today as well as determining which factors adversely affect the students' motivation for studying myths. The research further sets out to establish to what extent providing a short explanation for some of the mythical characters and concepts would improve students' understanding of mythological allusions in names of products and companies. The participants were Novi Sad Business School students. The study included 166 first year students (78 in the control group and 88 in the experimental group). Quantitative data was gathered by means of a questionnaire and a test of familiarity with mythological characters. Semi structured interviews with six students (three from each group) were conducted with the aim of determining what the rationale behind the students' answers was and learning if participants were aware of the relevance of classical myths for today's language and culture. The questionnaire data reveals that the majority of students in both groups were not aware of the mythological references in business and, as a consequence, were not interested in acquiring any knowledge of mythology. The results of the test demonstrate that the experimental group did significantly better ($p=.001$) than the control group. The findings of the present research clearly point to the need to teach classical mythology to business students and stimulate their interest in the subject by giving them examples of how it is used today.

Key words: business, classical mythology, company name, mythological references, product name

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of mythologies should be included in the educational process. The study of myths makes students aware of various cultures' practices and helps them understand mythological references they come across in everyday language, literature and art. References to myths can be found in media, including songs, television and cultural icons (House 1992: 72). Most importantly, myths teach values (Prothero 1990: 33).

Nevertheless, the teaching of mythologies seems to be neglected (Kohl 2006; House 1992; Pilipović and Bikicki 2013). House claims that most teachers lack the background knowledge in this area and consequently do not design courses with an in-depth approach. The lack of an adequate approach leaves students with the impression that mythology is nothing more than a group of long-dead stories (House 1992: 72). Dotty believes that "this negative view of myth is also related to dichotomous thinking that favours the 'rational' or scientific at the expense of the poetic, intuitive, spiritual or literary" (Dotty 2000, cited in Allender 2002: 52). Prothero writes that "we have wrongly assumed that our scientific civilization has put us beyond having or needing a mythology" (Prothero 1990: 32) and reminds us of Campbell's observation that when a society does not embrace a powerful mythology, young people make them up themselves (Campbell and Moyers 1988, cited in Prothero 1990: 32).

The benefits of being familiar with mythology prompted research into the area with the aim of examining what the attitude of Novi Sad Business School students to mythology

was, establishing what the causes of such an attitude were, and determining if providing a short explanation for some of the mythical characters and concepts would improve students' understanding of mythological allusions in names of products and companies. Especially relevant to this study is Prothero's claim that myth teaches values through metaphor (Prothero 1990: 33). In cognitive linguistics, metaphor is one of the construal operations which involves a relationship between a source domain and a target domain, and involves judgment and comparison (Croft and Cruise 2004: 55). Thus, it was interesting to examine to what extent students were able to provide a link between characteristics of a mythological character or concept and the name of a company or a product. Due to the scope of the study, as well as the abundance of Greek and Roman mythological references in the contemporary business world, the study was confined to Greek and Roman classical mythology.

2. WHAT IS A MYTH AND WHY STUDY IT?

In the scientific study of mythology there are five orientations depending on whether the myth-making is explained by the natural phenomena, history, culture, society or human nature (Srejšović and Čerčanović-Kuzmanović 1987: xxi). What further complicates things is the fact that outside technical writing, myth, folklore, story and fairytale are often used interchangeably and are not differentiated (Tidline 1999: 486). Funk and Wagnall propose that where gods or demigods do not appear, such stories are classified as folktale, or more specifically "when the hero is a man rather than a god, myth becomes legend if limited to some specific location, or folktale if more generalized" (Funk and Wagnall 1950, cited in Tidline 1999: 487). Although Srejšović and Čerčanović-Kuzmanović, too, state that according to strict criteria myths do not utilize historical personalities, no such differentiation is accepted in practice, not even by experts (1987: lvii). Hassan emphasizes the need to realize that there are various types of myths, and that the distinction is not one of varied cultures, but also one of temporal disparity. These determine the function and nature of a myth as literature, belief, projective system, incorporating all, or any combination of them (Hassan 1952: 207–208). Girling states that "myths are emotionally charged beliefs that reflect how people experience formative periods in their history (Girling 1993, cited in Tidline 1999: 489). Myths are symbolic representations of reality that, from a rational standpoint, contain incorrect assumptions, but they are nonetheless authentic, deeply felt responses to critical social conditions" (Tidline 1999: 488–490). The definition of a myth offered by Watts states that a myth is a complex of stories – some no doubt fact, and some fantasy – which, for various reasons, human beings regard as demonstrations of the inner meaning of the universe and of human life (Watts 1953, cited in Wheelwright 1955: 473). According to Rosenberg, myths symbolize human experience and embody the spiritual values of a culture (Rosenberg 1989, cited in Allender 2002: 53).

For the purposes of this study, based on the above-mentioned definitions, a working definition of myths will be proposed which defines myths as stories often linked to the sacred or divine that, through the interplay of imagination, emotion and historical conditions, represent human life and embody cultural values.

Thus, one of the most important benefits of teaching myths to students is the teaching of values through myths. As Prothero points out, myths teach meaning (e.g. courage, perseverance), not by realistic logical exposition but rather by imagination and metaphor (Prothero 1990: 33). Furthermore, since myths embody cultural values, students learn not only of other people's beliefs, but by juxtaposing their own people's mythology discern similarities and differences

in varied cultures and make connections between the ancient and the modern world. Yet, one also needs to study myths for more practical purposes. Reading many important literary works, which often contain mythological references, can be a daunting task for anyone who lacks background knowledge in mythology. The genuine appreciation of some works of art, music and dance, too, is often impossible with no knowledge of mythology. Yet, mythological allusions are also present in the language of business and commerce, especially in the names of products and companies, and company logos. The power of names such as *Ajax* for a washing powder, *Nike* for a sportswear and shoe company, or *Titan* for a truck is often lost on a reader with no knowledge in mythology.

3. TEACHING MYTHOLOGY

As has already been mentioned in the previous section, myth-making is based on natural phenomena, history, culture and psychology, so myths lend themselves well to teaching in a number of subjects (e.g. history, psychology, social sciences, art, music, literature and (foreign) language) and to a number of different approaches (historical, socio-psychological, topical, contrastive, etc.). The approach to be chosen depends not only on the age of the students, but also on their interest and their prior knowledge.

Kohl proposes the consideration of multiple intelligences not only for deciding which approach to use in teaching, but also for assessing students' comprehension of a myth (Kohl 2006). Clauss suggests using films to teach myths. He uses different versions of films that take up mythological themes arranged thematically to make students reflect on the universality of myths, contemporary issues and to articulate that which is deeply personal by giving them the opportunity to exercise their creativity by assigning a creative writing project (Clauss 1996). Allender proposes setting students the task of writing an essay in which they would view their own life experience after cultural exploration and critical reading of a myth (Allender 2002). Denneen recommends a contrastive approach. She believes the main objective should be to compare language and traditions across cultures and historical periods (Denneen 2007: 57). Students should research the culture of the people who passed down the myth, analyze literary elements, characters' actions, explore the emotional connotations associated with categories of animals, compare conventions and gender roles and reflect on how mythology impacts modern life. Through whole class discussions or working in small groups, students should summarize what they have learnt by writing their own myth, giving a dramatic or artistic retelling of the myth, rewriting a portion of the myth, rewriting a story by changing gender, and so on. Besides books, she urges the use of video and the Internet. Terry suggests a long term project which entails distributing a list of common allusions to students and setting them a task of doing their own research into the origins and meanings of the listed allusions. Another activity involves locating examples of products, establishments, articles, etc., that use the names of mythological characters or feats through the use of magazine, newspapers, pamphlets, worldwide web, and so on (Terry 2007).

4. METHODOLOGY

The research data was obtained using both quantitative and qualitative paradigms including a questionnaire, a test, semi-structured interviews and a whole class discussion. The quantitative part of the study comprised 166 students (78 in the control group and 88 in the

experimental group). The instruments used for collecting data in this phase were a questionnaire and a test. The questionnaire consisted of six questions the purpose of which was to examine if students had any interest in mythology in general and if they were aware of any mythological allusions in contemporary business world. The purpose of the test was to determine if the students who were presented with short explanations about mythical characters and concepts would better understand mythological allusions in the names of nine products and companies compared to the students in the control group who could only rely on their previous knowledge to complete the task. The test comprised nine names of mythological characters and concepts and corresponding products and companies. The following mythological names were used in the test:¹ *Echo* (weekly newspaper), *Vulcan* (steam locomotive manufacturer), *Ambrosia* (seafood restaurant), *Nike* (sportswear company), *Ajax* (washing powder and anti-aircraft missile manufacturer), *Titan* (pickup truck), *Hydra* (aircraft carrier), *Prometheus* (publishing house) and *Mercury* (a chain of shops). *Ceres*, the name of a juice company was given as an example. Students were asked to provide a rationale for their choice next to each item. As an example, next to *Ceres* was written: *Ceres* is a juice company as Ceres was a goddess of agriculture and fertility. The mythological names were chosen on the grounds that students had learnt about them during their prior education and that consequently the task was achievable. The names of mythological characters and concepts, and the explanations provided in the test in the experimental group were given in both English and Serbian. The answers either in English or in Serbian were accepted as it was feared that many of the participants would not be able to do the task in English.

Six students (two female, four male), three from each group, participated in the qualitative part of the research, which began immediately after the completion of the quantitative part of the study and finished one week later. Qualitative data was gathered by means of a fifteen- to twenty-minute semi-structured interview with each of the six students. The aim of the semi-structured interviews was to find out why they thought a particular company or product name related to a particular mythological name. Another objective of the conducted interviews was to ascertain what the reasons for the students' presence or lack of interest in mythology were. Rebecca Oxford writes that good students have greater ability to reflect on and articulate their own language learning processes (Oxford 2003: 11). However, as the research was conducted at the beginning of the first semester, there was no way of knowing which students were successful in language learning. On the other hand the author's previous experience had shown that interviews only with successful students cannot reveal what the rationale behind wrong answers was. For this reason, both successful and less successful students were selected. The interviews were conducted in Serbian so that the possible students' inability to express themselves correctly in English would not adversely affect their answers. In order to preserve the students' privacy, in the text their names have been replaced by numbers and the letter C or E which shows the student belonged to the control or experimental group respectively. The students' answers obtained in whole class discussion a few weeks after the testing session were beneficial for the study, too, and some of them will be mentioned in this paper. The researcher noted the students' remarks concerning the research as well as their answers to the following questions: Have you noticed any other examples of mythological names being used for firms or products? Which ones? Can you think of some mythological names from Slavic or any other mythology that could be given to a firm or a product?

The materials and methods were tested in a pilot study conducted with 20 third year

¹ The corresponding product or company is given in brackets.

information technology in business students a week prior to the study proper. All students voluntarily agreed to participate in the research.

To analyze quantitative data t-test and Chi-square tests were performed. SPSS 13 software was used. The questionnaire and test results will be presented together with the relevant data gathered during the interviews and the whole class discussion.

5. RESULTS

5.1. Results of the questionnaire

The results of the questionnaire revealed that a number of students (54.81%) were not interested in classical mythology. The same result was obtained to the question as to their interest in how mythological names are used today, as 91 students (54.16%) answered that they were not keen on mythology at all. However, the results demonstrate a significant gender difference ($p = .21$) when it comes to interest in mythology. Only 36.66% of female students claimed they were interested in mythology compared to 54.55% of male students. Yet, all of the six interviewed students claimed that they liked myths. Student 2C, for example, said: "I enjoyed classes in which we learnt about mythology, not only Greek or Roman, but also Slavic."

As many as 113 participants (67.26%) claimed they did not know that mythological names were often used in business for company names and products, while 53 students (31.54%) claimed they did. This difference is statistically significant ($p = .000$). Nevertheless, 118 students (70.23%) claimed that it would be interesting to see how mythological allusions were used in business. The interviewed students said they recognized a mythological name, even if they did not know how it related to the firm or product. They rarely looked it up.

The interviewed participants believed they should know the origins of a company or product name. As Student 2C explained: "It is flattering to be knowledgeable in classical mythology. It would be nice to walk the streets and wonder why a particular name was chosen, and know the answer. The name can tell you something about the firm or shop."

Contrary to author's expectations, the interviewed students did not readily claim that they would give a mythological name to their own firm. As Student 6C said: "What's the point, when no one understands it." This is consistent with the results of the questionnaire in which 109 (64.88%) answered that they would not give a mythological name to a firm if they had one. Students obviously preferred English names for firms as 111 participants (66.71%) answered that they liked companies that had English names. As for what affected the choice of the right name, the following explanations were obtained: "I would only use *Ajax*, as the name of the strong warrior would show that the firm is strong. People would have heard of Ajax." (Student 1E), "For a club, yes. A mythological name would be interesting and appealing, yet a lot depends on the ambiance" (Student 2C), "I prefer traditional names." (Students 3E and 6C), "Serbian or English, but a lot depends on the kind of product. Not mythological. People would not understand." (Student 4C), or "It depends on the type of product. For electrical appliances an English name is great. A Serbian name sounds silly.... It just does" (Student 5E).

As to why they did not know a lot about mythology, three students (1E, 4C, 5E) replied they believed they had not studied it at school or forgot most of it if they had. Students 3E and Student 5E said they had studied about mythology in sociology classes, but not much. All interviewees did not enjoy it then, yet Student 3E said he found reading myths out of class relaxing, and enjoyed watching films on mythological topics. It is pleasing to observe that all

interviewed students asserted the research had prompted their interest in the subject. “I have never thought about mythology in this way.” (Student 3E and Student 6C). This claim was supported by many other students in the whole class discussion. The results of the questionnaire administered before the test are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of the participants' answers to the questionnaire items.

Questionnaire items	YES	NO	TOTAL
I am interested in classical mythology	74 (44.85 %)	91 (55.15%)	165
I am interested to know how mythological names are used today	75 (45.45%)	90 (54.54%)	165
I know that mythological names are often used for companies and products	112 (7.88%)	53 (32.12%)	165
The knowledge of the origin of a mythological name can be useful	118 (71.51%)	47 (28.48%)	165
If I had my own business I would give it a mythological name	57 (34.54%)	108 (65.45%)	165
I believe English name is great for a business	111 (67.27 %)	54 (32.73%)	165

5.2. Results of the test

As expected, there was a significant difference ($p=.001$) between the results of the control and experimental group on the test ($M=4.2308$, $SD=1.42267$ and $M=5.25$, $SD=2.36473$, respectively). The results of the test containing 9 items showed the average score of $M=4.7711$, the extreme scores being a minimum of one correct answer and the maximum of 9 correct answers. Table 2 shows the percentages of correct and incorrect answers and the significance level for each item.

Table 2. The percentages of correct and incorrect answers and the significance level for each item.

Mythological name	Control group N=78		Experimental group N=88		Chi-square results	
	Correct %	Incorrect %	Correct %	Incorrect %	df	p
Echo	34.6	65.4	45.45	53.41	2	.213
Vulcan	37.17	62.82	52.27	47.73	1	.051
Ambrosia	12.82	87.18	73.86	36.14	1	.000
Nike	98.72	1.28	97.73	2.27	1	.938
Ajax	74.36	25.64	35.23	64.77	1	.000
Titan	34.61	65.38	43.18	56.82	1	.259
Prometheus	28.2	71.8	38.64	61.36	1	.156
Hydra	20.51	79.48	56.82	43.18	1	.000
Mercury	82.05	17.94	69.31	30.68	1	.058

For many of the items tested, the students did not provide an explanation even if they gave the correct answer. After the testing session students explained that they did not really know the answer or were not sure of it, while students in the experimental group claimed they believed that it was unnecessary, for the explanations had already been provided. Thus the largest number of justifications for one's choice was found in the control group.

The students in both groups achieved the best result on the item related to *Nike* sportswear company. Only one student in control group and one student in experimental group answered it was a chain of shops. In the test 33.33% of the students in the control group wrote Nike was a goddess of victory, yet others believed it was a goddess of war or a goddess of sport. Student

1E said he thought Nike was a goddess of sport: "It reminds me of Ancient Greece, the Olympic Games, and all that". This answer is in line with a previous research (Pilipović and Bikicki 2013) which revealed that only 28.4% of the participants knew that Nike was a goddess, but only two of them were aware that she was the goddess of victory. All of the interviewed students confessed they had had no idea what Nike was before this research.

The significantly different results between groups were found in three items *Ambrosia* ($p=.00$), *Ajax* ($p=.00$) and *Hydra* ($p=.00$).

Ambrosia, the food (and drink) of the Greek gods, was to be matched with the *seafood restaurant*. As many as 65 students (73.86%) in the experimental and only 10 students (12.82%) in the control group gave the correct answer. The qualitative part of the research showed that the interviewed students correctly related the *seafood restaurant* to *Ambrosia* (e.g. Student 3E: "Great food. Appropriate for gods.", except Student 2C who said: "It cannot be a restaurant. The gods did not eat fish, I suppose.") In the whole class discussion a number of students claimed they only knew of a plant that causes an allergy² and had found it difficult to relate the name to any firm or product in the test.

Ajax was to be related to an anti-aircraft missile manufacturer and a washing powder. Here, however the control group did better (74.35% answered correctly) compared to the experimental group (35.22% answered correctly). In the interviews two participants (Student 1E and Student 4C) were led to believe that *Ajax* stood for a pickup truck or an aircraft carrier, although they very well knew a famous warrior Ajax was in question. In both cases they based their idea on the strength of a mythological character. Similarly, the most frequent incorrect answer in the test in the experimental group was a pickup truck. The other interviewed students perceived the allusion: "It fights spots, it fights dirt, it fights aircraft".

Finally, *Hydra* was to be linked with *aircraft carrier*. Students correctly associated Hydra with water. Among the explanations next to Hydra the following words could be found: water, beast, sea. "It is something to do with water as in *hydraulics*, *hydroelectric*, and it sounds powerful" said Student 6C. Yet, the most frequent incorrect answer in the test was the seafood restaurant. As Student 1E explained: "Hydra was a king of the sea, so it has to be a seafood restaurant".

Although with regards to the other five items no significant differences were found between groups, the results show that the experimental group did better except in the case of *Mercury*. Surprisingly, in the control group more students (82.05%) answered correctly to *Mercury* (a chain of shops) compared to 69.31% of those in the experimental group ($p=.058$). Among the explanations in the test the following could be found: the god of stars, the god of heaven, the god of trade. Students thought Mercury was the god of heaven as they associated spending money with "heaven, and something nice, like stars and planets". The analysis of the wrong answers showed that the participants in the experimental group most frequently associated *Mercury* with a pickup truck. The whole class discussion revealed this was because they could read in the explanation: Mercury: the god of trade, thieves and travel, and the "travel" part led them to the wrong conclusion.

The statistically insignificant result of $p=.51$ was obtained in relation to the item *Vulcan* which stood for a steam locomotive manufacturer. In the lines next to the item 16.88% of the students in the control group wrote "god of fire". One student wrote "god of explosion" and yet another "god of volcanoes". Surprisingly, none of the interviewed participants in the control group knew Vulcan was the Roman god of fire. One student explained that Vulcan reminded

2 "Ambrozija" in Serbian is "ragweed" in English.

him of a volcano that is erupting fire and steam, so they guessed correctly it had to be related to a locomotive, but two students linked it to a truck because of volcano's strength and power. The analysis of the incorrect answers in the test also showed that students related Vulcan to either a pickup truck or an anti-aircraft missile manufacturer.

As for *Titan*, the name of a pickup truck, the majority of participants (65.38% in the control group and 56.81% in the experimental group) believed it was a powerful aircraft carrier. In the test the following explanations could be found: the god of war, strength, steel or thunder, something indestructible, something solid. Two of the interviewed students thought it was an anti-aircraft manufacturer, while the remaining four answered correctly but admitted all they knew was that "Titans were some strong creatures". The majority of students who answered incorrectly thought it related to a locomotive manufacturer. All of the incorrect answers, as it was discovered in the whole class discussion, were based on Titan's strength.

Surprisingly, as many as 71% of the students in the control group, and 61.36% of students in the experimental group did not realize *Prometheus* was a publishing house ($p=.156$). Those who answered incorrectly related *Prometheus* to a warship (aircraft carrier) or a newspaper. Five of the interviewed students had heard of the publishing house in Novi Sad and easily related it to "the fighter for mankind, granted mankind its intelligence" as the explanation went in the experimental group test. Student 5E thought it was a weekly newspaper and connected it with Prometheus' intelligence.

The majority of the students did not know what *Echo* was. The most common wrong answer in the test in both groups was a publishing house. The students in the control group wrote in the test that it was a nymph of sound, hunting or music. Only one of the interviewed students gave the incorrect answer thinking *Echo* was a publishing house (Student 5E). The rationale Student 5E gave for his answer was that "Echo was the nymph whose voice remained on the earth to imitate others' voices... so it could well be used for the publishing house as people read other people's thoughts in books". Students who thought that Echo was a nymph of hunting linked *Echo* to a seafood restaurant.

6. CONCLUSION AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Classical mythology permeates many domains of contemporary life: literature, art, music and business. Yet, as the results of this and some previous studies show, many students do not seem to be aware of the fact (see Sect. 1). Educational practice and unappealing approaches are to be blamed (House 1992:72). The present study shows that even setting a task of finding a link between a company or product name, its ideals or qualities and the mythological concept behind it can stir up their interest in mythology and stimulate them to look for further examples. A number of students claimed, several weeks after the research session, that they had started paying attention to the names of shops, firms and products they came across and pondering on their origins. Students reported noticing products such as *Heba* (mineral water), *Afrodita* (cosmetic products) and *Orfej* (a café popular with students). One student reported he had started wondering about where cars got their names from. Another two students reported having searched the Web to look for other examples of mythological allusions in company and product names.

Depending on the subject they teach, the age bracket of their students and the students' previous knowledge and interest, teachers are to make decisions on which approaches and techniques to use. The foreign language classroom is a great setting for teaching mythology. As

Prothero observes, "As English teachers, we can implement this (the teaching of myths) more easily than teachers of other disciplines, for story and myth are our territory" (Prothero 1990: 33). In the Business English environment there is less space to teach stories, yet the approaches proposed by Terry (see Sect. 3) can easily be put into practice during a Business English lesson. Another approach could be a presentation of seminar papers on the topic of mythological allusions in business today. This is in fact how the author got the idea for the research designed in this way, as during the presentation of the seminar paper on *Nike Company* a student, after having heard Nike was the goddess of victory, exclaimed: "Oh, so that's how the trainers got their name! You wear them and you win".

As this study demonstrates, a simple short explanation can go a long way in helping students to understand why a particular mythological character or concept was chosen for a particular company or product and relate the mythological character to the company's ideals or product's qualities. Another important result is the fact that the analysis of incorrect answers revealed that students who answered incorrectly often did not match items randomly, but that there was certain logic behind their answers. They just followed a different or less expected line of thought, which is what, after all, company founders do as well. Thus, the *Medusa Corporation* is a name of a cement company based on Medusa's power to petrify, while *Medusa Headphones* got its name after the image of Medusa with snakes wrapped around her head.

Although the results of this research have important pedagogical implications, the study demonstrates several important limitations. The number of items tested was rather small, the names were household-names and no attempt was made at examining how students perceived somewhat less obvious mythological allusions.

Nataša Bikicki
Higher School of Professional Business Studies,
University of Novi Sad
tadon@sbb.rs

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PART II: TOPICS IN ANGLOPHONE LITERATURES

A MISSING CHAPTER OF *GULLIVER'S TRAVELS*¹

This article is divided into three parts. Part 1, Entering Laputa in the Winter of Our Discontent, deals with general presuppositions, including those on intellectuals in Post-Fordism and as members of de facto English Departments. Part 2, Visiting the Word-Machine, deals with some aporias of literary and English studies. Part 3, How to Leave Laputa, asks what might constitute some components of our agenda today. It includes a plea for English studies to be an independent, international field of inquiry and teaching, and discusses some possible orientations for us.

Keywords: English Studies, Laputa, epistemology, politics

– In memory of Edward Said, citizen-scholar –

0. LEAVING THE PORT

I'm especially pleased to give this keynote speech at ELALT in Novi Sad, though I ask your forgiveness for being the bearer of bad news, and I hope not to meet their frequent fate of stoning, for my central message is that our rulers have in practice destroyed the wall that our discipline wrongly thought was existing between culture and political economy, and we had better be ready for the consequences. And yet I'm also ending with good news, for I believe that in certain circumstances we intellectuals can make an important difference. If you honour me by inviting me to tell you what might be the most useful thing to ponder today, I'm bound to be sincere with you, wherever this may lead.

1. ENTERING LAPUTA IN THE WINTER OF OUR DISCONTENT: PRESUPPOSITIONS SHAPING OUR LIVES

1.1. Through the Spying-Glass

You'd surely like me to speak to our proper professional concerns such as methodologies and texts, perhaps in areas where I can claim some competence such as drama or utopian and Science Fiction, and I too would have liked this. But in this world of late aggressive capitalism without a human face, what we are allowed or denied to teach by its politicians, what monies we are given or refused for research, surely intervenes into our daily lives in unprecedented, capillary ways. Thus we have to wake up and look at what is happening to us, our work, our pupils, and our profession with sober eyes. I shall, accordingly, have three sections in this submission: the first concerns general presuppositions shaping our lives as citizens and intellectuals, the second, some problems of literary theory and of English Studies, and the third, how we could approach our quite serious problems.

A useful addition to our understanding over the last thirty years has been to factor into any statement the enunciator's own situation and subject-position. I shall foreground two major

¹ Copyright (©) Darko Suvin 2013. I hereby affirm that I am the holder of the (©) Copyright for my essay "To Laputa and Back: A Missing Chapter of *Gulliver's Travels*" first published in *Critical Quarterly* [Oxford UK] 47.1-2 (2005): 142-64.

factors. The first is the political and technological multiplication of worlds at our experiences' disposal. As Auerbach put it, since roughly 1917 we have been "participating in a practical seminar on world history", so that "we live the experience of historical multiplicity" (Auerbach 1969: 11 and 5). The second factor shaping our situation is the bending of all technological and other cultural innovations that impinge on everyday life and culture to the purposes of capitalism as a totalizing system. Two thirds of the Gross National Product in the societies of the capitalist North today derive from the "mental" labour of the "new middle classes", whose core is constituted by university graduates. Ohmann's classical book about the role of English, albeit in America, notes: "Knowledge (technical, scientific, managerial) is accountable, not only for the material triumphs of [the capitalist] system, but for the all-encompassing control it has over the way we live" (Ohmann 1976: 273). Through copyright and patent legislation, often through piratic plunder of non-patented knowledge, it is being more and more subsumed under exploitable property. We live in a "knowledge society": alas, one in which useful and perniciously fake knowledge are closely intertwined. Knowledge as use-value for living is being evicted by knowledge as exchange-value for profits, with its logical end in "smart" bombs for mass killings.

Therefore, our civic concerns are not something we may do as it were privately: indeed, I believe that we can only understand what our profession is if we understand how and why it is being shaped by given national and international forces. It behooves us to look at how we can understand what we think we understand (that is, epistemology) and only then at what we can understand of any particular entity (say, text). I propose to you therefore, modestly, Suvín's First Law of Cognition: The epistemological and the political intertwine (cf. all Suvín titles in Works below). Those who do not put an explicitly defensible civic cognition at the heart of their professional cognition at best adopt the dominant epistemology of when they were students, and at worst adapt it to the new epistemology of what Kipling might call the economicopolitical Powers-That-Be.

This reminds me of an apocryphal anecdote in which Shklovsky said to Trotsky: "As a literary critic, I'm not interested in war". To which Trotsky responded: "But war is interested in you."

We cannot escape being involved in the politics and economics of knowledge. Like Gulliver, in Laputa.

1.2. Mirror, Mirror on Laputa Wall

Let me then talk first about our situation in general as intellectuals in Post-Fordism, and second as members of de facto English departments.

What is our long-term situation? It is one where capitalism has in quicker tempos than ever before created entire social classes, only to render them useless and disposable soon after. One of the 20th century's earmarks was therefore the enormous multiplication and enormous institutionalization or collectivization of the earlier independent artisan and small entrepreneur – and one such institution was the university. The growth in our numbers culminated during the Welfare State, in both its Leninist and Keynesian variants; this growth has been stopped and reversed since the 1970s, tending back to small artisan-entrepreneurs but without the economic independence they might have had in Dickens's time. We are back at computerized Gradgrinds, whose taboos have shifted from the sexual to the political field. To the reserve army of workers has now been adjoined the second reserve army of intellectuals and indeed middle managers.

It follows that we exist in a deeply contradictory situation, impacted in the sense a split

tooth is impacted. We are the name-givers of categories and alternatives; yet we have in the 20th century been largely complicitous in the creation of “the masses” – an alienated consumer-blob out there analogous to the dispossessed producers, only in relation to which can there be cultural and financial elites. We are essential to the policing of workers and learners, but we are ourselves workers and learners. On the one hand, as Marx famously chided, “the bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has turned the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the scientist, into its paid wage-labourers” (Marx 1977: 224). On the other hand, the constitution of intellectuals into professions is impossible without a measure of autonomy, of corporative self-government which allows control over one’s classes or artefacts. This constitution was enabled by the fact that salaried men and women are the handmaidens of authority, but no authority can abide without our assistance. We are essential to the production of new knowledge, but we are largely kept out of strategic decisions about universities or the dissemination of artefacts. The list of such variants to Dr. Dolittle’s two-headed Pushme-Pullyou beast, between self-management and wage servitude, could be extended indefinitely.

We have come up hard against the limits of the usefulness of relativism, including what partakes of relativism in the no doubt a welcome focus on otherness. Otherness becomes an alibi for exoticism and evasion unless it is, first, collective and not only individual, and second, a boomerang returning to help us see ourselves in a different light, as the other of the Others, and often at that as the powerful other (say the Europeans) against the powerless, humiliated and exploited Others (say the “extracommunitarians” of Africa and Asia drowning off our shores or inside our society). This return of the repressed has a technical name inside epistemological theory, it is first the Russian Formalist and then more completely Bert Brecht’s effect of making things strange (*V-Effekt*). I wish to speak here, on the traces of Elaine Scarry, of beauty as a kind of Brechtian estrangement-effect alerting us to aliveness. She argues that “one’s daily lack of awareness of the aliveness of others is temporarily interrupted in the presence of a beautiful person, alerting us to the requirements placed on us by the aliveness of all persons, and the same may take place in the presence of a beautiful bird, mammal, fish, plant” (Scarry 1999: 90). We may take this as the extension of the foundational epistemological argument for art by Viktor Shklovsky in the historical year 1917, that poetry is what makes the stone stony. “Beauty seems to place requirements on us”, continues Scarry optimistically, “for attending to the aliveness... of our world, and for entering into its protection” (Scarry 1999: 90) – in the double sense of being protected by beauty and in return protecting it. If we do so, we are then tacitly entering into a relationship of solidarity, an overarching collocation in a new field of force, a pact, the root of which, Scarry reminds us, is the same as the root of *pax*, *pacis* (Scarry 1999: 92): peace in the sense of dynamic contentment. Or, more cautiously, perhaps we better say beauty presents us with the possibility of a new compact, which may be actualized if our perception de-alienates us and we learn to truly see it and let it change us in the process of being changed by us. Such a life-furthering potlatch competition is best known to us, of course, from the experience of love, and is inconceivable to the capitalist squeezing out the juices of other people and beings, where production for profit is diametrically opposed to creation.

I conclude this first section by citing the best sociological definition of intellectuals I found: intellectuals are people who “produce, distribute and preserve distinct forms of consciousness” (Mills 1953: 142) – images and/or concepts. But I would phrase a use-value or axiological definition as something on the order of: “people who interpret the past and the ongoing flow of cultural production as articulations of a beauty that keeps alive the necessity of justice”.

This is not the only way to arrive at justice: most rebels have perhaps arrived at it from the socially very productive passion of indignation, but it seems to me our privileged professional-cum-civic way, and incidentally the most delightful one. And so I propose to you, again as modestly as I can, Suvín's Second Law of Cognition: Whoever is not fruitfully alienated from our murderous norms and their enforcers is in our historical epoch to that degree not a creative intellectual. He is a project-maker from Laputa.

2. VISITING THE WORD-MACHINE: SOME APORIAS OF LITERARY AND ENGLISH STUDIES

2.1. The Populace and the Women Doubt the Project-Makers

How does this look in the field of literary and cultural studies? To my mind it is centrally a matter of how the necessary specialization was handled – that is, in what relationship it stood to ongoing history and to what constituency it spoke.

The European origins of literary and cultural theory range from Paris-Berlin Dadaism and Surrealism to Russian Futurism, Formalism, and dialogism. They culminated in Benjamin's, Brecht's, and Gramsci's reflections on the function of art. However, such radical European dissidence was after two World Wars buried under a rigid separation of academic specialties. For all its enrichments, the upshot of critical innovations in France and the USA was that literary theory had by the late 70s – the time of the ascent of Reaganism, increased militarism, and a massive turn to the Right – “retreated into the labyrinth of ‘textuality’ (Eagleton 1983: 48) purged of history. Professionally, this precluded an understanding of the texts’ full import, since – as Said taught us – “texts are worldly, to some degree they are events, ... a part of the social world, and of course of the historical moment in which they are located and interpreted”; indeed, “The realities of power and authority – as well as the resistances offered by men, women, and social movements...– are the realities that make texts possible, that deliver them to their readers” (Said 1991: 3-5). Surely there were countervailing tendencies, in the work of such radicals as Said and Jameson who americanized the great European tradition, in non-separatist Feminism or in the semi-demi Marxism without class conflicts of New Historicism, but on the whole the US packaging of French Post-Structuralism was a disaster of major proportions. It succumbed to “the extraordinarily Laputan idea that... everything can be regarded [only] as a text” (Said 1991: 173).

The retreat into esotericism and poorly masked despair in the bulk of literary criticism after the mid-1970s meant civically that it “retreated from its constituency, the citizens of modern society, who have been left to the hands of the manipulators of consumer appetites” (Said 1991: 4). Given the US cultural hegemony, this was exported and dumped into the United Kingdom. Indeed the England of Thatcherism could claim to have pioneered this Post-Fordist turn.

2.2. Our Word-Machine: Building and Operating It

In order to test this, I now focus on university level English Studies.

The introduction of studying English/ British literature in the 19th century can be seen as a tug-of-war between the contending liberatory interests of the Mechanics’ Institutes, independent schools, and other self-help institutions from below, and the co-optation from above – just as in the case of franchise and literacy. The university change from studying English as language to stressing literature came about after the First World War and the Russian Revolution, that is, with the obvious entry of the lower classes into political confrontations.

We know perhaps better the young Tillyard's and Richards's program for English literature in Cambridge after 1917, but it became feasible and extensive only after the 1921 Report to the British government. The Report pleaded for English literature to become "[an education that] would form a new element of national unity, linking together the mental life of all classes" ([Newbolt Report]: para. 10). Its claim that English was the only basis possible for a "universal, reasonable, and liberal" (para. 57) national education was implemented between the two World Wars. English literature became a substitute humanist religion, with all the paraphernalia of sects, acolytes, and the esoteric/ exoteric divide. In Brian Doyle's adamant conclusion, "The major development between two World Wars was the establishment of English studies as a bulwark against, rather than force for social change and cultural innovation" (Doyle 1989: 19) in the guise of professional scholarship which applied a model of the masculine gentleman to colleagues and authors. We may wish to nuance this and call English Studies perhaps a force for the careful co-optation of the non-ruling population through change and innovation that updated this model but stayed within it (for example the addition by the somewhat maverick Leavisites of D.H. Lawrence and T.S. Eliot to the "great tradition"). Nonetheless, as Antony Easthope noted, "literary study both in the UK and in the USA developed during the 1930s as a means to deflect the contemporary challenge of Marxism" (Easthope 1991: 7).

The profession's model of a masculine gentleman implied a thorough domestication of the tigers of English literature. In particular it implies: first, the exclusion of many women, and the housebreaking of those that could not be excluded, for to my mind Austen is at least a lynx and Emily Brontë surely a fully-fledged panther. Second, the exclusion of popular culture and lower classes as well as lower bodily functions: much of Swift was deplored, More and Morris's utopias banished into political science, and it was the end of the 20th century before the British Council asked me to write a report on the two existing M.A. programs in Science Fiction in the U.K. Third, the downgrading of writers who were rebels, or from the lower classes, or "Celts" as they are nowadays called: Blake did not make Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, hugely popular until today; J.S. Mill was part of Eng. Lit. but Adam Smith, who wrote about such uncouth things as production, was not; Milton's *Areopagitica* was readmitted into the great tradition but Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy* was not; Byron was a minor womanizer; poor Oscar Wilde was tolerated as a court fool but not as an accuser; Shaw, the accuser, had to play the fool all his life; and so on. Fourth, the exclusions concerned all the domains that a Victorian gentleman would consider inappropriate for a person's social position: the reconciliatory politics of the Walter Scott type were OK, but not Swift's defence of Ireland or Wollstonecraft's rights of women or Morris's revolution, however peaceful; sciences, as C.P. Snow reminded us, were definitely ungentlemanly, even if they were of as huge epistemological significance as the laws of thermodynamics. Finally, work, what most readers and even writers do most of their waking time, was woefully under-represented, not only by critical exclusion but in actual fiction. Eagleton concluded that "Liberal humanism is a suburban moral ideology, limited in practice to largely interpersonal matters.... stronger on adultery than on armaments..." (Eagleton 1983: 207).

What does this mean for the present? In the mid-1970s, just before the onset of The Great Reaction, Richard Ohmann concluded his book *English in America* with a devastating observation:

In English departments I see a moderately successful effort by professors to obtain some benefits of capitalism while avoiding its risks and, yet, a reluctance to acknowledge any link between how we do our work and the way wider society is run. Always [, in]

our talk about literature and teaching... [w]e either look too narrowly at the givens of daily work or cast our eyes upward to the transcendent realm of timeless human values and the healing force of literary culture (Ohmann 1976: 304).

Let me try to update this for another continent and the more dire times in which we find ourselves, though my data stop at about ten years ago.

The astonishing success of the discipline of English Literature as the central arts subject within the Welfare State meant a constant rise in undergraduate places and career opportunities. The price paid for it was a boosting of national cohesion on Newboltian lines and a retreat into innocuous specialization. The supposedly greater flexibility by means of new methodologies after the 1960s did not lead the new pluralist consensus, that treated English as “high culture”, to articulate a clear set of aims and principles for it. Yet at the latest since the 1981 Cambridge crisis concerning “structuralism”, which showed that the Right was on the offensive demanding “submission to greatness” embodied in the canon, the lack of a rationale for the existence of English – say its value for a critical public opinion in civil society – meant leaving it naked unto its enemies should the tacit contract with our financial and legal bosses change. This is exactly what happened in the last quarter century. Docherty’s ‘99 book *Criticism and Modernity*, he wrote, was penned partly from rage at the government of the day and its slogan “how can you justify your existence and your privileges?” (Docherty 1999: 2). This has become the prayer-mill mantra we unceasingly hear from all governments between Thatcher-Reagan and Blair-Berlusconi-Merkel, including the so-called Left, following in a docile if a little bit less open and less rapid fashion. However hypocritical when said by people putting billions into bombing poorer nations back into the Stone Age, the question is very well put, and it behooves us to think how to answer it. Savage capitalism is going about its proper business, having shed the pretence of caring for culture useful during the Cold War. What would going about our proper business, not split between civic and professional interests, mean?

One answer is of course to transform literary into cultural studies. I shall here only remark that I still believe there is a humanizing and liberating factor, not found elsewhere, in narration, with its agents, spacetimes, and the choices articulated therein (and I see poems and plays as special cases of narration). This is conveyed in the artefacts’ form: “A little Formalism turns one away from History... a lot brings one back to it”, said Barthes (quoted in Easthope 1991: 177). But as a materialist I also believe that we should follow and understand (or even stand under) our material. This means, first, that narrations in Science Fiction, comics, films or soap-operas also exist and must be understood. Second, as shown magisterially by Williams’s *The Country and the City*, that the principal narrative relationships cannot be fully understood without all the other relationships explicit or implicit in the narration – and principally those dealing with appropriation and power. Thus my ideal image of literary and cultural studies would be that of two only partially overlapping but mutually fully illuminating circles.

The other answer is to divide Eng. Lit. into Scottish, Welsh, and English proper literature – and possibly Ulster, Manx, and Channel Island? You will not expect from somebody who has been offered Croatian citizenship, while his wife was refused it as not being ethnically pure enough, to say too much about this. I am in favour of such self-determination of nations as will foster liberation rather than ethnic cleansing. I am in favour of noting the strong element of what Crawford and Doyle call upper-class, imperialist, metropolitan discourse in English literature, on condition of not forgetting the plebeian and anti-imperialist counter-discourses. I fully agree, against the chauvinist fantasies of Leavis and Co., that there is no fixed, unchanging entity called Englishness. But then, not only is there also no unchanging entity called Scottishness,

Irishness or Welshness, but I further believe there do exist historically shifting and multiple strategic totalities; for example, I see little Englishness that Spenser's and Swift's stances toward Ireland have in common.

A third answer, which would be my favourite, is interdisciplinarity. Marx and Engels posited that we know only of one science – the science of history. Auerbach has fleshed this out: “History is the science of reality that affects us most immediately, stirs us most deeply and compels us most forcibly to a consciousness of ourselves. It is the only science in which human beings step before us in their totality” (Auerbach 1969: 4-5). To talk about *The Beggar's Opera* without music, or of Mary Shelley without Castruccio Castracani, or of modern poetry and novel without the positive US influx, or of J.R.R. Tolkien without his being shelled in the trenches of World War I, or of John Arden without Bertolt Brecht, or of Williams without Gramsci, is to sin against our matter. And I was much tempted to extol the good aspects of Comparative Literature which I have taught for a third of a century, but I see little prospect of this becoming a key notion in the coming years or decades. Our problems are elsewhere, and so I have resisted the temptation.

In conclusion to this section, we have to take stock of both our Arts Faculties' and our profession's failure to defend the humanist ideology they claimed as their *raison d'être*. As Ohmann told us, “Humanist, humanize thyself!” (Ohmann 1976: 67). We have to build on a lot of cognition that has, from Brecht, Bakhtin, Kenneth Burke, Empson, and Barthes on, related texts to strategies of acceptance. Literature and culture obviously cannot today be an oasis sheltering us from the desertifying simooms of capitalism. Rather, we have to engage in attempts at climate control. Thus I propose to you Suvin's Third Law on Cognition (drawn from Vico): Only when the body intervenes, the mind can understand.

The women of Laputa, cuckolding the project-makers, seem to have understood this well.

3. HOW TO LEAVE LAPUTA

3.0. In their book *Bringing English to Order*, Goodson and Medway argue: “English has been the means through which powerful groups, especially governments, have sought to achieve ends which were not neutrally ‘educational’”; English is a “battleground” of “groups with agendas” (Goodson and Medway, cited in Eaglestone 2002: 117, underline DS). We may object that English is not only that, but we have seen how it was moulded and determined by the different agenda of liberal-cum-social-democratic inter-class education, an idea dominant from World War I to Thatcher, that is, coeval with Leninism. What, then, might our agenda be?

3.1. First of all, who is entitled to shape English Studies? Surely not only, nor even primarily, the private corporations and their political stooges. Here is a proposal for American studies by Djelal Kadir, in which I'm substituting “English” for his “American”: “The best hope for English studies as an area for knowledge... is for it to cease to be English and an instrument of official state policy, [a national and nationalist project,] and become, instead, an independent, international field of inquiry and teaching.... [that is,] an exogenous discourse on England” (Kadir 2003: 11 and 13, underline DS). Such an exogenous discourse would take a leaf out of the book of U.K. culture itself, where the exogenous discourses of Stuart Hall (from Black Jamaica) or Raymond Williams (from the Welsh working-class) have preceded what happened in literature with Rushdie, Mo, Ishiguro, Kureishi, and so on. English literary history is no longer only about the fate of the English nation or British nations; it is a global phenomenon, which therefore has to be judged globally, equally by those of us in Serbia as in

the USA or India. As the antifascist exile Auerbach concluded, “our philological home is the Earth: it can no longer be the nation” (Auerbach 1969: 17).

Would this downgrade the importance of English Studies? Not at all, in my opinion: but it would provide another horizon and use for them. I say it as a Comparatist: few literatures can so justly pride themselves on the cultural continuity, on such an intra-literary dialogue about life and happiness, as is found in English. Shelley’s great poem against the Blair of his day, premier Castlereagh, beginning “I met Murder on the way/ He had a mask like Castlereagh”, could perhaps be matched in many other literatures, but his position in a line leading from Langland and Milton to the poetry of, say, Owen, Auden or MacDiarmid would find very few parallels elsewhere (except in China and Japan, for analogous reasons of safe national development).

3.2. Secondly, what might be a useful horizon for English Studies in my sense of fusing professional and civic aspects? I shall pick out only what I believe may grow today to be two central orientations for us, the international and the national one. In both cases, the orientations take into account Bourdieu’s famous definition of intellectuals as “a dominated fraction of the dominant class” (Bourdieu 1990: 319ff.).

The first orientation possible for us has to do with the relation of “English” studies to the total warfare globalization carried out primarily by the US government, always buttressed by a truly Orwellian misuse of English language and often buttressed by the domination of the dark side of US culture. I shall now present to you the argument by Fredric Jameson that “There is a fundamental dissymmetry in the relationship between the United States and every other country in the world” (Jameson 1998: 58). Film and TV belong equally to economics and culture: along with weapons and agribusiness, they are the principal export of the USA and an enormous source of profit. They are owned and pushed by huge mega-corporations based on the monopoly of the relevant information technology and on the politics of copyright: “ideas are private property and designed to be sold in great and profitable quantities” (Jameson 1998: 60-61). One of the US government’s principal aims is to further this ideological and economic hegemony by insisting on dismantling any national protection of culture through subsidies and quotas, and as a Canadian I could sing you a little song about what this has done to Canadian culture. Jameson’s example is the English 1990s’ wave of movies around Channel Four and the British Film Institute, which “would not exist without the government and its older BBC and socialist traditions” (Jameson 1998: 61). The sharpest conflict is, however, with western Europe – Germany and most notably France.

This might have central consequences for a discourse on English literature. The triumph of Hollywood and US TV is, to begin with, economic and formal. But the addictiveness of its breathless editing, the dominant US sensationalism and violence, the domestication of mass killing as right and enjoyable, leads to the destruction of critical distance and other cultural ways “people live in their bodies and use language as well as the way they treat each other and nature” (Jameson 1998: 63). US cultural production mostly wipes out or transforms beyond recognition local film, TV, music, thus everyday life, and therefore even the highest of High Lit. However, I have absolutely no wish to revive a defence of highbrow as against lowbrow, or of English as against American, literature or culture. The fault-lines lie within both, not between them. What we must always look out for is whether a given genre or text, high or low, allows for “practices of consumer choice and personal autonomy that train the otherwise subaltern individual” in preparing for civic responsibility, as Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (1991: 70) have argued about musical culture helping to overcome the subalternities of Black minority groups in Britain. The death of the 1960s-70s film experiments in England and the

rest of Europe, from England to Hungary and Yugoslavia to Sweden, is a death of the modern and political possibility of imagining radically different social alternatives. Hollywood and US TV are, magically enough, both a profitable business and a fundamental late-capitalist cultural revolution – exporting a training or indeed brainwashing into consumerism by means of images of consumption. And yet it is by now crystal-clear that market-bound affluence cannot be made available to a sizable majority of people on the globe.

Jameson's conclusion is that French resistance to US pressure "sets a fundamental agenda for all cultural workers... in the new late-capitalist world-system" (Jameson 1998: 59). The more or less democratic arms'-length institutions of the Welfare State, for ex. the initially admirable British institutions of Arts Council funding and university funding, must be protected against the Right-wing attempts to dismantle it and empower private business. For Jameson, "the defense of national autonomy can take the form of defending the [humanizing] powers of arts and high culture, the deeper kinship between such artistic modernism and the political power of collectivity itself, now however conceived as a unified political power, a collective project rather than a dispersal into democratic multiplicities and identity positions" (Jameson 1998: 73). Surely, I would add, without such public support, the great UK dramaturgical renaissance after 1956, with Arden, Pinter, Wesker and so many others – a part of the last great world season of classical drama theatre – would not have existed. We come therefore to the conclusion that "nation-states and their national cultures are [here] called upon to play the positive role [as against Americanization as the standardized ideology and practice of consumption]" (Jameson 1998: 74). All of this does not mean shutting English Studies even more tightly off against American Studies, but on the contrary learning from them how to use the proper antitoxins.

The second orientation possible for us is within each State. In the just as highly endangered 1930s Benjamin concluded that the producer of an intellectual work is impelled by his professional or class interest to exercise solidarity with the producing workers. This was largely forgotten after the 1950s, as the welfare-and-warfare State epoch saw the culmination of the "cut" from the global surplus we "middle" 10-15% were getting; and the shouts of triumph of this "middle" sector over the reduction of our gap with the upper one per cent have masked the realities of the growing gap between them and the other 90%. But today, our immediate interests are oppositional because capitalism is obviously engaged in the large scale structural declassing of intellectual work (cf. Guillory 1994: 134ff.). There are few matters more humiliating than the experience of being pushed to the periphery of social value – measured by the only yardstick capitalism knows, our financing – which all of us have undergone in the last quarter century, with our students increasingly condemned to part-time piecework without security. Intellectuals never had power over productive relations, but now we are bit by bit losing our relatively large autonomy.

Thus, I think our liberatory interests as intellectuals are twofold and interlocking. First, they consist in securing a high degree of self-management, to begin with in the workplace. This means, to my mind, a defence of the professionalism of education as a public service, of meaningful democratic participation in the control of both production and distribution of our own work. But second, this defence will fail unless we enter into such strategic alliances with other social groups as would consent to fight the current toward demagogic and finally militarized browbeating, present in all our States, from our sweatshops and fortress neighbourhoods to universities. Here the boundary between our as it were dissident interests within the intellectual field of production, and the overall liberation of labour as their only guarantee, becomes permeable.

Both of these orientations, the national and the international one, would mean advancing from Gramsci's "national-popular" strategy to a "national-modernist" one, and returning to the absolute necessity of a great collective or national project, his "civic humanism". It would be both an integral defence of literature not sundered from culture and language, and yet one with some chance to succeed.

Can this be our agenda? Morally, professionally, and politically I have no doubts it ought to be. Do we have as teachers, researchers, intellectuals, and citizens the energy to coalesce around some such program in spite of and against all the major political parties, from the fake Left to the extreme Right? I cannot answer it, and if I could it would not be my role as your keynote speaker to tell you so. I can only pose some alternatives and say that either we do something of this kind, or we shall be reduced to the neo-medieval status of a begging order, perpetually threatened with overwork and underpayment, precariousness and extinction. In either case, as governments all over the world are making clear, the road back to Keynesian humanist disciplines – the English Studies I knew as a student of L.C. Knights – is barred. But the choice how to go forward is still ours. The poets have always known this: "Do not go gentle into that good night", said the earlier Dylan; and "If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?" asked the greater Shelley.

And if we need a Great Ancestor, we can still find him in English Studies. You might have wondered about my title, but you can perhaps see that I have all the time been talking about disembarking from Laputa and allying with Lindalino. So allow me the final (im)modesty to propose Suvín's Fourth Law on (Applied) Cognition: The paragon we as intellectuals ought to follow in today's jungle of cities is Jonathan Swift.

Edward Said told us so 30 years ago.

Darko Suvín
Emeritus, McGill University
dsuvín@gmail.com

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AMERICAN STUDIES, CAPITAL AND THE GOTHIC

The author sees his paper as arguing for the retrieval of capitalism as the structuring core of the United States and therefore as a topic of foremost relevance to the discipline of American studies. On this occasion he explores how this retrieval can be accomplished by exploring the presence of capital in George Lippard's novel *The Quaker City*. Before unearthing this problematic in Lippard's novel he discusses how the Gothic has been used in conceptualizations of capital. At the center of this discussion are references to the Gothic in Marx. After his reading of Lippard's novel the author explains why he believes the notion of gothic capital is relevant for understanding today's United States and therefore a problematic that has to be addressed by American studies. In conclusion he offers a number of thoughts on why the Gothic presence in Marx's writing was not registered in societies in which up to quite recently Marx's name was a household item.

Keywords: gothic, capitalism, Lippard, metaphorization, American studies

It means this War was never political at all, the politics was all theatre, all just to keep the people distracted... secretly, it was being dictated instead by the needs of technology ... by a conspiracy between human beings and techniques, by something that needed the energy-burst of war, crying, "Money be damned, the very life [insert name of Nation] is at stake", but meaning, most likely, *dawn is nearly here, I need my night's blood, my funding, funding, ahh more, more.*

Thomas Pynchon, *Gravity's Rainbow*

Like any other academic field, American studies has both a subject matter and an array of methodologies which it relies upon to elucidate its object of study. Even a cursory review of the field would easily show that neither of these are stable but that they are subjected to questionings and revisions that privilege some paradigms of understanding while marginalizing or passing over others. One of the texts that, in my opinion, has not been adequately incorporated into the archive of the discipline is Harry Levin's 1958 book *The Power of Blackness*. Written at a point when, as Levin recognized, American Studies was being reorganized "into a specialized academic discipline" (v) and when the tone of its research project had changed from "the self-critical to the self-congratulatory" (vi), the author recounts his collaboration with F.O. Matthiessen but remarks how the latter's "liberal idealism" "left out that 'vision of evil' which clouds the hopeful picture from time to time, that note of anguish which foreshadowed the tragedy he was himself to enact" (x). The first reason why I cite Levin is because his positioning towards the founding texts of American studies and his subsequent readings of the gothic¹ in

¹ Throughout the text when I am not citing others I use the lower-case form of the term. Dale Townshend's explanation

American literature accord with my own, need I say, noncelebratory approach to the American project. The second reason that prompted me to begin with Levin is the aside he makes in his discussion of Hawthorne, in whose work he recognizes “the impact of the dead upon the living” (79), that reads as follows: “He even entertains the hypothesis that the original sin may be capitalism” (81). Although this aside is not developed in the book it sets the stage for my argument which, to reformulate Levin, will seek to show an “affinity” (20) between United States capitalism and the gothic.

At first glance these two entities seem to belong to spheres that are distinct and separate from each other. Capitalism is of this world, it signifies an empirical mode of ordering and managing the material dimension of human life. As such it is thought to be subject to a scientific, better to say, disciplinary description that supposedly complies with logical rules and consistency of exposition. The dismal science of economics – as it is called – seeks to fathom its mundane workings. On the other hand, the gothic gestures to the out-of-this-world, the unnatural, the supernatural, to phenomena that cannot be grasped by human rationality or defined according to logical protocols. Epistemologically speaking, it is always marked by a certain conceptual lack. Therefore it is to be expected that apologists of capitalism as well as its critics who profess to have uncovered its laws would keep the two categories apart. I will add, indicating the historical actuality in which my observations are being made, that, as a rule, the semantic field of the gothic does not contaminate considerations of capitalism when the system seems to function, when its operations seemingly work, when it ultimately projects itself as the natural way of ordering the world. However, periods of crisis tend to denaturalize capitalism. It is at these points that the rationalizations of capitalism, the notion that its mechanisms are infallible are shown to be deficient.

It is at these points that we turn to the archive which insists that capitalism is by its nature crisis-prone and that it is endowed with an unrepresentable surplus that thwarts analytical thought.² At such crisis-ridden points one intuits the insufficiency of extant rationalistic explanations and the remedies, stemming from these explanations, that are being offered. Attempting to, if not, grasp capital than at least to position it as an object of thought we are prone to take stock of extant approaches to the issue of capital and in the process inevitably retrieve readings that have been sidelined or simply ignored. As a rule, that work of retrieval at points of crisis will foreground those instances that have challenged the hubris of rationalist reductionism and give a hearing to accounts that have intimated features of the object of capital that elude conceptualization. One such account uses the terms of the gothic and its associated semantic field. Arguing that the challenges of the present moment demand a rethinking of

why he does the opposite implicitly explains my usage: “Despite the shift towards rendering the word ‘gothic’ in the lower case in contemporary scholarship, the term will be capitalized, as ‘Gothic’, throughout this study, primarily in sympathy with usages of the term as a proper noun during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While lower-case usages of the term are an apt adjectival description of gothic productions of subsequent periods, usage of the term during the so-called ‘first wave’ of Gothic writing is almost invariably inflected with references to the ancient Gothic tribe” (2007:1).

2 Since in my discussion I will repeatedly be relying on Marxist readings I will cite Michael Heinrich to historically contextualise this observation. According to Heinrich, the capitalist mode of production and the development of technology undermined “customary prejudices and religious explanations of the world”: “From this perspective, all other social formations appear as underdeveloped precursors of bourgeois society, or as ‘primitive’, demonstrated among other things by their ‘fetishism’, in which magical powers are attributed to a piece of wood or cloth”. Following Heinrich and gesturing to what follows I agree with Heinrich’s contention that it is wrong to wholly reduce Marx to the Enlightenment tradition because the fact that Marx speaks of fetishism “is a pointed barb against the enlightened-rationalist self-confidence of bourgeois society, as well as against the empirical self-conception of political economy” (179-81).

different fields of study, I maintain that those challenges necessitate a trespassing of disciplinary borders, whether this be envisioned and practiced, to be more specific, as the incorporation of economics into American studies or as the imbrication of a literary mode and its thematic into the field of political economy.

In part the following thematization of capital is motivated by what I see as the paradoxical marginalization of capitalism in American studies, defined as a discipline and not as all matter of knowledge pertaining to the United States. Therefore, on one level, my argument is programmatic in that it propounds the need to retrieve the structuring core of the American polity. On the present occasion this will be done by arguing that gothic literature negotiates the issue of capital in a manner which has a particular bearing on the present moment of the discipline and its object, the United States. Both of these maneuvers are motivated by the manner in which the crisis has revealed the economic problematic to be the center of individual and collective existence not only in the United States but elsewhere. Therefore, on one level, what follows is an engagement with and a contribution to the body of writing that has been spawned by the calamities of the crisis. To be more specific, my contribution gestures to the theoretical development which Ericka Beckman remarks has arisen from the insight that the economy – amongst other things – is a symbolic system “constituted by tropological excess and metaphoric transfer”. In what follows I work within the convergence “between economic and literary discourse”, presupposing as my point of departure that, as Beckman, writes “the capitalist enterprise, even when presenting itself as the only viable system – as the only “real” in town – cannot help revealing its imaginative and indeed fictive underpinnings, especially when in the throes of crisis”. Even an extemporaneous sketch of developments which led up to the present crisis and of measures that have been and are being implemented in its wake show the aptness of this contention. It is relevant to my argument that Beckman goes on to write: “It is in these moments, especially, that capitalist economy might itself be grasped as a form of ‘magical realism’” (2012: 146). If the Latin American context of Beckman’s reading obviously played a role in her choice of magic realism to articulate the convergence between the economy and literature, the American studies framework of my own observations dictated, in good part, my choosing the gothic to articulate that convergence.

I say “in good part” because the gothic or suchlike terms – denoting the inscrutable, entities and developments that cannot be rationally explained³ – have been regularly deployed when, particularly during times of crisis, attempts are made to fathom the economic sphere. They permeate everyday parlance but are in evidence elsewhere as well. It is, for example,

3 In my discussion I will concentrate on the incidence of the gothic in what can, broadly speaking, be labelled the Marxist tradition. Of course the gothic has appeared elsewhere and has been approached from other readings. Gary Farnell commences his theorizing of the gothic for the twenty-first century with the following contention: “A new theory of the Gothic for the twenty-first century is as follows. Gothic is the name for the speaking subject’s experience of approaching the Thing. This Thing (with an upper-case Thing) is as it has been described in Lacanian theory (fashioned from the writings of Kant, Hegel, Freud and Heidegger): a phantasmatic construction of an unnameable void at the centre of the real, which as such both resists and provokes symbolisation. This Thing, then, is not of the order of signifiers within the symbolic order, hence its actual unnameability except as *the Thing*” (in Cherry 2010: 7). Merely recognizing here the way such readings invest the gothic with a theoretical weight and significance that is not to be taken lightly, I am proposing that the Thing is capital. Without going into details how this imbrication appears in the work of Slavoj Žižek I quote from the closing section of his article “Grimaces of the Real”: “If the ultimate ‘social mediation’ of the monster figure is thus to be sought in the social impact of capital – this terrifying force of ‘deterritorialization’ which dissolves all traditional (‘substantial’) symbolic links and marks the entire social edifice with an irreducible structural imbalance – then it is no accident that ‘monsters’ appear at every break that announces a new epoch of capital” (1991: 67). Later in my presentation I will remark upon the incidence of the monster figure in today’s culture and in today’s mutation of capital.

indicative that Howard Davies titles the first chapter of his book on the present financial crisis “Frankenstein’s Monster” quoting the singer-songwriter and activist Billy Bragg’s line: “like Frankenstein’s monster, Thatcherism has turned on its creators” (2010: 9). To take another example, Susan Buck-Morss uses gothic-like imagery to delineate the historical background on which the crisis erupted:

With the end of the Cold War, neoliberalism rose to ideological dominance on a global scale. Appeals to economic law and market rationality were the legitimating mantra used to justify every kind of practical policy. Just what was this bodiless phantom, ‘the economy’, that was the object of such fetishistic reverence? When and why was it discovered, and more perplexing given its invisible hand? (Buck-Morss 2009: 3-4)

On an earlier occasion, the same author had hinted at an answer when she contended that the conception behind Adam Smith’s “invisible hand”, this “bed-rock metaphor of capitalist economics”, operates “just at the points where he slides over the logical gaps” (1995: 450). According to Buck-Morss this “unseen hand opens up a blindspot in the social field, yet holds the whole together” (450). That “gap” or “blindspot” indicates the point where human cognition cannot adequately grasp the workings of capital and responds by trespassing onto a different order of being. Put otherwise, a metaphoric leap attempts to bridge a cognitive gap. Stefan Andriopoulos’s closer reading of Adam Smith’s term and its gothic provenance is even more forthright. Andriopoulos contends that Adam Smith was unable to grasp the miraculous process of self-regulation because he could not offer an explanation of how the movement from disequilibrium to equilibrium is effected and goes on to add:

It is precisely this gap within his economic argumentation that is closed by the figure of the ‘invisible hand’. Smith resorts to this metonymy less to legitimize the bourgeois merchant pursuing his private interest than to represent the self-regulating capacity of the market which he cannot describe in purely economic terms. However, given the lack of a conceptual economic foundation for this trope, it necessarily relies on the language of the supernatural, whose figures of invisible agency pervade not only the gothic novel, but intrude also upon Smith’s economic treatise. Smith implicitly postulates by this figure a hidden or imperceptible supernatural intervention that is already at work within the economic sphere, thus rendering external interventions by the state unnecessary. (Andriopoulos 1999: 745-6)

Although not the primary focus of my reading of the “affinity” between the gothic and the economic, Andriopoulos’s observations clearly defamiliarize one of the most important mainstays of orthodox economic thought and exemplify the critical potency of the gothic. As such they foreground an instance where the gothic has had a role in supplementing epistemological deficiency.

Much more extensive scholarly work has been done on the presence of the gothic in Marx’s writing. Indeed, Mark Neocleous (2005) and Amedeo Policante (2010) have noted that the literature on the ghostly/spectral, particularly after the publication of Derrida’s *Spectres of Marx*, has become too numerous to list. Because I am writing from and addressing a site which, for reasons I will later address, has not registered these readings of Marx, I will summarily rehearse some of these interpretations. One can start with Margaret Cohen’s chapter on “Gothic Marxism” in her book *Profane Illumination* (1993). There she contends that this Marxism “has often been obscured in the celebrated battles of mainstream Marxism” that have privileged “a conceptual apparatus constructed in narrowly Enlightenment terms”. I add her observation that the Enlightenment “was always haunted by its Gothic ghosts” and that an archeology of “Gothic

Marxism” demands “not only reclaiming obscured texts for the Marxist repertoire but attending to the darker side of well-known Marxist topoi” (2). A recurrent topos in interpretations that read the conjunction of Marx and the gothic is the figure of the vampire, a topic that Mark Neocleous points out is absent in Cohen’s study and that he sets out to show “runs like a red thread through” Marx’s work (670). He summarizes his findings by saying that “Marx uses it to illustrate one of the central dynamics of capitalist production – the distinction between living and dead labour” (684).⁴ Corroborating my assignment of capital and the gothic to two separate spheres of knowledge, Policante argues that if Enlightenment thinkers such as Weber sought to “disenchant” the world, Marx “through the concept of commodity fetishism, intends to demonstrate the opposite”. He adds: “Not only is the world of capital not a world freed from its magical element, it is, even more radically, a world where magic, in the form of fetishism, remains an integral part of the totality of the social relations of production”. According to Policante, this does not mean that Marx misrecognized the revolution sparked by capital but rather that there is another side to his work “which is precisely the reading of the movement of capital as a process of enchantment” (4). If one heeds this aspect of Marxian thought, “the capitalist is nothing but a human mask behind which the monstrous appearance of capital is concealed with all its obscene, excessive drives, with its necrophilia and self-destructive desire. Behind the human, Marx shows the vampire” (17). Let me in passing remark that the recognition of the spectral nature of capital reveals the fallaciousness of those explanations of the present crisis that see it as ensuing from the wrongdoings of this or that banker or financial speculator. Needless to say that recognition makes us also pause and suspect the promises of revolutionary agency or reformist policies.

To this evidence of the pervasive literature on the presence of the gothic or its equivalents in Marx I will add that our esteemed key speaker Darko Suvin, as far back as 1982, dealt with figures like vampires, monsters, sorcerers and spectres in Marx’s work. Without going into the particulars of his argument I will cite an observation Suvin made in the article “Transubstantiation of Production and Creation: Metaphoric Imagery in the *Grundrisse*”:

Thus we have arrived at an image-cluster in which the product of a certain subject is unnaturally born out of that subject as not simply an objectified reality (like a baby) but as a malevolent usurper, taking its “vital spirits” or vitality from the subject, quite oblivious of having been endowed with its soul by the subject. This is not too bad an approximation of a classical horror-fantasy or Gothic tale. (Suvin 1982: 105-6)

For the purpose at hand it is sobering, one could even say frustrating, to note that Suvin in his second footnote gives a long list of works that back in 1982 had already explored “references to popular literature and in particular to horror-fantasy in Marx” (114). In brief, what this

⁴ The most-often quoted passage from Marx is the following: “Capital is dead labour which vampire-like, lives only by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks” (1990: 342). The vampire metaphor is found elsewhere in *Capital: Volume I* (367, 416). Similar metaphors can be culled elsewhere in the text: speaking of the valorization process Marx in parenthesis writes of it as an “animated monster” (302); elsewhere Marx writes of machinery as “a mechanical monster” with its “demonic power” (503); when living labour-power is incorporated into the constituents of capital we read “the latter becomes an animated monster and it starts to act ‘as if consumed by love’ (1007). Marx does not restrict himself to the vampire/monster metaphor but uses terms which can be said to belong to the same semantic field: “The means of production thus become no more than leeches drawing off as large an amount of living labour as they can” (988). In my opinion, of particular relevance to the present financial crisis is Marx’s remark on value which “has acquired the occult ability to add value to itself” (255). This occult quality reappears in Marx’s remarks on public debt: “As with the stroke of an enchanter’s wand, it endows unproductive money with the power of creation and thus turns it into capital, without forcing it to expose itself to the troubles and risks inseparable from its employment in industry or even in usury” (919).

brush-stroke description of the literature on the conjunction of the gothic and capital ought to help indicate is the potency of the gothic genre or of its imagery in subverting ideologies, in exposing the darkness hidden in their light. Martin Parker in his article “The Monster Awakes” puts it in the following manner: “In structural terms, the collision between a signifier for some form of horror and another domain ... causes the latter to be infected or, let us say, rethought. A commonly accepted, perhaps hegemonic, image is articulated in a different form” (159). Therefore it comes as no surprise that in the midst of the present economic crisis talk of zombies, monsters and vampires has proliferated, an observation with which David McNally begins his study *Monsters of the Market* (2011). Although McNally’s book is not primarily focused on the United States, if we follow up on one of his references we realize how even an offhand use of the gothic has implications for American Studies. Namely, McNally quotes from Matt Taibbi’s article “The Great American Machine” (2010). Taibbi begins his exposure of the world’s most powerful investment bank by stating that it “is a great vampire wrapped around the face of humanity, relentlessly jamming its blood funnel into anything that smells like money”. His analysis of how Goldman Sachs operates both within the United States and abroad is just one instance that enforces us to attend to the heuristic value of the gothic, both as genre and as concept, within the discipline of American studies.

The “representational practice” which, as Michael L. Parker states, “incorporates literary elements typically associated with the gothic mode into their depictions of the nation’s capitalist economy” (2009: 20) is, as noted, part and parcel of a much more widespread practice of reading capital. Returning again to the American context I quote Parker’s remark that

when writers of the American gothic hearken back to Calvinism’s pessimistic view of human nature to deflate the more optimistic attitudes of Enlightenment liberalism or create uncanny narratives in which the past refuses to remain buried, they are in fact critiquing views of human nature and progressive history that are inextricably bound up with the utopian promises of capitalism. (Parker 2009: 25)

Although Parker does not explicitly engage the issue of exceptionalism as one of the mainstays of American studies the implications of his statement have a great import. To put it in simple terms, the object of these studies, namely the United States, will no longer be envisioned as arising from a rupture with Old World practices but, on the contrary, as a stage in a broader historical trajectory. Instead of being a project of new beginnings, the United States will be seen as providing laboratory conditions for the implementation and development of the European socio-economic order. In that sense, as the German economist Werner Sombart wrote in 1906, “America is the Canaan of capitalism, its promised land” (in Weinberg). If we allow ourselves a quip, we can say that Canaan is a haunted land.

The dominant accounts of capitalism, or its euphemisms such as free enterprise and business, in the United States derive from Enlightenment, to return to Margaret Cohen, premises which envision it as the most rational if not the only natural management of the economy. However, as Cohen recognized, that project was always already haunted by its darker dimension, by its ghosts. One of the discursive fields where it was put to question and denaturalized in the United States was the gothic novel. Presupposing a knowledge of the significance of the genre in American literary history, I delimit my purchase on the genre by drawing attention to Michael L. Parker’s observation that “few have read the American gothic in terms of its relationship to American capitalism” (222). Arguing that the gothic genre might be a fertile archive for American studies, particularly for those approaches that seek to retrieve the presence of capital in the structuring and development of the United States polity, I will briefly discuss George

Lippard's 1845 novel *The Quaker City: A Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery, and Crime*.⁵ To corroborate Parker's contention that few have read the gothic in relationship to American capitalism one can instance David S. Reynolds' reading of Lippard in his study *Beneath the American Renaissance* (1988) where the topic is only tangentially broached. However, for the purpose at hand, it is indicative that before his discussion of Lippard's novel Reynolds quotes the famous passage from Marx's *Capital* where Marx wrote that capital comes to the world "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt ... Capital is dead labor that, vampire like, lives only by sucking living labor" (Reynolds 206). In his later introduction to a new edition of Lippard's novel (1995) Reynolds is more explicit stating that the novelist's social theory was "analogous" to his German contemporary Karl Marx (viii).

The plot of *The Quaker City* revolves around Monk Hall which is depicted with an array of gothic paraphernalia: two-way mirrors, trapdoors, a dungeon-like basement where victims are buried alive. Throughout the text Lippard resorts to the binary opposition between lightness and darkness, day and night, to uncover the wrongdoings of the Philadelphia professional elite who, it can be said, are stand-ins for the aristocratic villain of traditional gothic tales. Remarks on the origin of the manuscript before us speak of "the Secret life of Philadelphia", the sinister side of daytime urban life: "But whenever I behold its regular streets and formal look, I think of the whited Sepulchre, without all purity, within, all rottenness and dead men's bones" (3). In various ways that rot and those bones are the outcome of the power of capital in "a city, where no man has a friend, that has not money to back him" (3). To substantiate that claim I cite Lippard's summary description of human existence, asking the reader to pay special heed to the concluding simile: "Every thing fleeting and nothing stable, every thing shifting and changing, and nothing substantial! A bundle of hopes and fears, deceits and confidences, joys and miseries, strapped to a fellow's back like Pedlar's wares" (23). The pedlar simile obviously originates in the semantic field of commerce, of banks and capital which, I would contend, are the structuring core of the plot, the determining instance of human relations and individual characters. When the firm Lorrimer & Co., an important agent in the plot, is introduced, capital is explicitly named two times (24, 25) just as it emerges in a later hilarious, rhapsodic exclamation: "Ha-ha ha! Capital!" "Capital! Capital! Ha, ha, ha!" (191).

Furthermore, the historical background of Lippard's tale registers an event in the sphere of finance: "Suddenly in the spring of 1836, when this town as well as the whole Union was convulsed with the fever of speculation" (61). Drawing upon this historical backdrop, David Anthony reads the forgerer con artist Fitz-Cowles in Lippard's novel as an example of the panic-stricken professional male who finds himself "dispossessed and haunted in the uncanny spectral world of the Jacksonian marketplace" (Anthony 2004: 725). The mechanism of credit and debt is foregrounded in Fitz-Cowles's actions who at one point summons all of his creditors to try to settle his affairs by offering them another speculative scheme and remarks: "of course each creditor is ignorant of the fact, that I have made the same appointment, with every one of his fellow blood-suckers" (162). This moment of reckoning with the "blood-suckers" is the result of a "princely" lifestyle which has now returned "in the shape of some four-and-thirty creditors, who came pouring from the ante-room, one after another, in quick succession, with their bills in hand, and their demands ringing loudly on the air, like a delightful chorus to the grand drama of the Bankrupt law" (167). The note of social despondency or outright anger

5 I note here that the novel was brought to my attention by Charles Crow, gothic scholar, who as the Fulbright visiting scholar was in Zagreb on the American Studies program in 2012. He mentioned Lippard's novel as a text where my interest in the overlapping of economics and literature could find confirmation in the gothic genre.

resonates in the depictions of the class division between capital and labor, the Mechanics as Lippard regularly calls them. If one were to focus upon this facet of the book the gothic element comes out in full force in Devil-Bug's dream (369-393) in which we read of priest-craft, ghosts, coffins, skulls, graves, amongst other things. Remarking on this dream sequence of retribution, Reynolds writes: "But the eventual overthrow of capitalism is just a dream in *The Quaker City*, which focuses instead on the all-grasping nature of capitalism in urban America" (xxxxvii).

Of particular pertinence to the argument that the incalculability of capital ensues in a tropological excess, to use Ericka Beckman's formulation, is the episode in *The Quaker City* in which a banker visits an astrologer. In his choice of verb tense Lippard signalizes that this is not an isolated occurrence but a habitual practice: "The respectable old gentleman has been consulting the stars with regard to the prospects of his bank" (25). Lippard goes on to generalize from the scene about the role of the "mystic art" in the workings of the city:

the great, the good, and the wise of the Quaker City, who met the mere name of astrology, when uttered in public, with a most withering sneer, still under the cover of night, were happy to steal to the astrologer's room, and obtain some glimpses of their future destiny through the oracle of the stars. (Lippard 1995: 27)

Simply put, Lippard here poignantly shows how the calculative reason of profit-making is deficient and how its procedures are always haunted by the unrepresentable, by a fantasticness which is irreducible to logic and rationalist thought.

The fact that I give Lippard's novel only a cursory reading has much to do with my own reading preferences. However, having said that, I have no doubt that readings of the genre can provide ample material for the articulation of the conjunction between literature and the economy. Nevertheless, I maintain that the said conjunction as well as other aspects of the American experience find an ampler, more aesthetically satisfying articulation in literary texts that can hardly be designated as belonging to the genre.⁶ If these texts are read in the manner that, for example, has excavated the gothic element in Marx's work they will be shown to have always been haunted by the intractable dynamics of capital. Whether naturalists, realists or postmodernists, these authors inscribe into their narratives that haunting presence and in such a manner show that literature not only provides tools to engage the "logical gap" in the cognitive mapping of capital but itself both tries to fill it and work within that gap. Of course, to read them in that manner is no more than an option. If anything gives this option of unearthing gothic capital in literature a weight and a certain urgency then I maintain that it has more to do with developments within capital than within the sphere of literature. To take cognizance of these developments within American Studies or elsewhere we need therefore to ask why today speak of the gothic and capital.

My answer would be that today we are witnessing a crisis, a crisis that is taxing our cognitive capabilities. That crisis is the culmination of a process of financialization whereby money capital has put under its sway not only the totality of economic activity but of human life itself. On this occasion I will restrict myself to quoting Fredric Jameson's observation

6 Expressing my own preferences, I have in mind those "long, complicated, challenging novels" which, according to Don DeLillo were responses in the United States "to the requirements of the market" (DePietro 2005: 165). The Pynchon reference heading my paper shows how the Gothic appears in such texts. I will mention here that Brian Jarvis has given us a gothic reading of Mark Z. Danielewski's novel *House of Leaves*, an exemplary instance of what Danielewski at one point designates as "graphomaniac" (2000: xxii) practice, in the context of the present financial crisis. Of course, Jarvis's interpretation does not exhaust the possibilities of coupling the economic and gothic thematics. Needless to say Jarvis rehearses the gothic references found in Marx contending: "For Marx, these tropes were not merely rhetorical, but rather a disinterment of Gothic latencies buried in capitalism" (Cherry 2010: 20).

that “speculation” and its attendant practices “are the ways in which capitalism now reacts to and compensates for the closing of its productive moment. Capital itself becomes free-floating. It separates from the ‘concrete moment’ of its productive geography”. In such a constellation money “becomes in a second sense and to a second degree abstract” (1999: 141-43). Stated differently, we are living under a new command which, according to Richard Dienst, is exercised “on one hand through the power of technology to shape the world in its own image, and on the other by the power of money to decide what deserves to exist” (2011: 2). That conflation of, on the one hand, the growing intractability of money and, on the other, the diminishment of the human under its hegemony has created the conditions for the ongoing explosion of references to the gothic or to suchlike phenomena. I will elaborate this by glancing at Robert T. Tally Jr.’s paper “Meta-capital: Culture and Financial Derivatives”. Tally notes that capitalism today has been impacted by the speed of structural changes, the global locus of these transformations and by the fact that “those changes place the discussion outside the realm of classical economic discourse, away from the familiar grounds of mode and means of production, and into the less familiar, almost ethereal zones of circulation” (2010: 1-2). All of these changes have contributed to the growing inability to fathom the realm of capital. This leads Tally to the following question:

If, as Marx insisted, the fetishism of commodities leads to an overall sense of bewilderment for those trying to understand the capitalist system as a whole, how much more bewildering is the global system of finance today? If the world of commodity exchange is mysterious, how much more strange is the world of financial derivatives, in which the value of the thing itself is tied, not only to the underlying labor of human producers from the far flung regions of the globe, but to abstract indices, foreign exchange rates, securities, contracts, and even temperatures? (Tally 2010: 4-5)

Therefore it comes as no surprise that in Tally’s discussion of derivatives we once again encounter the epistemological blockage and imagery elaborated upon earlier. The first occurs when Tally notes the “generalized unease” enhanced by the speed and intensity with which derivatives have transformed the system. He diagnosticates an “angst” occasioned by “this frighteningly intertwined network of global financial relations”. The second is implicit in the following simile:

Much like the horror film whose dark, unseen terrors fill the viewer with dread a hundredfold more terrible than the most ghoulishly depicted fiend, the gut-feeling that something horrible and completely beyond our control or even our comprehension is happening seems to affect cultural analysis of such a world system. (Tally 2010: 16)

Once again recalling the difficulty in Marx’s day of discerning social relations when these were embedded in the form of the commodity, he rhetorically asks “how terrific is the necromancy of postmodern finance, where the ‘thing itself’ has no use value or may not even exist” (17). Structurally speaking, capital and the cognitive lack one feels in its presence is the same. Aghastment is reiterated. And yet there is a difference in this identity that beckons us to reengage Marx. This reengagement justifies its incorporation into a discussion of American studies particularly if we recall Taibbi’s gothic description of America’s leading bank and the implied domination of the financial sphere.

Michael Hudson’s book *The Bubble and Beyond: Fictitious Capital, Debt Deflation and Global Crisis* (2010) is relevant to my argument not only because of his frequent deployment of gothic imagery (“predatory”, “bleed the body politick”, “parasitic forms”, etc.) but also because it foregrounds the way mutations of capital were and are a decisive factor in understanding the

United States polity. Thusly, Hudson, in line with what Tally maintains, notes that the last decades “have seen the banking and financial sector evolve beyond what Marx or any other 19th-century writer imagined” (131-32). Hudson repeatedly returns to Marx’s diagnosis that in capitalism “the parasitic usury of former epochs was being transformed into productive lending to finance the expansion of industry” (48). According to Hudson and in line with Tally’s diagnosis of the present this is not how things turned out since more of the economic surplus has been and is being “siphoned off” as land rent and interest. Pertinent to my argument is Hudson’s observation that “many of Marx’s followers conflate his analysis of industrial capital with the financial dynamic of ‘usurer’s capital’”. He then adds: “The latter is not part of the industrial economy but grows autonomously by ‘purely mathematical’ means, running ahead of the economy’s ability to produce a surplus large enough to pay the exponentially soaring financial overhead” (155).⁷ If American studies today are cognizant of capital as the structuring core of their object of study they have to take into account this mutation of capital. In other words, the economy that will be the object of these studies will not be restricted to an analysis of the lifeworld of American production and circulation of goods and services but will have to give due weight to developments in the sphere of finance. Without incorporating banks or other sites for the creation and accumulation of money into our research agenda we are hard put to recognize the enormity of changes on the domestic front in the United States⁸ or the paradox that a de facto debtor nation holds sway on the global scene.⁹ These concerns are of course far from being merely academic questions. They affect human lives not only in the United States but throughout the world.¹⁰ In order to underline this I will return to Marx again who was not mistaken concerning the agency of financial capital. I return to Marx not only to excavate

7 Alain Badiou has recently recognized the inadequacy of the earlier division: “There has been a lot of talk recently about the ‘real economy’ (the production and circulation of goods), and what I suppose has to be called the ‘unreal economy,’ which is supposedly the root of all evil, given that its agents have become ‘irresponsible,’ ‘irrational’ and ‘predatory.’ They greedily recycled what had become a shapeless mass of shares, securitizations and money, and then they panicked. The distinction was absurd, and was usually contradicted two lines later by the very different metaphor that described financial circulation and speculation as the ‘bloodstream’ of the economy. Can the heart and the blood be divorced from the living reality of a body?” (2010: 95).

8 Here I have in mind the unprecedented inequality of today’s United States whose perpetuation under Obama disappointed the hope on which he was elected. To cite but one example, Christopher Newfield writes that Obama’s banking policy “opened a split between Wall Street and Main Street that is as polarized as anything” he has seen in his lifetime: “The bank bailout has helped destroy the earlier sense of incipient common life by making politics seem – once again – like a way to favor a narrow elite over everyone else” (2011: 248).

9 Using a metaphor pertinent to my argument, Leo Panitch and Sam Gindin explore how the current crisis has demonstrated that “while the American empire is certainly not always able to control the spirits it has called up from the deep, it nevertheless remains critical to the system’s survival” (2012: 331). More concretely, they indicate that regardless of the mayhem in American financial institutions there has not arisen “a substantive challenge to the role of the dollar and the centrality of the Federal Reserve as the world’s global banker” (326) and that despite the widespread accusations levelled at Wall Street for causing the crisis “US finance emerged not only more concentrated, but also still encompassing the general interest of capital amid a broader neoliberal consolidation of class power” (329).

10 In his review of a book by Joe Scarborough, a Republican stalwart, Garry Wills lambasts the GOP’s wishful thinking that they “will be saved by Wall Street correcting Main Street”. Wills derides Scarborough’s book as a “silly picture of American politics” that leaves out most of the things that matter, including race, religion, and money ending his review with the emphatic statement: “And the greatest of these is money”. I cite Wills not only because he lends proof to my argument but also because of a reference he makes in the text. I quote: “While the earnings of a minority are growing exponentially, so too is the gap separating the majority from the prosperity enjoyed by those happy few. This imbalance is the result of ideologies which defend the absolute autonomy of the marketplace and financial speculation ... In this system, which tends to devour everything which stands in the way of increased profits, whatever is fragile, like the environment, is defenseless before the interests of a deified market, which becomes the only rule”. The fact that the utterance was made by Pope Francis surely proves not only the urgency of the issue that I have been addressing but in an, admittedly, oblique fashion the pervasiveness of gothic readings of capital (“deified market”) (2014).

from his text an observation that has not lost any of its depth and actuality but also to show the persistence with which the gothic reappears in his work:

Where the means of production are fragmented, usury centralizes monetary wealth. It does not change the mode of production, but clings on to it like a parasite and impoverishes it. It sucks it dry, emasculates it and forces reproduction to proceed under ever more pitiable conditions. Hence the popular hatred of usury, at its peak in the ancient world, where the producer's ownership of his conditions of production was at the same time the basis for political relations, for the independence of the citizen. (Marx 1991: 731)

Just as Marx's earlier gothic imagery had undermined the rationalistic premises of capitalist production this later pronouncement on usurer's capital indicts finance's destructive, life-denying agency. Such indictments are hardly to be heard in today's cacophony of devotees to a state of things that is legitimated as having no alternative and whose only purpose seems to be to keep the financial machine running. One would expect that sites that have today been particularly hard hit by policies implemented to salvage the self-perpetuating momentum of capital would be places where interventions against finance's emasculating, parasitic effects are mounted. However, these are not forthcoming.

Therefore, in conclusion, I think it is appropriate to point to the dearth of the gothic-capital nexus in theoretical discourses in a region where quite recently Marx's name was almost a household item.¹¹ Quite obviously the general ostracism of Marx in the post-socialist world has been more than detrimental to appreciating the contemporary relevance of Marx. I see my deliberations as an effort to ameliorate that debilitating ostracism. Their site-specific reprocessing of the gothic-capital nexus within a specific disciplinary matrix was motivated by and is, I hope, justified in part by these local considerations. Furthermore, I believe that the local site enables us to contribute to the discussion of the gothic in Marx by asking why was this dimension of his thought sidelined in readings of Marx that date from the period when the centrality of his name was unquestioned. I will finish by proposing a number of propositions that I hope are worthy of further research and discussion. In the most general terms, Marxism, turned into an ideology, produced an orthodoxy that reduced the complexity of Marx's thought. "Scientific socialism", with its emphasis on reason and progress, engaged in mobilizing a social group that not only did not read Marx but that, when politically engaged, believed it could overcome capitalism, could not but see much of Marx as, to use G.M. Tamas's term, "esoteric matter" (2013)¹². If Marx's gothic metaphors were registered at all they were read as evincing his repugnance towards capitalism and their epistemological implications were given short shrift. According to Michael Heinrich, when things like "spectral objectivity" or "occult quality" in Marx were registered, "such conceptions were usually glossed over, or were viewed merely as stylistic peculiarities" (34). Furthermore, we are hard put to find in Yugoslav Marxists interpretations that retrieved the humanistic strain in his thought and gave it a philosophical depth a full appreciation of capital's

11 The first chapter of Darko Suvin's book *Preživjeti potop*, entitled (in English) "Phantasy as Critique and Knowledge: Marx's Black Matamorphoses of Living Labor", is an exception proving the rule.

12 I cannot resist noting here a reading of *Das Kapital* by Francis Wheen: "The book can be read as a vast Gothic novel whose heroes are enslaved and consumed by the monster they created ("Capital which comes into the world soiled with gore from top to toe and oozing blood from every pore"); or as a Victorian melodrama; or as a black farce (in debunking the "phantom-like objectivity" of the commodity to expose the difference between heroic appearance and inglorious reality, Marx is using one of classic methods of comedy stripping off the gallant knight's armour to reveal a tubby little man in his underpants); or as a Greek tragedy ("like Oedipus, the actors in Marx's recounting of human history are in the grip of an inexorable necessity which unfolds itself no matter what they do") (2006).

demonic, annihilating power. We can say that this shows how these revisionist envisionings of Marx were complicit with the voluntaristic political project that legitimated itself by its promise of being capable of transcending the constraints of the capitalist order.¹³ It is easy to see that the underestimation of capital's self-sustaining nature and its all-annihilating thrust was a tactical manoeuvre that substantiated the feasibility of social transformation and change. In conclusion I can only ask to what extent and in what manner the claims that capitalism had given up or was about to give up the ghost – recurrently deployed in the world of really existing socialism – wittingly or unwittingly played into the strategy of making capitalism global. There can be no doubt that this strategy did not refrain from calling upon different ghosts and, as a final remark, that the region in which we live had and has a fair share of these, ghosts that ravaged and still haunt it, ghosts of whom we have to ask whether and to what extent they were awakened by the vampire of capital.¹⁴

Stipe Grgas

Faculty of Humanities and the Social sciences, University of Zagreb

sgrgas@ffzg.hr

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¹³ I will here only note István Mészáros warning not to equate capital with capitalism. According to him, such a stance neglects the historical roots of the now globally dominant mode of socioeconomic reproduction. He adds that this fatefully underestimated the task facing socialists: "For by concentrating on some rather limited characteristics of the relatively short *capitalist* phase of historical development – and in particular on those aspects of its property relations which can be directly affected by the overthrow of the capitalist state and the legal/political expropriation of private property – the immense regenerative/restorative power of the prevailing mode of social metabolic reproduction, asserted through the vicious circle of its second order mediations, is completely lost sight of" (132). I would add that by keeping in mind the gothic nature of capital we will abstain from such attenuating simplifications.

¹⁴ The demise of the bipolar world has in my opinion been disastrously undertheorized. Believing that sweeping generalizations do not do justice to the intricacies of the dismantling of one order and the establishment of a new system I nevertheless quote an observation made by Susan Buck-Morss: "In Moscow in 1993 the plan for economic transformation to capitalist markets was described by officials and the press in representationally impoverished form as, simply, 'the big bang' (English original). This mystical, invisible, sonar boom, imported by economists from Harvard, was supposed to provide for three hundred million Russian people some kind of economic rebirth out of the ashes of seventy years of Soviet rule. Heralded as the beginning of the new era, it seemed to the average citizen, on the contrary, to lead society ever deeper into a black hole. With no new vision of social life, with no way of refiguring their identity, Russians have responded by retreating into an equally mystical but culturally familiar collective identity of ethnic unity" (1995: 466). One should be wary of unearthing facile parallels. Yet, in the case of former Yugoslavia, I reiterate, one ought not to shy away from readings which would question the role of the global vampire in waking the sleeping ghosts of the region.

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BLURRING OR EXPANDING THE BOUNDARIES OF GENRE? THE NARRATIVE CENTRE OF HEMINGWAY'S *IN OUR TIME*¹

Ernest Hemingway's 1925 collection of short fiction *In Our Time* provoked many comments about its generic form: it has been called a short story cycle, a loosely composed novel, even a Bildungsroman, as the structural arrangement of the book suggested a preconceived order that was at the same time universal and strictly personal, chronological and ideological. The same as James Joyce's *Dubliners* and Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*, *In Our Time* inspired critics such as Edmund Wilson, Peter A. Smith and Michael Reynolds to comment on the dilemma of its genre. In his review of *In Our Time*, D. H. Lawrence insisted that the book, which "calls itself a book of stories", is rather "a series of sketches from a man's life". Lawrence proposes that *In Our Time* is a "fragmentary novel", thus deliberately expanding the boundaries of genre. Lawrence aims at affirming a narrative center in Hemingway's fiction, altogether fragmentary and incomplete. Nick Adams is thus isolated as the glue which binds the text together.

The article aims to show that the approach which values the Hemingway hero as a binding narrative force determining the genre should prove more productive than the focus on the manhood as conceived by traditional masculinity types. The expected result of the text is to show that creating a masculine, Oedipal narrative (in the terms of feminist theorist Teresa de Lauretis) is a creative process demanding a focus on a narrative centre.

Keywords: Ernest Hemingway, short story, genre, narrative

1. INTRODUCTION: FROM EXPERIENCE TO INVENTION

Many critics have observed the structural, compositional and thematical unity in Ernest Hemingway's first collection of stories, *In Our Time* (1925), but also felt the need to raise questions and doubts about its generic form. This "odd and original book" (Wilson 1947: 214) which had the appearance of miscellany but produced "a definite effect" (Wilson 1947: 214) has been called a short story cycle, a loosely composed novel, even a Bildungsroman, whereas the structural arrangement of the volume suggested a preconceived order that was at the same time universal and strictly personal, both chronological and ideological, since both the stories and the interchapter miniatures alternating with them depict cruelty, violence and the failure of traditional values to vitalize experience (Slabey 1983: 77). Considered a literary hybrid between a short story collection and a loosely composed novel, Hemingway's chronological series of stories about an American boy growing up in the Midwest is not easy to classify, as it alternates fully developed stories with vignettes that provide only brief and shocking glimpses into scenes of chaos, death, disorder and pain. The structure of *In Our Time* encompasses stories, preceded by "brief and brutal sketches of police shootings (...) and incidents of the war" (Wilson 1947: 215), the main cohesive element between the two distinctive sets of

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fictional texts being the character of Nick Adams. The interchapters, also called vignettes or sketches, as the Hemingway critics do not agree on the term, introduce darker tonalities into the volume, since they focus on death and horror: “the varied voices of the interchapters, with their experimental use of dialogue, vernacular and satirical elements provide strong images of death and horror that further fragment the work into increasingly volatile units” (Tetlow 1992: 99). As it happened to a lesser extent with the short story collections of his contemporaries, James Joyce’s *Dubliners* and Sherwood Anderson’s *Winesburg, Ohio*, Ernest Hemingway’s *In Our Time* inspired critics, Edmund Wilson, Peter A. Smith and Michael Reynolds among them, to comment on the dilemma of its genre. However, the reviewer who seemed to be the person most intrigued by the generic form of Hemingway’s book was his fellow writer, D. H. Lawrence.

In his review of *In Our Time*, D. H. Lawrence insisted that the book, which “calls itself a book of stories”, is rather “a series of sketches from a man’s life” (Lawrence 1947: 644). Lawrence proposes that *In Our Time* is a “fragmentary novel”, thus deliberately expanding the boundaries of an already protean genre, with the intention to include a book which is not coherent enough to be valued as a novel, yet appears to be too consistent to be considered yet another volume of independent stories. Lawrence wants to affirm a narrative center in this fragmentary text, even while suggesting that the text remains incomplete, by claiming that it originates from the experience of a single individual. Whether that individual is Hemingway himself or his imaginary alter ego Nick Adams remains unclear, but what Lawrence is focused on is Nick Adams’ role in the text as a unifying force: “It is a short book: and it does not pretend to be about one man. But it is. It is as much as we need to know of the man’s life” (Lawrence 1947: 645). That Lawrence should recognize the fragmentary nature of the text and at the same time attempt to construct a narrative as cohesive as any traditional novel around the character of Nick Adams illustrates the problems this text poses for readers. Lawrence argues that the Hemingway of *In Our Time* does not settle for the security of a traditional novelistic narrative which might focus on a single protagonist. Instead, “he keeps on making flights, but he has no illusion about landing anywhere. He knows it will be nowhere every time” (Lawrence 1947: 645). And yet as both the reader and the reviewer of the text, Lawrence paradoxically attempts to find a convincing generic form for *In Our Time* by accentuating the crucial role of Nick Adams. In many ways what Lawrence is doing, as many readers have done since, is creating a masculine, Oedipal narrative (in the terms of feminist theorist Teresa de Lauretis), a narrative which incorporates a heroic center that creates a sort of focus or perspective which is otherwise difficult to find in the text. He has created a place, a landscape, in which he is comfortable positioning his understanding of Hemingway’s fiction, which displays so many minimalist traits such as simple diction, direct syntax, open endings, a plot that hinges on an unspoken word and the absence of an omniscient narrator to clarify meaning.

Lawrence’s review exhibits many of the difficulties readers have had with the text, especially considering its unusually dynamic nature and the changes it underwent after its initial publication in 1924 as *in our time*, Hemingway’s first attempt at experimenting with the language and structure of narrative prose. Despite insisting on the word “fragmentary”, Lawrence aims at affirming a narrative center in Hemingway’s fiction, altogether fragmentary and incomplete, so that, metaphorically speaking, the main character Nick Adams becomes isolated as the glue which binds the text together, uniting two different worlds into one indissoluble whole: the idyllic Michigan landscape of Hemingway’s childhood and the butchery of the Great War he witnessed in his early adult life.

The worlds apart, which intersect in the presence of a single protagonist who dominates them both, indicated that Hemingway insisted on a paradigm of traits that remained constant throughout his work. The promotion of the Hemingway hero (or the “code hero”, in the terms of Philip Young) was, according to the somewhat exaggerated views of critics, ranging from Robert Scholes to Jackson Benson and Susan Beegel, the most unfortunate development in Hemingway criticism. The idea of the code hero resulted in reducing the readings of his fiction to a series of rules applied to the carefully constructed and self-perpetuated image of a “manly male”, the perfect virile image of the American pioneer, sportsman and literary celebrity, without a single symptom of what was to be defined by social scientists as “masculine stress”. What we intend to show in this article is that the recurring paradigm can still serve the purpose of forming a stable narrative center in Hemingway’s fiction.

2. FROM JOURNALISM TO IMAGISM

It seems that we have been accustomed to a particular image of Ernest Hemingway as a short story writer whose terse, hardboiled style imposes strict rules of reticence and emphasizes reliance on indeterminacy. As a rule, he is seen as the successor of Russian storytellers Chekhov and Turgenev, especially the latter, whose stories and sketches he much admired, along with Sherwood Anderson. Hemingway is rarely seen as a disciplined stylist whose short stories share many characteristics of Imagist poetry, of which he became aware in the 1920s, through his association with modernists like Ezra Pound and Gertrude Stein. Influenced by T. S. Eliot’s theory of the objective correlative and Ezra Pound’s ideas about Imagism, sensing the power in the direct treatment of things, Hemingway created a language, both symbolic and journalistic, in which external reality resonates with connotative meaning. His famous prose style consists of plain but powerful words and simple but artfully structured syntax, and it aims at the direct presentation of the object and the use of language which was carefully stripped of any ornaments that could be misleading. The stories “Cat in the Rain” and “Hills Like White Elephants”, to name but a few notable examples, are replete with symbolic language, functioning referentially to describe an event or object with symbolic implications. Hemingway chooses to achieve small-scale, concentrated effects rather than construct majestic sentences. However, the minimalist language is conjoined with the hero whose undaunted masculinity is larger than life, so that the paradigm of the Oedipal hero his readership believes in produced the impression that the author is on a search for a verified narrative authority and an authoritative presence of the so called Hemingway hero. The misconception of Hemingway’s hero, who is more a bitter parody of manhood as conceived by traditional images of masculinity than a paragon of socially constructed masculine authority, becomes more evident when we remember that his short stories actually deal with a world impossible to handle and control, with the fragmentary nature of experience and chaotic structure of modern life, and consequently with a hero who is frail, alienated and confused, following the small local victories and defeats and focusing on the present moment in order to keep his sanity.

The prevailing mood of disenchantment, confusion and bitterness seems to go along perfectly with the artistic form of short story, which requires a focus on the turning point in the character’s life and chooses to dwell on a particular moment of crisis, climax or change. The disappointment of the hero is carefully camouflaged by telegraphic language, filled with silence and reticence. Hemingway’s minimalism interrogates the limits of art by rejecting those customary conventions which turn realism into a system of literary artifice. On the other hand,

the short story demonstrates a need for compression and an increased rigor in detail selection and word choice, in order to convey emotion and render judgment with seeming objectivity within the confines of its generically limited space.

Hemingway began his writing career as a newspaper reporter on *The Kansas City Star*, and the precepts he learned on that paper he described as the best rules he ever learned for the business of writing. There were 110 rules in the paper's style-sheet, some of them requiring short sentences and short paragraphs, the others demanding "vigorous English" and elimination of superfluous words, calling for brevity, precision, accuracy and clarity. For instance, rule number 21 suggested that the writer should "avoid the use of adjectives, especially such extravagant ones as splendid, gorgeous, grand, magnificent etc." Hemingway's first major literary work consistently avoids adjectives. The same way he transformed journalist style into a literary one, Hemingway transforms fact into fiction: in his later career there were more examples of how he ended up writing a short story instead of a news dispatch. In his process of creation, especially while covering the Spanish Civil War for the North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA), Hemingway used his field notes to write dispatches on the one hand and short stories on the other, the most notable example being the story "Old Man at the Bridge".

The very title *In Our Time* suggests a connection between fiction and current events, but at the same time it draws the line between what is reported and what is invented. The volume consists of a series of stories about the childhood and youth of Nick Adams, interspersed with very short vignettes or sketches in fifteen numbered "chapters", mainly dealing with the First World War scenes and bullfights, as well as some other aspects of violence in modern life that called for vivid and expressive language. Hemingway relied on formal devices such as juxtaposition instead of verbosity. The sheer strategy of juxtaposing stories and sketches seems to be a way of setting private, individual experience depicted in the stories against glimpses of the largely anonymous life of the public world perceived in the vignettes. What became known as the Hemingway code – honorable behavior in situations of physical or other danger, fair play, courage and dignity in defeat – was exemplified above all in his short stories, the brevity and intensity of which provided a formal analogy to the brief but intense periods of time in battle or sport. The Adams stories in *In Our Time* present Nick in various temptations of his childhood, adolescence and young manhood, and constitute a kind of fragmentary Bildungsroman, a novel of growing up amid strange occurrences and inconceivable phenomena that are sometimes almost impossible to convey. While Hemingway's debt to Imagism can be perceived in clear, referential language, his debt to journalism is understood when we witness the remarkable force of evoking powerful images rather than describing them. Hemingway did not seem to have any proper predecessors who might teach him minimalism. There are clear parallels here with Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*, but the protagonist of the book in his role as writer is as much an observer with a talent to describe common things in a poetical manner rather than agent. Anderson's George Willard is the central intelligence that does not allow the individual stories to disperse, but rather gathers them in a unique testimony of human loneliness. Nick Adams is more a reflector than an omniscient narrator, and it is only towards the end of the book, in passing, that Nick Adams is referred to as a writer. While we know of George Willard's life only what the stories of other characters allow us to see, Hemingway's focus is more exclusively on Nick as a representative young American from the country, his conflicts with his parents, his early love affairs, his encounters with the world of experience, failure, death and war, than on his juvenile attempts at writing literature.

The prevailing sense of this collection of stories' underpinning atmosphere of contemplation

and futility serves the purpose of asking identical questions of the reader of James Joyce's *Dubliners* and Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* may ask. Hemingway's chronological series of stories about an American boy growing up against a landscape of idyllic Michigan is not easy to classify, as it alternates fully developed stories with vignettes that provide only brief and shocking glimpses into scenes of chaos, death, disorder and pain. The structure of *In Our Time* encompasses traditional realistic stories, preceded by brief sketches reporting abrupt and violent events such as police shootings and incidents of the war, the main cohesive element between the two distinctive sets of fictional texts being the character of Nick Adams. Although the continual presence of George Willard transforms the series of stories into a consistent Bildungsroman, *Winesburg, Ohio* has a central character that is more of an observer than participant. Anderson's book is a novel of a town that shapes spirits and aspirations of a young man, and it possesses the unity of place Hemingway's book lacks. Except for Francis Scott Fitzgerald, who only planned to construct a book-length series of stories about Basil Duke Lee and Josephine Perry, Hemingway is among the few modernist authors who reinvent their characters, who are at the same time their secret selves, in various books.

3. FROM NARRATIVE TO NARRATIVITY

The ways *In Our Time* has been read for decades could be described as attempts at establishing a heroic quest narrative, although Hemingway's text, as we shall see, questions the need to have a heroic center and subjects the idea to reevaluation. There are numerous other narrative possibilities offered by the text itself that could be used to produce meaning. The narrative theories proposed by Teresa de Lauretis in *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* help us reconsider the heroic quest narrative, the role of the phallogentric hero, and the ways we read Hemingway as a creator of traditional models of masculinity. The approach which values the Hemingway hero as a binding narrative force which determines the genre should prove at least as productive as the focus on manhood in the way it is conceived by traditional masculinity types. Creating a masculine, Oedipal narrative is a creative process demanding a focus on a narrative centre: "The connection between the narrative and the Oedipus, desire and narrative (...) urges a reconsideration of narrative structure – or better, narrativity" (de Lauretis 1984: 104-105). According to de Lauretis, the object of narrative theory is not narrative, but narrativity: not the structure of narrative, but its work and the effects it produces. Focused on processes of textual and semiotic production, she wishes to reexamine the relations of narrative to genres, on the one hand, and to epistemological framework on the other. De Lauretis wants to evaluate the presence of narrative in such forms of representation as are myth, drama, fiction and cinema.

De Lauretis believes that, as we create hierarchical value structures in narratives, we engender narratives as well. The heroic quest narrative is the one that follows the hero through the sequence of events that contribute to his self-recognition, enabling the reader to witness the process of rising conflict and climax which defines male sexuality, and according to de Lauretis, produces the masculine or Oedipal narrative. Responding to the Freudian construction of the Oedipal conflict as an answer to gender identification, de Lauretis suggests that the ways we read narratives often refuse to recognize diverse subject perspectives and various narrative desires from sources other than the central hero: antagonists and helpers have no perspective of their own, and the reader cannot identify what the enemies, monsters and damsels in distress see or feel. Everyone except the hero on the quest is a simple function of the plot. By contrast,

the anti-Oedipal narrative refuses to place value on a central hero and posits ways of reading based upon the various locations of narrative desire in the text.

In the mythical-textual mechanics, according to de Lauretis, the hero must be male, because his obstacle, whatever its personification, must be female (de Lauretis 1984: 119). This system seems to be working universally, and can be observed in arts and mass culture alike, in epics, novels and memoirs as much as in TV shows with male characters at the centre. The mythical subject is constructed as male, “he is the active principle of culture, the establisher of distinction, the creator of differences“, whereas female is not “susceptible to transformation, to life or death; she (it) is an element of plot-space, a topos, a resistance, a matrix and matter“ (de Lauretis 1984: 119).

No wonder Teresa de Lauretis focuses on Oedipus as the archetypal hero of the male narrative, since Sigmund Freud was the one who “chose the hero of Sophocles’ drama as the emblem of Everyman’s passage into adult life“ (de Lauretis 1984: 125). All narratives follow an Oedipal logic, since they demand movement both towards resolution and the retrospective of the initial moment when the quest started. Narrative is a quest for knowledge through the realisation of loss, so that Oedipus’ loss of eyesight is also a process toward the restauration of his vision. The narrative form possesses a structuring capacity, and it aims towards the attribution of meaning and patterning of experience. What makes Hemingway’s characters Oedipal heroes is either the psychic wounding or trauma, regardless of the fact that the writer bitterly opposed this reduction of his artistic achievement to a traumatic reflex (Comley and Scholes 1994:8)

4. FROM THE STORY TO THE HERO

In his 1966 seminal study, Philip Young describes the restrictive guidelines the Hemingway hero must measure up to: the “Hemingway code” exemplifies a “grace under pressure” (Young 1966: 63). The importance of emotional control is the first lesson the code hero must learn, as the code is “made of the controls of honor and courage which in a life of tension and pain make a man a man and distinguish him from the people who follow random impulses, let down their hair, and are generally messy, perhaps cowardly, and without inviolable rules for how to live holding tight” (Young 1966: 63).

On the one hand, we have the Hemingway hero, held up as a Platonic ideal of manly perfection despite his many flaws. Its dialectical opposite appears to be the individual of a chaotic, Dionysian sensibility who acts upon the desires of “random impulses“. There is a dualistic opposition between stoic masculinity valuing control and a subjectivity which strongly believes in individual desire, thus enabling narrative mutability. So what we see here is the masculine, Oedipal hero confronted with the feminine obstacles which threaten to sabotage his progress and dissolve his integrity. No wonder, then, that gender studies interpretations of the Hemingway text are focused on the manliness as the central question which reveals what Nancy R. Comley describes as “one of Hemingway’s major problems as a writer: the representation of female characters“ (Comley and Scholes 1994: 145).

In the mythology of the Oedipal hero, as Teresa de Lauretis points out, the forces and persons that threaten to obstruct Oedipus’ journey regularly appear as chaotic and messy, cowardly, untamed and undisciplined individuals: “Medusa and the Sphinx, like the other ancient monsters, have survived inscribed in hero narratives, in someone else’s story, not their own; so they are figures or markers of positions – places and topoi – through which the hero and

his story move to their destination and to accomplish meaning“ (de Lauretis 1984: 109). Philip Young’s analysis of Hemingway’s code hero finds its basis in the heroic narrative, and demands that a single perspective, a single source of narrative desire, prevail over other positions in the text which are less manly, whereas Nancy R. Comley analyzes the repertory of female character types in Hemingway’s opus, exploring the writer’s fascination with sexual ambiguities which transcends the common narrative concerns of Modernist writers.

De Lauretis indicates that the heroic narrative requires assigned gendered roles: “The ancient monsters had a sex, as did the gods, in a mythology whose painstakingly rich articulation of sexual difference was to be boiled down to the stark Platonic opposition man/non-man“ (de Lauretis 1984: 109). This opposition is precisely what Young and other readers of Hemingway’s fiction have constructed as fixed frame of reference that prescribes the proper way of reading the text. Joseph DeFalco follows Young’s lead and outlines the role of the hero engaged in his definitively masculine endeavor: “Here men face the ultimate test, or some symbolic reflection of that test, by trying to rise above the contingencies of life“ (DeFalco 1963: 185). The Hemingway hero exists, ideally, in a world of independent heroes, who are always masculine in terms of the narrative roles they adopt. If they fail to obey the masculine code, they are doomed to be monstrous, undesirable, and dangerous in the progress of the narrative’s central perspective.

Thus the Hemingway hero turns out to be an immobile, fixed form of the epic hero, and reading *In Our Time* as an Oedipal narrative turns out to be nothing but attributing some previously defined perspectives, since it is much easier to adopt the vision of Nick Adams as an epic hero and turn a blind eye to his fragility, weakness and disenchantment with the world of violence and brutality and those less central individuals who determine the narrative. The masculine Hemingway hero is an unachievable entity, but striving for such a goal eliminates the possibility that the individual himself is more a monster than a hero.

If the text resists to classifications which follow the code hero paradigm, then we must acknowledge that the definition of a concrete and definable Hemingway hero is a fiction projected by critics who wanted to impose a single authoritative perspective in the text. If *In Our Time* is classified as a fragmentary novel, the text resists to hold a single thematic perspective and fails to introduce the central hero of the text. Whether the epic masculine hero at the center of the narrative is Nick Adams or Ernest Hemingway himself remains unclear. All the characters in the volume are in one way or the other frustrated and frail, unable to overcome their traumas and equally unable to fulfill their wishes.

Debra A. Modellmog belongs to the group of Hemingway critics who have claimed that *In Our Time* is a novel written by Nick Adams himself. In her essay, “The Unifying Consciousness of a Divided Conscience: Nick Adams as Author of *In Our Time*“, Modellmog argues that *In Our Time* is a portrait of the artist as a war-ravaged hero. Some may object the fact that Modellmog bases her reading on “BigTwo-Hearted River“’s original nine page conclusion, deleted by Hemingway from the story’s final version. While this excised portrait of Nick as the central consciousness of the collection unifies *In Our Time*, particularly because it refers to events from “On the Quai at Smyrna“ and “Indian Camp“, it reduces the interpretation to the motive of the hero’s quest. “In a classic psychoanalytic paradox,“ Modellmog writes, “the closer the matter is to Nick the writer, the further away Nick the character is likely to be. The non-Nick stories can thus hold the key to Nick’s innermost secrets and fears“ (Modellmog 1990: 25). Thus, even those stories which do not include Nick, especially those which follow Chapter VI, are ultimately about him as the hero of the novel. “As we have seen, the first half

of *In Our Time* traces the growth of Nick's alter ego from a young boy to a young man, almost qualifying it as a bildungsroman" (Modellmog 1990: 25). Philip Young claims that Nick is indeed the central protagonist and the prototypical Hemingway hero, and that all of the stories in *In Our Time* should be read with Nick in mind. "The real hero," according to Young, "is the protagonist who was up in Michigan and was wounded while fighting as an American in the Italian army, who lived and wrote fiction in Paris; he is the generic Nick Adams" (Young 1966: 65-66). Young implies that Nick is an embodiment of a traditional masculine set of values, almost a parable of growing up anytime and anywhere. "All the proper parts fit this single story; the hero is – with each successive appearance – the sum of what has happened to him" (Young 1966: 65-66). Young neglects to incorporate the nine non-Nick stories into the pattern, fearing they would obstruct the image of the dominant hero. Young and Modellmog define the hero's narrative quest as Oedipal, choosing to ignore or to obscure those elements and points of view which signal gender confusion or obstruct their masculine narrative conclusions. Regardless of the fact that she bases her opinion on just a small, discarded portion of the Hemingway text, Modellmog insists that *In Our Time* is a complete work, "unified by the consciousness of Nick Adams as he attempts to come to terms through his fiction with his involvement in World War I and, more recently, with the problems of marriage and his fear of fatherhood" (Modellmog 1990: 30). Comley suggests that Hemingway's most interesting writing deals with two intimations of father's death: the birth of a son and that son's entry into manhood (Comley and Scholes 1994: 12). Modellmog reminds us of Francis Scott Fitzgerald's remark that *In Our Time* does not pretend to be about one man, but it nevertheless is (qtd in Modellmog 1990: 31). Not only is Nick Adams the hero who affronts his destiny in a fictional landscape, but he is also the artist who invents the landscape, who would be non-existent without the text. "It is Hemingway's initial inclination to turn over his stories to Nick that gives us our most fascinating look into his psyche" (Modellmog 1990: 31). Still, the repetition of the name doesn't necessarily demand that this is the same person following a singularly linear narrative. The Nick Adams in "Indian Camp" is not the Nick Adams of "Big Two-Hearted River" at all, and not only because of the obvious reason that he has matured.

Reading *In Our Time* as either bildungsroman or autobiographical portrait of Nick Adams as a young and confused man demands that we construct a heroic narrative out of the fragmentation of Hemingway's text, and that in doing so we install certain values in that narrative. Thus, Nick Adams becomes the most valuable figure and the Oedipal hero; other individuals may be neglected. This hardly seems to be the *In Our Time* that continually interrupts itself with violent and almost carnivalesque chapter vignettes, with individuals who make cameo appearances and then disappear like the cat in the rain, the Turkish officer from "On the Quai at Smyrna" or by those characters at the edges of the narrative who appear, fade, and suggestively re-enter the text in various manifestations – the woman giving birth in the back of the wagon, the disgraced bullfighter, the terrified Sam Cardinella, or the polite hotel owner. Teresa de Lauretis indicates the tendency readers have in forcing such a phallogentric narrative from a text like *In Our Time*: "Story demands sadism, depends on making something happen, forcing a change in another person, a battle of will and strength, victory/defeat, all occurring in a linear time with a beginning and an end" (de Lauretis 1984: 132-3). The Hemingway hero was preconceived to create a narrative which meets readers' expectations and admits the reader into the world of the masculine narrative.

According to Young, it is only possible to find meaning in the narrative if we have first rewritten it to position the Hemingway hero in an orderly Oedipal quest. De Lauretis explains

how such a process of reading creates its own fictions by promoting a coherent historical center at the expense of those pieces of the identity puzzle which do not fit or cannot be retrieved: "The history proper, in the modern definition, achieves both narrativity and historicity by filling in the gaps left in the annals and by endowing events with a plot structure and an order of meaning" (de Lauretis 1984: 127-8).

Taking for its theme the chaotic nature of narratives as they become subject to violently shifting perspectives and events without narrative climax, *In Our Time* demonstrates the artificiality of limited narrative perspectives. The impulse to direct the narrative changes continually in this volume because the protean nature of the shifting chapter perspectives allows various narratives, related or not, to interact on the pages of a single text. The collection insists that in a chaotic world this kind of convenient stability is unavailable. No matter how hard he tries, the individual in Hemingway's fiction is unlikely to be able to affirm the "controls of honor and courage which . . . make a man a man," and he, like the reader, finds himself "without inviolable rules for how to live" or how to read (Young 1966: 63).

Except for chapter VI, the vignettes focus on individuals who face only disgrace in the brutal situations they are caught in. There is no climax in any of these chapters; nor is there a sense of climax in their progression throughout the novel. We do return to stories about Nick Adams; but, while his is a recurring perspective in the collection, it is by no means the only one, or necessarily the most valuable. The interchapters are not merely vignettes or miniatures, but images contributing to an effect similar to cinematic montage: at the conclusion of Chapter XIV, we learn that "everything commenced to run faster and faster as when they speed up a cinematograph film. Then he was dead" (Hemingway 1986:131). The hero dies when the mechanics of the traditional masculine narrative break down and refuse to work according to expectations of both the phallogentric hero and reader. We are subject to rapidly moving images denying narrative closure and may begin to perceive the collection as a series of images and perspectives informing our own attempts to collect and fix a protean narrative like *In Our Time*.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Hemingway's *In Our Time* provoked many comments about its generic form, but no matter how we perceive it, we cannot deny the fact that the structure of the book owes much to the presentation of the strange phenomena of war and death of love, as well as the failure of traditional values, which the writer was particularly keen on evoking. The structure shows careful, if unresolved balancing of the Oedipal and anti-Oedipal narrative models, in particular as they are presented by de Lauretis. The same as his mighty predecessor Edgar Allan Poe, who carefully composed his stories, Hemingway elaborates his narrative technique and structure in order to achieve the ultimate unity of effect.

Vladislava Gordić Petković
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad
vladislava.gordic.petkovic@gmail.com

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UNRELIABLE NARRATION IN *HEART OF DARKNESS*, *PALE FIRE* AND *FLAUBERT'S PARROT*¹

Defining the unreliable narrator started with Wayne Booth's coining the term and since then has been attempted by a number of other scholars. However, the heterogeneity of this category makes it difficult to determine. The present article attempts to examine the characteristics of three narrators deemed unreliable in most critical studies, Marlow from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Kinbote from Nabokov's *Pale Fire* and Braithwaite from Barnes' *Flaubert's Parrot*. The novels examined present three different types of narratives – an adventure tale, a commentary on a poem, and a biography of a famous writer – all of which are supposed to be fairly objective accounts of past circumstances. The ways in which their narrators present them, however, turn these into multi-layered narratives with several competing storylines in each. Analyzing narrative devices, the article seeks to determine how we could recognize a potential unreliable narrator and what features of narration could serve as criteria for placing a character in this category. The first-person narration unavoidably carries a certain amount of unreliability owing to the subjective perspective of the narrators and their personal motives for storytelling. The narrators' ironic attitude in combination with humor invigorates their narratives, and since Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite are quite talented rhetoricians and appealing storytellers, their audiences follow them to the end of their inconclusive tales.

Keywords: narratology, unreliable narrator, Joseph Conrad, Vladimir Nabokov, Julian Barnes

1. INTRODUCTION

Do you know how poetry started? I always think that it started when a cave boy came running back to the cave, through the tall grass, shouting as he ran, "Wolf, wolf", and there was no wolf... the tall story had been born in the tall grass. (Nabokov 1990: 11)

The quote above underlines that much as storytelling is inherent in human nature, the same goes for the proclivity for telling tall stories, yarns, or in other words unreliable narratives. The exact novel in which the first unreliable narrator appeared cannot be determined, nor can this category be deemed typical of any specific period. However, what is conspicuous is the growing

¹ The article is a revised and adapted section from the master thesis entitled "Unreliable Narrators in *Heart of Darkness*, *Pale Fire*, and *Flaubert's Parrot*" completed at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, October 2010. The author is currently the recipient of a doctoral grant awarded by Serbian Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, and is cooperating on the project "Serbian Literature in the European Cultural Space" at the Institute for Literature and Arts, Belgrade (No. 178008).

number of critical studies on different aspects of narrative unreliability starting from the 1960s. In 1961 Wayne C. Booth published *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, a book which is still one of the most exhaustive and seminal studies on narration, where he first coined the term “unreliable narrator”. However important this coinage is in itself, it is only the beginning of a seemingly unending process of defining this concept. Discussing the function of the implied author, Booth emphasizes the importance of spotting an untrustworthy, fallible or unreliable narrator since in the case of such narration “the total effect of the work he relays to us is transformed” (Booth 1983: 158). Booth also notes the “hopelessly inadequate” terminology: “For lack of better terms, I have called a narrator *reliable* when he speaks for or acts in accordance with the norms of the work (which is to say, the implied author’s norms), *unreliable* when he does not” (1983: 158-9). Booth clarifies this rather vague definition by indicating that the narrator’s use of irony or deliberate deception is not enough to qualify him as unreliable; the true unreliability exists when “the narrator is mistaken, or he believes himself to have qualities which the author denies him” (1983: 159).² These attempts at clarifying this concept foreshadow future struggles of critics who have undertaken a challenging task of defining the unreliable narrator. Owing to the elusiveness of the category most of the narrators are classified not as strictly “reliable” or “unreliable”, but rather as “more or less unreliable”.

In a more recent study, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics*, Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan proposes another way of determining the unreliable narrator: “A reliable narrator is one whose rendering of the story and commentary on it the reader is supposed to take as an authoritative account of the fictional truth”, whereas an unreliable narrator is the narrator “whose rendering of the story and/or commentary on it the reader has reasons to suspect” (Rimmon-Kenan 2005: 103). However, even if we disregard the somewhat oxymoronic tone of the term “fictional truth”, we may note that such truth is equally difficult to determine as is Booth’s “implied author”. What is more helpful is Rimmon-Kenan’s looking into the potential signs of a narrator’s unreliability, which she defines as “the narrator’s limited knowledge, his personal involvement, and his problematic value-scheme” (2005: 103). The first two seem to be particularly appropriate for identifying unreliability, given that they indicate the narrator’s subjective point of view and biased depiction of events and characters.

Exploring the concept of character narration from a rhetorical viewpoint, with a particular emphasis on unreliability, James Phelan offers his definition of unreliable narrator, again in relation to the implied author: “A character narrator is ‘unreliable’ when he or she offers an account of some event, person, thought, thing, or other object in the narrative world that deviates from the account the implied author would offer” (Phelan 2005: 49). In his study *Living to Tell about It*, Phelan focuses on three narrative axes: the axis of facts, characters and events, the axis of knowledge and perception, and the axis of ethics and evaluation, in connection with the three roles of narrators – reporting, interpreting (or reading), and evaluating (or regarding). Combining these roles with two actions performed by the authorial audiences (namely, (1) rejecting the narrator’s words and reconstructing the narrative, and (2) supplementing the narrator’s story), Phelan identifies six types of unreliability: misreporting, misreading, misregarding, and underreporting, underreading, underregarding (2005: 51). Although different types of unreliability are usually combined, a narrator can also remain reliable while reporting events, but display unreliability in interpreting or evaluating them.³

² Booth also notes that “unreliable” is to be distinguished from “undependable”, another term applied for certain kinds of narrators, since “most unreliable narrators are dependable in the sense of being consistent” (Booth 1983: 300).

³ Narrative unreliability has provoked various responses from a number of critics. However, since the main topic of this

With the presently considered narrators in mind, we could add that an unreliable narrator is sometimes more than accurate in reporting and performs this with eloquence and wit, which makes him a rather appealing storyteller. The narrators' unreliability in interpreting or evaluating can be caused by a flaw in their characters, but also by the external circumstances which make it impossible for them to reach one final truth.

2. THREE YARN-SPINNERS – MARLOW, KINBOTE, BRAITHWAITE

This article examines the narrators of three novels published at different points in the 20th century – Charles Marlow from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1900), Charles Kinbote from Vladimir Nabokov's *Pale Fire* (1962), and Geoffrey Braithwaite from Julian Barnes' *Flaubert's Parrot* (1984) – who are usually perceived as unreliable by critics. The common features of these narrators are the first-person narration and their telling about past events which they not only witnessed, but in which they actively participated. This precludes an objective approach and hints at a subjective, biased attitude to the stories they tell, the result being their unreliability, sometimes in reporting, but mostly in evaluating and interpreting. A certain degree of reliability in their reporting is necessary since throughout most of the novels, Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite are the only narrative voices and as the audience we are largely dependent upon them.⁴ The narrators themselves are fully aware of their audiences and their roles of storytellers and thus could be identified as self-conscious narrators.⁵

On the surface, the examined works present three different kinds of narratives: *Heart of Darkness* begins as a seaman's account of a voyage up the Congo River; *Pale Fire* is supposed to be a critical edition of the poem "Pale Fire" by John Shade; and *Flaubert's Parrot* presents a biography (if somewhat unorthodox) of a famous French novelist. Judging by this, the reader should expect a fairly reliable presentation of events filled with factual information. The alleged centers of the narration are Kurtz, John Shade, and Gustave Flaubert, respectively, but their stories are just a front for the narrators' real endeavors. Each narrator tells at least two narratives, and in at least one of these the central place belongs to him. Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite are not mere passive observers, but fully-dramatized and active narrators. This active part in the narrated events gives them personal motives for their storytelling, that is, for telling their own stories.

Charles Marlow is Conrad's famous narrator who appears in several of his works, including *Heart of Darkness* and *Lord Jim*. The setting of the frame tale in *Heart of Darkness*, however, is presented by an unnamed narrator, who also introduces Marlow. Marlow is famous for spinning yarns, but it seems that he does this mainly for his own pleasure while the others simply tolerate him. His introductory comment about England once being a dark place is not met with either surprise or an angry countering, and in the course of the narrative some of his companions will even doze off. Nevertheless, Marlow continues "spinning the yarn" about his African journey, which he undertook aiming to reach the Inner Station and its chief, Kurtz.

article is not the unreliable narrator in general, nor the development of this narratological category, here are presented only those approaches considered relevant for this particular analysis. For a brief but quite informative overview of unreliability in narration, with an extensive list of useful bibliography on the topic, see Shen, 2011.

4 For the most part, but not throughout the whole novels. *Heart of Darkness* introduces the unnamed frame-narrator at the beginning, *Pale Fire* contains a poem written by John Shade, and *Flaubert's Parrot* brings excerpts from Flaubert's writings and a chapter written in Louise Collet's voice (although Braithwaite is the supreme narrator entity here as well).

5 See Booth 1983: 155

Being neither a typical seaman, nor a typical storyteller, the yarn Marlow spins becomes more than an attempt to amuse his fellow travelers by recounting a string of exaggerated and highly improbable occurrences. Marlow is struggling to narrate a story the meaning of which he himself cannot clearly discern. Looking back to Phelan's classification, we can say that Marlow's unreliability does not stem from his misreporting or underreporting; on the contrary, his reporting is meticulously precise and detailed. His trouble lies in interpreting and evaluating certain events and characters, eventually leading him to start doubting the possibility of talking about anything at all.

Since its publication in 1962 *Pale Fire* has attracted attention with its extraordinary structure, which disregards all traditional conventions of prose writing, and with its narrator, who once again confirms Nabokov's outstanding capacity for creating truly irresistible unreliable narrators. Charles Kinbote is a professor at the University in New Wye, who undertakes the project of editing and publishing "Pale Fire: A Poem in Four Cantos", by his neighbor and colleague, John Shade. Aside from the text of the poem itself, his critical edition contains his Foreword, Commentary, and Index, altogether comprising a fairly untraditional and fragmented narrative.⁶ The character of Charles Kinbote has two facets – Kinbote the critic and Kinbote the narrator. Kinbote the critic often seems like Nabokov's joke on scholars who read too much into a literary work.⁷ However, since Kinbote's *apparatus criticus* reveals a completely new story, Kinbote the narrator appears as a far more prominent element. Instead of commenting on the lyrical features of Shade's lines and possible references to the poet's biography, Kinbote foregrounds and largely misinterprets his personal relation to Shade, at the same time striving to prove Zembla the main theme. He is unreliable both as a commentator and as a narrator, and his unreliability also does not stem from misreporting or underreporting. He will quote a part of another professor's letter stating that some of the faculty are concerned for Shade's manuscript, because it "fell into the hands of a person who not only is unqualified for the job of editing it, belonging as he does to another department, but is known to have a deranged mind" (Nabokov 1992:150). Kinbote is trying to counter this by offering such interpretations and evaluations of events and characters that would discredit the others and convince the readers of his own trustworthiness. Although his migraines, his paranoid fears and contradictions in his narration suggest some sort of mental unsoundness and hence unreliability, we cannot qualify everything he says as a lie. As Brian McHale notes, in the case of *Pale Fire*

we can be sure that the narrator is radically unreliable, but without being able to determine [...] *in what ways* he is unreliable, or *to what degree*. [...] *Pale Fire*, in other words, is a text of absolute epistemological uncertainty. (McHale 1986: 69)

Similar to Charles Kinbote, Geoffrey Braithwaite, a retired doctor devoted to studying Flaubert, is both the narrator and a literary connoisseur. *Flaubert's Parrot*, apart from the fictional, contains numerous non-fictional elements, factual data on Flaubert's life, quotes from his correspondence and works, which makes this "a hybrid book which challenges any attempt at categorisation, classification and genre taxonomy" (Guignery 2006: 37). However,

6 Regarding the narrative(s) in *Pale Fire*, there exist at least two levels of fictional reality, intersecting at several points, and occasionally even blending into one level. This has been the subject of various readings and, as Robert Alter observes, "I am afraid the novel has inspired its own Kinbotian commentators among Nabokov's critics" (Alter 1978: 185). This article will here opt for the middle ground assuming that John Shade and Charles Kinbote exist on the same level, Shade as the author of the poem, and Kinbote as his strange and potentially mad colleague, who under the pretense of writing commentary introduces his story about Zembla, the existence of which will remain an enigma.

7 As David Rampton warns, "[e]very commentator must keep a wary eye out for creeping Kinbotism in his own work" (Rampton 1984: 160).

the backbone of the novel is the story about Geoffrey and Ellen, since, as Barnes himself observed, “[w]ithout the fictional infrastructure it wouldn’t exist as a novel, it seems to me. It would be a serious article” (McGrath 1987). Braithwaite’s search for the tiniest and most obscure facts about Flaubert’s life yields a work that contains a triple Chronology, bestiary of animals connected to Flaubert, chapter on the writer’s relation to trains, as well as Flaubert’s “apocrypha”, writings that never got published, all ending with “Braithwaite’s Dictionary of Accepted Ideas” and “Examination Paper”. The way these details are presented is so fragmentary that Merritt Moseley remarks that “[f]or a narrator, Geoffrey Braithwaite is unusual because he does so little narrating, that is, telling a story” (Moseley 1997: 74). But intertwined with this multitude of facts about Flaubert is the narrator’s personal story, which makes this a work of fiction and Braithwaite’s narration unreliable.

3. DEVICES OF UNRELIABLE NARRATION

James Phelan defines character narration as “an art of indirection”, observing that it is reflected in the author making one text function effectively for two audiences – the narratee and the authorial audience – and for the purposes of both the author and the character narrator, “while also combining in one figure (the “I”) the roles of both narrator and character” (Phelan 2005: 1). As characters, Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite are as developed and as memorable as Kurtz, Shade and Flaubert (perhaps even more so than the latter three), and the fact that they are so complex themselves makes them and their narration interesting and gripping, although we perceive inconsistencies and contradictions in their tales.

Marlow’s narration proceeds mostly in chronological order, in rather long sentences, which may strike readers as too long and elaborate for an oral narration. It is occasionally interrupted by the side remarks of his listeners, but also by his own comments, observations and thoughts on various subjects, for instance: “I hate, detest, and can’t bear a lie, not because I am straighter than the rest of us, but simply because it appalls me” (Conrad 1999: 54). Although he will later admit lying to Kurtz’s fiancée, this first statement is not entirely disproved in the course of the novel. Relying on Werner Senn’s analysis of Conrad’s narration, Stampfl notes the ambiguity of Marlow’s relation to the people he meets: “As an honorable man, he wants to tell the truth whatever the consequences; as a co-conspirator, he needs to perpetuate the lies that have always been used to justify imperialism” (Stampfl 1991: 189-190).⁸

Unlike Marlow, Kinbote imparts his narrative in written form, not directly exposed to, even hiding from his audience. His regular train of thoughts is interrupted by the loudness of his neighborhood or his headaches, but all of the several storylines are presented coherently, although in fragments. Discussing the style of Kinbote’s narration and of Nabokov’s unreliable narrators in general, Zoran Paunović notes that it is characterized by

a fine and elevated rhetoric, but occasionally uncontrolled, spasmodic syntax, as a reflection of some vaguely defined frustration, the true nature of which becomes clear gradually in the course of the novel, along with the wish of each of them to present his role and his status in the story he is telling the way it suits him. (Paunović 1997: 195, my translation)

⁸ Also to be noted is Senn’s conclusion that negative vocabulary and words such as “impenetrable”, “inconceivable”, and “incredible”, used throughout Marlow’s narrative, “evoke that sense of bafflement that stimulates active, imaginative inquiry and interpretation but also discourages all hope of ultimate and complete success” (Senn 1980, cited in Stampfl 1991: 187-188).

Kinbote's eloquent, elaborate descriptions and profound considerations about literature come as no surprise since he claims to be a dedicated literary scholar. He is always ready to offer his opinions on matters of literary theory, but also to employ different trends in his own narration. In his modest, and yet lavishly ornate manner, Kinbote even claims that his writings at times emulate the tone of John Shade:

I have reread, not without pleasure, my comments to his lines, and in many cases have caught myself borrowing a kind of opalescent light from my poet's fiery orb, and unconsciously aping the prose style of his own critical essays. (Nabokov 1992: 63)

We cannot make our own judgments on this point not having read any of Shade's essays, but undoubtedly, Kinbote's descriptive passages on Zembla are truly admirable.

Regarding Barnes' narrator Vanessa Guignery remarks that "Braithwaite's approach [...] consists in using the codes of traditional genres such as biography or historiography and then subverting them by revealing their inadequacy, which corresponds to the postmodernist method as delineated by [Linda] Hutcheon" (Guignery 2006: 44). The same author notes that Braithwaite is "a typical postmodernist self-conscious narrator in so far as he exposes the constraints upon his research and comments on his own choices as he goes along" (2006: 47). However, his narrative style often resembles that of the French novelist to such an extent that Braithwaite becomes a true "Flaubert's parrot" (2006: 49).

In order to give their narratives a greater significance and an objective tone, Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite wrap their personal stories in less emotionally charged ones, which results in multi-layered narratives. The existence of several intertwined storylines makes it difficult to distinguish between the main one and the digressions, since what first seems to be slight straying from the main topic turns out to be the true story. Beginning his account Marlow focuses on adventures and experiences prior to his African travels, but from the first mention of Kurtz, every character, conversation and event will be one way or another connected to the chief of the Inner Station, which points to Kurtz's story as a centerpiece of the narration. Peter Brooks notes that Marlow is not only a teller but a reteller (of Kurtz's story), but he also narrates about how he got to know it, and eventually it is "less Kurtz's story that he tells than his own story inhabited, as it were, by Kurtz's story" (Brooks 1996: 82). Still, Marlow's narration touches on much more general issues of colonialism and human nature so that both his and Kurtz's stories eventually turn out to be baits used to draw audience's attention to more serious questions.

Critical studies of the kind *Pale Fire* was supposed to be do not necessarily contain intimate details of the poet's life, such as those in Kinbote's Foreword and Commentary. The story of Zembla actually occupies far more space than the text dealing with the examined poem and the analysis of particular lines. Kinbote claims that Zembla is indeed the intended theme of "Pale Fire" and to prove that his opinion is authoritative, he must first prove his great friendship with the poet. His expertise on the subject is doubtful, since as an accurate reporter, Kinbote has revealed his poor reputation among colleagues. To offset this, he inserts another story, the story of a wonderful, albeit brief friendship between Shade and himself and devotes a lot of space in his commentary to their encounters, talks, time they spent together. In Kinbote's view, this makes it quite plausible that he influenced Shade to compose a poem about Charles Xavier.

The multiplicity of narrative lines, and the narrators' confusion about which story they are really trying to tell, perhaps is best summed up by Braithwaite's statement:

Three stories contend within me. One about Flaubert, one about Ellen, one about myself. My own is the simplest of the three [...] Ellen's is a true story; perhaps it is

even the reason why I am telling you Flaubert's story instead. (Barnes, 1985: 85-6) The greatest part of Braithwaite's narrative deals with Flaubert, then comes the story about the narrator searching for the facts about the writer, whereas the least space is devoted to Ellen. Ellen's story is the one the narrator truly wants to tell but also the one that provokes intense emotions in him. His struggle with Ellen's story is manifest from the fragments that appear throughout the novel until he finally manages to unravel a coherent narrative in Chapter 13.

In their storytelling the narrators often introduce parallel situations, events and characters, which is a chance for them to express their views indirectly. Marlow begins his yarn with the story about the Roman conquerors' arrival on the British Isles, one of the images showing a ship commander, who came from the rich and developed Mediterranean to "the very end of the world", the hostile-looking Thames Estuary. With his first sentence, "[a]nd this also [...] has been one of the dark places of the earth" (Conrad 1999: 33), Marlow makes an implied parallel between the then England and the present Africa. England *also* used to be a place of darkness, where soldiers from a great European empire got lost in the wilderness and died exhausted by cold and sickness. Forced to spend time in such surroundings, a decent young toga-wearing citizen starts feeling an increasing abomination and hatred: "Imagine the growing regrets, the longing to escape, the powerless disgust, the surrender, the hate" (1999: 34), as is the case with Marlow's contemporaries in Congo, Kurtz for instance. On the one hand, this is a parallel between the ancient Britain and contemporary Congo, as colonized spaces; on the other hand, there is also an implied parallel between the Roman and the British Empires, as great colonial forces and oppressors of foreign peoples. This could be Marlow's way of telling us the fate of Britain will be the same as the one of the Ancient Rome. This may not happen any time soon; however, time is relative and as Marlow points out, "[w]e live in the flicker – may it last as long as the old earth keeps rolling!" (1999: 33).

How important and useful the parallels can be in narration becomes evident from Kinbote's desperate efforts to find every even remotely possible parallels between Shade's verses and the story he wants to tell. From the very beginning in his Foreword Kinbote uses parallel constructions to hint at his "true" identity, but when he asks his audience to "imagine", he is in fact much more explicit than Marlow above:

Imagine a soft, clumsy giant; imagine a historical personage whose knowledge of money is limited to the abstract billions of a national debt; [...] This is to say – oh, hyperbolically – that *I am* the most impractical fellow in the world. (Nabokov 1992: 12-13, my emphasis)

Throughout his comments Kinbote makes implied parallels between the world of New Wye and Charles Xavier's kingdom, calling Sybil an "anti-Karlist" and interpreting Shade's "that crystal land" as Zembla. In addition, in order to establish a connection between Shade's activities and the gradual approach of Jacob Gradus, Kinbote uses synchronization throughout his commentary.⁹

Braithwaite's investigation and frequent referring to Flaubert's life and works is meant to keep his head clear and his feelings under control, because "[b]ooks are where things are explained to you; life is where things aren't" (Barnes 1985: 168). Moseley, however, points out that this is precisely what prevents Braithwaite from approaching the narration objectively "because his studies in Flaubert keep turning up parallels for his own situation, unlikely as

⁹ Although he himself uses synchronization in a number of places, Kinbote hypocritically criticizes Shade for using it in "Pale Fire" concluding that it makes the section "too labored and long, especially since the synchronization device has been already worked to death by Flaubert and Joyce" (Nabokov 1992: 151).

these may seem” (Moseley 1997: 80). *Flaubert’s Parrot* is all about parallels and alternative versions. Parallels allow the narrator to remain vague about events he is not comfortable telling and to enable his narratees to reach their own conclusions. *Flaubert’s Parrot* presents parallels in the relationships of three couples: Flaubert and Louise Colet, Charles and Emma Bovary, and Geoffrey and Ellen. Braithwaite feels readier to talk about the adulterous behavior of Emma Bovary than to face the adulteries committed by his wife Ellen. When he senses that he might have been unfair on the women in Flaubert’s life, he composes a monologue by Louise Colet based on the scarce pieces of information available. When it comes to Ellen, he certainly has enough information about her life, but is barely able to coherently present his own views about their relationship, let alone compose one whole chapter from her point of view. The story of Ellen becomes “a running, usually completely implicit counterpoint to the story – or rather, not story but chronology, bestiary, alternate truth, dictionary of received ideas – of Flaubert” (Moseley 1997: 80). Another parallel is the reference to Mauriac and his *Mémoires intérieures*, where the narrator observes that Mauriac “writes his ‘Mémoires’, but they aren’t his memoirs. [...] Instead, Mauriac tells us about the books he’s read, the painters he’s liked, the plays he’s seen. He finds himself by looking in the works of others” (Barnes 1985: 96). Despite his denials, Braithwaite is himself playing the Mauriac game – using Flaubert to tell his own story.

Foreshadowing as a narrative device in the stories of Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite serves to create a proper atmosphere, prepare the audience for the following events, and keep them alert by gradually increasing suspense. From the very start, Marlow’s each step is marked by an ominous sign. Looking at the map he notices that Africa, once a blank space, has recently become “a place of darkness”, while the Congo River reminds him of a snake and hypnotizes him like a helpless bird. The offices of the Company which will give him an employment in Africa are in “a narrow and deserted street in deep shadow”, and “dead silence” predominates. Sitting at the entrance to the offices are two women knitting black wool (Conrad 1999: 37). Marlow’s description so far has been so portentous that one cannot help but wonder if he is exaggerating a little. Was the wool in the hands of the two knitters really black?

Kinbote’s and Braithwaite’s narratives are more fragmented and the application of foreshadowing is different. While Marlow points to certain situations that will prophetically predict future events, Kinbote and Braithwaite use hints to lead the readers towards true stories, tentatively unraveling them throughout the narrative. In his Foreword Kinbote foreshadows the events from the story about Zembla, but also his own unreliability, stalking tendencies and potential madness. This foreshadowing is mostly unintentional and caused by the circumstances which distract our narrator: “There is a very loud amusement park right in front of my present lodgings” (Nabokov 1992: 9). Such explanations are supposed to excuse Kinbote but they invariably point to the unreliability of his account. That Kinbote is a keen observer and an accurate reporter, but a rather poor interpreter of events, is shown in the following passage also included in Foreword, which warns us about the narrator’s low reputation among colleagues:

This fact would be sufficient to show that the imputations made [...] in a newspaper interview with one of our professed Shadeans [...] is a malicious invention on the part of those who would wish not so much to deplore the state in which a great poet’s work was interrupted by death as to asperse the competence, and perhaps honesty, of its present editor and commentator. (Nabokov 1992: 10)

Before getting to the “Pure Story” Braithwaite’s occasional comments about love and adultery and interrupted sentences about Ellen scattered throughout the novel foreshadow the final revelation of past events: “I never thought my wife was perfect. I loved her, but I never

deceived myself. I remember... But I'll keep that for another time" (Barnes 1985: 76). These interpolations are less of a consciously employed narrative device than a sign of the narrator's incapability to speak about his marriage.¹⁰ Also, while embarking on metanarrative discussions of literary theory and practice, Braithwaite actually points to his own storytelling:

When a contemporary narrator hesitates, claims uncertainty, misunderstands, plays games and falls into error, does the reader in fact conclude that reality is being more authentically rendered? [...] As for the hesitating narrator – look, I'm afraid you've run into one right now. (Barnes 1985: 89)

As a way of indirectly showing an attitude, irony is another feature found in the narratives of Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite. This also brings them closer to the audience, at least that part of audience who can identify the ironic approach and sense the narrator's underlying judgment. Much as this irony can be directed towards somebody or something in their surroundings, its object is often the narrator himself, usually when he is referring to his actions from an earlier period of his life. While Marlow relates what he thought and believed in when he set off on his African adventures, it soon becomes clear that his attitude regarding a number of issues has significantly changed in the meantime. Having described the Roman colonizers conquering Britain and thus establishing the basic parallel with the contemporary state of affairs in the Congo, Marlow insists that European colonizing policy in the 19th century is quite different from Roman owing to its "devotion to efficiency". The Romans were not "colonizers" but "conquerors", looters who terrorized and killed the people whose land they occupied, but Marlow's contemporaries are different:

The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. (Conrad 1999: 34)

However, after "looking into it too much", we see clearly how ironic it is to justify such conquests with "the idea", especially when Marlow's further descriptions of the dying people in African forests also point to the hypocrisy of these seemingly noble notions. The narrator adopts an ironic attitude towards both the society he lives in, and the younger version of himself. Marlow claims that he was not in the least surprised when he heard that Fresleven, the man who had beaten up an African chief, was

the gentlest, quietest creature that ever walked on two legs. [...] but he had been a couple of years already out there engaged in the noble cause, you know, and he probably felt the need at last of asserting his self-respect in some way. Therefore he whacked the old nigger mercilessly... (Conrad 1999: 36-7)

More irony follows: the chief's son stopped Fresleven by killing him and the Dane's body was abandoned by everybody – his own men left him in fear of the natives, and the natives did not dare to come near him fearing *force majeure*. And all this was caused by a misunderstanding over two black hens.

Kinbote's irony, while showing his wit and sense of humor, often reveals his contempt for a person, usually someone otherwise highly regarded. Having introduced his landlord, Hugh Warren Goldsworth, as "authority on Roman Law and distinguished judge", Kinbote describes all the instructions the judge left for his tenant and derisively calls his household items

¹⁰ Braithwaite's hesitating and insecure manner in narrating led Guignery to identify aposiopesis ("a sudden break in writing which suggests unwillingness or inability to proceed and which appears whenever Braithwaite starts talking about his private life" (Guignery 2006: 47)) as his main rhetorical figure.

“Goldsworthiana” (Nabokov 1992: 64-66). On the occasion of a Faculty Club lunch, after Prof. H.’s remark about an emeritus from Boston being “a true Patrician, a real blue-blooded Brahmin”, Kinbote sarcastically points out (as an aside to his audience) that “the Brahmin’s grandsire sold braces in Belfast” (1992: 166). A largely ironical approach is assumed with regard to Jakob Gradus, the novel’s villain, assassin of kings and poets, who is presented as a clumsy and laughable character. However, the greatest irony achieved by Kinbote is his remark on the relation between the poet and the editor:

Let me state that without my notes Shade’s text simply has no human reality at all [...]

To this statement my dear poet would probably not have subscribed, but, for better or worse, it is the commentator who has the last word. (Nabokov 1992: 21)

Such assertion encountered immediately in the Foreword, before we even see the poem, negates all his later praises and glorifications of Shade’s mastery.

In *Flaubert’s Parrot*, Braithwaite approaches irony from a theoretical perspective considering it as a literary device. In his “Dictionary of Accepted Ideas”, next to the entry “Irony” the narrator offers the following definition: “The modern mode: either the devil’s mark or the snorkel of sanity. Flaubert’s fiction poses the question: Does irony preclude sympathy? There is no entry for *ironie* in his Dictionary. This is perhaps intended to be ironic” (Barnes 1985: 155). Perhaps this last observation is true indeed, considering what Braithwaite pointed out a few chapters before: “Flaubert’s Dictionary offers a course in irony [...] This is the attraction, and also the danger, of irony: the way it permits a writer to be seemingly absent from his work, yet in fact hintingly present” (1985: 87).

4. CONCLUSION

In analyzing Marlow’s, Kinbote’s and Braithwaite’s storytelling, this article has attempted to show that the unreliable narrators conscious of their role of storytellers can possess great narrative skills and employ various narrative devices quite deftly. The precision of their detailed accounts and meticulousness of their narration show that their unreliability does not stem from their misreporting or underreporting, but mostly from their inadequate interpreting or evaluating. Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite cannot impart their stories directly because these are the stories of personal disappointments – Marlow is disappointed in Kurtz and the “noble cause”, Kinbote is disappointed in Shade and the poem, and Braithwaite is disappointed in Ellen and their marriage. Therefore, they employ their rhetorical skills and resort to parallel storylines, foreshadowing and irony to convey their stories indirectly.

As self-conscious narrators, Marlow, Kinbote and Braithwaite face the challenges and doubts of all authors, such as those expressed in Marlow’s lament about the impossibility of reliable narration starting with what might be the key question: “Do you see the story? Do you see anything? It seems to me I am trying to tell you a dream – making a vain attempt” (Conrad 1999: 55). This is in line with what Moseley perceives as a Flaubertian irony – the growing number of parrots suggests that “[p]ursuing the search does not reduce the alternatives but increases them” (Moseley 1997: 70). In the end, their tales remain perhaps intentionally “inconclusive yarns”, and the readers are not led to a final truth. The reasons for this are not only Marlow’s shaken and confused value-system, nor Kinbote’s headaches and possible insanity, nor Braithwaite’s personal grief and suffering of the betrayed husband, but the fact that reality itself is rather hard to grasp with words. However, following the idea that the quest is more important than the goal, these narrators persist in telling stories, for this brings them

consolation, an escape from drab reality, and a chance to draw the audience's attention to the existence of other perspectives, other worlds, and other truths.

Bojana Aćamović
University of Belgrade
bojana.acamovic@gmail.com

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PLAYING LOUD BUT REAL AND STRONG: THE TROPES OF JAZZ IN MICHAEL ONDAATJE'S *COMING THROUGH SLAUGHTER*

This paper deals with Michael Ondaatje's 1976 novel *Coming through Slaughter* and the elements of jazz undeniably present in it. Being the fictional biography of the famous jazz pioneer Charles "Buddy" Bolden, the novel certainly lives up to the most basic definition of the jazz prose. It recounts the life of the jazz musician and contains many passages on music and playing, complemented by the atmosphere of New Orleans at the beginning of the 20th century. However, this paper aims at proving that the influences of jazz music are more profound, existing in a layer that is considerably deeper than this superficial level of plot and characters. We shall discuss the natural affinity existing between jazz and postmodernism, using the novel to provide illustrations. In *Coming through Slaughter*, Ondaatje utilizes various jazz techniques and tropes such as improvisation and collage, as well as different jazz rhythms, mimicked by different props and shifts in his narration. This results in creating an immensely rich narrative pastiche, consisting of recounts by different narrators, photographs, documents, poems, newspaper clippings and transcripts, all of these making *Coming through Slaughter* a postmodern novel par excellence. Moreover, the bond Ondaatje creates between form and content is so organic that the jazz influences tend to blend together with the common postmodern narrative devices so effortlessly that they establish *Coming through Slaughter* as a paragon of jazz novel.

Key words: jazz novel, postmodernism, poliphony, hybrid literature

1. INTRODUCTION

When Buddy Bolden tuned up you could hear him clean
Clean across the river clean across the river
He woke up the working people and kept the easy living
Call on Buddy Bolden call him Buddy Bolden
Watch it he's calling his flock now
He's calling his flock now here they come. (Simone/Ellington 1962)

In 1955, at the moment when the Cold War was already in its full swing and the polarized planet considerably shaken by the muffled thuds of the kind of paranoia that would yield a completely new, postmodern, view of the world, *New York Times* published a bombastic headline: "America owns a secret nuclear weapon – jazz" (Gennari 1991: 476). The fact is that the influence jazz exerted on masses at the given moment could hardly have been a secret to anyone. It should still not be overlooked that a public affirmation such as this one certainly presented a major milestone for a musical expression that had originated from the very bottom of American society, from the joints and brothels frequented by recently freed slaves, only to flood the farthest corners of the planet some half a century later with the force of radioactive tide. This mushroom cloud that would change American music and society for good was in fact

the trumpet of Armstrong and Davis, the saxophone of Coltrane and Parker, and was also the legacy of all those great people who relentlessly unstitched the tissue of contemporary music in order to reach the layer of the simplest musical phrases, wherefrom supernaturally loud, strong and sharp musical mutants would emerge, irresistible in their shattered beauty, as was the voice of Billie Holiday. The fission blasted the waltz, hymn and light popular music, but they were already deadened in their stupor; the fusion “contaminated” the remnants with the African heritage of blues, gospel and tribal chants, thus giving birth to swing, bebop and rock’n’roll, those most obvious musical exponents of a new era emerging. In addition, in the mid-twentieth century the influence of jazz started to spill over the edges of music and art in general, onto the field of politics. In other words, jazz was indeed a weapon, though not the weapon of mass destruction as indicated by the *New York Times* headline, but of democratization of American society and liberation of Afro-Americans, that most articulate and urgent cry demanding equality. Furthermore, jazz orchestras at the time also had their own diplomatic mission, globally spreading American influence along with their music during endless tours of European and world metropolises, as favourite ambassadors of their country.

However, other artistic forms still remained the most fertile ground for the development of jazz influence, and the wave of jazz aesthetics swiftly spread to dance, visual arts and literature. The concepts of jazz dance and jazz ballet acquired a generalized meaning around the middle of the last century, when they started to refer not only to the dance accompanying jazz music performance, but also to all dance forms that contained elements of the Afro-Caribbean tradition of tribal dance. Thus defined jazz dance and jazz ballet have persisted until today as some of the most popular styles of contemporary dancing (*Encyclopædia Britannica* 2014). Jazz experienced its own evolution hand in hand with the twentieth-century visual arts and it quickly came to represent a strong influence and aesthetic mode from which numerous visual artists drew their inspiration. There are grounded studies dealing with the connections between jazz and cubism, exploring similarities found in the aesthetic matrices, which rely on multiperspectivity, improvisation, collage, and comparing the influences of Pablo Picasso and Louis Armstrong on contemporary culture.¹ This interconnectedness of jazz and the visual continued to be developed within the work of Henri Matisse, particularly his famous monograph *Jazz* (1947), and has persisted until this very day.

Yet the influence of jazz was still most strongly felt in literature. This relationship could be considered natural, since many similarities and much blending and overlapping are easily found in the aesthetic patterns of modernism and postmodernism on the one hand, and jazz on the other. The origins of this phenomenon can be traced to crudeness, rhythmicity, improvisation, intertextuality and collaging, which constitute major characteristics of the two literary movements and simultaneously represent some of the most significant features of jazz, while actually stemming from the African heritage of Afro-Americans and their traditional art. At first, popular black music naturally spread its influence on modernist poetry as early as 1920s, after which jazz poetry reached its peak through the activities of movements such as Harlem Renaissance, Beat Movement and Black Arts Movement. Having taken its roots in the oral traditions of African griots, jazz idiom went preserved in slave chants and, being modulated in blues songs, it pervaded the verses of Eliot, Pound and Cummings, providing the driving force for the return to tradition in the poetry of Langston Hughes. Beatniks such as Kerouac and Ginsberg almost regularly performed their poems with the musical accompaniment of jazz ensembles, until the 1970s, when jazz finally obtained what could be considered its

¹ An example is Gennari’s study (“Jazz Criticism: Its Development and Ideologies”).

most powerful poetic expression in the mature works of poets such as Amiri Baraka and Sonia Sanchez. However, the influence of jazz was not strictly limited to poetry and it soon found its way to prose as well, particularly the novel, where it was first noticeable in plot development, tone and setting, while gradually changing the very form and substance of the novel, which started to adopt and emulate characteristic jazz patterns (usually rhythmical ones)². The first group of novels that were inspired by jazz or used it as a tone-setting element, began with a bang that was the oeuvre of Francis Scott Fitzgerald, a helm of the so-called *Jazz Age* in American literature, whose fiction always evoked sleepless nights, clouded in the smoke of popular New York nightclubs and house parties where sweating bodies would squeeze indecently together to the music of popular city orchestras. The trend was continued with famous novels by Langston Hughes, Dale Curran, Dorothy Baker, Carl Van Vechten and Ralph Ellison, all of which had the tone of jazz or jazz musicians as their heroes. What is more, jazz as a tone-setting element also prominently figured in light literature that proliferated in the 1930s and 1940s through the works of many authors, including the masters of crime fiction, Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett.

And yet, the so-called jazz novel would see its days of glory with the rise of postmodernism, when the new view of the world and literature would be especially favourable to this kind of experimenting with hybrid literary forms that are most successful at capturing the essence of music in a written word. The short novel *Coming through Slaughter* (1976), written by a Canadian author, Michael Ondaatje, well deservedly holds its place in this collection of masterpieces, chronologically following Ishmael Reed's *Mumbo Jumbo* and preceding famous novels by Ntozake Shange and Toni Morrison.³ Although *Coming through Slaughter* was his first novel, Ondaatje was hardly an emerging author. He had at the time already published several poetry collections⁴ and was considered one of Canada's best young poets. *Coming through Slaughter* was preceded by a long narrative poem, *Collected Works of Billy the Kid* (1973), winner of the prestigious Canadian Governor General's Award, which bears many a thematic and formal resemblance to Ondaatje's first novel.⁵ The two make up a certain kind of American diptych within Ondaatje's oeuvre, dealing with two important figures in American history. The poem and the novel are fictional biographies of their respective heroes: William Bonney, better known as Billy the Kid, a famous Wild West outlaw and gunslinger, and Charles "Buddy" Bolden, a New Orleans cornetist and jazz pioneer. However different the two protagonists might at a first glance appear, both works deal with talent, doom and vicious circle of madness and self-destruction. Regardless of the different genres they belong to, the two works still share stylistic and structural similarities: *Billy the Kid* is doubtlessly a poetic piece, notwithstanding its narrative aspects, whereas the novel *Coming through Slaughter* definitely belongs to prose genre, although Ondaatje as a poet remains conspicuously present in it. Still, what constitutes a clear difference between the two works is the novel's deep-rootedness in the jazz tradition, at both conceptual and structural levels.

In order for a literary work to be defined as representative of jazz-based art, several basic criteria are usually used. Considering the fact that the jazz novel evolved gradually, with new elements making appearance somewhat chronologically, some of these criteria have already

2 The basic concepts of jazz writing and jazz novel used in this paper were taken from Michael Jarett's paper "Four Choruses on the Tropes of Jazz Writing".

3 The novels alluded to are *Sassafrass*, *Cypress & Indigo* by Ntozake Shange (1982) and *Jazz* by Toni Morrison (1992).

4 *The Dainty Monsters* (1967), *The Man with Seven Toes* (1969), *Rat Jelly* (1973).

5 Llarena Ascanio's comprehensive PhD thesis on Michael Ondaatje was used as the source for the parts of this paper dealing with Ondaatje's oeuvre in general.

been mentioned in this paper. However, since they represent the basis for the analysis of the novel, a more systematic overview is here conveniently given. Namely, a number of jazz novels have protagonists who are either jazz musicians or passionate jazz fans; in such novels, music plays an important role in the character and plot development. In addition, some novels use jazz as a tone-setting element, not unlike a fragrant spice which adds a nuance to characters or setting. These two characteristics are usually connected with those novels written at the time when the popularity of jazz music was at its highest, that is, before the beginning of the 1960s, when jazz was succeeded by rock'n'roll on the throne of popular music. Jazz as an element of the atmosphere is still present, even today, especially when a certain historical context needs to be evoked, and this literary role of jazz has not changed much ever since *The Great Gatsby*. However, the appearance of the most accomplished form of the jazz novel coincides with the rise of postmodernism as a new artistic and literary movement. The postmodern novel as a genre is exceptionally susceptible to experiments in form and, as such, it becomes extremely fertile ground for implementing jazz as a stylistic device. Many postmodern masterpieces liberally use improvisation, collaging and pastiche, irony and other techniques that are characteristic of jazz, trying to transpose them into the written word.

In his *Coming through Slaughter*, Michael Ondaatje managed to make an intersection of all the three mentioned aspects, thus completing a work that represents a seldom case of a fully fledged and thoroughly accomplished jazz novel. This implies that music is an integral part of this work, quite inseparable from the plot, characters or form.

2. JAZZ AND CHARACTERS

Unconcerned with the crack of the lip he threw out and held immense notes, could reach a force on the first note that attacked the ear. He was obsessed with the magic of air, those smells that turned neuter as they revolved in his lung then spat out in the chosen key [...] He could see the air, could tell where it was freshest in a room by the colour. (Ondaatje 2004: 8)

Coming through Slaughter is a jazz novel in the most traditional sense of the phrase, since it presents a fictional biography of a jazz musician, Charles “Buddy” Bolden, a cornetist and bebop pioneer. Surprisingly little material evidence of this celebrated artist’s life and work has remained: there are no recordings of him playing and his face is captured in a single photograph of him and his band, a photograph that is often reprinted on the novel’s front cover. However, despite the smooth patina of oblivion that steadily covered the facts of Buddy Bolden’s life, or was it precisely because of this mystery that surrounded his personality, Buddy Bolden has over the years grown into a figure of mythical dimensions, thus inspiring many great musicians. Among them we find names such as Duke Ellington, Nina Simone and Jelly Roll Morton, whose song “Buddy Bolden’s Blues” was inspired by a famous composition attributed to Bolden, and has until today had many renditions and become a true jazz standard. What is even more interesting, Buddy Bolden’s career and personality have inspired not only musicians: he appears as a character of at least three theatre plays and six novels (some of which are curiously written as detective thrillers).⁶ Constructing his story of Buddy Bolden, Michael Ondaatje took certain facts from the musician’s life, used some bits of information that were even back then known to be part of the urban legend that had, over decades, by word of mouth, been fabricated around Bolden (Llarena Ascanio 2001: 306), and also introduced some personal interventions

⁶ The plays are written by August Wilson and the novels by Peter J. Heck, David Falmer and Louis Maistros.

to adorn his hero with a Faustian measure and elevate the story to the level of legend of a doomed artist, to whom talent is the albatross around the Ancient Mariner's neck. Be that as it may, Ondaatje's Buddy is a daytime barber in a shop where he collects gossip from his customers to fill the tabloid he edits. Buddy's wife Nora is an ex-prostitute, and their two children adore their father for his hyperactive behaviour and childlike spirit. Still, Buddy is first and foremost the brightest star of New Orleans clubs, in which he performs every night with his band. He is "the best and the loudest and most loved jazzman of his time, but never professional in the brain" (Ondaatje 2004: 8). At the same time, Buddy drinks too much, due to which his mind becomes more and more obfuscated. Having nearly killed and irreparably mutilated Nora's ex-pimp during a drunken bloody fight, caused by his doubts that his wife is cheating on him, Buddy disappears without a trace for two years. During this time, he lives in a typically Ondaatjean love triangle with a woman called Robin and her musician husband. Once he is finally found, Buddy returns to New Orleans where he would, after only a week's time, suffer a nervous breakdown while playing on a parade, after which he is taken to a mental institution, where he would spend another twenty-four years, the rest of his life.

The relationship between Bolden and his music, that is, between the artist and his work of art, could be considered as the central theme of Ondaatje's novel. Nevertheless, not in a single moment does the author offer the final answer to the question of what music represents for Buddy: whether it is salvation, damnation, vent for his frustrations, or merely soundtrack to his demise. At a certain point, a friend of Bolden informs us that he is afraid of Buddy's music, because he knows that "the Lord don't like that mixing the Devil's music with His music" (Ondaatje 2004: 78). Ondaatje further develops this theme in the following paragraph:

When he blows blues I can see Lincoln Park with all the sinners and whores shaking and belly rubbing and the chicks getting way down and slapping themselves on the cheeks of their behind. Then when he blows the hymn I'm in my mother's church with everybody humming. The picture kept changing with the music. It sounded like a battle between the Good Lord and the Devil. Something tells me to listen and see who wins. (Ondaatje 2004: 78)

One thing can still be concluded while reading the novel: the process of artistic creation stands in conflict with the principle of order personified in Buddy's life by the two women, Nora and Robin. Living with a woman bears crucial importance for Buddy's integrity and mental health, yet it seems that the presence of women constitutes an inhibiting factor to his creativity. In his marriage to Nora, family life is completely separated from Buddy's music, both spatially and conceptually. During his affair with Robin, Buddy does not play at all. It is, however, interesting that Robin's husband Jaelin is the one who frustratedly tips the keys of his piano while Robin is making love with Buddy upstairs. Perhaps the most accurate judgment would be that music is the harbinger of Buddy's spiritual and mental transition; the sound produced by his mind as it crosses over from the state of chaos to serenity and back again. While living happily with Robin and Jaelin, Buddy does not play at all; however, when the return to the big city puts the peace of his mind into jeopardy, music starts to pour out of him once again in a discharge so powerful that it would irreparably scorch his brain and make him spend the rest of his life in dumbness and madness.

3. JAZZ AS TONE AND ATMOSPHERE

He walks out of the crowd, struggles through onto the street and begins playing, too

loud but real and strong you couldn't deny him, and then he went back into the crowd. (Ondaatje 2004: 33)

In his debut novel Ondaatje succeeds in giving a striking, nearly tangible, description of the urban America of the early 1900s. Although its major part is set in the New Orleans black community, *Coming through Slaughter* takes up no stance as regards the issues of race and racism, except through several incidental references. The general impression is that of the duality of the world. However, this duality is not based on the colour of the skin, but on a much deeper contrast between the underworld realm of night and the aboveground daytime realm. Like a Maxwell particle, Buddy Bolden oscillates between these two realms and at the same time represents the single point of contact between them. Surroundings play such an important role in Buddy's life, and in the entire novel as well, that it is of no surprise that at the very beginning Ondaatje defines the novel not as a biography, but "geography" of the protagonist (Ondaatje 2004: 2). The aboveground realm comprises Buddy's family life in the suburbs, his wife Nora, games with his children, the barber shop and even the nearly pastoral atmosphere of the Brewitts' home. New Orleans at night is a turbulent industry of sex and fun, "[w]here the price of a teenage virgin was \$800 in 1860" and "money poured in, slid around" (Ondaatje 2004: 3). Ondaatje tells us that New Orleans of the time had no less than 2000 prostitutes, at least 70 professional gamblers and 30 pianists who "took in several thousands each in weekly tips" (Ondaatje 2004: 3). These two worlds are depicted by constant shifts from documentary material to vivid faux-documentary prose, than to highly personal accounts of a number of characters and spiced up with ever present music. Such composition of the novel directly refers to the terms of polyphony/heteroglossia and carnival, as defined by Michael Bakhtin.⁷ The multitude of narrators and perspectives truly represent this heteroglot "dialogized speech diversity" (Bakhtin 1989: 26). Different voices enter the novel in different ways and in different forms, through various narrators, paraphrasing and appropriation of different conventions, registers and dialects, by including found documents and artefacts and fictional journalistic articles. All these illustrate the carnivalesque world of New Orleans which is indeed deeply Bakhtinian in its ambivalence, constructed on coexisting contrasts of prose and poetry, word and music, gravity and humour (that is irony), life and death, high and low, aboveground and subterranean. Exponents of this duality in the novel are the two friends of Buddy's: a handicapped photographer Bellocq who is roaming around town taking photos of the creatures of the underworld, and Webb, a police detective who tries to find his disappeared friend Bolden in slums and streets, and adds a hint of noir atmosphere to the novel. These two also personify the two sides of Buddy's schizoid personality. John Ernest Joseph Bellocq is a historical figure who was at his time a famous commercial photographer. He will be remembered for his photographs of New Orleans nightlife and portraits of marginalized individuals, most of which were only discovered several decades after his death. Bellocq's character in the novel relies only superficially on historical facts and largely represents a product of Ondaatje's imagination. He is Buddy's faithful companion on his journey through the underworld, the realm in which Buddy's creativity acquires its best expression. As if he were the apotheosis of the artist and artistic act in its most extreme form, this deformed little man compulsively sublimates libidinal frustrations through the lens of his camera. He has an extensive collection of the photographs of city prostitutes, in which he manages to capture all the paradox, irony and poignancy of their

⁷ It seems that the very concept of jazz novel is inherently formally subversive, while the pastiche that Ondaatje employs here, which will be thoroughly explained later on, is actually a type of extremely elaborate heteroglossia/polyphony.

shattered beauty, the contrast between pure sexuality and stigmatizing vice. One of his former models is Nora, who is led by the Orpheus-like figure of Bolden out of this urban Hades and into the light of day, where she would become an exemplary wife and mother. At the time of Buddy's disappearance, Bellocq dies, together with most of his negatives, in the fire set by himself in his own studio, his death coinciding with Buddy's creative block. Unlike Bellocq, Webb belongs to the daytime realm and he carries within himself all the attributes of the rational and mundane, throwing a *web* of social norms on Bolden. As Buddy's long-standing friend, he would console Nora in Buddy's absence while simultaneously trying to find him in the clubs of disputable respectability and dirty streets of New Orleans. His quest evokes noir atmosphere and detectives such as Sam Spade or Philip Marlowe. Webb would finally locate Bolden in the purgatory he has chosen for himself in the isolation of the Brewitts' home, and convince him to return. The attitude of Buddy's two friends towards his creativity is of some interest. Webb encourages Buddy to start playing anew and tells him that not using his talent is a pity; Webb, however, has a superficial and economic understanding of this talent, seeing it as another means to settle Bolden down to his old life and family. Still, this return and reintegration will prove to be fatal, since coming back to the entropic existence between two realms makes Buddy implode and fall silent forever. On the other hand, Bellocq never sets such demands to his friend because, being himself a true artist, he knows that creativity is not something that can be switched on and off at will; nor is it a blessing, but an obsessive need that haunts man. Muses of creativity are merely restrained demons of destruction and, confronting them, Bellocq will himself literally burn to death, thus leaving the procession of this novel, both carnivalesque and funerary, from which everybody, just like Bolden, steps out at a certain point in order to play their part, and then disappears once again in the crowd of entranced dancers.

4. JAZZ IN FORM, STYLE AND LANGUAGE

Jazz is written most indelibly in sound, color, texture, and movement: in the crystalline tones and strutting swagger of Louis Armstrong's trumpet, in the blue shadings and elegant cosmopolitanism of Duke Ellington's *Mood Indigo*, in the bracing drone and polyrhythmic ecstasy of John Coltrane's *A Love Supreme*, in the singular piano kinesthetics of Thelonious Monk and Cecil Taylor. (Gennari 1991: 449)

Coming through Slaughter contains numerous meditations on the form and substance of jazz, offers a handful of anecdotes from the lives of musicians, makes references to the masters of jazz and their famous compositions, all with the purpose of shedding light upon the essence of the process of artistic creation and the organic link between the artist and his product. Still, perhaps the most interesting aspect of incorporating jazz music into the novel reflects in Michael Ondaatje's attempts to transpose jazz patterns and matrices onto the novel's formal and stylistic levels and thus emulate the musical genre in the written medium. Ondaatje attempts to accomplish this by no means easy task by using numerous techniques and ornaments which typically pertain to music and by mimicking certain subgenres of jazz. To begin with, there is improvisation, one of the common jazz traits that writers often imitated when trying to create literature in the style of jazz.

No special elaboration is needed on the importance and frequency of improvisation in jazz music, but one cannot but notice how inherently unsuitable literary media is for this type of experimenting. Namely, how can we suspend our disbelief to such an extent to accept that something written long ago that now lies printed in front of us was the result of something so

elusive, spontaneous and ephemeral as improvisation? So, Ondaatje adopts the only approach available to him the so-called “spontaneous composition” (Jarett 1994: 339), that is, to match Bolden’s musical improvisations with his unrestrained shifts of tones and voices, creating prose that at times is quietly meandering, only to explode in the very next paragraph; it fast-forwards from factual journalistic style directly to manic stream of consciousness, then settling down to traditional narration. These shifts are at times so sudden that they inevitably disorient the reader. However, the confusion does not obstruct the detection of those textual segments which reflect true poetic beauty. Ondaatje uses his undisputed poetic gift to write sentences that simply invite the reader to read them out loud and, just like those jazz classics that provided inspiration, always call for a second reading which brings a better (or at least new) perception of their beauty and meaning. Moreover, one can observe *Coming through Slaughter* as a cover of a well-known standard, practice so common in jazz, this story being jazz improvisation on the standard fable of a doomed artist in the vein of Doctor Faustus and actually every Byronic hero that succeeded him. In short, what Ondaatje does to this essentially archetypal story, is the very thing that Bolden does to blues traditionals and religious hymns.

Ondaatje speaks directly about the power of musical (and artistic) improvisation when, at a certain point, Buddy hears a waltz by the famous composer John Robichaux on the radio. Although he admits that he enjoys it at the moment, because he needs something simple and organized to warrant his fragile peace of mind, and even comprehends that there is some beauty in “mind moving ahead of the instruments in time and waiting with pleasure for them to catch up” (Ondaatje 2004: 97), he nurtures a genuine contempt for the artificiality and pretentiousness of patterning that such an approach to music expounds. His free improvisations indeed have absolutely nothing to do with carefully elaborated phrases and effects of a waltz. They are a product of the given moment, but in each tone they carry the germs of beginnings and of an endless number of possible endings. They represent an infinite melody that allures a listener when a parade of musicians walks by, only to gradually fade in the distance, still leaving behind a certain consciousness of the unity, of an instant creation whose metaphysics cannot be captured in a recording. It is clear that Ondaatje speaks not exclusively of the creation of a jazz composition, but of the novel itself; in other words, it is clear that Ondaatje here offers a kind of manifesto of the process of creation. With its mosaic form and absence of the classic narration, the story of Buddy Bolden precisely points to such a creative process. Seemingly loosely connected images, scenes, monologues, fragments and found artefacts impose a kind of reading appropriate for a collection of verse: leisurely, careful and enjoyable. It does indeed seem that the reader can enter the novel at any point and still get a completely clear insight into the aesthetics of the manuscript and intention of the text.

Among other jazz techniques Ondaatje applied to his novel, the presence of collage and pastiche is particularly noticeable. These two techniques represent those most distinguished characteristics of jazz music and of postmodern literature as well, which is indicative of the close aesthetic connection existing between the two phenomena. With respect to music, these techniques are exceptionally productive in jazz, which abounds in citations, borrowings and blending of otherwise incompatible styles. When it comes to literature, the popularity of collage and pastiche increased with the rise of postmodernism to the extent that Ishmael Reed’s *Mumbo Jumbo*, one of the definitive jazz novels, is entirely composed by means of pastiche. It seems that Ondaatje relied on some of Reed’s experiences when writing his novel, as *Coming through Slaughter* represents a scrapbook of a kind, in which paper clippings, interview excerpts, transcripts, photographs, sonograms, medical charts and records, lists of

music tracks and songs all find their place, but so do large paragraphs of first-person narration, written from the point of view of various characters, and segments with omniscient narration. This Bakhtinian polyphony of voices is woven into an intriguing unity which, although lacking in absolute coherence, exudes opulence and makes the novel seem far more voluminous than it actually is. Furthermore, frequent shifts in register allow the author to occasionally insert humorous or ironic anecdotes and sketches, which are common to pastiche, evoking at the same time the kind of irony that is often present in jazz (for instance, in jazz interpretations of trivial pop melodies). This rhapsodic quality of the literary device allows Ondaatje to imitate various styles of jazz music in his prose. The novel opens with documentary descriptions of New Orleans and third-person narration, which conveys most of the mentioned humorous anecdotes, from the story of the death of Bolden's mother-in-law and her body's theft, to the descriptions of Bolden's drunken days in the barber's shop, where his friends become more and more reluctant to have their beards shaved by Buddy as the day progresses, because they want to avoid "blood hunting razors of the afternoon" (Ondaatje 2004: 6). These sketches contain a mixture of humour and melancholic nostalgia, but they are also firmly structured like a ragtime piano composition.

However, as the novel progresses, and Buddy's mental health deteriorates, this dignified and relaxed rag becomes rashly intersected by nervous syncopated paragraphs written in the manner of bebop and hard bop, especially in the scenes which describe musical performances and chaotic city underworld, and it all culminates in the scene of Bolden's violent confrontation with Nora's ex-pimp, whom he takes to be her present lover. Bebop is a type of fast tempo music characterized by improvisation and musical virtuosity; when elements of gospel and blues are added, it becomes hard bop. Using these subgenres as models on which certain parts of the novel are based on seems particularly reasonable if one bears in mind that Buddy Bolden is precisely the one considered to be the founder of bebop and hard bop:

Liberty. Grey with thick ropes of rain bouncing on the broken glass, Pickett on the pavement and now me too falling on the bad arm he kicks but there is no pain it could be metal... His shirt which was red in the parlor now bloated and pink, the spreading cherry at the nipple. Exhausted. Silent. Battle of rain all around us. Nora screaming through the open window stop stop then climbs out of herself and runs to the rack of empty coke bottles and starts throwing them between us. Smash smash smash. (Ondaatje 2004: 72)

Be that as it may, *Coming through Slaughter* was written in the 1970s, so the influences of jazz in it are certainly not limited to those musical genres which existed or originated at the time when Buddy Bolden lived and performed. One of the examples of introducing different musical patterns is the scene in which Buddy uses his music to seduce Robin or, more precisely, both Robin and her husband. The scene happens after Buddy's disappearance from New Orleans and represents the beginning of his last attempt to preserve his sanity. After this, he will not play at all for a long time, so this is a swan song of a sort. In this scene, as well as in the whole part of the novel that deals with his relationship with Robin, Ondaatje the poet takes the helm from Ondaatje the novelist. Sentences become long and meandering, and atmosphere seductive and sensual, reminiscent of "My Funny Valentine" or some other famous soul jazz or smooth jazz ballad:

Then Bolden did a merciless thing. For the first time he used his cornet as jewelry ... With every sweet stylized gesture that he knew no one could see he aimed for the gentlest music he knew. So softly it was a siren twenty blocks away. He played till his

body was frozen and all alive and warm were the few inches from where his stomach forced the air up through his chest and head into the instrument. Music for the three of them, the other two in bed, not saying a word. (Ondaatje 2004: 72)

However, near the end of the novel, when the idyll at the Brewitts' home ends and Buddy returns for a short while to his former life in New Orleans, Ondaatje changes his style once again, suddenly and unexpectedly. Perhaps the best example of this is the scene of Buddy's nervous breakdown during his performance on the parade, characterized by unrestrained stream of consciousness and neglect of grammatical rules and punctuation. At the same time, poetic images are crude and abstract, as the one in which Bolden sees a girl in the crowd, dancing to his music as if she were the very symbol of his fate. This is Buddy's last performance and his manic monologue reflects his increasingly fragile connection with reality, while simultaneously it presents an excellent depiction of the sound of his music at the moment. Buddy plays for the last time through Ondaatje on the pages of this novel, and his final solo is a syncopated, abstract staccato of a modern free jazz composition:

...for my heart is at my throat hitting slow pure notes into the shimmy dance of victory, hair toss victory, a local strut, eyes meeting sweat down her chin arms out in final exercise pain, take on a last long squawk and letting it cough and climb to spear her all those watching like a javelin through the brain and down into the stomach, feel the blood that is real move up bringing fresh energy in its suitcase, it comes up flooding past my heart in a mad parade, it is coming through my teeth, it is into the cornet, god can't stop god can't stop it can't stop the air the red force coming up can't remove it from my mouth, no intake gasp, so deep blooming it up god I can't choke it the music still pouring in a roughness I never hit, watch it listen it listen it, can't see I CAN'T SEE. (Ondaatje 2004: 132-33)

Recording the events which follow Bolden's breakdown and hospitalization, the narrative tone again becomes more serene, though this time the prose is no longer nostalgic or anecdotal, but rather filled with the atmosphere of dry despondency. In its last part, the novel leaves its urban settings for the first time and Buddy embarks on a journey like "Huck Finn going by train to hell" (Ondaatje 2004: 158) down the Mississippi through rural scenery, towards the asylum in which he would spend the rest of his life. The entire atmosphere of the desolate American landscape, together with the mixing of facts and fiction and details of Buddy's life in confinement, carry the fine sentiment of a country blues ballad about a personal misfortune and demise:

In the room there is the air
and there is the corner
and there is the corner
and there is the corner
and there is the corner.

If you don't shake, don't get no cake. (Ondaatje 2004: 148)

In the final part of the novel, Ondaatje goes beyond his usual poetic approach to prose writing and inserts several real poems into the text. The poem about the train journey ("Passing wet chicory that lies in the field like the sky") is a traditional 12 bar blues, where the first line is echoing in Bolden's disturbed mind in an endless loop. On the other hand, the poem on air and corner has a similar form, with much more eerie tone and context, considering the fact that the poem is about Bolden being raped in the asylum.

5. CONCLUSION

By writing *Coming through Slaughter*, Michael Ondaatje succeeded in confirming his already well-established poetic gift, but he also managed to announce a very successful novelistic career, which would reach its peak in two decades' time with *The English Patient*. His debut novel is still a work of intrinsic significance, since it represents one of those not so frequent cases where experimentations in merging seemingly incompatible artistic genres yielded excellent results. Ondaatje assuredly navigated between prose and poetry creating the work which combines the complexity and poignancy of idea characteristic of a novel, with the raw aesthetic and emotional impact of poetry and music. Employing various stylistic tools, both literary and musical, such as improvisation, citation, referencing, pastiche and collage, Ondaatje's novel has a meticulously stratified structure which embodies Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia. Such fragmented and intricate novelistic form results in a multitude of perspectives and allows for the expression of a variety of points of view, polyphony which includes, but is not limited to the voice of the author himself. Finally, in emulating different jazz genres in his prose, from ragtime and country blues, over bebop and soul jazz, to free jazz, Ondaatje achieves a remarkable feat: he succeeds in this pioneering experiment of creating a novel which is not only about music, but also embodies the music itself and actually is music. The outcome, a literary-musical hybrid, represents an organic unity and provokes a nearly tangible sensation of the words that linger in the reader's mind with the persistence of haunting musical phrases. The novel's historical value is also huge, both in the context of Canadian and jazz literature. *Coming through Slaughter* is a showcase for the talent of the author who would eventually become one of the Canadian greats and a herald of the major expansion of Canadian literature that would ensue in the decades to come. In the context of jazz literature, as time passes, *Coming through Slaughter* continues to confirm its well-deserved place among the works of Reed, Shange and Morrison, as one of the literary works that have best captured the essence of jazz. Although a short piece of art, the novel contains the complexity and seductive poeticality of a musical rhapsody and as a rule seems to invite for a second reading. The manuscript gets unfolded to the reader in bouts resembling the turnings of the tide and, once we finally reach the end of this literary improvisation, we realize that the author has quite subtly led us to the very beginning of the novel, as if his words are in fact some Bolden's melody aired in the loop on a radio station that never stops broadcasting.

Milan Marković

Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade
mitja.man@gmail.com

Tijana Parezanović

Faculty of Foreign Languages, Alfa University
tijanaparezanovic@gmail.com

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A WRONGLY DRAWN MAP FOR A TRICKY TERRITORY: FAILURE AS THE LOGICAL OUTCOME OF “ENTROPY”

This paper discusses several incorrect hypotheses about the experiment that the character Callisto conducts in Pynchon's “Entropy” in the process of treating a sick bird and composing his memoirs, where he embraces Henry Adams's thermodynamically induced ideas of constantly dissipating social energy as a path towards human retrogression, rather than perfection. This article draws on the ideas of Karl Popper which state it is impossible to give any prediction of human history because the course of future history depends on the unpredictable structure of future human knowledge. It also contextualises Callisto's references to great 19th-century researchers into thermodynamics, like Willard Gibbs, Rudolf Clausius and Ludwig Boltzmann, and attempts to relate these brainstormed references to the actual individual scientists and point to the experimenter's imprecision in his interpretation of a physically determined course of society, derived from Adams's ill-founded analogies. The paper concludes with a mathematical proof for why Callisto cannot warm the bird and, consequently, why the experiment in this story collapses.

Keywords: thermodynamics, pro-naturalistic doctrines of historicism, heat-death, probability of heat systems, Thomas Pynchon

1. INTRODUCTION

Thomas Pynchon's short story “Entropy” has so far been accorded such a long series of interpretations from the standpoint of relations between literature and the exact sciences, notably the branch of physics known as thermodynamics, that the text has assumed a distinct shape in the popular imagination – that of a story by a budding author who makes striking analogies between society and physical laws, studded with a long series of contemporary cultural and scholarly references. Another shape appears in the eyes of critics less prone to rhetorical smokescreens, more attuned to the writer's own advice given in *Slow Learner*, that “it is simply wrong to begin with a theme, symbol or other unifying agent, and then try to force characters and events to conform to it” (Pynchon 2000: 12). The former strand includes many more practitioners, ranging from posts by delighted fans from internet communities (for example, <http://kboesch.blogspot.com/2010/05/thomas-pynchon-entropy.html>) to the general content and thematic analysis on the more reliable, but by no means superbly insightful coverage on the Pomona website (<http://www.pynchon.pomona.edu/slowlearner/entropy.html>). The latter group includes examples of better-distilled academic efforts, which predominantly appear in reputable peer-reviewed journals, like *Pynchon Notes* or the *Journal of Narrative Technique*, and in collections of essays represented by George Levine and David Leverenz's *Mindful Pleasures* and Harold Bloom's volume *Thomas Pynchon*, to name but a few. Bloom's collection likely contains the essay closest to the topic at hand, written by David Seed: “Order in Thomas Pynchon's ‘Entropy’”, which discusses the short story's three meanings of the term *entropy* – thermodynamical, informational and inertial/degradational, and analyses the events in both flats that the narrative uses as its setting (Seed 2003: 110). This paper will try to shed light on one subplot of “Entropy”, explore some of its logical premises and possible inconsistencies,

and provide a tentative answer to the anticlimactic ending of the short story, i.e. the failure of a protagonist to prove the value of his thermodynamic and veterinary hypotheses.

The plot summary of "Entropy" is relatively simple: in February 1957, an eccentric named Callisto and his partner Aubade live in a flat rearranged as a hothouse in Washington, D.C., and make an effort to preserve a sick bird's life – Callisto has been holding it pressed against his body for three days so as to "restore its health" (Pynchon 2000: 83), with no results achieved as the plot begins. Downstairs, the Beatnik Meatball Mulligan is throwing a two-day-long party, which serves as a raucous foil to the order imposed on the living space above; the flat below is filled with incoherent interaction, whereas Callisto and Aubade do their best to have as little contact as they can with the external world from their "enclave of regularity in the city's chaos" (Pynchon 2000: 83). Eventually, the bird's pulse deteriorates and it dies in Callisto's palm, which causes Aubade's outburst of anger at Callisto's obsession, culminating in the act of shattering the window with her bare hands.

Leaving the *in medias res* technique aside, the sheer history of Callisto's dwelling space betrays a very idiosyncratic act of interior planning: wishing to isolate himself from the external world, he has spent seven years arranging the flat into a mixture of architecture, aviary and a botanical garden. The couple became "necessary to its unity. What they needed from outside was delivered. They did not go out" (Pynchon 2000: 84). In short, Callisto attempted to attain a life in seclusion as perfect as the laws of physics allowed him to – the atmospheric influences of the rest of the world disrupted the hothouse constancy only in the moments when food and other supplies were brought in (a change in temperature almost negligible, but which goes to show that the system he created is not 100% closed and not without energy loss, although we may approximate it as isolated).

2. UNRELIABLE MEMORIES OF A CONFLATED SOCIAL PHYSICS

When the bird has not shown any signs of improvement, three days into the treatment, Callisto checks the external temperature, which has stood at 37 degrees Fahrenheit for a few days longer, and states with a frown: "No change" (Pynchon 2000: 84). We enter his mind in an instance of what Dorrit Cohn would term consonant psycho-narration, where the narrator "remains effaced and readily fuses with the consciousness he narrates" (Cohn 1983: 26).

The first pillar of Callisto's world-view is founded on the thought of historian Henry Adams, author of *The Education of Henry Adams* (printed privately in 1906, published in 1918), an autobiography written in the third person. Callisto muses that "Adams had stared aghast at Power" (Pynchon 2000: 84), and the noun in the *Education* has at least two meanings – on the one hand, political might or an influential country, and on the other, physical power used to give propulsion to humans in society, like coalpower, horsepower, or for that matter, slavepower in earlier stages of Western history. Adams considered the old world of certainties to have vanished and worsened under the dictate of the laws of physics, embodied in the dissipation of energy; as he states in the book, he failed to "acquire any useful education; he should at least have acquired social experience. Curiously enough, he failed here also" (Adams 2006: 158). Over several decades of occupying various diplomatic, journalistic and professorial posts, he became irrecoverably disillusioned by the powerlessness of people to stop the retrogression of contemporary life into an endless centrifugal motion, devoid of spirit and unity. Callisto takes this isomorphic relation of society and physics to serve as a pattern in his own perception of reality, which it does, but with an evasive and partial structuring principle, that of analogy. The

problem with Adams's own "prophetic" vision of human history is that it tends to rely on a transposition of relatively few personal experiences, and that it assumes the role of an apodictic formula for the fate of millions of other individuals. A glance at some of his premises will prove his hypotheses to be false, when seen in the hindsight of the early 21st century, such as his claim that the imposition of mechanic inventions on physical inertia helped emancipate society:

He had seen artificial energy to the amount of twenty or five-and-twenty million steam horse-power created in America since 1840, and as much more economized, which had been socially turned over to the American woman, she being the chief object of social expenditure, and the household the only considerable object of American extravagance. [...] In Russia, because of race and bulk, no result had yet shown itself, but in America the results were evident and undisputed. The woman had been set free – volatilized like Clerk Maxwell's perfect gas; almost brought to the point of explosion, like steam. (Adams 2006: 360–361)

Adams's reasoning falls neatly into Karl Popper's category of "pro-naturalistic doctrines of historicism", developed in the book *The Poverty of Historicism*, which centres around the thesis that "historicism is a poor method – a method which does not bear any fruit. [...] For strictly logical reasons, it is impossible for us to predict the future course of history" (Popper 2007: xi). He summed up the argument in several brief logical propositions, which claim:

- (1) The course of human history is strongly influenced by the growth of human knowledge.
- (2) We cannot predict, by rational or scientific methods, the future growth of our scientific knowledge.
- (3) We cannot, therefore, predict the future course of human history.
- (4) This means that we must reject the possibility of a *theoretical history*; that is to say, of a historical social science that would correspond to *theoretical physics*. (Popper 2007: xi–xii)

The American historian's statement likening women to gas may seem awkward, even inappropriate by today's standards, but it definitely affirms Popper's scepticism regarding a system whose body of hypotheses rests on elements from two incommensurable sets of entities. The entire *Education* demonstrates the free association technique at work in the mind of the retrospectively narrating "third" person, a process during which an objective perspective on the essence of the educational system of an emerging superpower is permanently being conjured up through a smattering of personal experiences. The result is an impressionable mind's underlying dissatisfaction with, Platonically speaking, the guardians (not only at the university level) that cannot account for the surprisingly accelerated changes in their own republic, having been blocked out by their own outdated methodologies of observation of phenomena, whether in academia, politics or productive forces. After finding the historians' methodology incapable of explaining the key concept of *sequence*, as they thought it to be well represented by stories or histories assuming the relation of cause and effect, he tried to find it better expounded with the guidance of another branch:

Satisfied that the sequence of men led to nothing and that the essence of their society could lead no further, while the mere sequence of time was artificial, and the sequence of thought was chaos, he turned at last to the sequence of force; and thus it happened that, after ten years' pursuit, he found himself lying in the Gallery of Machines at the Great Exposition of 1900, his historical neck broken by the sudden irruption of forces totally new. (Adams 2006: 310–311)

Callisto makes a passing mental mention of a now classical passage from Adams's biography, Chapter XXV, entitled "The Dynamo and the Virgin (1900)", remembering correctly his role model's awed surprise:

Henry Adams, three generations before his own, had stared aghast at Power; Callisto found himself now in much the same state over Thermodynamics, the inner life of that power, realizing like his predecessor that the Virgin and the dynamo stand as much for love as for power; that the two are indeed identical... (Pynchon 2000: 84)

The historian's astonishment is an accurate reference to the book chapter mentioned, since Adams there describes his search and the finding of the possible pivotal point in Western civilisation, the unifying agent of mediaeval Christendom:

How many years had he taken to admit a notion of what Michael Angelo and Rubens were driving at? He could not say; but he knew that only since 1895 had he begun to feel the Virgin or Venus as force, and not everywhere even so. (Adams 2006: 315)

He insists in this chapter, more vehemently than in the previous sections of the book, that he is revealing the uniform trajectory of Western culture over a 700-year-long period:

Symbol or energy, the Virgin had acted as the greatest force the Western world ever felt, and had drawn man's activities to herself more strongly than any other power, natural or supernatural, had ever done; the historian's business was to follow the track of the energy... (Adams 2006: 315–316)

An objection may be raised to the perceptible lack of methodological means for a historian to give a plausible account of the development and dissipation of a "uniform" European civilisation which soon diverged in artistic styles and achievements, not to mention the religious disputes, wars and separations of the 16th and 17th centuries, or the striking differences in the exploitation of the American colonies by Spain and England respectively (there can hardly be a thermodynamic explanation of how Spain caused the impoverishment of its territories, and England did not). In short, claiming that directly under the surface of the seeming order of the biological and social worlds lie utter chaos and anarchy does not make the historian's task any easier, without the necessary formulae which could forecast the future dynamics of the observed worlds. In a manner similar to Adams's conflation of the historical and physical universes under the vague umbrella term *force*, Callisto's memory conflates two books by Adams in Pynchon's sentence quoted above, as Adams makes no mention of thermodynamics in his *Education*. It is in a later publication, *A Letter to American Teachers of History* (written in 1910), that he takes recourse to this physical term and attempts to explain the nature of historical occurrences. However, he fails to define clearly what he means by one of the frequently mentioned concepts:

So the imperceptible portion of solar energy which fell on the earth, reappeared by some mysterious process, to an infinitely minute measure, in the singular form of intensity known as Vital Energy, and disappeared by a sudden and violent change of phase known as death. (Adams 1910: 15)

He takes certain ideas and terms from the very influential field of thermal physics and tries to apply them axiomatically to the study of human history, not submitting enough evidence to prove his thesis. Adams relies on the analogy between heat and vital energy, "suggested by Thomson in his Law of Dissipation" (Adams 1910: 17), but does not supply the reader with any example that could confirm that Lord Kelvin's discoveries in physics might have a causal relation to individual building blocks of history known as social events, perturbations or revolutions. Instead of inductively proving his point, Adams assumes that "Social Energy is a form of Vital Energy" (Adams 1910: 17) and that all life in the universe must come to its

death at some point in time – if physical life must disappear, so must society. Popper denies the claim that there can be any general social laws, because they would then “apply to the whole of human history, covering all its periods rather than merely some of them. But there can be no social uniformities which hold good beyond single periods” (Popper 2007: 37).

We cannot fail to notice that Adams tried to explain social dissipation throughout different historical periods with his intuitive research into the essence of force, but he did not offer much to the reader except a hint at the power that he held to drive humanity without exception. In the previous century, Marx had attempted to explain the human world in terms of production and class struggle, yet such a theory was hardly applicable to Callisto’s own world and time. Adams even issued a prediction of when the world would come to an end in a cataclysm; “basing his theory on a scientific law, the dissipation of energy, he described civilization as having retrogressed through four stages: the religious, mechanical, electrical, and ethereal. The cataclysm, he prophesied, would occur in 1921” (McHugh 2011: 50). He did not give a certain prediction of the new phase of human historical development either, satisfying himself only by saying that “the forces would continue to educate, and the mind would continue to react. All the teacher could hope was to teach it reaction” (Adams 2006: 402–403). Perhaps the least useful of his predictions can be found in the linearly comprehended progression, which he assuredly grafted onto the end of the 20th century as a pre-engineered frame, without looking into the parameters and needs of the (unknown) future: “At the rate of progress since 1800, every American who lived into the year 2000 would know how to control unlimited power” (Adams 2006: 402).

Such are the key assumptions on which Callisto constructs his own microcosm, not realising that society is not only a natural entity – in fact, that its *differentia specifica* is found in personal, not molecular or thermal interaction, and that love and power can hardly stand as exponents of the same higher property. Loosening the grip on his thoughts, he uses love and power interchangeably to explain the span of its scale of action: “Love therefore not only makes the world go round but also makes the boccie ball spin, the nebula precess” (Pynchon 2000: 84–85). The author later looked back on this story with another candid comment which proves him to stand far from the position of the high priest of postmodernism: “My specific piece of wrong procedure back then was, incredibly, to browse through the thesaurus and note words that sounded cool, hip, or likely to produce an effect...” (Pynchon 2000: 15). In spite of all the efforts and Google searches, there were no relevant results matching the phrases “nebula precession”, “nebular precession” or “precession of the nebula”. The term “equinoctial precession”, for example, would have looked as magnificent and been substantially more legitimate in terms of relation between real-life physics and the short story’s scientific foundations.

The character in the story continues to show his unbounded faith in the representability of small samples during the following paragraph: “But for three days now, despite the changeable weather, the mercury had stayed at 37 degrees Fahrenheit. Leery at omens of apocalypse, Callisto shifted beneath the covers” (Pynchon 2000: 85). On closer scrutiny, the absurdity of this hypothesis can be revealed more fully: a person in Washington, D.C., after several days’ observation, begins to fear that the universe will fall prey to heat-death, “form and motion abolished, heat-energy identical at every point in it” (Pynchon 2000: 85). If heat-energy was indeed identical in that city at the time (neglecting the fact that Callisto never left his flat in years), that coincidence applies only to a fraction of the entire planet, whose life is conditioned by the same thermodynamic laws as Callisto’s microworld. The author himself confessed to making a noticeable error when he introduced a key motif just to suit his sense of analogy: “For

instance, I chose 37 degrees Fahrenheit for an equilibrium point because 37 degrees Celsius is the temperature of the human body. Cute, huh?" (Pynchon 2000: 13). This misjudgement indicates randomness rather than careful planning in Pynchon's process of composition, and makes for a more fragile fictional world, which was probably not intended. Pynchon's entire oeuvre is famous for asking fundamental questions about the nature of reality and human experience, but the physical laws and phenomena with which the characters interact lie very far from the free associations found in low-rate science fiction. This problematic detail may stand in the way of uncritically minded Pynchon fans, but the author himself mustered up enough self-examining spirit to scrutinise some technical errors from his juvenile work.

The new episode of the Callisto subplot finds Aubade writing down his dictated discourse, in the third-person, as Adams had done in his own time; he is fusing Adams's style from the *Education* with his subject from the *Letter*, and additionally simplifying a fundamental set of thermodynamic axioms: "Callisto had learned a mnemonic device for remembering the Laws of Thermodynamics: you can't win, things are going to get worse before they get better, who says they're going to get better" (Pynchon 2000: 87). The metaphorical principle which he resorts to must draw on two correlates to turn into an intelligible metaphor, but an average reader probably does not have Callisto's starting correlates in mind; checking a more reliable source, like the *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*, is needed for basic orientation:

First Law of Thermodynamics: Whenever energy is converted from one form to another, the total quantity of energy remains the same;

Second Law of Thermodynamics: In a closed system, the entropy of the system does not decrease;

Third Law of Thermodynamics: As the system approaches absolute zero, further extraction of energy becomes more and more difficult. ("Thermodynamics": 1854)

Sentences produced so idiosyncratically and with such a high degree of implication offer an ironic insight into a confused mind, but not into the subject the mind is working on; Callisto's approximations of thermal physics by no means reflect the author's own attitude (and it is to be hoped that the empirical author shows a complete command of the science, which does not always happen), so they certainly should not be understood as discoveries deepening the knowledge of this exact science.

3. CALLISTO'S POSSIBLE INFLUENCES FROM AN EXACT SCIENCE

Proceeding with his memoirs, Callisto haphazardly remembers other stimuli from the days of learning in his youth, like "Gibbs' notion of the universe", linked to a "spindly maze of equations [that] became, for him, a vision of ultimate, cosmic heat-death" (Pynchon 2000: 87). It is not again clear whether he remembers Josiah Willard Gibbs as the author of multiple thermodynamic equations, when the precise ordinal presentation of equations is more commonly featured in discussing James Clerk Maxwell's four formulae for electricity and magnetism, or whether he exposes his own approximative mind in the process of brainstorming, hardly subject to chronology. Unsatisfied with the fact that physicists of his age paid little attention to the state of equilibrium (characterised by a maximum entropy, or the measure of disorder in the system), Gibbs himself devised a fundamental equation, from which many more were later derived:

$$dU = TdS - PdV,$$

where d stands for the difference between two states of the same quantity, U is internal energy

in joules, T the absolute temperature in degrees kelvin, S is entropy in joules per kelvin, P is pressure in pascals, and V stands for volume in cubic metres. It is highly likely that Callisto is calling to mind a tumult of images, formulae and mathematical problems of diverse provenance which he kept painstaking company with while a student at Princeton; from three decades' distance, it would be unrealistic to expect the emergence of a completely coherent system from this unreliable mind. The existence of the narrating self, aged 54, may point to the author's intention of constructing a hiatus between that instance and the experiencing self, aged perhaps 21 or so, and set off the middle-aged man's fallacy against an authentic background of the physical equations which he tries to force on human society in general. His next memory, "about the theorem of Clausius, which states that the entropy of an isolated system always continually increases" (Pynchon 2000: 87), fortunately reflects the state of affairs in irreversible thermodynamic processes:

Spontaneous change for an irreversible process in an isolated system (that is, one that does not exchange heat or work with its surroundings) always proceeds in the direction of increasing entropy. For example, a block of ice and a stove constitute two parts of an isolated system for which total entropy increases as the ice melts. (Drake 2006)

Clausius did express the imminent difference between the entropy of state 1 and state 2 after some heat is transferred from the source to the sink (dQ), with T meaning the uniform thermodynamic temperature, in a formula thereafter known as the Clausius inequality:

$$dS \geq dQ/T$$

Callisto's very next sentence alludes to a considerable leap in this branch of science, spanning about fifty years after Clausius first formalised his hypotheses in those two succinct mathematical terms:

It was not, however, until Gibbs and Boltzmann brought to this principle the methods of statistical mechanics that the horrible significance of it all dawned on him; only then did he realize that the isolated system – galaxy, engine, human being, culture, whatever – must evolve spontaneously toward the Condition of the More Probable. (Pynchon 2000: 87)

It was Ludwig Boltzmann who took up the task of describing macroscopic phenomena on microscopic or molecular grounds, especially in treating the behavior of gases. Be that as it may, the term "statistical mechanics" falls into two different subheadings – the kinetic theory of gases and statistical mechanics proper. The former term denotes "the properties of gases by assuming that they consist of a very large number of molecules in rapid motion" (Uffink 2008). After the introduction of probability hypotheses into this theory:

The aim then became to characterize the properties of gases, in particular in thermal equilibrium, in terms of probabilities of various molecular states. Here, molecular states, in particular their velocities, are regarded as stochastic variables, and probabilities are attached to such molecular states of motion. (Uffink 2008)

Gibbs published his seminal *Elementary Principles of Statistical Mechanics* in 1902, in which he acknowledges the immense debt of his generation to Clausius, Maxwell and Boltzmann regarding the approximate or statistical study of thermodynamics as the linear motion of gas molecules. The latter term includes an advanced step in observing these phenomena: "Probabilities are not attached to the state of a molecule but to the entire gas system. Thus, the state of the gas, instead of determining the probability distribution, now itself becomes a stochastic variable" (Uffink 2008). In short, statistical mechanics deals with

matter in bulk and makes an approximation of its dynamics, since it is as impossible to trace every molecule of gas in a cylinder as it is impossible to trace the motion of every individual in society. Callisto is perhaps remembering a university textbook in physics (and it may easily be Gibbs's own work), but more importantly, he is again making a methodological error by attuning the matters of culture to physical axioms; while we may accept an analogy in the entropy of a galaxy, engine and human being, it is not advisable to predict the same dissipation in human society, which always finds a way to ensure its survival in matters natural and cultural alike. A man who had seen the aftermath of both world wars, curiously enough, did not bother to ask himself why human culture even existed after World War II, the effects of which would have sufficed to throw billions of people into a state of incurable depression – instead of that, the late 1940s brought on the cultural and biological sensation known as the Baby Boom. Another relation to Boltzmann that the reference to “the Condition of the More Probable” may have brings us closer and closer towards 20th-century physics, towards the probability equation which he discovered, and Max Planck formulated:

$$S = k \times \log W,$$

where S is again entropy, k is the Boltzmann constant (1.38×10^{-23} joules/kelvin), and W is the number of possible microstates in the system. The resulting figures in the case of applying this equation to, for example, all the inhabitants of Washington, D.C., would be exorbitant, if we postulated that every person can assume a hundred different states in a day; the total number W would amount to 100 to the power of one million (citizens in the city at the time), and the probability of anybody guessing the exact state of all those individuals at a given moment would be almost zero. No wonder Callisto feels that he is losing his grasp of the determinist universe as revealed by Newton: “The equations now introduced a random factor which pushed the odds to some unutterable and indeterminate ratio which he found himself afraid to calculate” (Pynchon 2000: 88). His escape from the minuteness of infinitesimal motions on which all bodies (heat engines, galaxies, and according to him, cultures) are supposed to rest is an escape from the concept of probability into a misunderstood certainty of analogy, where a given must follow its unalterable trajectory of a given without oscillations. Thus the character ceases to fight the innumerable windmills of probabilistic theory and constructs a theory with a controllable set of premises (culture is like a heat engine losing heat until zero), whose physical correlate can be found in the extravagant flat housing Aubade, him, and the carefully maintained number of plants and animals. Taking the solid basis of entropy as a measure of disorganisation for a closed system, Callisto tries to apply its rules to a system that is neither fully physical nor fully closed, i.e. human society. When he sees “in American ‘consumerism’ [...] a similar tendency from the least to the most probable, from differentiation to sameness, from ordered individuality to a kind of chaos” (Pynchon 2000: 88), he falls into the reductive fallacy he hoped to avoid earlier in his musings because he selects only consumerism as the illustration of his entire theory (one cannot help wondering why Callisto does not verify the experiment with the phenomena of the car industry, militarism, patriotism, the Beatniks, rock and roll and the like). He seeks correspondences, and manages to find them, but there are merely loose connections between entropy and the malaise expressed in works by Sade, Faulkner or Stravinsky, connections tenable only in his own mental and physical isolation from the rest of the world. Sociobiologist Robert Trivers's brief comment on the structure of the natural and social sciences may illustrate Callisto's cardinal flaw in the foundation of his “social entropy theory”:

Physics rests on mathematics, chemistry on physics, biology on chemistry, and, in principle, the social sciences on biology. [...] Yet discipline after discipline – from

economics to cultural anthropology – continues to resist growing connections to the underlying science of biology, with devastating effects. Instead of employing only assumptions that meet the test of underlying knowledge, one is free to base one's own logic on whatever comes to mind... (Trivers 2011: 306–307)

Guided by his misconceived theoretical premises, Callisto stumbles on into multiple irony – the “signal-to-noise ratio” (Pynchon 2000: 92) in his consciousness is dropping to the point of unintelligibility, while he is (consciously or not) refusing to accept that in effect his actions embody two senses of entropy: 1) the energy in treating the sick bird is perpetually becoming degraded, and 2) the noise in his discourse as a memoirist is becoming so prominent that it overwhelms the signal.

4. WHY THE EXPERIMENT COLLAPSES

The treatment ends with the bird's death in Callisto's palm, from causes the reader never gets to know, and it is evident, the experimenter never knew either. The heat transfer fails, the animal's heartbeat diminishes and stops, leaving the two partners bitterly disappointed in a powerless silence. This last event in the Callisto subplot may have a twofold origin, in that the character “helpless in the past” (Pynchon 2000: 97) and equipped with a grossly wrong methodological apparatus was well constructed by the author, that is, intentionally flawed and confused, or that the author missed a few crucial points in his own execution of the character's behaviour. The equilibrium point of 37 degrees Fahrenheit, achieved when Aubade shatters the windowpane and the cold air of the city gushes in, has only a numerical relation to the temperature of the human body at 37 degrees Celsius, which is normally even a few decimal parts lower, especially as the person ages. In contrast, the bird is described as small, with a “blue hunched-down head” (Pynchon 2000: 83), held between Callisto's hands, which may indicate that it belongs to the order of passerine birds, perhaps requiring a relatively high environment temperature. Birds of this order usually have a daytime body temperature in the 42–43 Celsius range, falling to perhaps 37.4 Celsius in nighttime (Wojciechowski and Pinshow 2009: 3068), and it is not possible for a human to sustain the life of a bird of this order by warming it up between his hands. We find an explanation in Pynchon's introduction to *Slow Learner* that could indicate his own material error in composing this short story: “For a while all I worried about was that I'd set things up in terms of temperature and not energy. As I read more about the subject later, I came to see that this had not been such a bad tactic” (Pynchon 2000: 13). It is precisely the heat that gets transferred from a hotter body to the colder one (although a bigger cold body can generate more energy than the smaller warm body, but the heat cannot be transferred from the colder one without investing additional work in the process). The higher temperature of a body is a *sine qua non* of any spontaneous heat transfer, so the author's words raise some doubts about his own technical preparedness for the basics and details of his hero's experiment, notwithstanding Callisto's tragicomical role as an ignorant which he performs sincerely. Even if Callisto's palm could only maintain the bird's body temperature through relative isolation, it is quite incredible that he could keep his hand in the required posture so long without disrupting the desired thermal flow.

Callisto's premises may be proved false by means of a plain mathematical problem, with the elementary parameters suited to the situation in the text; let us suppose that Callisto is the surroundings of the bird, the bird is the system that needs heating, and the flat is the universe (the idea guiding Callisto for all those long years). The entropy change in the universe must

be the sum of the entropy change in the system and of the entropy change in the surroundings:

$$dS_{universe} = dS_{system} + dS_{surroundings} > 0,$$

due to molecular motion, friction and other losses of energy, it has to be greater than zero. If Callisto's body temperature is a maximum 37 Celsius (310 K), and the bird's minimum temperature is 38 Celsius (311 K), and if the bird should receive 10 joules of energy emitted by the man, this is the process filtered through a simple mathematical procedure:

$$\begin{aligned} dS_{universe} &= (dQ/T)_{system} + (dQ/T)_{surroundings} > 0 \\ dS_{universe} &= 10 \text{ J} / 311 \text{ K} + (-10 \text{ J} / 310 \text{ K}) > 0 \\ dS_{universe} &= 0.0321 \text{ J/K} + (-0.0322 \text{ J/K}) > 0 \\ dS_{universe} &= 0.0321 \text{ J/K} - 0.0322 \text{ J/K} > 0 \\ dS_{universe} &= -0.0001 \text{ J/K, which is } < 0 \end{aligned}$$

As the result is a negative number, we have to conclude that Callisto's experiment does not rest on appropriate premises, which imply that the heat source (the man) must be hotter than the heat sink (the bird); it is a commonsensical hypothesis that a bird of small size with a tremendous heart rate will require a higher body temperature, not available from a human being without a thermal device like a heater or incubator. Throughout the experiment, Callisto in fact acted as a heat sink, not as a heat source, which brought his undertaking to a disappointing collapse, and the story to an anticlimax. This way of operating with the basic laws of thermodynamics on the part of the character also solicits new questions regarding the author's own competence in physics, which his admission in the *Slow Learner* introduction invites: "... [P]eople think I know more about the subject of entropy than I really do. (Pynchon 2000: 12) [...] Since I wrote this story I have kept trying to understand entropy, but my grasp becomes less sure the more I read" (Pynchon 2000: 14). The text permanently dazzles the reader with its impressive array of references, but its skeletal idea was neither well executed by the character nor impeccably devised by the author in the first place. Having subjected Pynchon's composition of Callisto to theoretical scrutiny, we must ask ourselves the question whether he knew enough physics to get to serious grips with this problem when he wrote the story, at the budding and suggestible age of twenty-two. In an act of self-deprecation from *Slow Learner*, he shows a calm understanding of the misguided enthusiasm of his early writing days:

Everybody gets told to write about what they know. The trouble with many of us is that at the earlier stages of life we think we know everything – or to put it more usefully, we are often unaware of the scope and structure of our ignorance. (Pynchon 2000: 15)

The world of the text does demonstrate certain errors which overflow the boundaries of fiction and may well derive from the omissions of the empirical author, who could have benefited from a deeper and less confused understanding of entropy. The chances that he will again speak openly on this subject are negligible, having presented sufficient evidence of his technical misconceptions to allow additional doubt in his authorial reliability, albeit a quarter of a century later.

Sergej Macura
Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade
sergej.macura@fil.bg.ac.rs

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RACHEL BLAU DUPLESSIS: FROM A FEMALE AESTHETIC TO THE ENDS OF PATRIARCHAL POETRY¹

I discuss Rachel BlauDuPlessis's feminist and cultural approach to 20th-century poetry, developed in her recent books. I begin with *The Pink Guitar*, where she constructs a female poetry tradition separate from the male, developing the idea of a female aesthetic. She discusses modernist and postmodernist women's poetry, while at the same time practicing *feminist aesthetics*. In *Genders, Races, and Religious Cultures*, she develops an approach that she calls *social philology*, to discuss the New Woman, New Jew, and New Negro in the modernist movement. Social philology is a combination of *close reading* and approaches based in *cultural studies* and *materialist readings* of poetry developed in the language poetry movement and its theory applied to experimental poetry practice. In *Blue Studios*, her intention was to construct a new history of poetry that would challenge ongoing gender assumptions developed from modernist to early-21st-century poetry. She argues that the task of feminist-inspired gender critique in the cultural field is to understand the impact of gender difference and inequality on the production, dissemination, reception, and continuance of artists and their texts. In *Purple Passages*, she discusses masculinity and maleness in poetry as marked and constructed social subject positions framed within the cultural poetics of gender. She locates gender as an apparatus of *poesis*, power-oriented production, and reception, a central part of the play, by examining ideologies and social situations in poetry as a mode of practice.

Key words: feminism, poetry, gender, cultural poetics

1. INTRODUCTION: RACHEL BLAU DUPLESSIS'S WORK BETWEEN FEMINISM AND THE AVANT-GARDE

Rachel BlauDuPlessis is an American feminist experimental poet and scholar. Her career has been predicated on her position in between avant-garde poetry formations and feminism. As Ann Vickery explains, in the 1970s second-wave feminism turned to literature as a political tool that might allow women to "articulate their female experiences, previously marginalised as private, trivial, or taboo" (Vickery 2006: 134). Second-wave feminism appeared in the early 60s dealing with sexuality, family, reproductive rights, etc. Second wave feminist criticism appeared in the US at the end of 60s in the form of *gynocriticism*, and was advocated by Elaine Showalter, Sandra Gilbert, Susan Gubar, and Alicia Suskin Ostriker. It preceded the poststructuralist French influence on American literary theory. This meant that their approach was deeply humanist, based on a naïve understanding of authorship, of language as a transparent medium for conveying author's messages, and on the belief that experience could be expressed directly, unmediated (Đurić 2009: 77-79). That is why feminism first came onto the mainstream, more conventional, poetry scene (Spahr and Young 2007, cited in Đurić 2011: 228), which meant that between 1972 and 1982, the women's movement privileged poetry "as a transparent autobiographical mode in which language could be stripped and

¹ This text has been written within the project *Knjiženstvo, Theory and History of Women's Writing in Serbia until 1915* (No. 178029) of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

made accessible to ordinary women” (Vickery 2006: 134). That is why the focus was on the *content* and not on the *newness of the poetry form*. One might say that poetry was viewed as an instrument that might allow feminist poets to develop, according to Kim Whitehead, a “feminist combination of *subjective* and *collective* voice in poetry” (Whitehead 1996, cited in Vickery 2006: 135, emphasis in the original). Suzanne Juhasz explains that in feminist poetry, the poet speaks as a woman and wants to make an impact on her audience. By dealing with the experiences of “real” women, she aims to challenge patriarchal society (Juhasz 1976, cited in Vickery 2006: 135). But, as DuPlessis explains, that which we call “experience” is always constructed, which means that it is selected, reordered, transposed, invented, extended, and appropriated by the very writing. And she asks: “Is the word *woman* a synonym for ‘naive theories of representation’?” (DuPlessis 2006: 59, emphasis in the original). The emergence of experimental women’s poetry suggests the contrary, because in the 1980s and specially ’90s, feminism came onto the experimental/ postmodern/avant-garde/innovative scene.

Drawing on avant-garde traditions in written and visual texts, and in opposition to mainstream feminist poetry, DuPlessis has been working with metonymic exposition and the possibilities of collage (Hatlen 2000: 150). Crucially, in the 1970s she “was working within an experimental, not an expressionist ethos”. She explains that she was “too objectivist for the feminists”, which meant “too inflected by the avant-garde and by modernism”; at the same time, she was “too feminist for the objectivists”, which meant she was “too interested in gender and with much analytic suspicion about gender materials” (CAConrad 2008).

Remembering the mid-1970s, DuPlessis points to the rising of, in Alicia Ostriker’s terms, the “women’s poetry movement” (Ostriker 1986). According to DuPlessis, “[a] feminism oriented toward the production of products from a feminist ‘line’ became predominant” (CAConrad 2008). This was, DuPlessis asserts, a politicized version of expressionist goals, thus gender-aware poetics tended to emphasize what she calls a *feminism of production*. She thereby seeks to highlight the fact that certain themes, voices, findings, tones, and dictions were considered important, with “many exciting themes, insights, images, tones, affirmations, and it seemed as if everyday a barrier around decorum, topics discussed, tones, and attitudes was, happily, smashed” (CAConrad 2008). Working within contemporary avant-garde formations, DuPlessis criticizes this kind of poetry as a mix of a hegemonic poetry style and a

highly colored imagery, stolid rhythms, limited sense of the line, obvious epiphanies, I-based narrative explorations, a valorizing of personal experience as if there were no mediation from language when one wrote, and finally an ultimate innocence about all this AS a convention – crossed with the worst impulses of feminist thought – lurid claims, easily limned imagery, stark binaries, melodramatic narratives, expression of motifs with fixed outlines, a new and quite interesting frankness that also had certain conventionalized outcomes or closures, a loss of analytic suspicion. (CAConrad 2008)

Furthermore, DuPlessis explains that feminism for her means “gender analysis, and a passionate motivation to work for the change of some abuses and oppressions in the sex-gender system”(CAConrad 2008). Gender analysis means that one asks what “roles gender (including constructions of masculinity and sexuality issues in general) play[s] in any cultural product or political institution or social practice”(CAConrad 2008).

Here I have to say that the construct of poetry as *pure art* is an *ideology* opposed to feminism. But given the fact that poetry, as all other arts, was initially constructed as a field for the male writing subject to express himself, whose position gained the status of universality in human expression, like all other arts, poetry is fundamentally antifeminist and misogynist.

This is why we may speak of the practice of poetry as deeply *ideological*, because it hides and normalizes its universalizing ideological presumptions (Đurić 2013: 148).

Although DuPlessis challenged the field of poetry through her feminist practice of poetry, I will focus on her feminist cultural theory.

2. FROM A FEMALE AESTHETIC TO FEMINIST CULTURAL THEORY TO THE ENDS OF PATRIARCHAL POETRY

2.1. A Female Aesthetic

Rachel BlauDuPlessis's theoretical and critical works written between the late 1970s and mid 1980s came out of "a moment of gynocritical consolidation with a materialist twist". She was working from a fruitful cross between feminist humanism and Raymond Williams's neo-Marxist analysis, indebted to Virginia Woolf as a key writer in the then newly formed feminist literary canon. In its initial form in the 1970s, gynocriticism insisted on the existence of a coherent category of Woman and argued that a real woman, aspiring to become a writer, had to deal with a range of social constraints, as well as with a male-dominated literary tradition that excluded female authors, denying that women could have the talent or genius to allow them to become great writers (Đurić 2009: 63 – 79). Thus pursuing the goal of feminism, as prescribed by gynocriticism, DuPlessis studied women authors as the *female tradition*, investigating their special relations with dominant traditions, searching for lost works, and identifying concerns, allusions, and cultural and linguistic stances read from a gender perspective (DuPlessis 2006: 30). But DuPlessis's intention in her poetry has never been to "find a personal voice", like in mainstream poetry practice. Instead, her poetry, as well as her critical practice, rest on poststructuralist theory, which have encouraged "multiple, even contradictory, subject positions; interrogations of the One, the Center, the Same; rejections of master narratives; issues about the dialectical loop between semiotic and symbolic arenas of language; social dialects and genres in relation" (DuPlessis 2006: 29). For her, the text begins as a gesture of emancipation and interrogation of cultural and poetry codes. The materialism of Raymond Williams's neo-Marxist analysis proposes that we study "the institutions and forms in which ideas, information, and attitudes are transmitted and received" (Williams 1976, cited in Milner 2002: 75).

Ann Vickery has explained that the emergence of linguistically innovative feminist writing (as well as poetics and criticism) occurred simultaneously with poststructuralism's critique of the realistic naturalization of language in literature (Vickery 2006: 148). Andrew Milner, though, has called such arguments "anti-realist nostrums" (Milner 2002: 141): maintaining that realism was essentially conservative, they valued all experimental literature that foregrounded the signifier and not the signified. Another important thing is that poststructuralism's textual poetics largely used the metaphor of the feminine. Rosi Braidotti asserts that "the feminisation of thought seems to be prescribed as a fundamental step in the general program of anti-humanism that marks our era" (Braidotti 1994, cited in Vickery 2006: 148).

In *The Pink Guitar: Writing as Feminist Practice*, DuPlessis deals with female and feminist writing practices, employing the method of writing known as *écriture féminine*, as defined by Hélène Cixous. But while Cixous and other French feminists (Irigaray and Kristeva are usually mentioned in this context) always refer to the modernist male avant-garde as the main model of this kind of writing, American authors, including DuPlessis, always have contemporary experimental poetry practice in mind and insist that this group of writers has always comprised

male and female authors alike.

Central for us is DuPlessis's text "For the Etruscans" (first published in 1979), as a kind of manifesto of writing as feminist practice. It is here that she defines the idea of a *female aesthetic*:

"Female aesthetic": the production of formal, epistemological, and thematic strategies by members of the group Woman, strategies born in struggle with much of already existing culture, and overdetermined by two elements of sexual difference – by women's psychological experiences of gender asymmetry and by women's historical status in an (ambiguously) nonhegemonic group. (DuPlessis 1990: 5)

According to DuPlessis, "the 'female aesthetic' will produce artworks that incorporate contradiction and nonlinear movement into the heart of the text" (DuPlessis 1990: 8). In this way, a poem is non-hierarchically organized, dealing with fragments, with no climactic structures, places, or moments, since its materials are "organized into many centers" (DuPlessis 1990: 8). She likens this non-hierarchical structuring of the text to "a form of sexuality, that multifocal female body and its orgasmic capacity, where orgasms vary startlingly and are multiple" (DuPlessis 1990: 8). DuPlessis's intentions here are comparable to Hélène Cixous's in "The Laugh of the Medusa":

It is impossible to *define* a feminine practice of writing, and this is an impossibility that will remain, for this practice can never be theorized, enclosed, coded – which doesn't mean that it doesn't exist. But it will always surpass the discourse that regulates the phallogocentric system; it does and will take place in areas other than those subordinated to philosophico-theoretical domination. It will be conceived of only by subjects who are breakers of automatisms, by peripheral figures that no authority can ever subjugate. (Cixous: 353)

Another important characteristic of the female aesthetic is "both/and vision" (DuPlessis 1990: 6). It means "the end of either/or, dichotomized universe, proposing monism [...] in opposition to dualism" (DuPlessis 1990: 6). It comes out of "shifts, contraries, negations, contradictions" (DuPlessis 1990: 6). DuPlessis insists that there is no such thing as a female aesthetic in singular, but only in plural, because there is no one strategy but only plural strategies. She believes that as feminists, we need to invent an endless number of forms, structures, and linguistic ruptures, which might help us to break with binary "patriarchal" normalcy. In her view, experimental writing "had always been crucial to the feminist project of cultural change: of revolution, not revision" (DuPlessis 2006: 28). The word *revision* alludes to Adrienne Rich's famous concept of the feminist revision of male myths, implying also the importance of new themes in women's feminist mainstream poetry (Đurić 2009: 74–77). Instead, DuPlessis insists on *revolution*, referring to Julia Kristeva's poststructuralist feminist concept of the avant-garde's revolutionary potential (Đurić 2009: 74–77 and 103–112), whereby she stresses her own belonging to the contemporary avant-garde poetry scene. She sees feminism and other socially grounded cultural movements as a necessary completion of modernism, both "high" and "post-". She asserts: "If consciousness must change, if social forms must be reimagined, then language and textual structures must help cause and support, propel and discover these changes. So the essay ['For the Etruscians'] aims at the decolonization of mind by the analysis of the deepest of embedded structures: gender" (DuPlessis 2006: 28). DuPlessis later notes that the essay has been taken as an example of what it set out to study – of "the" female aesthetic. But on the contrary, she insists her position is anti-essentialist, because her "essay makes no special claim for *a* or *the* female aesthetic (or even solely *female* aesthetic), but its

rhetoric can arouse hope for change of consciousness and ideology, can move the reader (at least temporarily) into a utopian space of gender hope” (DuPlessis 2006: 27–28).

2.2. Feminist Cultural Studies, Interpretive Feminism, and a Feminist History of Poetry

Reacting to changes in feminist theory, DuPlessis realized that just reading gender would not do anymore. It had to be complemented with analytical studies of race, class, sexuality, religious culture, and other psychological forces and locations, and the way they appear as markers in cultural texts. She began advocating *feminist cultural studies*, which would focus on a plural, dynamic relationship among social markers as constructed in and as text. But we must bear in mind that none of these markers are ever static or self-evident, that “each is created in political, cultural, social, and historical interactions whose activities, contradictions, and textual manifestations need critical scrutiny” (DuPlessis 2006: 32). In *Genders, Races, and Religious Cultures in Modernist American Poetry 1908–1934*, she insists that we now have to *gender modernism*, which means that apart from an interpretive construction of *female modernism*, feminist reception and gender-oriented analysis must deal with all male and female producers of literary texts.

Defining her approach as *culturalist readings of poetry* (DuPlessis 2001: 8) and seeking to establish *feminist culturalist studies* (DuPlessis 2006: 32), DuPlessis proposes a new postformalist materialist reading strategy, which she calls *social philology*. She defines it as a “reactivation of close reading to examine in poetry the textual traces and discursive manifestations of a variety of ideological assumptions, subject positions, and social concepts concerning gender, race, and religious culture” (DuPlessis 2001: 1). In social philology, social materials that might belong to specific or general politics, different attitudes, subjectivities, ideologies, discourses, and debates, are activated and situated within the deepest texture of poetic texts (DuPlessis 2001: 12). The idea of social philology derives out of the context of language poetry and its theory, whose leading poets and theorists, such as Barrett Watten, Charles Bernstein, and Michael Davidson, have proposed post-formalist contextualizing theories of poetic text (DuPlessis 2001: 7–8, and Đurić 2009: 322–331).

The relevant broader theoretical context here includes *cultural studies*, *new historicism*, and *cultural materialism* (a term coined by Raymond Williams). According to Andrew Milner, cultural materialists, with their sense of materialism, espouse an anti-idealistic stance, which means insisting that culture cannot transcend the material forces and relations of its production. Therefore, culture, defined both as “high” and “low”, is a set of signifying practices; as for literary texts, they should be studied “in history”, which means, “in relation to the institutions of cultural production which produce and reproduce them” (Milner 2002: 150).

In *Blue Studios: Poetry and Its Cultural Work*, DuPlessis continues to insist that writing is not a gender-neutral site and that “it is the task of feminist-inspired gender critique in the cultural field to understand the impact of these material differences and inequalities on the production, dissemination, reception, and continuance of artists and their texts” (DuPlessis 2006: 51). Aware that, due to patriarchy and its deeply ingrained structural misogyny, women poets are marginalized and that poetry as an art is constructed in opposition to feminism, which DuPlessis sees as a symbolic space outside of patriarchy, she highlights the fact that women may resort to various ideologies to help them gain their voice and vocation as writers. Some of them claim an unmarked or universal “identity”, which stems from the belief that poets are capable of transcending specific social locations, in order to reach the aesthetic as a

neutral site of excellence. In DuPlessis's view, such positions are "policing strategies favoring hegemony and its interests" (DuPlessis 2006: 53). Some women poets just don't feel they have anything in common with "the women's poetry movement". The question for feminist scholars is whether to classify them in a non-gendered category, such as the New York School, Beat, or Language poets, in other words, whether their position could ever be understood as gender-neutral. She also asks whether we should limit the notion of "feminist poets" only to those who are explicit about their connection to the women's movement, as well as "what is the possible content of a category like 'feminist poet' (some thematic or formal positions? some ideology?) or 'woman poet' (physical gender?)? What does one do with the modern and contemporary burst of formally innovative women writers?" (DuPlessis 2006: 61). Therefore, she insists that feminism in poetry may not be reduced to a single position. Instead, it circulates among, or manifests itself as, a number of alternative positions, which DuPlessis summarizes as the following five: 1) insisting on *difference*: women are different from men and/or women are different from each other; 2) insisting on *androgyny/mental bisexuality*: everyone in some way embodies a fusion of genders; 3) insisting on *rights/sameness*: the equality of access, laws, etc.; 4) insisting on *transcendence*: everyone is gendered but may transcend it and this does not matter in the domain of literary writing; 5) insisting on *queering*: queering subverts binary gender norms; resisting any social and aesthetic forms that depend on binary hierarchies (DuPlessis 2006: 64). Therefore, DuPlessis separates *feminist production*, which asks who is and who is not a feminist poet, from *feminist reception* (DuPlessis 2006: 52). What she defines as the *feminism of production in poetry* refers to statements, ideas, themes, identities, and images. Instead, she proposes a *feminism of reception* as the central cultural act performed by feminists. And she asserts that in order to maintain a feminist, gender-alert *reception*, we should not insist that certain forms, styles, strategies, subjectivities, or themes are female, feminine, male, masculine, gay, straight, or queer on the level of *production*. A feminism of reception implies a mode of analysis that makes the work of gender and other social matrices visible; such analysis is alert to the play of gender and other social mechanisms, as well as their structures, which are deeply ingrained in every aspect of culture. And she concludes that "[g]ender alert, materialist-inflected *reception* is interested in the discussion of social location not only of artists but of genres, discourses, images, textualities, ideologies, communities, and of critics" (DuPlessis 2006: 65).

According to DuPlessis, poets manipulate linguistic layers of temporary evocative discourses and syntactic placement along the line, to produce an "eternal" or "always already" sound. Theorists like Theodor Adorno thought that the very language and music of a poem erode historicity. This way the poem is *deindividualized*, which means that it gives the impression that no particular "person" wrote it, but, rather, that it speaks from *poesis* itself, i.e., from poetic assumptions and conventions. At the same time, the poem is *detemporalized*, which means that it sounds as if it were not written inside any given time (DuPlessis 2006: 98). And in DuPlessis's view, the genre where yearning is most common is the lyric, which means that the adored object, or muse, is female. The gaze is focused on the beloved female figure, indicating a heterosexual object of yearning and/or the muses as the *female* source of inspiration – all of that is central to the lyric (DuPlessis 2006: 101). For DuPlessis, the question is what "are the relationships among historical women, the female figure addressed in any given poem, and the apparatus of poesis that might guarantee the place of the figure?" (DuPlessis 2006: 101). That is why we should think of poetry as an institution that "constructs female figures crucial to poetry and offers interpretations of female/feminine, male/masculine" (DuPlessis 2006: 76). Arguing

that female figures, so fundamental for poetry as an institution,

do powerful cultural work to block, screen, and obscure the social materiality of the genre; the female/feminine matter of [lyric] poetry, figured as the need for beauty and as ahistorical transcendence, helps readers to ignore the materiality of poetry as a practice, including the labor of females in support positions, both inside and outside the poem. (DuPlessis 2006: 76–77)

Therefore, DuPlessis is pleading for a feminist “History of Poetry” as an intervention *contra* the eternalizing of poetry as a mode. She insists that we need new readings of poems and the apparatus of *poesis*, which “temporalizes poetry, making it subject to and expressive within its time” (DuPlessis 2006: 101). Feminist readings should resist “the notion of poetry as ahistorical, transcendent, and the notion of female figures depicted in poems as ahistorical, transcendent” (DuPlessis 2006: 101), so as to reveal the traces of labor that are hidden in poems. Insisting that under the rubric of “feminist” all culture and all cultural products have to be reconceptualized, she concludes:

In particular, it is time for a totally different History of Poetry talking about “woman/women”, “man/men”, femininity, masculinity, sexuality, effeminacy, female masculinity, and queerness, torquing and resisting binaries. Poetic traditions, genres of poems, poetic authority as textually manifested, representations of subjectivity and social location, discussions of relationships including romance, love, desire, inspiration, and repulsion – all elements deeply constructive of poetic texts – can reveal gender assumptions that open the “field” of poetry to new ways of envisioning its purposes, problems of representation, and meanings. (DuPlessis 2006: 101–102)

2.3. The Ends of Patriarchal Poetry and the Path toward Postpatriarchal Poetry

In her recently published book, *Purple Passages: Pound, Eliot, Zukofsky, Olson, Creeley, and the Ends of Patriarchal Poetry*, DuPlessis starts from a premise we could also find in her earlier books, that there are “no genderless subjects in any relationship structuring literary culture: not in production, dissemination, or reception; not in objects, discourses, or practices; not in reading experiences or in interpretations” (DuPlessis 2012: 3). Because maleness in patriarchal culture is constructed as gender-neutral, she stresses the need to discuss “masculinities and maleness in poetry as marked and constructed social subject positions framed within a cultural poetics of gender” (DuPlessis 2012: 3), investigating male poetic power and the relations of male poets toward masculinity, the feminine, the effeminate, and the erotic (DuPlessis 2012: 3). Pointing to the fact that any deviance from the socially prescribed norms of constructing maleness and femaleness have been legally, socially, economically, and politically punished, she calls for an investigation into male strategies in the poetry world, encompassing

aggressive macho behaviors, homosocial bonding in artistic groups, the claiming and hoarding of cultural power, problematic sexual exploitation, seductive behaviors in the aura of poetic groups, the insistence on women as culturally weak, as static ideals or static degradations (both being historically immobile roles). (DuPlessis 2012: 7)

She aims to show the ways in which male poets “invented poetic and relational strategies to negotiate their positions within the magnetic and tempting system of patriarchal gender relations” (DuPlessis 2012: 8). DuPlessis writes about the construction of manhood in the work of male poets faced with feminism and shifting gender relations. She refers to Barbara Johnson’s remarks on Charles Baudelaire, that the poetic career is constructed of “male privilege”, and that it includes “the right to play femininity”, separating the feminine from women. Further

developing this idea, DuPlessis explains that “[t]his privilege extends to male claims on any and all possible sex-gender positions in poetry” (DuPlessis 2012: 6). Similarly to her earlier assertion that women poets construct themselves as writers differently, here she writes that the “ideologies of masculinity have diverse manifestations and representations, diverse narratives” (DuPlessis 2012: 9). They are always in motion and have multiple dynamic elements. The goal of her book is to deuniversalize the male subject, to make us “view men’s poetry *as* men’s poetry, and not as universal, unmarked poetry” (DuPlessis 2012: 18). This strategy of deuniversalizing male subjectivity is meant to show that it is historically located and constructed, as well as not fixed, but culturally transformable. This, according to DuPlessis, opens “an analytic path to postpatriarchal culture” (DuPlessis 2012: 23), which means the nonhierarchical uses of mastery. Therefore, DuPlessis explains in her book, “patriarchal poetry”, a phrase coined by Gertrude Stein, “acknowledges the omnivorous and protean claim of multiple subject positions in certain modes of poetry as well as the investigative power of critical feminism, which made the term ‘patriarchal’ suspect in helpful ways” (DuPlessis 2012: 26).

In 1927 Gertrude Stein wrote a lengthy poem-essay called “Patriarchal Poetry”. Michael Davidson explains that Stein there explores the priority of male power and succession as a discursive possibility. He writes:

The priority of a patriarchal principle is based in language, specifically in a speech-based linguistics. Stein undermines such phonocentrism by pointing to the pragmatic contexts within which certain linguistic formulations occur. The form that her pointing takes is a satire of male rhetorics of proof and validation. By substituting the term “patriarchal poetry” for other substantives, she indicates the extent to which the proof and the subject-position that establishes proof are connected. In one case, she mocks the way that domestic life – specifically regimens of eating and cooking – is permeated by a patriarchal principle [...] (Davidson 1997: 52)

Surveying the gendered positions occupied by poets ranging from Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Charles Olson, Robert Creeley, to John Wieners, DuPlessis traces the creations of male separatist communities. For example, she points to a “monogendered universe of cultural action” in Olson, who was engaged in a “charismatic performance of this monogendered, imperial, and patriarchal poetry, from which others learned” (DuPlessis 2012: 166), and to which many resisted. Turning to Wieners, she argues that in his work patriarchal poetry is destabilized and comes to an end: “Having men perform a woman and having him say that women also perform themselves are positions that emphatically destabilize any illusion of natural gender” (DuPlessis 2012: 173).

3. CONCLUSION: POSTPATRIARCHAL POETRY

Rachel BlauDuPlessis is one of the most important experimental feminist poets and theorists, whose ideas are crucial in any contemporary rethinking of poetry as a cultural practice. This is all the more important, because we are currently witnessing a global proliferation of women’s poetry and a wholesale destabilization of gender roles, which is growing obvious in female and male poetry alike. DuPlessis defines feminist poetry as poetry written outside patriarchy, while Steve Evans writes that since 1970, in the US, we have seen a proliferation of women writers, whose works are articulated “after patriarchal poetry”. Borrowing the term from Rita Felski, he defines them as a “feminist counter-public sphere” (Evans 2001: ii, cited in Vickery 2006: 134). The range of poetics that are now being articulated urge us to consider carefully the shifting of positions inside both language and the mechanism of poetry, as well as

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its various apparatuses and institutions of culture. DuPlessis's work may help us to do just that.

Dubravka Đurić
Faculty of Media and Communications, Singidunum University, Belgrade
dubravka.djuric@fmk.edu.rs

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EMBRACING STEREOTYPES AS A FICTIONAL ESCAPE FROM REALITY: FLUCTUATING IDENTITIES IN D. H. HWANG'S *M. BUTTERFLY*^{1,2}

This paper aims to distinguish among and subsequently analyze diverse aspects of cultural stereotypes, with special emphasis on complex issues of gender, in David Henry Hwang's play *M. Butterfly* (1988). The overt as well as implicit presuppositions regarding cultural and sexual identities are in this play exemplified through the intricate relationship between Western and Oriental social mores and perspectives, which are further complicated by a fluctuating conception of gender. Themes of competing ethnicities, fluid sexuality, discrimination, and political hegemony are analyzed against the backdrop of Judith Butler's performative theory of identity and Edward Said's study on Orientalism. These theories dispute the idea of one's identity as a stable, monolithic concept, determining it as a fluid phenomenon, substantially dependent upon a social audience. Once applied to the intricate web of complex relationships among the different identities projected by the protagonists of *M. Butterfly*, the propositions of these theories paint a picture tainted with racism and sexism. The resulting discussion uncovers the dominant-inferior structure of the West-Orient relationship and a similar mapping of male-female categories, which interlock in a template of cultural stereotypes and subsequent discrimination.

Shifting semi-ironically from one cultural stereotype to another, *M. Butterfly* ends in a complete abandonment of the revaluation of established convictions, while the main protagonist opts for a fictionalized world of preset generalizations. On the other hand, Hwang's message proves to be a warning against fiction as a replacement for reality, for only through such action does human life gain its value.

Keywords: gender, identity, Orientalism, subversion, mimicry

1. INTRODUCTION

The archetypal image of a romantic linkage between the East and the West has been a part of the Occident's mindset ever since the beginnings of post-colonial discourse (Said 1978), while the more distilled collocation of an Oriental woman – a meek, demure, and mysterious geisha – with a Western man – a dominant, rational conquistador who brings upon her doom with his superciliousness – was generated at the turn of the 20th century. After the publication of the short story “Madame Butterfly” written by John Luther Long in 1898, a series of narrative reformulations of this binary joining of the Orient and the Occident began. Such treatment remained in the sphere of complementary opposites until the play *M. Butterfly* (1988), written by David Henry Hwang, an Asian-American author, who, in his own words in

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the play's *Afterword*, gave us a "deconstructivist *Madame Butterfly*" (Hwang 1989: 95). The gender, racial, and cultural identities which Hwang explores in his play will, in this paper, be interpreted against the backdrop of Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity and Edward Said's theoretical literature on Orientalism.

2. SITUATING AND REPOSITIONING THE MYTH

Hwang received the inspiration for *M. Butterfly* from a brief newspaper article, published in 1986 in *The New York Times*, concerning a scandalous and somewhat improbable case of international espionage, involving a French diplomat, Bernard Boursicot and a Chinese opera singer, Shi Pei Pu. The general public was shocked by the exposed fact that Boursicot had spent twenty years in a romantic relationship with Shi without discovering that Shi was a man. Like the majority of the readership, Hwang was initially caught in disbelief. However, that shock was followed by his acceptance of the story, which struck him as a familiar part of the West's collective consciousness – the myth of *Madame Butterfly* (Hwang 1989: 94).

The original artistic source which served as inspiration for Hwang's play and which, at the beginning of the 20th century, contributed to the widespread popularity of the aforementioned myth, was the opera *Madama Butterfly* (1904) by the Italian composer Giacomo Puccini. In *Madama Butterfly*, Puccini's librettists reproduce the existing cultural tropes, narrating a story inside the recognizable schemata. The ending is predictable: the West overpowers the East, the woman sacrifices herself for the man, and though we feel pity over the death of Cio-Cio San, who commits hara-kiri because of the betrayal of her husband, the American naval officer Pinkerton, we do not question that she was and remained subjected to him (Fisher 2001). Hwang deconstructs the conventional narrative which reiterates the trope of the meek, exotic woman from the East, who lays down her life for the unworthy, but indisputably dominant man from the West.

In Hwang's *M. Butterfly*, social conventions and propositions of seemingly stable identities are subverted through the development of its main protagonists: Rene Gallimard, a French diplomat who was positioned in Beijing's Embassy with his wife Helga in 1960, and Liling Song, a Chinese opera singer and a government spy for China, who, in the end, turns out to be a man. The following analysis will attempt to reveal whether Hwang managed to represent the identities of his two main protagonists as plural, ambivalent, contextually dependent, and shaped by power relations and narrative demands, or whether his project of deconstructing the idea of one-sided selves proved to be unsuccessful.

3. THE ORIENT AS A WESTERNER'S RECLUSION FROM REALITY

M. Butterfly is set in the present, in a Paris prison, where Rene Gallimard, now 65 and an ex-diplomat, calls out "Butterfly, Butterfly..." (Hwang 1989: 1) to Song who dances upstage to traditional Chinese opera music. Rene is a "simple" man with respect to his beliefs, which function in accordance with society's established dictates and its unquestioned prejudice. He is presented as unattractive and his wife Helga as his senior and also physically unappealing.

Gallimard makes his first contact with Song Liling in the home of the German ambassador, where Song plays the main part in Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* for an audience consisting predominantly of foreign diplomats. At the time, Gallimard's knowledge of Chinese culture is rather scarce and he is not aware of the fact that in Beijing's opera female roles are still,

according to a traditional custom, often played by men. Song enchants Gallimard as “utterly convincing” (17) in her³ role. She points out to him that a Chinese woman should not naturally be convincing as a Japanese woman, but such a distinction is inexistent in Gallimard’s reasoning. He is a representative of Western culture which stereotypes against the Orient, a geographical notion which in itself is rather problematic.

The theoretical framework of Edward Said’s postcolonial criticism is a good starting point for a cultural analysis of Gallimard’s and Song’s relationship. In his book *Orientalism* (2003), Said talks about the binary formations established inside Western-European and Anglo-American consciousness. Those binaries are obvious in the relationship between the Occident and the Orient, the West and the East, as well as in other socially produced dualities which correspond to the aforementioned: communism and capitalism, male and female, mind and body. Said explains straightforwardly how neither the Occident nor the Orient exist as clearly defined entities (2003: 5). As geographical and cultural areas they were socially determined, and they both occur only in the framework of the established discourse on the subject of their supposed contradictoriness. However, we must not conclude that Orientalism is a mere fantasy because as a system of thought it is instilled firmly into the Western-European and Anglo-American consciousness and, as such, has been reiterated through generations (6). As social entities we are inseparable from our patterns of thought, our schemata, which again are not only ours, but shaped and produced in the intersection of cultural milieus to which we belong. According to Said, the Westerner shapes the Orient and ascribes to it sensual, mysterious, even magical qualities, but also perceives it as submissive and backward (205). As such, the West positions the East as its opposite and in that way objectifies it by othering it. A year after the premiere of *M. Butterfly*, Hwang said in an interview that he did not begin reading Said until after he had finished writing the play, but that he agreed with Said’s theoretical postulates. He also recognized the antagonism between the West and the East embodied in the stereotyping of Occident-Orient relationship, which had naturally found its way into *M. Butterfly* (Hwang and DiGaetani 1989: 142).

The progression of the plot of the play and the evolution of the relationship between Gallimard and Song can be interpreted as a process of instruction. In the beginning, Song assumes the role of the teacher, who will educate Gallimard about Eastern culture. Even though during their initial meeting Song seems disdainful, she nevertheless invites Gallimard to visit the production of a traditional Chinese opera piece in order to instruct him further. But Gallimard is by that point already so enthralled by the “Oriental butterfly”, which he perceives Song to be, that no matter how much he listens to the non-Western version of the opera, he remains inside the simple framework of a purposefully mutilated vision of the East through the prism of the Western culture. The almost overwhelming presence of Western and Chinese opera sections in the play do not only serve to emphasize the incongruence of the artistic discourses of the West and the East, but also to reveal the contrast between Japanese and Chinese culture, which in the eyes of a Westerner are often placed under the same umbrella term – Orient, and in such a fashion stripped of their authenticity. Instead of perceiving these cultures as unique and polysemous, a Westerner distills them into a homogenous mixture. Homi K. Bhabha teaches us that “cultures are the consequence of attempts to still the flux of cultural hybridities” (Huddart 2005: 4), and that in that respect they are instable and constantly on the move. In the process of devaluing this complexity, it is easy to come to mistaken perceptions and to discriminate.

3 In reference to Song Liling, I will employ pronouns of the female gender as long as Song is perceived as female by Gallimard. When analyzing the ending scenes, male grammatical gender will be used.

Hwang is well aware of these stereotypes: "...the West looks at the 'East' as sort of a monolith. Whether we've been at war against Japan or Korea or Vietnam or in a Cold War with China, it's all 'Oriental'" (Hwang and DiGaetani 1989: 146).

4. REITERATING STEREOTYPES WHILE ESCAPING INTO FANTASY

The story in *M. Butterfly* unfolds in the period between 1960 and 1988, and it covers the time of the Vietnam War, when the United States were not allowed to place their embassy in China, but had to acquire information via stations and embassies of other Western forces, such as France. This is also the period of the Cultural Revolution in China, which the leader of the People's Republic of China at the time, Mao Tse-tung, initiated in order to obliterate the remnants of capitalism. This political situation contributes to greater complications between Gallimard and Song because their cultural and political identities pile on top of their problematic interactions in the sphere of gender and sexuality.

In this instance I will turn to a brief overview of Judith Butler's relevant theoretical postulates regarding gender and sexuality. Butler defines the term *performativity* not as an "act", but as a process, a "citational practice" in a Derridean sense (Butler 1993: 2). On the other hand, the term *performance* also figures greatly in Butler's theory of gender in that it cannot be identified with performativity. Performance is a type of reproduction, interpretation, mimicry, which as such can be *consciously* played out. Performativity, however, constitutes the everyday interactive "game" from which one cannot exclude oneself since, as social beings, we are determined by discourses through which performativity is established. Furthermore, through the appropriation of Derrida's term *iterability*, Butler talks about performativity as citationality (12-16), a practice which is at the same time an obligatory component of gender performativity and a potential tool for a conscious convulsion of social norms which condition the supposed stability of "gender identity". This citational practice is apparent in Hwang's reformulation of the myth involving an Oriental young woman resembling a fragile butterfly and a Western man who mercilessly stabs a pin through her writhing body and claims her life by objectifying her.

Gallimard does not see the world as a complex system, but performs an appropriation of the normative patterns of "stable" identities, which, though fictive in their essence, for him are very much real. He does not want to participate in a conscious game of interchangeable identity features. He wants a complete, perfect fantasy which he will never doubt. He wants Song who, with her complete existence, has to be a live presentation of the idealized figure produced in his imagination. Gallimard is not capable of accepting his own existence as, in Judith Butler's words, unstable and fluctuating. Butler points out that "the 'coherence' and 'continuity' of 'the person' are not logical or analytic features of personhood, but, rather, socially instituted and maintained norms of intelligibility" (1990: 23). However, this realization is not consciously available to Gallimard. He sees it as necessary to define himself ontologically and position himself as a stable figure of a dominant man for whom the subjected woman will continually confirm his power over her. Speaking on the subject of (un)stable identities, Said stated: "What makes all these fluid and extraordinarily rich actualities difficult to accept is that most people resist the underlying notion: that human identity is not only not natural and stable, but constructed, and occasionally even invented out-right" (2003: 332). This will in the course of the play prove to be a difficulty Gallimard will not be able to overcome, although it ought to be said that he did not even perceive this option as a valid choice.

During their future meetings, Song strategically exhibits those characteristics of femininity which Gallimard sees as part of the “real” Song. He will describe her as “outwardly bold and outspoken, yet her heart is shy and afraid. It is the Oriental in her at war with her Western education” (Hwang 1989: 27). According to Gallimard, the behavior Song displays, but which does not fit into the mold of Oriental femininity, represents only the façade, which is not a part of Song’s “true” identity. He does not experience Song as a complex personality, but only does so inside the boundaries of cultural and gender assumptions which he had had before he met her. When he visits her for the first time in her apartment, Song accentuates many stereotypes of Oriental culture and femininity – modesty, demureness, submissiveness, subservience. At last Gallimard’s perception of himself begins to form a part of the image of a seducer, the dominant man, “a foreign devil” (31). Only in reference to Song, as his complementary half, can Gallimard in his own eyes become a “true man”.

Having acquired personal satisfaction, Gallimard demonstrates ambition at work and is promoted on account of it. Empowered by his diplomatic success he demands that Song confirm that she is his Butterfly. She complies and the scene of their encounter ends in their making love, during which Song implores Gallimard to keep her clothes on, once again alluding to a supposed Oriental modesty. The two of them, aside from oral, engage in anal sex, although that fact will not be revealed, to Gallimard as well as to the audience, until later.

5. WHAT MAKES A WOMAN: FEMININITY VS. MASCULINITY

In the second act of *M. Butterfly*, Gallimard is asked to make some important diplomatic decisions based on his knowledge of the Chinese and their culture. His assumption that, if the Americans bomb Vietnam, China will not be opposed, is based on his presupposition that “Orientals will always submit to a greater force” (Hwang 1989: 46). This opinion on Oriental women and the Chinese in general was for Gallimard confirmed through his relationship with Song, which, though fake in its essence, is very much real for him during the course of the play. After five years, his prognoses will turn out to have been completely incorrect, and he will wonder: “Why weren’t the Vietnamese people giving in? Why were they content instead to die and die and die again?” (68). Gallimard’s cultural and political generalizations could not survive in the actual state of affairs, so in 1966, he will be returned to Paris with his wife Helga.

In the meantime, Gallimard enters another extra-marital affair, but this time with a young student, a blonde beauty, the daughter of one of the wealthy, Western traders stationed in China. Her name is Renee, which is pronounced exactly the same as Rene. This coincidence suggests an overlap of the supposedly stable identities which Gallimard’s consciousness projects out into the world. Renee is everything Song is not. She is free-minded, has no inhibitions regarding her body image, and enters into a sexual relationship with Gallimard almost instantly. However, it soon becomes clear that she represents a danger too great for Gallimard’s growing ego. His reaction to her behavior is: “But is it possible for a woman to be too uninhibited, too willing, so as to seem almost too... masculine?” (54). Their relationship culminates when Renee outspokenly comments on Gallimard’s penis and points out the strong but covert significance men ascribe to the size of their penises, which they then exhibit through competitiveness in other fields in life – politics, work, sports. For Gallimard “[t]his was simply not acceptable” (56). A modern woman, who in her way of thinking undermines male hegemony, who does not undergo stereotypical behavioral constraints, who acts without any self-imposed mystery, does not go well with Gallimard’s preferences. In his system of beliefs, she transgresses into

the semantic field reserved only for men, which is why she is immediately seen as inadequate. However, Gallimard continues with this affair only to keep establishing his position of power over Song by secretly gloating over her suffering while Song is supposedly tortured by doubts about Gallimard's infidelity.

Soon, angered by his political failures, Gallimard goes to Song in an agitated mood and demands that she remove all her clothes, which she had avoided very skillfully up until that point. Before he decides to visit her, Gallimard ponders about going to Renee's, but he does not need a "schoolgirl who would question the role of the penis in modern society"; what he needs is "revenge. A vessel to contain [his] humiliation" (58). For that, Gallimard exploits Song. However, Song is very much aware of the role she is expected to play, so she manages to dissuade Gallimard from his intention by unconditionally surrendering to him, tricking him into feeling embarrassed for intruding her supposedly fragile privacy of an Oriental girl. At that point, Song informs him that she is pregnant.

In the next scene, Song converses with Comrade Chin, a woman who works for the Chinese government, to whom Song hands over classified information extracted from Gallimard. Song asks Comrade Chin if she knows why men still play female roles in the Chinese opera. And as Chin starts explaining that it is "a reactionary remnant of male –", Song interrupts her with: "Because only a man knows how a woman is supposed to act" (63). In this instance, we touch upon the problematic point which stands at the core of Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, according to which "[a]s a sedimented effect of a reiterative or ritual practice, sex acquires its naturalized effect" (1993: 10), which is expressed in the system of masculine hegemony. Since the components of femininity are a product of masculine desire, a man will have the best resources to impersonate a woman because he can reproduce with greater precision the image which his cultural group had idealized. In Dorinne Kondo's interpretation "'woman' is a collection of cultural stereotypes connected tenuously at best to a complex, shifting 'reality'" (1990: 18). The performance Song plays out, and the one we witness, reproduces the engrained categories of femininity, but a question arises if through such a reproduction a subversion of the mentioned categories occurs as well. We arrive at that issue in the last act of *M. Butterfly*.

Song first retreats to the countryside in order to provide a cover for her supposed pregnancy. Upon her return, she shows Gallimard the baby given to her by the Chinese government, while Gallimard continues to believe the illusion into which his life has turned into. However, the political situation in China soon intensifies. The Cultural Revolution rages, and all the people with "useless" occupations are sent to communes to perform forced labor, among them Song as well. At that time, Gallimard is sent back to Paris, where he loses all contact with Song in the period between 1966 and 1970. After getting a divorce from Helga, he concludes that his "life in the West has been such a disappointment" and wonders: "Why can't anyone understand? That in China, I once loved and was loved by, very simply the Perfect Woman" (Hwang 1989: 76-77). It is logical that for Gallimard life in the West becomes meaningless given that the point of his existence was established in his illusory relationship with Song – his powerless, submissive companion, who, in the world of binary opposites, at least in Gallimard's perception, was the Perfect Woman. The West is too liberal, too instable to afford Gallimard the opportunity to carry on living and be happy. His life is completely devoted to waiting for Song's return. And Song indeed comes back four years later with their son, after the Chinese government forces her to become a spy again. Gallimard accepts Song as if they have never been separated, and they continue with their lives together for the next 15 years in Paris. At Song's insistence, Gallimard begins dealing with confidential documents once again, and Song manages to pass

the relevant information to the Chinese embassy.

However, as we soon find out, both Song and Gallimard end up in prison under allegations of committing international espionage. The third act opens with their trial at a courthouse in Paris in 1986, where Song is finally dressed as a man. The trial process, whose purpose is to investigate into Gallimard's and Song's guilt, reveals another hidden trial. The questions of the prosecuting lawyer are aimed mostly at the sexual nature of Song's relationship with Gallimard, and not at the exchange of confidential information. By interpreting those questions we come to the conclusion that the values of normative heterosexuality are considered to be basic values since their instability causes the greatest resistance among the court's officials.

During his testimony, Song reveals that his mother was a prostitute and that she was the source of advice about how to seduce a Western man: "Rule One is: Men always believe what they want to hear," and "Rule Two [is]: As soon as a Western man comes into contact with the East – he's already confused. The West has sort of an international rape mentality towards the East. [...] 'Her mouth says no, but her eyes say yes'" (82-83). Song continues by pointing out the self-glorification which the West has adopted, not just with regards to military issues, but political and social self-glorification as well, and all that inside the framework of a binary complementarity with respect to the East, which the West perceives as weak, submissive, and mystical. Song also notices a parallel to the relationship between the categories of masculine and feminine identities, which are further mapped out in the connection between the Occident and the Orient. This interpretation of the world enabled Song to deceive Gallimard, partly by playing with Gallimard's fantasy about the ideal woman who would confirm his masculinity with the demonstration of her femininity, and partly by knowing that, as a man of Asian origin, Song would always be, at least to a degree, perceived as feminine by a Westerner.

6. SUBVERSIVE GENDERED ACTS: A LESSON IN LOVING

M. Butterfly is a play especially suitable for interpretation in light of Butler's ideas of the ambivalence of cross-dressing and transsexuality, which simultaneously subvert and reify heterosexual gender norms (Butler 1993: 223-241). If we were to apply this theory to *M. Butterfly*, then cross-dressing does not turn out to be a goal in and of itself, i.e. Song does not dress as a woman because he is homosexual or because he identifies with the normative presuppositions of femininity. On the contrary, the act of imitating a woman is performed in order to consciously deceive. Unlike Hwang's critics who claim that Song Liling, as an emanation of Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, further establishes stereotypes about the Orient and its submissive women and emasculated men, my assertion is that, along the lines of Butler's theory of gender performativity, conscious cross-dressing and mimicry, through an intentional parody, manage to shake up conventional gender presumptions. Song employs the recognizable elements of femininity present in the normative heterosexual apparatus in order to induce a desired effect – to seduce Gallimard. Therefore, the ambivalence of transvestism resolves itself into subversion since it is apparent that the normative components, which inside the heterosexual framework represent a supposedly stable identity of an individual, are in fact transparent, interchangeable, and useable. As such, they can never be qualities of a stable, let alone natural, identity of a person because anyone well acquainted with the social and discursive markers of "femininity" and "masculinity" could extract and manipulate them. This interpretation of Song's performance is in accordance with Bhabha's term *mimicry* (Bhabha 1984), which, based on Derrida's deconstructivist reading of Austin's performative utterances,

signifies a performance that through its subversive function succeeds in exemplifying the artificial nature of all aspects of symbolical expressions of power. By “becoming a woman” via a conscious imitation, Song uncovers the transparency of that gender category and invites the audience to its revaluation.

In the penultimate scene of the play, only Song and Gallimard remain on the stage and their relationship reaches its culminating point. At first, Song acts haughtily toward Gallimard, with a certain egocentrism in glorifying the success of his undertaking of deception. Song plays with Gallimard’s perception of reality by alternating condescension toward him as his “Butterfly” and merciless display of his naked male body, reminding Gallimard that he had spent twenty years believing in something that was a lie. Once again, Song demonstrates how a stable identity is fictitious given that it can so easily be mimicked and reshaped. Gallimard experiences Song’s behavior as cruelty, but Song seems to be more intent on forcing Gallimard to understand the arbitrariness of the categories Gallimard had held to be of greatest value and to help him grow out of his ways of perceiving the world. At that point, Song performs the final act of his project in order to educate Gallimard about the complexities of interchangeable signifiers which do not hide ideal things, but rather weave a net under which there is nothing tangible. Song begins undressing until he remains completely naked. He attempts, by baring the body that was hidden for so long, to demonstrate to Gallimard that truth is not one-sided, but under the condition that Gallimard acknowledge that he is still in love with Song, complex as (s)he is, regardless of the anatomical details. However, Gallimard is not capable of doing so. When Song is finally completely naked, Gallimard bursts into a fit of laughter, seeing it as comical to have “wasted so much time on just a man!” (88). Song protests by saying that he can never be “just a man”. But Gallimard remains trapped inside his binary mode of thought and mocks his long-time lover by wondering how such a mistake could have happened to him: “You showed me your true self. When all I loved was the lie” (89). Song is crushed at hearing these words because he realizes that his project has failed. Gallimard did not become “more like ... a woman” (90), more like someone who knows how it is to be oppressed in a system of someone else’s hegemony and who rebels against it. Gallimard preserves his stereotypical viewpoints, and upon realizing that he cannot be Pinkerton, he decides to be Madame Butterfly.

What Gallimard opts for is a uniform fantasy instead of a polymorphous reality, stereotyping instead of facing the fluidity of identities. Even when all masks are dropped (or precisely at that point), he is not able to question the grounds on which his self is shaken up, most of all because it is made up of ideologically established concepts and perspectives on the world. When those assumptions prove to be fabricated, when twenty years of living with a person can so easily lose their form and disperse into unrelated fragments, Gallimard fails to preserve enough of his identity in order to continue on. For him, the fact that Song Liling is not a biological woman is not just a single changed component because it conditions all others. The heterosexual normative is too powerful to be rejected, but, on the other hand, Gallimard is also not allowed to carry on living inside its boundaries since the crucial condition of his past has been denied. The option Gallimard chooses – retreating into the fantasy of his own misconceptions – leads him into death.

7. *M. BUTTERFLY* AS A SETTING FOR FLUID IDENTITIES

Gallimard is a perverse copy of Madame Butterfly. Song is also a perverse copy of Pinkerton, but such a perversion in the third act proves to be liberating in its displacement

of conventional signifiers. On the other hand, Gallimard is so afraid of the chaos into which a revaluation of his beliefs can take him, that he would rather (quite gladly even) assume the role of an obedient, submissive, demure geisha than rebel against himself. Gallimard does not abandon his fantasy and that is why Song is never truly loved. Therefore, even in the case of a liberating performance, freedom as a result is not guaranteed because absolute liberation requires a social awakening, not just individual acts of emancipation. In that sense, Song's project of cultural and gender education fails because Gallimard remains trapped inside his dungeon of stereotypes. However, Hwang's project has a potentially different fate since individual performances of his play can lead toward a wider social awakening. The struggle for liberation from an imposed consciousness of a fixed identity seems then destined to a series of individual disappointments, but with a hope that collectively, someday, they will yield positive results.

The ending scene opens with Gallimard in prison, performing a section from Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* in front of other inmates. The polysemy of the play's title becomes apparent as we lay our eyes on Gallimard wearing a traditional Japanese outfit. *M. Butterfly* refers simultaneously to *Madame* and *Monsieur*, both intertwined in Song, but excluding one another in Gallimard. Gallimard's last monologue functions as a sort of lament for perfect women who lay down their lives before unworthy men, and as such serves more as a parodying comment to Song's unsuccessful effort to emancipate Gallimard than as an honest farewell message to an unjust world.

By organizing his play as a story of seduction, Hwang demonstrates that we are most capable of seducing ourselves. When we desire somebody to love us and to envision ourselves as worthy of such a love, we are prepared to transform that person into an ideal – partially self-imposed and partially produced inside the cultural framework we belong to. People have always been more inclined to fantasy than to reality precisely because it takes less resistance to believe in a fantasy which has already been established as the norm – it is imposed on us. However, to give into such a fantasy is not without its consequences. It is functional only until life forces us to face the inevitable ambivalence of what we have perceived to be our unequivocal reality. From that awakening comes the “demand to think contemporary power in its complexity and interarticulations [which] remains incontrovertibly important even in its impossibility” (Butler 1993: 19). Song proposes a play with signifiers, an acceptance of the inconclusiveness of final answers, but also a sincere commitment to the process of such a deconstruction, which, in the words of Edward Said, can help us leave the “imperialist shackles on thought and human relations” (Said 2003: 354) and so become more deserving of calling ourselves human.

Tijana Matović

Faculty of Philology and Arts, University of Kragujevac

tijana_matovic@yahoo.com

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SHAKESPEARE'S BED-TRICK: FROM DIAN TO HELEN IN ONE EASY STEP

Shakespeare's bed-trick – the plot device whereby a sexually available woman is supplied for a lustful male character's bed instead of the desired virgin, notably used in *All's Well That Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure* – has at times been derided as an overly tidy and convenient resolution of a complex situation. This paper will attempt to demonstrate that, instead of being seen as a cheap ploy resorted to by the dramatist, the bed-trick can be read as an allegorical representation of what happens when the lover does not heed the warnings of Neoplatonic love theorists and attempts to have an actual sexual relationship with the idealized female beloved figure. Usually viewed as a representation of chaste Dian or heavenly Venus and thus explicitly impossible to bed, this figure will, if pursued sexually, instantly transform in a lover's bed into a distinctly unchaste Helen or vulgar Venus, with often catastrophic, or at least highly unpleasant results. This interpretation of the bed-trick may also yield implications for reading *Romeo and Juliet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Othello*, in which, as I hope to show, catastrophe also follows a single night of carnal pleasure. A wider cultural implication of this reading might be that the particular Neoplatonic spirit/matter dualism and its accompanying ideology of erotic love contributed to the development of the virgin/whore dichotomy, which is still rampant.

Keywords: Shakespeare, bed-trick, Renaissance Neoplatonism, virgin/whore

1. INTRODUCTION: RENAISSANCE LOVE THEORY

The phrase "Renaissance love theory" loosely refers to the various Platonic and Neoplatonic ideas – mainly pertaining to climbing upwards on the scale of perfection via a pure and purifying desire for an idealized chaste lady – expounded in the numerous *trattati d'amore* whose proliferation was pioneered by the publication, in 1484, of Marsilio Ficino's highly influential *De Amore* (Hanegraaff/Kripal 2008: 175). Ficino's tract is especially significant in any discussion of the English renaissance, as it was basically his theory of love and beauty expressed in *De Amore* that passed for "Platonism" in English Renaissance poetry (Jayne 1952: 238).

Ficino's *De Amore* is a lengthy commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, and Ficino's love theory represents a reinterpreted revival of Plato's own love theory, as expounded in the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*. A major facet of Plato's work is stressing the distinction between higher Eros, leading towards union with the highest spheres, and lower Eros, effecting a shadow of this true spiritual immortality via mere bodily posterity. This hierarchical distinction between the separate levels of erotic desire is also reflected in the second speech of the *Symposium*, in which Pausanias distinguishes between the two Aphrodites – Aphrodite *Urania* and Aphrodite *Pandemos* (Plato 2001) – continuing an ancient Greek folk tradition separating the two aspects of the goddess of love. By the fourth century B.C., Greek mythology had already split Aphrodite into the discrete forms of Aphrodite *Urania*, personifying the loftier celestial facets of love, and the more down-to-earth Aphrodite *Pandemos*, dealing with the mundane tasks of aiding marriage, childbirth, and celebrating sexual pleasure (Brundage 1987: 12).

Ficino gleefully adopts this Platonic notion of the “two Aphrodites”, or Venuses, and adds his own, distinctly Neoplatonic, layers of interpretation to it, which he offers in his *De Amore*. The first or “heavenly Venus” has her abode in the Angelic Mind and is an utter stranger to matter, having been born without a mother. The second or “vulgar Venus” resides in the World Soul, where she presides over procreation. In accordance with their respective locations, the heavenly Venus “is entranced by an innate love for understanding the Beauty of God”, whereas the vulgar Venus “is entranced by her love for procreating that same beauty in bodies”; the heavenly Venus “embraces the splendor of divinity in herself”, whereas the vulgar Venus “transfers sparks of that splendor into the Matter of the world”. The heavenly Venus liberates the divine sparks from the prison of the material world, and the vulgar Venus, conversely, traps them in it (Hanegraaff/Kripal 2008: 180).

These sparks of beauty trapped in the material world serve to remind the eternal human soul of its own true divine origin. The beautiful human forms we are erotically attracted to only exist so that “by a burning desire for this beauty” we should feel “drawn to the heavens” (Allen 2002: 127). We must not be tempted to attempt any sort of carnal relationship with them; inspired by their beauty, we are instead supposed to climb the Platonic scale of perfection, step by step: from the love of beautiful bodies to the love of beautiful souls, and from there to the final unification with the divine (Hanegraaff/Kripal 2008: 181).

Very little change in this doctrine is noticeable a full century later, in Giordano Bruno’s 1585 love treatise *De gli eroici furori*, which, according to Hanegraaff, represents a specific culmination of the tradition of *trattati d’amore*. Bruno wonders “if a shadowy, cloudy, elusive beauty painted upon the surface of corporeal matter pleases me so much [...] what would be the effect upon me of that which is the substantial, original, and primal beauty?” and concludes that “the contemplation of this vestige of light must lead me by the purgation of my soul” to become elevated and united with it (Hanegraaff and Kripal 2008: 203).

Both Ficino and Bruno attribute the real agency and beauty that operates in erotic desire to a figure that is female, ideal, and, most importantly, supernatural, and in doing so equate heavenly Venus with the goddess Dian. It might sound peculiar, to say the least, that in Renaissance Neoplatonism Dian, the goddess of chastity, the Moon, and the hunt, should become so closely involved in erotic dealings traditionally reserved for other deities, but this is precisely what happened. It might sound slightly less peculiar if we remember that Dian, unlike other goddesses whose virginity denotes their autonomy rather than their renunciation of sexual liaisons, truly is stubbornly celibate and utterly unattainable. This is much more in keeping with the dualistic erotic tradition of Renaissance Neoplatonism than worshipping an ultimately available goddess.

Ficino explicitly connects Venus and Dian in his *De Vita*, when he smugly asserts that, as he is a celibate priest, “Venus herself is but Diana” to him (Ficino 1998: 383). Dian and heavenly Venus are linked in Bruno’s love theory as well. *De gli eroici furori* celebrates the “cruel and beautiful” goddess Dian, responsible for the eternal “sweet pain” of the lover: “although the soul does not attain the end desired and is consumed by so much zeal, it is enough that it burns in so noble a fire” (Hanegraaff and Kripal 2008: 200). Bruno, conversely, pours scorn on those who allow something as insignificant as an actual woman to get them into such a condition. In a long accusatory litany, he bemoans the fact that men are entranced by

that disgust, that stench, that sepulcher, that cesspit, that menstruation, that carrion,
that quartan fever, that uttermost insult and lapse of nature, which, with a surface,
a shadow, a phantasm, a dream, a Circean enchantment plied in the service of

reproduction, [deceives, and] once the seed she requires has been paid out, she often repays it with a stench, a remorse, a sadness, a weakness, a headache, a lassitude, and many more distempers known to all the world, so that it sorely aches where it itched so sweetly before. (cited in Hanegraaf and Kripal 2008: 198)

The expression “sorely aches where it itched so sweetly before” refers to what happens when a lover fails to worship the true goddess Dian properly and purely, and instead attempts to improperly, as it were, “hunt” Dian down, pursuing her – or, rather, the woman in whom she is reflected – sexually. Instead of Dian, then, one catches something completely different – judging from his choice of phrase, possibly even a venereal disease.

2. THE BED-TRICK: DIAN TO HELEN

2.1. Hunting Dian

The Renaissance theory of erotic love, heavily saturated with the distinctive brand of Neoplatonic spirit/matter dualism, as we have seen, simultaneously legitimized romantic love and split its object into, on the one hand, an idealized representation of the divine, and, on the other, the despicable body of the actual human being in question. Both Ficino and Bruno warn the lover never to confuse this heroic passion for the Neoplatonic One with carnal lust for a mere woman's body and to keep heroically burning with the ever-unquenchable desire to ascend to the divine.

The mistake, it should be clear, is not in *desiring* Dian erotically, but in *hunting* Dian and attempting to have an actual sexual relationship with her. Dian can be worshiped and pursued chastely, according to all the rules of the Neoplatonic doctrine of ascent. Shakespeare's comedies and romances tend to climax in weddings which can easily be interpreted as symbolic of spiritual ascent and successful henosis. Bassanio's successful quest for heavenly Portia is a pertinent example. These marriages, though, it should be pointed out, are certainly never sexually consummated within the world of the play. There *are* no happily consummated and enduring marriages between Shakespeare's heroes – only between his most troubling villains.

In the darker comedies and the tragedies, the heroes also pursue Dian, as they all fall deeply and almost mystically in love with a chaste lady, whom they cast in the role of an exalted anagogic figure, and certainly not a potential prosaic spouse and mother to their future children. However, then they make the grievous error – more terrible than Actaeon's – of pursuing her sexually. All the fallen heroes – would-be heroic lovers – of the problem plays and tragedies can be caught in the act of hunting Dian at some point.

Troilus is seen desiring Dian in “stubborn-chaste” Cressida and Bertram pursues a literal Dian, who is explicitly opposed even to marriage – let alone fornication – and declares in no uncertain terms: “Marry that will, I live and die a maid” (*All's Well That Ends Well*, IV. ii. 74). She is, unsurprisingly, then, not overly amenable to his desire:

I'll lie with him

When I am buried.

(*All's Well That Ends Well*, IV. ii. 71-72)

Angelo's obsession with a “stubborn-chaste” virgin takes an even more extreme turn, as this apparently asexual puritan begins to pursue the epitome of inaccessibility, a young, fervent novice in a monastery. It is, again, hardly surprising that her mind gladly conjures up all manner of gruesome torture and a martyr-like death that she would happily endure ere she'd yield her “body up to shame” (*Measure for Measure*, II. iv. 103-104).

Romeo's first love Rosaline – also depicted as having distinctly monastic aspirations – is explicitly likened to Dian, as

she'll not be hit
 With Cupid's bow, she hath Dian's wit;
 And in strong proof of chastity well arm'd,
 From Love's weak childish bow she lives uncharm'd.
 (*Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 208-211)

His passion for Rosaline shows Romeo as a courtly or aspiring heroic lover. As Muir shrewdly perceives, "Romeo's passion for Rosalind becomes the typical romantic love of the sonneteers for a merciless instead of the sexual pursuit of a virtuous maid" (Muir 1956: 25-26). This might be said for the vast majority of Shakespeare's idealistic tragic lovers. Interestingly enough, Romeo moves on to Juliet without skipping a beat – much to Mercutio's amusement – with a similar frame of mind, but with different results, as Juliet is not a merciless maid. This will thus transpire to be another case of hunting Dian, at which the goddess will unleash her rage.

Othello at first sees a literal Dian in Desdemona, and later wistfully bemoans
 [Her] name, that was as fresh
 As Dian's visage.
 (*Othello*, III. iii. 386-387)

He swears his love for her is not physical when he pleads to be allowed to take her with him to Cyprus:

Vouch with me, heaven, I therefore beg it not
 To please the palate of my appetite,
 Nor to comply with heat (the young affects
 In [me] defunct).
 (*Othello*, I. iii. 261-264)

Hunting Dian – pursuing the spiritually anagogic goddess of Neoplatonism sexually – does not bode well for the madly audacious lover, and will surely be penalized. One way in which the goddess herself punishes a lover who pursues her improperly in Shakespeare's darker plays is through what has usually been referred to as "the bed-trick".

2.2. Bedding Helen

Shakespeare probably learned how to "perform" the bed-trick from the sources he used for *All's Well That Ends Well*. In the ninth story of the third day in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Giletta di Narbona supplies the place of the desired nameless virgin in her husband Beltramo's bed and consequently becomes pregnant with his twin sons, which finally wins over her reluctant husband. Shakespeare most probably read the story in William Painter's 1575 book *The Palace of Pleasure*, where it appears with few alterations.

It is Shakespeare who introduces changes into the narrative, perhaps the most symbolically significant of which is the naming of the two female characters. It would be difficult to find two names that are more explicitly indicative of what is at work in the bed-trick. Sexually pursuing an unattainable virgin explicitly named after the goddess Dian, Shakespeare's Bertram will thus unwittingly bed an eager Helen, whose name – associated in the play with Helen of Troy – is likewise no accident. She has, tellingly, explicitly renounced Dian and her protection:

Now, Dian, from thy altar do I fly,
 And to imperial Love, that god most high,

Do my sighs stream.

(*All's Well That Ends Well*, II. iii. 74-76)

Bertram only has himself to blame, as a lover can only be bed-tricked because he has failed to heed the advice repeated *ad nauseam* by all the Renaissance love theorists, Ficino and Bruno in particular. A lover, they insist, must take great pains not to mistake vulgar Venus for heavenly Venus. If he sexually pursues the body of a female he believes he is in love with, then he has already succumbed to the snare of vulgar Venus (Line 2004: 16). The Dian he believes he has attained will transpire to be a Helen instead, as is the case literally with Bertram. Sexually pursuing virginal Dian, he finds himself firmly trapped in a marriage with pregnant Helen.

Shakespeare uses the bed-trick explicitly in another dark comedy, written immediately after *All's Well That Ends Well*. In *Measure for Measure*, although nothing exists in the sources that would inspire it, we again encounter the plot to substitute vulgar for heavenly Venus, an eager Helen for a chaste Dian. Although the names are not as explicitly evocative, the contrast between the two female characters is more extreme in the later play – instead of a virgin and a virgin wife, we are introduced there to a novice and a fiancée, who may or may not be entitled to consummate her betrothal lawfully.

Angelo, carnally desiring the young aspiring nun Isabel, asks himself:

Dost thou desire her foully for those things

That make her good?

(*Measure for Measure*, 173-174)

That is precisely the snare of vulgar Venus that a lover is caught in if he is found to be hunting Dian: he desires her “foully” – that is, sexually – precisely for those things that “make her good” – that is, her utter “merciless” unavailability. Bed-tricked, Angelo will instead bed Mariana and end up in a valid marriage with her. Not only will a hunter of Dian never attain her, but he will be hunted down by Helen and trapped in the lowly world of matter.

Bertram and Angelo are explicitly bed-tricked and there are two actual women that switch places in order to deceive them. All it takes for them to fall prey to vulgar Venus, falling into the trap of materiality, is one night, as it is the very fact of satisfying carnal desire that really tricks the heroic lover. There are, however, other Shakespeare's heroes who are also, in a manner of speaking, bed-tricked – during the course of their own one night of sexual consummation – although two separate women do not make an actual appearance.

When one starts examining the sex lives of Shakespeare's heroes – always an amusing pastime – one cannot avoid a striking discovery: they are typically accorded only a single night of carnal pleasure, which is then inevitably closely followed by a catastrophe. Shakespeare seems to be consistently making a point of ignoring the sources in this respect.

Chaucer's lovers, for instance, have three years together, while Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida only get one night (Martin 1976: 19). Giletta only stops visiting Beltramo's bed when she is certain she is pregnant, whereas Bertram is trapped after a single night with Helen. In Arthur Brooke's poem, which served as a chief source for *Romeo and Juliet*, the fatal fight occurs a month or two into the regularly – if clandestinely – consummated marriage, while in Shakespeare, the consummation of the marriage is explicitly and significantly the couple's first and last night together (Muir 1956: 25). In the story from Giraldi's *Hecatomithi* (III.7) which Shakespeare used as a source for Othello, Desdemona and the Moor live together in married harmony for years and even have a child together before the first sign of any trouble (Muir 1956: 123). In Shakespeare's tragedy, Iago begins his accusation on the morning after Othello's marriage has been consummated – and is, unbelievably, believed (Muir 1956: 136).

Although it has been much attacked by critics, this is not at all accidental. Shakespeare in fact takes great pains to reinforce the fact that Othello's marriage is consummated during their first night together on Cyprus and that it is *only* after this – but *immediately* after this – that troubles ensue. He first has Othello invite Desdemona to their chambers:

Come, my dear love,
The purchase made, the fruits are to ensue;
That profit's yet to come 'tween me and you.
(*Othello*, II. iii. 8-10)

To make sure that we have understood it well and that he has thoroughly driven this point home, he also has Iago confirm that "He hath not yet made wanton the night with her" (*Othello*, II. iii. 16-17).

All these lovers – whether they are married to their Dians or not – will be bed-tricked and suffer various calamities immediately after their one night of sex. The different complications that ensue seem to serve only as symptoms of the real problem – the fall into sexual pleasure. What is constant about the bed-trick is that all manner of disasters immediately follow this single night of carnal pleasure, and that the much desired woman undergoes profound changes, at least in the male lover's mind. Hunting Dian and expecting to have a relationship with her always spells trouble. Dian can never be attained, and if a hero believes he is sexually pursuing her, he is certainly in for a rude awakening. This is the true significance of the bed-trick – vulgar Venus will trick any lover who succumbs to the lure of the carnal. One way or another, when hunted down, Dian will become Helen.

There are different ways in which Dian becomes Helen, as there are different versions of lower Venus and different Helens. The very name "Helen" carried in the Renaissance several disparate negative connotations. Maguire records that Renaissance pamphlets counseled against christening one's daughter Helen, as it was a name associated with sexuality, adultery, and the downfall of ancient civilization. The false etymology of the ancient Greeks that saw in Helen the root "*hele*" ("destroyer") prevailed in Renaissance England, leading to regular punning on Helen/hell/heaven. In Peele's *Edward I Mortimer*, for instance, plays on the name of his beloved: "Hell in thy name, but heaven is in thy looks". Helen could thus imply merely wanton sexuality, death and destruction, or even hell (Maguire 2007: 77).

Dian or heavenly Venus, pursued chastely, will simply lead the pure lover upwards towards the One. Helen or vulgar Venus, however – if she is able to lure a careless lover downwards into her snare of sexuality – will do any one of a whole range of horrible things to him. She will trap him in a fertile marriage, or deceive him whorishly, or kill him and drag him to hell, depending on whether she appears in the guise of a mother, a whore, or a fatal witch.

3. HELENS

3.1. Vulgar Venus: the mother and the whore

It is in her most munificent form that vulgar Venus "merely" tricks the unfortunate lover and traps sparks of divine beauty that issue from him, transfers them into lower Nature, and uses them to invest matter with beautiful new human forms. Desiring Dian, the lover is bed-tricked by Helen, vulgar Venus, who, in her form of Mother Nature, imprisons men in a world of sexuality and fertility, which any heroic lover would have naturally preferred to avoid.

In Shakespeare's sources, Beltramo is depicted as merely unhappy with Giletta's social status, preferring to marry a more suitable lady, whereas Bertram seems reluctant to marry

altogether. He tellingly complains when he finds himself married to Helen and decides to go into the wars instead:

Wars is no strife
To the dark house and the detested wife.
(*All's Well That Ends Well*, II. iii. 291-292)

The “dark house”, interestingly enough, is the name of the hell Malvolio finds himself trapped in, as well, when he unworthily pursues the exalted Olivia. The expression also recalls Othello’s nostalgia for his “unhoused free condition” which he has sacrificed for his love of “the gentle Desdemona” (Bloom 1991: 65). Marriage itself can here be read as a kind of a hell and a kind of a fall – the dreaded snare of vulgar Venus. Bertram’s Helen is pregnant – which means he will not be escaping the dark house and the detested wife after all – and her body, an icon of vulgar Venus, has trapped a divine spark from Bertram in it. It is now busy working on imprisoning it in a material body of its own. Angelo is similarly bed-tricked and trapped, after a single night of carnality, in a valid marriage with Mariana, his “old betrothed (but despised)”. He seems to bear this imprisoning punishment by marriage with only slightly more grace than Lucio, who complains that “Marrying a punk, my lord, is pressing to death, whipping, and hanging” (*Measure for Measure*, V. i. 522-523).

The Helen or vulgar Venus who sometimes seems to take pure Dian’s place in a lustful lover’s bed, and especially his mind, can drag him down into the material prison of marriage and procreation, if she appears in her most benevolent, wifely and motherly guise. But, if she drags him even farther downwards, towards mere lust, where not even beautiful human forms are being created, she can transpire to be a whore.

This is the fate that Troilus feels he has suffered. Having managed – or so he believes – to bed his Dian, the “stubborn-chaste” Cressida, he now feels bed-tricked, acting as if he were waking up next to a Helen instead. Girard notices that, as Troilus and Cressida are getting up after their first and only night together, he “no longer speaks like a man in love” (Parker and Hartman 2005: 187). Krims conjectures that this is because “when Cressida reveals her desire, she shatters his childish idealization of her; now he fears she is a whore” (Krims 2006: 101).

This childish idealization appears to have been shattered in Shakespeare’s mind as well after the lovers have had their one night, as it is also “objectively” – in the world of the play, not just Troilus’ mind – that Cressida is instantly transformed after it. It may be good to remember here that Chaucer’s Cressida was a young widow, who acted timidly and coyly among the Greeks for a long time until, because of her loneliness and fear, she finally succumbed to Diomedes’ advances. Shakespeare’s Cressida, by contrast, acts from the moment of her arrival to the Greek camp like a shameless flirt, and her unbridled lust apparently makes her go for the first male who shows any interest whatsoever (Muir 1956: 79-81). Troilus’ Dian has turned into a Helen following their one night of sexual pleasure and accordingly comports herself much as does the actual Helen of the play.

This is, in effect, what happens to Desdemona in Othello’s mind, as well. The moment their marriage is consummated Desdemona miraculously transforms from a virgin straight into a whore:

[Her] name, that was as fresh
As Dian’s visage, is now begrim’d and black
As mine own face.
(*Othello*, III. iii. 386-388)

It is *only* after their single night together – but *immediately* after it – that it is possible for

Othello to see his Dian as a Helen. The paradox of the timeframe (what is usually referred to as “double-time” in *Othello* criticism) enables Iago to begin his accusation on the very morning after the night in which Othello’s marriage has been consummated, a fact, Muir reports, much attacked by critics (Muir 1956: 136).

However, it is precisely this exaggerated absurdity that reveals what is actually taking place in Othello’s mind. His revulsion is really caused by his Dian – the unattainable heavenly Venus – agreeing to have sex with him and thus proving to be a Helen, a vulgar Venus, a sexual woman made of flesh and blood. Thus she goes in his mind from virgin to whore, without stopping at wife. The morning after she loses her virginity to him he is absurdly able to ask himself “What sense had I in her stol’n hours of lust?” (*Othello*, III. iii. 338). Othello’s jealousy is caused by the subconscious conclusion, heavily reinforced by the dualistic misogynist Iago, that “wife” already equals “whore”, which allows his imagination to run wild.

This is the root of the enormous significance that the “lost” handkerchief carries in the tragedy. Lynda Boose has famously argued in her seminal “Othello’s Handkerchief: The Recognizance and Pledge of Love” that the handkerchief represents the consummated marriage of the newlywed couple and their wedding sheets stained with blood, which she reads as proof that Desdemona has entered her marriage as a *virgo intacta*. For this conclusion she cites the folk custom of displaying the spotted wedding sheets as proof of the bride’s virginity (Boose 1975). Emma Smith asserts that it is precisely in the handkerchief that the double vision which Othello has of Desdemona can best be perceived, as, “when the handkerchief is first given” – which is, significantly, before their first night together in Cyprus – “it represents her virtue and their chaste love, but it later becomes a sign, indeed a proof, of her unfaithfulness” (Smith 2004: 233).

The word “spotted” connects the handkerchief with both roles that Desdemona is cast in: virtuous wife (in the objective reality of the play) and shameless whore (which she is forced to play in Othello’s mind). The handkerchief *spotted* with strawberries is in imagery first implicitly associated with the newlyweds’ wedding sheets *spotted* with her maiden blood, and then explicitly by Othello when he decides that her “bed, lust-stain’d, shall with lust’s blood be *spotted*” (*Othello*, V. i. 36).¹ As mere hours have passed since the consummation of their marriage on those very sheets, we can only surmise that Othello equates in his mind “lust’s blood” with Desdemona’s maiden blood. As Sinfield reminds, to Othello’s injunction, “Think on thy sins”, Desdemona replies, “They are loves I bear to you”, to which Othello laconically comments: “And for that thou diest” (*Othello*, V. ii. 40–41). What transpires here is that “Othello finds himself acknowledging that Desdemona’s offense resides in her *legitimately expressed sexuality*” (Sinfield 1992: 76).

It should be stressed that Desdemona does not lose the handkerchief, which she personally values greatly. Othello himself discards it, throwing it on the floor and complaining that it is “too small”. Apparently, this signifier that she is a virtuous wife who has lost her virginity to him is just not good enough. She is no longer Dian, which makes her a whore.

The Neoplatonic dualistic theory of erotic love, according to which any desirable female form is either heavenly Venus leading the heroic lover upwards to the pristine purity of masculine spirit or vulgar Venus dragging him downwards to the filth of feminine matter, had a pivotal role in constructing the virgin/whore dichotomy in much the same form as it still exists in the Western world today. Shakespeare, in turn, had a pivotal role in imprinting it in the minds of those throughout the following centuries who came into contact with this work.

¹ Emphasis mine.

3.2. Mortal Venus: the murdering Hellen

As has been seen, Bruno's Dian and Ficino's heavenly Venus can never be attained, and will, if a lover pursues them sexually, transform in the bed-trick into a version of Helen or vulgar Venus. The version of the lower Venus the hero is quite likely to encounter, especially in the tragedies, is the most lethal one, who can bring only death and destruction, and not form new life.

Helen of Troy is at one point called by a servant "the mortal Venus, the heart-blood of beauty, love's invisible soul" (*Troilus and Cressida*, III. i. 31-33). While this is certainly meant to serve as a panegyric, it is in itself more than a little disturbing. The mortal Venus is not only a beautiful mortal woman generously compared with the immortal goddess Venus. The *mortal* Venus is also the *deadly* lower Venus.

Pandarus, significantly for Troilus, asks at this very moment "Who? my cousin Cressida?" Cressida proves to have been his own mortal Venus, lethal to him, which is apparent to Pandarus himself when he says to Cressida: "I knew thou wouldst be his death" (*Troilus and Cressida*, IV. ii. 86). Lust is what causes Troilus' personal death, and the death of many in the war caused by lust itself. When Helen sentimentally and somewhat frivolously hums: "Let thy song be love. This love will undo us all. O Cupid, Cupid, Cupid!" (*Troilus and Cressida*, III. i. 110-111) any Neoplatonist worth his salt will instantly know that this "love" she speaks of is in fact lust, lethal to those that pursue it.

Lust, as a desire for the body, which in itself is dead matter, can also bring death to those that pursue it. One implication of the persistent link between Eros and Thanatos that can be found in Shakespeare's work is that death somehow always seems to follow sex and blood is always spilled – even, sometimes, innocent blood – as some sort of catastrophe inevitably closely follows the single night of carnal pleasure that Shakespeare's lovers are invariably accorded.

Romeo significantly kills Tybalt on the very day he consummates his marriage with Juliet. Both acts are, in Leggatt's reading, "a shedding of Capulet blood, and a loss of innocence: the lovers' first sexual encounter, and Romeo's first killing" (Leggatt 2005: 3). Leggatt notices a similar pattern in Othello. Preparing to murder Desdemona, Othello threatens that her "lust-stain'd" wedding sheets will be "spotted" with blood (*Othello*, V. i. 36). These are the same wedding sheets that are already spotted with her maiden blood, as "her murder is also her wedding night" (Leggatt 2005: 3).

Interestingly enough, Cassio the Venus-worshipping Florentine is wounded in the thigh, just like the mythical Adonis he resembles so much, in the same night when Desdemona loses her virginity. Shakespeare's own Adonis significantly dies right after he succumbs to Venus. Being sexually seduced by lower Venus, he is no longer a capable, manly, dexterous hunter:

He ran upon the boar with his sharp spear,
Who did not whet his teeth at him again,
But by a kiss thought to persuade him there;
And nouseling in his flank, the loving swine
Sheath'd unaware the tusk in his soft groin.
Had I been tooth'd like him, I must confess,
With kissing him I should have kill'd him first.
(*Venus and Adonis*, 1011-1018)

The conclusion imposes itself: mortal Venus, Helen the destroyer, incites to deadly animalistic lust and kills after, or during, or even instead of sex, obliterating the guilty and the

innocent.

In her most pernicious version, where she drags the unfortunate lover to the very hell that is feminine prime matter in Neoplatonism, she could more rightly be named “Hellen”, though the names given to this figure are already many. The infernal aspect of the triple goddess is Persephone, who shares in Hades this dark aspect with Hecate (Line 2004: 28). In Ted Hughes’ mythological reading of Shakespeare, she is termed the Queen of Hell (Hughes 1992). Whatever they call her, most critics who have dealt with Shakespeare from a religious or mythological perspective will agree that there is in his work a persistently recurring figure representing the infernal feminine.

The original Dark Lady, whoever she may have been, may well have been the initiatory inspiration for exploring and developing this figure. In Sonnet 147, the bed-tricked poetic subject’s seemingly heavenly Dian transpires to be an infernal Hellen instead:

I have sworn thee fair, and thought thee bright,
Who art as black as hell, as dark as night.
(Sonnet 147, 13-14)

“Lust in action” is what finally causes the male spirit, bed-tricked by the promise of heaven, to fall into the feminine hell of matter, as is apparent in Sonnet 129:

Th’ expense of spirit in a waste of shame
Is lust in action
[...]
All this the world well knows, yet none knows well
To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell.
(Sonnet 129)

“Hell”, is, of course, slang for “vagina” – a fact which allowed Shakespeare much humorous punning, especially in the Sonnets. This is not without its metaphysical basis. Semen is, both in Plato’s and Aristotle’s reproductive theories – which were still extant in the Renaissance and continued to be rehearsed well into the eighteenth century – a product of the male mind/spirit. When this spirit is “wasted” in the “waste/waist” parts of a woman’s body, where unformed menstrual matter lurks, it has in fact fallen from the highest to the lowest point possible in one easy step, self-injurious to the male. Sex is in the thought systems of the time thus both metaphysically and physiologically the tragic fall of spirit into the very hell of matter, and infernal women are to blame.

4. HER INFINITE VARIETY

How can a would-be heroic lover educated in the Neoplatonic tradition know if the Venus he is pursuing is heavenly or vulgar, mortal or infernal? A possible answer is suggested by possible interpretations of Cleopatra’s fishing dream using Ficino’s work as reference. Cleopatra imagines she will catch fish on a hook, and

as I draw them up,
I’ll think them every one an Antony,
And say: “Ah, ha! y’ are caught”.
(*Antony and Cleopatra*, II. v. 13-15)

This image is quite eerie if it is compared to the imagery Ficino employs to stress in his *De Vita* the importance of distinguishing pure Dian from perilous lower Venus:

For those flavors you perceive in things which are pleasing because of their moderate temperedness, those Diana gave you by the gift of Apollo and of Jupiter. But those

wonderful allurements of taste by which daily you, secretly miserable, lose your life like people caught on a hook – these are the ones that insidious Venus fashions. (Ficino 1998: 211)

Cleopatra is thus certainly “insidious Venus”, who causes Antony to lose his life “like people caught on a hook”. We must not, however, forget Ficino’s other image wherein the soul, captivated by the beauty of the beloved, “is drawn upward as by a hook” (Line 2004: 95). Another way to interpret the imaginary fishing scene is to see Cleopatra as heavenly Venus who draws Antony’s soul upward “as by a hook”. After all, in her dream she exalts Emperor Antony into a divinity and later praises him as one whose

delights

Were dolphin-like, they show’d his back above

The element they liv’d in.

(*Antony and Cleopatra*, V. ii. 82-90)

We must conclude that it is – at least to a degree – she who has drawn him up above the watery element. Representing Cleopatra as both Venuses simultaneously is one of the ways in which Shakespeare actually helps deconstruct the heavenly/vulgar dichotomy.

Danica Igrutinović

Faculty for Media and Communications, University of Singidunum

danica.igrutinovic@fmk.edu.rs

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DEFORMITY OF THE MIND IN SHAKESPEARE'S *RICHARD III*

Instead of serving life, the rulers from Shakespeare's history plays make an effort to control it, which is one of the reasons why Shakespeare portrays them as tragic characters – they remain 'split' between their Machiavellian political ambitions at the cost of their own system of values and morality. The Machiavellian policy involving the appearance of rectitude and discarding this appearance whenever the circumstances call for open cruelty represents the main credo of Richard III, who like his literary idol, does not bother to consider moral issues at all. Furthermore, Richard III chooses to be a villain by a conscious exercise of his will, like Milton's Satan. Richard's visible deformity reflects his inward nature – his awareness of physical deformity provides an urge for revenge on the 'dissembling nature' which has mocked and cheated him. Like other rulers from Shakespeare's history plays, Richard III also suffers from 'the dissociation of sensibility'. T.S. Eliot claims that this 'dissociation of sensibility' should be gradually overcome – by acknowledging the personal/private sphere and not constantly striving towards its control, manipulation and, ultimately, abuse. The paper investigates tragic consequences that appear as a result of this split with the special emphasis on the issue of Richard's physical deformity reflecting his deformity of the mind. New Historicist and presentist, as well as humanist critical insights will be used in the research.

Key words: dissociation of sensibility, deformity, Machiavellian hero.

1. INTRODUCTION

At the end of 3 *Henry VI* the Yorkist victory seems to be complete, but there is a shadow over it, presented through the character of Richard of Gloucester, who frankly addresses the audience and admits that he has his own private agenda to follow in order to realize his insatiable ambition to rule. Thus, Shakespeare splits Richard off from the other characters in the play; however, he is not completely isolated, because he has a special relationship with the audience – that is aware of his thoughts and the ironic blindness of his victims, though the other characters from the play are not – which dominates throughout the whole *Richard III* play. The audience's conscious awareness of its own reaction while witnessing Richard's capacity for Machiavellian plotting and cunning control of the political situation represents Shakespeare's purposeful return to the dramatic technique used in the first English morality plays: Richard, like the character of the Vice from the morality plays, presents himself as a friend to the audience, who shares his knowledge and insights with them. The final outcome of this technique is that the reactions of the audience become an important part of the play: "against our better judgment", claims Leggatt, "we find ourselves even sympathizing with him, we are not just detached spectators... Richard, like the Vice, presents himself as a friend to the audience, and as the play develops we discover that this friend is not to be trusted" (Leggatt 2005: 33).

2. “DETERMINED TO PROVE A VILLAIN”: RICHARD III AS A MACHIAVELLIAN HERO

Richard III is Shakespeare's only historical play that begins with a soliloquy by the main protagonist, which might somewhat be compared to the beginning of Marlowe's plays. However, neither *Doctor Faustus* nor *The Jew of Malta* actually commence with Faustus' or Barabas' speeches. Each Marlowe's play is introduced by the Chorus, thus enabling the author to establish a certain critical distance from the audience. In the case of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Richard is not just a hero – he simultaneously performs the function of the chorus and presenter, whose comments the audience depends on in order to follow the action of the play. In his first soliloquy, Richard informs the audience that, although it seems that England has finally found peace in the reign of King Edward, this is just an illusion, because other schemes are on his mind:

But I, that am not shaped for sportive tricks
Nor made to court an amorous looking glass;
I, that am rudely stamped, and want love's majesty
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
I, that am curtailed of this proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling Nature,
Deformed, unfinished, sent before my time
Into this breathing world scarce half made up,
And that so lamely and fashionable
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them;
Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
Have no delight to pass away the time
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun
And descant on my own deformity.
And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover
To entertain these well-spoken days
I am determined to prove a villain
And hate the idle pleasures of these days. (I, i, 14-31)

These are not the words of a man seething with anger, or boiling with resentment. Richard is calm, cool, bored. As Tonny Tanner comments, “he is capable of changes of mood of lightning-like suddenness and unpredictability – always disturbing. But – until he becomes king – he is always icily in control. He is elegant, mannered, even fastidious – you will never find a drop of blood on his hands. He just wants something fully to engage his intelligence and energies. He wants his fun, and it's going to be dark fun” (Tanner 2010: 353).

His physical appearance, with the conspicuous lack of ‘fair proportion’ – Nature has ‘cheated’ him, making him ‘unfinished’, incomplete with arms and legs ‘of an unequal size’ (I, i, 18) – influences his inward disposition, as Richard openly admits in the first soliloquy in the play. He claims that he is ‘determined to prove a villain’: his ambition is to become a villain by a conscious exercise of his will, in the manner of Milton's Satan and Marlowe's Faustus who self-willingly embrace the evil instead of good. The ambiguity of these introductory lines can be seen in their alternate interpretation: the audience intuitively senses that Richard was played upon by determining natural forces beyond his rational control.

Richard's visible deformity (he is a hunchback with a withered arm), appears both to

himself and other characters as a concrete sign of the monstrous and unnatural. At the same time, throughout the whole tetralogy (three parts of *Henry VI* and *Richard III*), his deformed body symbolizes a disordered world, torn apart by the destructive civil war. To Richard himself, an awareness of deformity represents an urge for revenge on the 'dissembling nature' which cheated and mocked him. In the terms of Francis Bacon's essay *Of Deformity*, deformity is not so much 'a sign', as it is 'a cause, which seldom faileth of the effect':

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature: for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature... Whosoever hath anything fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn... also, it stirreth in them industry... to watch and observe the weaknesses of others, that they may have somewhat to repay... In a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. (Bacon 1985: 19)

Obviously, Francis Bacon, a renowned Renaissance scholar, was a great admirer of Niccolò Machiavelli, since his understanding and explanation of deformity is connected with the issue of the rise to political power, as a sort of a powerful, frightening and terrible vengeance against Nature itself that created such a deformed despicable creature, but, at the same time, also against the lucky ones, born with no deformity.¹

The idea of revenge on the part of the deformed ones and various forms of monstrosity as its consequence were rather interesting to Shakespeare. For example, in his ironic comedy, *The Merchant of Venice*, Shylock's statement to the cruel Christians from Venice – "this is kind I offer" (I, iii, 140) – contains the idea of vengeful repaying in kind, as a sort of an implied punishment for the wrongs that they did to him: he is an offended Jew, that seeks understanding and love in the Christian community in Venice. Since he is not able to attain it there, Shylock literally wants to obtain it by cutting the pound of Antonio's flesh, nearest to the heart, if Antonio is not able to return the debt in a prescribed period of time. The organ of love, the heart, obviously does not perform its function in Antonio's body, according to Shylock; therefore, Shylock's intention is to literally remove it (see Moody 1971: 42).

However, while Shakespeare describes Shylock's deformity in moral and spiritual terms, in the case of Richard III, his visible, physical deformity mirrors his deformity of the mind. Both Shylock and Richard seek revenge, and, gradually, by viciously enforcing it, they reject their humanity and practically, turn into monsters.

Thus, in the opening soliloquy of the play quoted above Richard presents himself as motivated by a burning desire to overcome his bodily disadvantages which would eventually result in him being armed and protected against any possible scorn and contempt in the pitiless gaze of others. Richard's parody of his own deformity has a function of emphasizing his strong will to conquer it, as well as his injured humanity, for he tends to overcome his physical defect by inflicting harm on others.

Freud, describing Richard III as 'an enormously magnified representation of something we can all discover in ourselves' finds the source of Richard's power over the audience in the guilty recognition of a 'possible inner fellowship' with him:

¹ However, it should also be stated that apart from this negative interpretation of Machiavelli's political theory and the Machiavellian hero, which implies that the hero is ruthlessly (ab)using his brilliant intelligence in order to achieve his personal immoral aims, prevalent in this reading of *Richard III*, there also exists its positive interpretation, according to which Machiavelli's prince is not necessarily deformed, and he is not necessarily performing any vengeance, he is just using his *virtù* (against what was known as *Fortuna*) in order to preserve his power, and his state. Machiavelli urges the prince to rise above the traditional medieval Christian moral restraints in order to preserve the powerful state, which, consequently, means – *res publica*, the common good, not only his private interest (see Berlin 1972).

Nature has done me a grievous wrong in denying me that beauty of form which wins human love...I have a right to be an exception, to overstep those bounds by which others let themselves be circumscribed. I may do wrong myself, since wrong has been done to me (Freud 1965: 89).

Freud's twentieth century psychoanalytical approach to the problem of deformity can easily be linked with the sixteenth century theories on human nature, especially the one presented by Machiavelli in his study *The Prince*. Like most Renaissance authors, whose main subject was man as he is, rather than as he ought to be, Machiavelli was interested in "real man" (Suhodolski 1972: 352). Machiavelli's view of "real man" is utterly pessimistic: men are greedy, deceitful, self-interested and concerned primarily with preserving or achieving power at any cost. An ideal ruler, therefore, is the one who does not hesitate to use any repressive means at his disposal to control his subjects. He must use force to create an 'ideal' society reflected in the government that could protect man from himself.

Richard III is a proper Machiavellian hero: heroic not because of his goodness, but because of his strength, cunning and success. Political dishonesty is legitimate, claims Machiavelli, because in an imperfect world, a prince cannot be morally perfect without effecting his own destruction. Although it would be preferable for a prince to appear to be virtuous and good in the eyes of his people, history shows that he must compromise the standards of goodness and virtue whenever necessary:

..[F]or that man who will profess honesty in all his actions must needs go to ruin, among so many that are dishonest. Whereupon it is necessary for a prince, desiring to preserve himself, to be able to make use of that honesty, and to lay it aside again, as need shall require. (Machiavelli 1953: 58)

The motto frequently attributed to Machiavelli – "the aim justifies the means" – involves among other things a cynicism on the part of the ruler whereby he strives for the appearance of rectitude, which the world values and he himself does not care for, and discards this appearance whenever he decides that the circumstances call for open cruelty. Indeed one of the chief means that Machiavelli believes a prince must not hesitate to use is cruelty, because cruelty makes people fear him, and because "it is much better to be fear'd, than to be lov'd" (Machiavelli 1953: 60). In short, since the Machiavellian prince must lie, cheat and break his word, it is logical that, during his rule, morality is not to be given serious consideration:

And it suffices to conceive this, that a Prince, and especially a new Prince, cannot observe all those things, for which men are held good; he being often forc'd, for the maintenance of his State, to do contrary to his faith, charity, humanity and religion; and therefore it suits him to have a mind so disposed as to turn and take the advantage of all winds and fortunes; and as formerly I said, not forsake the good, while he can; but to know how to make use of the evil upon necessity. (Machiavelli 1953: 59)²

2 As opposed to Machiavelli, a quite different view of man is provided in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, obviously not favoured by Shakespeare's Richard. Unlike Machiavelli, More differentiates between "real man" and "true man" (Suhodolski 1972: 352). Real man, according to More, is an aberration of true man: man is not inherently evil, his depravity is a social product. Authentic, original or true man is capable of love and justice. More insists that the only way for the real and true man to become one is the society where the unequal distribution of wealth has been abolished, that is, the one based on common property:

Though, to speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily: not justly, because all things will be divided among a few (and even these are not in all respects happy), the rest being left to be absolutely miserable... (More 1953:102)

Therefore, in devising his Utopian government, More rejects kings and like Plato adopts republic. His ideal society is

Richard III, like his literary idol Machiavelli prescribes, uses his political skills of plotting and eventually causes the downfall of the potential rivals, playing off the Queen and her followers against Clarence and Hastings, and, on the other hand, ruthlessly removing both Clarence and Hastings, while pretending to be their sincere, loyal friend. Stephen Greenblatt, a key figure in the New Historicist critical school, in his essay *Shakespeare and the Uses of Power* (2007), claims that violence, as Shakespeare well understood even without referring to Machiavelli as one of his literary sources, was one of the principal mechanisms of the regime change in the Elizabethan England. In addition, Greenblatt states that Richard III possesses royal blood and a better lineal claim to the throne than anyone in the realm and portrays his outward show of morality as a well-rehearsed act necessary in order to attain his political goals:

He is careful to wrap himself in the mantle of moral authority, appearing before the citizens with prayer book in hand in the company of two "deep divines," and if this show of piety is hypocritical and the popular acclamation manipulated, Shakespeare's audience easily grasped that such shows were essential elements in the order of things. Some, after all, might have still recalled that Queen Elizabeth ostentatiously kissed a Bible during her coronation procession. Yet Shakespeare's history play never doubts that it is reasonable, sane, even necessary to rise up on the side of the usurper. The beleaguered king vigorously exhorts his troops to destroy the invading army, "vagabonds, rascals, and runaways" (5.6.46) led by a "paltry fellow" (5.6.53). But the paltry fellow succeeds in killing the king. (Greenblatt 2007: 1)

3. RICHARD'S INNER TURMOIL: CONSCIENCE VS. AMBITION

However, Richard's almost friendly relationship with the audience prevents it from siding entirely with his victims (with the exception of the two young princes, his relatives): in the fashion of a Machiavellian ruler, Richard is too clever, causing laughter and admiration at the way he "offers the false as more attractive than the true. A consummate actor, he takes an artist's delight in his craft" (Rossiter 1961: 16).

The audience's almost approving manner towards Richard's terrible atrocities is contained in the fact that, except for the two young princes, murdered in the Tower, none of his victims is entirely innocent, as Greenblatt rightfully observed: they are all active participants in the political world of multiple Machiavellian betrayals, subject to the appeal of self-interest and their aspiring ruling ambitions.³ For example, Clarence's dream anticipates his death and reveals his vulnerability through the pangs of conscience he experiences. Although he considers himself a 'Christian-faithful man', he was attracted to the material gains of secular power, and, by the end of his life, suffers pangs of remorse for the unpardonable deeds he committed in order to attain it:

Then came wand'ring by
A shadow like an angel with bright hair,
Dabbled in blood, and he shrieked out aloud,
'Clarence is come, false, fleeting, perjured Clarence,
That stabbed me in the field by Tewkesbury'. (I, iv, 49-53)

a peaceful system of communism, where the distribution of wealth is equal, which means that every man may have his share of wealth, but only by working for it.

³ It is interesting to add that the same point was made much before Greenblatt by Nikola Milošević in a very shrewd and insightfully elaborate analysis in his essay on *Richard III* in *Negativan junak* (Milošević 1965).

Clarence's stings of conscience, the conflict between self-interest and morality, the private and the public sphere, are most conspicuous in a prose scene which introduces ordinary men, marginal characters, into the world of the English nobility. The two murderers justify their profession by claiming that they have to be obedient to their lords and because of the promise of financial gain. They neglect the inner voice of conscience because they give primacy to practical material drives ("where is thy conscience now?/in the duke of Gloucester's purse. I, iv, 116-117).

In the same vein, in Act V, Richard meets his most formidable adversary, Richmond, the future king Henry VII. In order to encourage his military troops for the final fight with Richmond's army, Richard addresses his soldiers and states that nothing exists beyond the individual will: no moral restraints should prevent the pursuit of desired practical ends.

Conscience is but a word that cowards use,
Devised at first to keep the strong in awe.

Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law. (V, v, 38-40)

However, when he wakes up from the nightmare in which the ghosts of his murdered victims show themselves, he does not seem to be as resolute and determined as he claimed to be at the beginning of the play. For the first time in the play, Richard's inner turmoil becomes visible, anticipating later Shakespearean tragic heroes as Macbeth. Richard, the great pretender, ultimately faces an inner void:

Is there a murderer here? No. – Yes, I am.

Then fly. – What, from myself? Great reason why:

Lest I revenge. – What, myself upon myself?

Alack, I love myself. – Wherefore? – For any good

That I myself have done unto myself. –

O no, alas, I rather hate myself

For hateful deeds committed by myself. (V, iv, 163-9)

The incoherent, broken language, with each phrase opposing the previous one, reflects Richard's shattered confidence. In his terror, the claims of morality, which he constantly denied, are being returned to him through the dream and given expression in the powerful soliloquy. The 'forcible impression' of the dream, leaving him 'trembling', forces him to acknowledge his own guilt, causing his personal judgment on previous criminal actions:

My conscience has a thousand several tongues

And every tongue brings in a several tale,

And every tale condemns me for a villain. –

Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree! –

Murder, stern murder, in the dir'st degree,

And several sins, all used in each degree,

Throng to the bar, crying all, 'Guilty, guilty!' (V, iv, 172-80)

This soliloquy gives Richard a tragic dimension quite contrasted to Richmond's speech, looking forward to 'smiling plenty, and fair, prosperous days' after the death of 'the bloody dog, murderer and tyrant' (V, vii, 34). What Richard finally realizes at this moment of tragic insight is the inevitable consequence of his defiant isolation and willing rejection of all human ties: "I have no brother...I am myself alone" (3 *Henry VI*, V, vi, 80). Thus, the awakening of conscience in Richard represents a climactic tragic moment of the play, because he ultimately realizes that he created a world devoid of love, compassion, pity and mercy:

I shall despair. There is no creature loves me,
And if I die, no soul shall pity me. (V, iv, 179-80)

Richard's terrifying dreams in which he experiences the pangs of remorse for the misdeeds that he has committed all his life can be interpreted from the point of view of Jung's theory of dreams. Following in the footsteps of Sigmund Freud, Jung claims that dream analysis is the primary way to gain knowledge of the unconscious mind or, as he states, the hidden part of the mind, which is in Richard's case rather revealing about the ways he copes up with his outward and inner monstrosity, both deformity of the body and mind.

Since Jung claims that dreams originate in the unconscious, it is also important to mention that he regards them as naturally occurring phenomena, occurring spontaneously and autonomously into the conscious mind. Thus, Jung claims, dreams are a way of communicating and acquainting oneself with the unconscious. Dreams are not attempts to conceal one's true feelings from the waking mind, but, as a window to one's unconscious, their initial purpose is to guide the waking self to achieve wholeness and offer a solution to a problem one is facing in one's waking life (Jung 1964). In the case of Shakespeare's Richard III, it is quite obvious that he was finally defeated by the natural forces that he was defying his whole life: instead of serving life, Richard makes an effort to, which is one of the reasons why Shakespeare portrays him as an utterly tragic figure by the end of the play – he becomes a victim of his Machiavellian political ambitions at the cost of his own system of values and morality.

Jung explains the phenomenon of dreaming by saying that the psyche regulates itself by a process of compensation. He develops a theory which claims that, when there is an imbalance between the conscious and unconscious minds, a *neurosis* or *psychosis* occurs. This is a fragmentation of the personality, in the sense that the psyche is split into two opposing energies which refuse to be reconciled. Schizophrenia is a good example of such a conflict. In schizophrenia, the intellectual faculties and the affective elements of the personality become dissociated, i.e., there is a split between the rational elements and the emotional elements, as we witnessed in Richard's example. As a sort of a compensation for the imbalance, Jung claims, the psyche will attempt to right itself by providing clues, or possible solutions to the problem through dreams (Jung, 1964). Jung also states that if the dreamer can understand and apply the meaning and significance of the dreams, this imbalance may be corrected, which is the mental state that, unfortunately, Shakespeare's Richard will never achieve. Namely, although he is given a valid insight into his problems in the form of a dream, he will repudiate these insights and continue with his inhuman practice towards his political adversaries, although, by the end of the play, his self-assurance, that characterized him at the beginning of the play, will ultimately disappear.

Jung views the ego as the sense of self, the way an individual portrays him/herself to the world. A part of Jung's theory is based on the concept that all things can be viewed as paired opposites: good/evil, male/female, love/hate. In this vein, working in opposition to the ego is the "counter-ego" or what he refers to as *the shadow*. The shadow represents the rejected aspects of oneself that is not acknowledged (Jung 1964). In Richard's case, his shadow is manifested, as already seen, as his humanity, morality, conscience. T.S. Eliot claims that this 'dissociation of sensibility', the conflict between the political and personal system of values, the dilemma between patriotic duty and private conscience, the ego and the counter-ego, to borrow Jung's terms, should be gradually overcome – by coming to terms and acknowledging the personal/private sphere, and not constantly attempting at its control, manipulation and, ultimately, abuse.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The humanist interpretation of *Richard III* did not appeal to Stephen Greenblatt. In addition, in his essay *Shakespeare and the Uses of Power* (2007) he claimed that although Shakespeare treated the mystical accounts of kingship with relentless irony, he did not endorse any general principle of resistance. Renaissance moral thought, like the Christian theology on which it drew, was deeply influenced by what the philosopher Bernard Williams calls the “ethicized psychology” invented by Plato. The idea, against which Williams’s powerful book *Shame and Necessity* struggles, is that “the functions of the mind, above all with regard to action, are defined in terms of categories that get their significance from ethics” (Williams 1993: 42). Thus, a psychic conflict, especially the one between reason and desire, is mistakenly understood, claims Greenblatt, as inevitably an ethical conflict. In this influential but misguided tradition, as Greenblatt uniformly interprets it, “reason operates as a distinctive part of the soul, only to the extent that it controls, dominates, or rises above the desires” (Williams 1993: 42). The idea of the impossibility of the system subversion and ultimate private change, totally contrasted to the humanist idea of personal growth and final maturity, can be found in some of the earliest Greenblatt’s writings as well.

For example, in the Introduction to *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (1980), Greenblatt states that artists, like all other subjects, are ideologically determined: religion, education, law, the family are the institutions that shape all individuals. Their subjectivities, including the artist’s, are constructed in accord with the cultural codes that suppress and control them. Thus, although the New Historicists criticize the Western ideology of power, they claim that neither the playwright nor his work can go beyond it. The only way to escape from cultural omnipotence is, according to Greenblatt, “the will to play” (Greenblatt 1980: 220) – to embrace what the culture finds loathsome and frightening and, although aware of one’s own inevitable fall, to glorify it for the sake of sheer anarchy which is in itself subversive.

This is my point of disagreement with the New Historicists. It is my belief that a more positive resistance than mere self-destructive anarchic play to any kind of repressive ideology is not only possible, but necessary. This belief in personal and social transformation is the governing idea of humanist thinkers. Shakespeare’s *Richard III* does not exemplify this creative resistance to culture; on the contrary, he represents one of the tragic heroes who embody the worst tendencies of the place and the time. However, according to the humanists, the business of the playwright is not to provide the solutions but to point to problems and warn us about the consequences of our failure to attend to them properly in the future.

Thus, as the presentist critics observed, when reading Shakespeare’s historical plays, we can never evade the present moment, “and if it’s always and only the present that makes the past speak, it speaks always and to – and about – ourselves. We must acknowledge that the questions we ask of any literary text will inevitably be shaped by our own concerns, even when these include what we call the past” (Grady and Hawkes 2007: 5). From the point of view of both humanists and presentists, Shakespeare’s historical play, *Richard III*, is certainly more revealing about the present moment than many of us, unfortunately, are ready to admit.

Milena Kostić
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš
mkostic76@gmail.com

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Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu
Odsek za anglistiku
dr Zorana Đinđića 2
21000 Novi Sad
tel: +381 21 485 3900
+381 21 485 3852

www.ff.uns.ac.rs

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