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FOREWORD

The publication in front of you is a selection of papers presented at the first international conference *English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today* (ELALT), held at the University of Novi Sad on March 19, 2011. The contributions cover a broad array of topics in contemporary linguistic and literary scholarship, and are divided into two main sections. The first half is dedicated to the English language, and covers three distinct areas — linguistic research, translation studies and teaching methodology. The second half is dedicated to various topics in Anglophone literatures and literary theory, and has a wide geographical and chronological reach, from Elizabethan times to the present-day, from the post-World War Japan to the Native American Community of the White Earth Reservation, from the poetics of the killing fields of Nigeria to the dry outback of the Aborigines.

We are deeply indebted to the plenary speakers, Professor Svetozar Koljević and Professor Ranko Bugarski, who kindly accepted our invitation and submitted their most inspirational work. We thank the many presenters for their up-to-date ideas and contributions, and the participants for the insightful discussions which followed.

The conference would have been impossible without generous financial help from the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia, support we gratefully acknowledge here. We also express our appreciation to the Dean's Office of the Faculty of Philosophy, whose members warmly supported the efforts of the English Department from the moment the idea of ELALT was first conceived. We would like to thank Professor Vladislava Gordić-Petković, head of the English Department, for her initiative, encouragement and selfless commitment. Last — but certainly not least — we thank the Organizing Board, the Editorial Panel and our dedicated reviewers for handling many complex tasks with grace under pressure and enabling this volume to see the light of day.

Novi Sad, December 2011
The Editors

PART ONE:
LANGUAGE

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FROM VERBAL PLAY TO LINGUISTICS: A PERSONAL MEMOIR

Abstract This talk emphasises the role that experimentation with sounds and words, including verbal humour, has played in arousing interest in the nature and properties of language, as a precondition for the emergence of linguistic science. Against this general background the author's development as a linguist is sketched out and illustrated from his own experience with word play in various domains (translation, limericks, puns, blends...). The presentation includes linguistically relevant anecdotes and jokes about well-known linguists. The main point of the whole exercise is substantiating the claim that the humorous potentials of both language and linguistics should be exploited pedagogically, and showing how linguistics, in addition to teaching us a lot about language, ourselves and the world, can also be fun.

Key words: Linguistic phylogeny and ontogeny, verbal humour, English prepositions, teaching linguistics.

1. Introduction: phylogeny and ontogeny

In 1866 Ernst Haeckel, a noted German Darwinist, proposed his 'biogenetic law' stating that ontogeny (individual development) recapitulates phylogeny (evolution of a species). His theory has been discredited among biologists, but it may serve as background for my own thesis, suggested by my title. Speaking quite broadly, one may well imagine that experimentation with sounds and sense, giving rise to all manner of verbal play, has underlain the arousal of interest in language. Such interest presumably developed in stages from the earliest beginnings, perhaps already in protohuman grunts, via early human word magic, to ancient and medieval philosophical speculations, thence to a widespread obsession with matters linguistic that characterized much of the eighteenth century, and finally to the emergence of modern linguistic science, starting with general and comparative-historical linguistics of the nineteenth century. (Incidentally, such a course shows that science begins with comparison, which enables generalizations to be made about the objects under investigation. As long as only a single language was studied, as was the case with Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Arabic, Hebrew, Chinese, etc. in the respective early civilizations, it was possible to achieve sophisticated results in descriptive studies and normative undertakings, but there could be no general or properly theoretical

linguistics before many genetically and typologically different languages were compared and contrasted, the empirical basis for such an undertaking becoming available only in the post-Renaissance period. This remark may seem out of place here, but its relevance should become apparent later on).

I am now ready to suggest, solemnly and modestly, that the evolution of linguistics has in some way been recapitulated in my personal development as a linguist: a startling conjecture no doubt, but one which I find amusing if not even intriguing. How so? Following the King's wise advice to Alice, I will begin at the beginning, go on until I get to the end, and then stop.

2. My own linguistic ontogeny

I was born and grew up in an ethnically "pure" but linguistically "contaminated" family of four, where my parents, my sister and myself all spoke English as a second home language in addition to our native Serbo-Croatian. This fact in itself provided an initial impetus for my growing interest in language – and indeed in languages, for several were involved in my immediate surroundings and later on in my school years. This early multilingual experience, coupled with my father's career as a teacher of foreign languages, who relied heavily on idiomatic expressions and jokes and even published a popular bilingual book illustrating their use in teaching English (Bugarski 1938), stimulated my early enthusiasm for verbal art, experimentation and word play in different domains (translation, limericks, puns, jokes, metaphors, blends, idioms), which has stayed with me all my life. In what follows I can give only a few selected examples from these categories, drawing on my own experience.

In 1955, at age 22, on one of my hitch-hiking tours of European countries I met an Englishman slightly younger than myself and spent a week or so with him at a youth camp in, I believe, Denmark (I may perhaps be forgiven if after more than half a century I am not quite sure where this was, for I travelled a lot in those years!). I immediately exposed him to some of my verbal experiments (puns, antonyms, reverse order of words and sounds, wrong verb-adverb "nombications", impossible collocations, renaming people and places, whereby a girl called Christina became Strychnina while Copenhagen turned into Hopencagen, etc). This caught on, and we both enjoyed distorting and mutilating the noble English tongue; "as a fatter of mact", we called this practice "ranking", after my own name. We then parted and, apart from a short correspondence (of which I have miraculously preserved a copy of a "ranking" letter of mine, dated 15 October 1955), we never heard of each other until some twenty years later, when I started seeing his name in linguistics publications: this was Roger T.Bell, author of an introduction to sociolinguistics and a monograph on translation (Bell 1976, 1991). By this time I was definitely a linguist too, and I pride myself on the apparent fact that fooling around with English on my initiative eventually led to both of us becoming professional linguists,

interested precisely in fields closely related to this somewhat perverse angle on language! We actually met again in 1990, at the world congress of translators (FIT) in Belgrade, where I gave a plenary talk on translation as creation (Bugarski 1991), and we exchanged happy memories...

3. Of translation, limericks and puns

Talking of translation, in the 1960s I amused myself by comparing several existing Serbo-Croatian translations of the first stanza of *Jabberwocky* and the final passage of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* and then offering my own versions, which were actually published along with my commentaries (see now the updated text in Bugarski 1996). This was also the time when, mostly thanks to the works of Edward Lear and Lewis Carroll, I developed a life-long passion for limericks and blends. I will return to blends below, and as for limericks let me just mention two items that stand out in my memory. In December 1969 in San Francisco, after the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, I spent a few hours chatting and joking over wine with the newly elected President, Archibald A. Hill, who turned out to be another lover of limericks. So we exchanged a few increasingly bawdy ones, whereupon he recited the beginning of one started by Thackeray (about *The young Countess of Wycherley*) but left unfinished, apparently because of the difficulty of finding good rimes for the second and last lines. Later that night I found a solution involving the words *itchily* and *twitchily* (or was it *bitchily*?), all apparently still unrecorded at the time – but forgive me for no longer remembering the whole text, as I foolishly never wrote it down. Professor Hill evidently liked it, for when I arrived at the University of Texas at Austin some months later to give a lecture on his invitation, he introduced me as "the man who after 150 years completed a limerick by William Makepeace Thackeray"!

The other item I remember well, as it was quite recent. In August 2008 I gave a conference paper at the University of Helsinki, where I contrasted two views of the linguistic world map. One, associated with general and theoretical linguistics, saw this as composed of languages as distinct entities with clear borders, while the other, characteristic of dialectology and sociolinguistics, regarded it as consisting of fuzzy, overlapping and multilayered entities. I informally labelled the former "the bricks view" and the latter "the patches view" – this one largely inspired by my vision of a tattered old fellow from Natchez, Missisippi:

There was an old man from Natchez
Whose clothes were all in patchez;
When asked to disclose
The secret of his clothes
He replied, "When I itches, I scratchez".

This limerick actually provided a frame for a whole section of my paper (Bugarski 2010a), which shows, to my satisfaction at least, how limericks can support and refresh linguistic thinking.

The same can obviously be said of puns. Unfortunately, although a recognized punster, I seem to have forgotten most of my own creations, of which friends occasionally remind me to my surprise and delight. (Forgetfulness appears to be a thread running through this entire talk – I wonder why?). I do recall, however, that the best of these included bilingual ones, which I particularly cherished, and a few were literally dreamt up. But let me cite only one which I made wide awake. In 1997 I attended a huge Europe-wide, state-sponsored and highly successful conference in Thessaloniki entitled "'Strong' and 'weak' languages in the European Union: Aspects of linguistic hegemonism". I punningly (but by no means cunningly or maliciously!) modified this title in my mind, though not for public use lest I cause offence to the kind organisers, to read "Strong and Greek languages...". This I find relevant here because the slight phonemic adaptation within a single syllable encapsulated, as it were, the whole purpose of the gathering as seen by the state, which was to gain an international hearing for its justified complaints about the unsatisfactory position of Greece and its language in the EU. The point, then, is not strictly or solely linguistic, but if nothing else, it demonstrates the potential contribution of punning to the economy of language.

4. Of metaphors and blends

I will now treat you to what I consider an enlightening idiomatic joke. In 1992, at a conference of the European Linguistic Society in Galway, the participants in plenary sessions were seated in somewhat uneasy chairs which threatened to collapse unless handled with care. At one point in the middle of somebody's paper, Werner Winter, then secretary of the Society, crashed down, whereupon I shouted "Professor Winter is practicing for a question from the floor!" – and had the hall roaring with laughter. Now what is linguistically instructive about this? I would say that it is the reversal of the order usual in metaphorical usage. In terms of conceptual metaphors as elaborated by cognitive linguistics, the direction is normally from the (concrete) source domain to the (abstract) goal domain, i.e. bottom-up, whereas in this instance it was the reverse, top-down, a sudden literalization of a conventional metaphorical usage which accounts for the humorous effect. And we know from Freud, Bergson and other theorists that the essence of humour is an unexpected, "unnatural" coincidence or clash of opposites, where words pitted against each other create an encounter or blending of incongruous or incompatible images, wars of words thus apparently signalling wars of worlds...

This last reference leads me to mention quite briefly my long-time interest in, not to say obsession with, blending as a word-formation process, well-established in English at least from Lewis Carroll and Joyce to modern advertising and

infotainment, but quite recent in Serbian. Over the years I have collected, analysed and classified nearly a thousand such creations, mostly humorous, not infrequently ironic or sarcastic, from different registers. Just for illustration, I am referring to coinages like *šahoreska* (šah 'chess'+humoreska 'humorous story'), *džezoari* (džez 'jazz'+memoari 'memoirs'), *banalitičari* (banalni 'banal'+analitičari 'analysts'), *bleferendum* (blef 'bluff'+referendum 'referendum'), *blogoreja* (blog 'blog'+logoreja 'logorrhoea'). I would claim that blends are a precious eye-opener when it comes to exploring the creative potentials of language. Along with blends, I have identified and studied 65 Serbian suffixes occurring only or mostly in nouns current especially in youth jargon and slang, with a similar stylistic value and likewise amply demonstrating linguistic creativity. The most frequent of these, and my personal favourite, is *-ak/-njak/-ljak*, as in *oštrak* 'strong drink', *crnjak* 'black humour', *buvljak* 'flea market'. (For both the blends and the suffixes see esp. Bugarski 2006).

5. The irresistible charm of "little words"

More seriously now, I wish to turn in more specific terms to an illustration of the ways that preoccupation with certain bits of language has led me to linguistics; and I say "bits" advisedly, since these were mostly so-called little words or word parts (prepositions, particles, affixes and the like). I entered this fascinating world while looking for a subject for my Ph.D. dissertation, now some 50 years back in time. (Gosh, quite a thought that, isn't it...). I had for some time repeatedly mulled over combinations like *stand up/stand down, stand up to someone/stand someone up*, with different semantics emerging from alternative particle choices or linear arrangements. I then started focusing on items from a word class that was to become my main preoccupation for over a decade: prepositions. The first I looked at more closely was *beside*, which attracted my attention by its capacity to enter constructions varying along a cline from most concrete to most abstract: *His glass is beside the ashtray/His remark is beside the point/His brother is beside himself...* (A detailed analysis of these and related sentences was later offered in Bugarski 1968). I was particularly amused by the idiomatic phrase *beside himself*, which I compared with Serbo-Croatian *van sebe* (lit. 'outside himself'): why beside in one language and outside in the other, and in any case why should an extremely angry person be depicted as having departed from his body, whether staying next to it or being just out of it, the two generalizable as 'not (quite) there'? Additionally, was *van sebe* quite the same as *izvan sebe*, and if so why should we have these alternatives in the first place?

Rather than searching for a definitive answer to such questions, I delved much more deeply into a subsystem of English spatial prepositions covering the vertical dimension, which became the subject of my dissertation (*over, under, above, below, beneath*: cf. Bugarski 1969a,b; incidentally, the latter article was considered by

Quirk et al. worthy of citing in both their big grammars, od 1972 and 1985, a fact I was not a little proud of!). For this purpose I developed and consistently applied an analytical framework which I will not expound here beyond noting its close affinity, in important respects, with what was some dozen years later to become known as cognitive linguistics. Let me merely mention that my favourite and most extensively studied preposition, *over*, was destined to figure prominently in cognitivist studies, which did not surprise me in the least. I subsequently compared this system with its corresponding Serbo-Croatian one, finding some illuminating parallels but also differences, the latter mainly concerning the pairs *iznad/nad* and *ispod/pod* (Bugarski 1973).

While mentioning all these exploits may seem to stray too far from the general topic of this presentation, I would insist that I was all the time aware also of the humorous aspects of many of the examples in my extensive corpus, especially those taking off from their local base towards extended metaphorical and idiomatic meanings. And secondly, such an account, however sketchy, illustrates my explicit or implied observations about the role of experimentation, comparison and generalization as major methodological pillars supporting and enriching scientific investigation, including linguistic analysis. Before concluding, however, I must return more directly to my main concern, this time in the form of anecdotes and jokes about linguistics and linguists. There is naturally no dearth of such, but I will select only a few which carry a pedagogically relevant linguistic message, and are thus more than just funny.

6. Learning as we laugh

That humour can be a useful aid in foreign language teaching has long been known, of course, and many successful teachers can testify to this from their own experiences. My concern here, however, is not the teaching of languages but of linguistics. Some enlightened professionals have insisted on stimulating the interest of their audiences by sprinkling their lectures with funny stories. Thus Professor A.C.Gimson, successor of Daniel Jones in the chair of phonetics at University College London and a popular guest lecturer worldwide, once told me that his preparations for lectures mainly consisted in deciding which jokes went with which topic. (Needless to say, I have myself tried, throughout my academic career, to enliven the teaching process in this way). And I recall how, during my postgraduate studies at the same institution, we amused ourselves while practicing linguistic terminology by reciting, for example, the following string of questions: “How many allophones to a phoneme? How many allomorphs to a morpheme? How many alloblasphs to a blaspheme?”...

Some years later, in the United States, witty but also highly instructive parodies of current notions and prominent linguistic personages were circulated in the form of underground pamphlets. One which I have managed to preserve was entitled

Language, *Journal of the Debating Society of America* (a takeoff of the subtitle of the official journal of the Linguistic Society of America), and carried characteristically titled articles and reviews attributed to prominent American linguists of the time. In fact, this two-page makeshift manual, to which a "Linguist's Songbook" playing on their names was appended, could even now, over forty years later, be used as a unique source of information on the history of modern linguistics in America!

Turning now to anecdotes about linguists, I will concentrate on only one of them, the hero of most such stories, the best of which are cherished collectors' items: Roman Jakobson. My favourite here goes back to the time when he was formulating his theory of the phonology of child language acquisition, known as "Why Mama and Papa?" after the title of Jakobson (1962). This theory attempted to explain the well-known empirical fact that the first words of children acquiring genetically unrelated languages (European, African or whatever) regularly include items like *mama, papa, baba, nana*, by positing that what is acquired first are syllables containing maximally contrasting units – usually a plosive or nasal consonant involving complete closure followed by the most open vowel, whereas combinations more difficult to articulate and less salient perceptually are mastered later on. Well, the story goes that Jakobson, in search of ever more confirmations from different languages, once asked his Columbia University colleague John Lotz, a native Hungarian, if he remembered what his own first word had been. Knowing what this was all about and somewhat weary of such experimentation, Lotz decided to crack a joke and readily replied that his first word was *krač*, a form equally impossible in Hungarian and as an early word of any language. But the "Russian bear" wouldn't be put off, and he triumphantly exclaimed, "A-ha, fonétikali *krač*, bat fonjímikali *papa*!"

Now this story, besides being hilariously funny to anyone familiar with the linguistics of the period, is also highly instructive, in that it carries to absurd extremes the then current distinction between the 'etic' (physical) and the 'emic' (functional) levels of phonological structure, whereby the latter tended, often dogmatically, to be favoured at the expense of the former. I would claim that anyone who has heard and grasped this anecdote will forever remember both the essence of Jakobson's theory of child language development and the basic distinction between phonetics and phonology. But there is also a side effect here: you will notice Jakobson's heavy Russian accent (the French linguist Emile Benveniste is credited with the observation that "Professor Jakobson speaks five languages fluently – in Russian"). Having actually heard Jakobson lecture on several occasions, I was struck by the fact that the author of arguably the most theoretically sophisticated modern phonological theory, known as binarism, should have so little control over his own accent in languages other than his native one. If, as it seems to me, this sharp contrast can be interpreted as a peculiar instance of the Chomskyan distinction between competence and performance, then the story is doubly useful pedagogically, helping people remember another major conceptual pair of modern

linguistics. (More stories, anecdotes and jokes with linguisic import can now be found in the autobiographical sections of Bugarski 2010b).

7. Conclusion: A word to the wise

In the belief that the points I have made, and those inherent in the stories told, speak for themselves, I can make my concluding statement quite short. The humorous potentials of both language and linguistics can and should be exploited pedagogically. A good way of unveiling the deeper secrets of language is by investigating its apparently less serious but in fact quite revealing aspects. We already know that linguistics, in teaching us about language, opens many windows on ourselves and the world we live in; what seems to me to bear emphasizing is that it can also be fun. Take my word for it!

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THE PERCEPTION OF TELICITY IN TRANSPARENT PHRASAL VERBS

Abstract This paper presents the results of the first phase of an intended longitudinal study designed to test how Serbian students perceive the meaning of telicity in transparent phrasal verbs. Previous research (Bikicki 2010) showed that the students had considerable difficulties in determining when to use particles which had only telic function. The research presented in this paper incorporates quantitative (including 200 students) and qualitative study (including 10 students). The participants are the first year students of Novi Sad Business School and The Faculty of Technology in Novi Sad. The quantitative study consists of translation, multiple choice test and gap filling, while the qualitative research comprises interviews and stimulated recall.

Key words: telicity, phrasal verbs, particle, telic, atelic, perfective, imperfective, metaphor

1. Introduction

In the literature on English phrasal verbs (the combinations of a verb and an adverbial particle) there are claims that the particle expresses a telic notion (Bolinger 1971, Brinton 1985). With a few exceptions when the particle does not add a telic feature, and even fewer cases when the particle removes the feature as shown in the study by Giddings (2001), this is generally true. The studies in cognitive linguistics also show that the spatial domain of the particle is a source of a large variety of semantic extensions to non-locative domains through metaphor, and that this feature of the particles is often perceived by foreign learners (Kovacses and Szabó 1996, Boers 2000, Neagu 2007). Bolinger wrote: "… there is no real borderline between non-aspectual and aspectual uses of the particles, but rather a gradient" (Bolinger 1971: 98).

Phrasal verbs are notoriously difficult for foreign language learners. There are few reasons for this: (i) restrictions on the place of the particle, (ii) learners often perceive the particle to be arbitrary, (iii) the particles are in most cases markers of telicity. Bolinger (1971) claims that the object has reached a resultant condition and that the process has been started or completed. Lastly, the particles can specify that a process has gained high intensity. Previous classroom experience has indicated that

students are not always aware of the aspectual nature of the particle and its semantics. This has also been confirmed in one of the studies on phrasal verbs (Bikicki 2010, unpublished doctoral thesis).

A linguist can often find a link between the spatial meaning of the particle and its extension. However, for a student this link is often difficult or impossible to perceive. Thus, it is expected that the verbs with the particle *up* such as *dry up, give up,* etc. will be more easily perceived to denote telic activities as the spatial meaning of the particle is less obvious unless explicitly taught to the student by using Bolinger's well-known example of filling a glass (Bolinger 1971: 98).

This paper reports the results of the first phase of an intended long-term study which aims to investigate how students perceive the meaning of the particle of a phrasal verb; in particular the study is designed to investigate whether they perceive it as a marker of telicity without any explicit instruction apart from the one they received during previous education. In order to better understand the effects of future explicit teaching of the phrasal verbs, the emphasis is on determining the characteristics of the sample. First the students' overall achievement of both groups (Novi Sad Business School first year students and Faculty of Technology first year students) on the test was analysed and compared. Second, an attempt was made to ascertain whether there are any differences between the achievement of males and females on the test and whether the number of years a student has spent learning English affects the understanding of the particle's meaning. Finally, as it has been noticed in the course of our practice, the students who had attended grammar schools have better command of English compared to the students who come from vocational schools. Thus, the fourth aim was to determine whether this is really true by examining whether former grammar school students cope better with phrasal verbs. Relying on Boers's claim (Boers 2000: 563) that better knowledge of English is essential for metaphorical awareness, it can be hypothesised that these students will perform better.

2. Previous studies

The theoretical framework for this study is based on the research of the notion of aktionsart (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979, Comrie 1985, Brinton 1985, Jackendoff 1996, Novakov 2005, Giddings 2001, Caudal 1999) and metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Boers 2000, Kovaces and Szabó 1996, Neagu 2007).

The term aktionsart denotes the inherent temporal nature of the situation named. It can be either completed whole (perfective) or ongoing, incomplete (imperfective), also beginning, ending or continuing (Brinton 1985). The best known categorization of aktionsart is Vendler's distinction of state, activity, accomplishment and achievement (Dowty 1979: 54). States do not occur in progressive, as complements of the verbs *force* and *persuade*, imperatives or with

adverbs *deliberately* and *carefully.* The opposite is true of non-stative verbs: activities, achievements and accomplishments (Dowty 1979 : 55).

States and activities are atelic, whereas achievements and accomplishments are telic. The terms *atelic* and *telic* both refer to durative situations. However, the situation described by a telic verb is the one involving a process that leads up to a well-defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue (Comrie 1985: 45). Telic and atelic situations are distinguished by restrictions on the form of the temporal adverbials they can take. Following Dowty (1979: 56-57), only activities allow adverbials with *for,* while accomplishments take adverbial prepositional phrases with *in,* for instance, *John walked for an hour* vs. *John painted a picture in an hour.* Accomplishment verbs occur with the structure *take an hour to V: It took John an hour to paint a picture,* whereas the same construction with activities only denotes the time that elapsed before someone actually began to perform the activity. Finally if *someone stops Ving, he has Ved.* For example *John stopped walking* means *John did walk,* while *John stopped painting the picture* doesn't tell us whether the painting is finished or not. Only accomplishments occur as complements of *finish: *John finished walking* (Dowty 1979: 57).

However, the situations are not described by verbs alone. The whole verb phrases must be taken into account (verbs together with their arguments - subjects and objects) to distinguish atelic from telic situations. For instance, accomplishments which take an indefinite plural direct object or a mass-noun behave as activities. Similarly, if a subject of an achievement is an indefinite plural noun or a mass noun, the sentence is atelic (Dowty 1979: 62, 63). Jackendoff observes that the choice of prepositional phrase also affects telicity (Jackendoff 1996: 309), whereas Hay et al. (1999: 134) note that degree modifiers like *significantly, completely* give rise to telic interpretations.

Sometimes, a verb itself can have two readings, which is the case with degree achievement verbs. Degree achievement verbs display both telic and atelic properties: *The soup cooled for/in an hour*. When the scalar structure associated with the base adjective has a natural bound, the derived verb is telic; when the adjective's scalar structure has no such bound, the verb is atelic (Hay et al. 1999). With telic reading the soup cooled to a room temperature, whereas with atelic reading the soup cooled to an unspecified degree. Hay et al. (1999: 138) classify adjectives according to the structure of the scale onto which they map their arguments into two classes: *closed-range adjectives* associated with a scale with a maximal value (*straight, empty, dry)* and *open-range adjectives* which do not have maximal values on the scale (*long, wide, short).* Degree achievements derived from closed-range adjectives typically behave telically. However, much depends on the context. They give the following examples: *Kim lowered the blind*, and *Kim lowered the heat.* Based on real-world knowledge we know that there is a conventional maximal length for lowering the blinds, while heat can be lowered indefinitely.

Finally, as pointed by Hay et al. (1999: 139), telic interpretations can be cancelled when linguistically specified. In the example: *She ate the sandwich,* it is

implied that the situation is telic. However, the telic interpretation can be cancelled as in the following example of Hay et al.: *She ate the sandwich but as usual she left a few bites.*

In the case of phrasal verbs, as briefly mentioned in the introduction of this paper, it is the particle which turns an atelic event into a telic one. "They (the particles) may add the concept of a goal or an endpoint to durative situations which otherwise have no necessary terminus" (Brinton 1985: 160). The research performed by Giddings (2001) shows that there are exceptions. Her analysis of the data collected for the particles *down* and *out* showed that the particles do not add the feature of telicity to an atelic verb if the verb already encodes a directed motion event. This can be seen in the following examples: *It rained (down) for hours, Blood gushed (out) from the wound.* She reports a few cases in which the particles remove an aspectual feature from the verb, but does not give examples.

As becomes clear from a few examples given above, the phrasal verb particle irrespective of its telic function can retain its spatial meaning. More frequently, though, it becomes the source of a large variety of semantic extensions through metonymy and metaphor. To what extent its meaning is easy to understand depends a lot on the learner's ability to perceive the conceptual metaphor behind the phrasal verb. Several studies (Boers 2000, Kovecses and Szabó 1996) have shown that learners are capable of recognizing metaphors behind phrasal verbs. It is in the present study that we attempt to investigate students' awareness of phrasal verb particles' telic nature.

3. Methodology

3.1. Procedure

To collect data for this phase of the study, quantitative and qualitative methods were used. The quantitative data was obtained by a test consisting of three tasks. The first task was a multiple-choice task (three options given) which comprised of five sentences each containing a different verb. The participants had to circle the answer they thought best fitted the missing part in the English sentence, and for each sentence they were given a Serbian translation. In the second task the participants had to circle the correct English translation of the given Serbian sentences. Two options were given: one English sentence contained a phrasal verb, while the other one contained a lexical verb only. The third task was a gap filling exercise. There were fifteen sentences to be completed with either a lexical or phrasal verb provided. Half and hour of a regular class was allowed for the completion of the test. A week later a questionnaire was administered for the purposes of establishing the participants' use of strategies for the discovery of a new word's meaning relevant for this research. Although the researchers intended to use a postponed think aloud protocol for obtaining results for the qualitative research, the actual circumstances

did not allow the use of that technique, so they used stimulated recall instead, and an interview, again a week after the test. Think-aloud protocols and stimulated recall are introspective measures available to second language researcher. Through think-aloud protocols, researchers can gather information about what is going through learners' minds as they are concurrently solving a problem. Stimulated recall is used to explore learners' thought processes by prompting them to recall and report thoughts that they had while performing a task. They may be given their written products so that they can comment on their linguistic revisions, motivations and thought processes along the way (Gass and Mackey 2007: 53-55).

Several factors affected the choice of verbs stimuli. Firstly, an attempt was made to incorporate particles *up, down, out, off* as they are "most frequently associated with aspectual meaning" (Brinton 1985: 159). Secondly, verbs of motion needed to be included in the test to determine whether students wrongly perceive the particle in this intensifying function as a marker of telicity. Lastly, the meaning of the lexical verb needed to be clear to the subjects so as not to interfere with the task in hand. We consulted with several English teachers and checked a few textbooks. This confirmed our assumption that the verbs used had been taught to the students during their time in secondary schools. The sentences used in the test were taken from *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs plus, Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary* and *Longman Exams Dictionary*. Some of them were slightly modified to make them more practicable.

3.2. Participants

The participants were first year students. The number of students taking part in the study was 104 students (33 male, 71 female) from Novi Sad Business School (NSBS) and 108 students (34 male, 74 female) from Faculty of Technology (FT). Thus the overall number of participants was 212 (67 male (31.6%), 145 female (68.39%)). The number of students who attended grammar schools amounted to 59 (27.8%), while 153 (72.2%) participants had previously attended a vocational school. The questionnaire results were obtained from 158 subjects in total (65 male, 93 female) as not all students attended classes when the questionnaire was administered and were unwilling to do it at a later time. A group of 10 students were chosen for the qualitative part of the research (5 from NSBS and 5 from FT, 5 male and 5 female students in total). Besides their names, the students were supposed to write the number of years they had studied English on the top of the first page of the test. It was established that 75 students (35.37%) had studied English for only 1 to 5 years, 121 participants (57.07%) had studied English from 6 to 10 years, while only 16 students (7.54%) had studied it for the period of 11 to 15 years.

As the participants were first year students who have just begun the course, an attempt was made to choose students who seemed committed (attentive during classes, hard-working, responsible, etc.) and whose command of English was

estimated to be at an intermediate level. The chosen NSBS participants all finished vocational secondary schools, while the five FT students came from grammar schools. As an incentive, the interviewed participants were guaranteed 10 pre-exam requirement points given otherwise for continual application during classes. Participants were promised (not in written form, though) that the absolute confidentiality of the obtained answers was ensured.

4. Results/findings

To analyse quantitative data SPSS 12.0 was used.

The questionnaire results are presented first as they indicate how students cope with unfamiliar words. Next the main results of the test will be presented. The answers which contained the right verb but were in the wrong form were regarded as correct. All students completed the test before the assigned time limit.

The questionnaire results showed that all participants most frequently (48.33% NSBS, 74% FT) used context to arrive at the correct meaning of the word. However, if they fail in their first attempt to arrive at the meaning they feel is acceptable, the majority of NSBS students consult a dictionary (26.31%), whereas the majority of FT students try to analyse the word parts (54.16%). If they fail again, they seek peer help first or turn to the teacher second. Word analysis is the final resort for 49.05% of the NSBS participants, while for FT students it is the dictionary (26.04%). Both groups of participants use bilingual dictionaries as they find it easier (70.68% of NSBS students and 65% of FT students). If they get the general meaning of the sentence by inferring the meaning of the unfamiliar word from the context or by analysing word parts, 48.61% of NSBS students and 55% of the FT students are not going to check their supposition in the dictionary.

The results of the test containing 25 items showed the average score of M=13.1745, the extreme scores being one correct answer, and the maximum score 21 correct answers. The overall achievement thus only just exceeds 50%. T-test showed that there was a significant difference in scores for males (M= 14.4776, SD=3.78337) and females (M=12.5724, SD=3.60506, t=3.522, p<.001). The results of the T-test further showed that the length of studying language has effect on the perception of telicity in phrasal verbs. There was a significant difference in the achievement between the first group of students who had studied English one to five years and two other groups (6-10 and 11-15), p<.005 and p<0.18. The previous type of school has an effect on students' achievement as grammar school students did significantly better (M= 14.8305, SD=3.41978) compared to students who attended other types of schools (M=12.5359, SD=3.69926, t=4.131, p<.000). As for the difference in overall achievement on the test between the two groups of participants NSBS and FT, none has been found (p<.658).

5. Discussion

The English sentences in the first task were generally acceptable both with telic and atelic verb as the difference in meaning is slight. In this task, both lexical and phrasal verbs were acceptable, but the phrasal verbs were preferable.

However, the provided Serbian translation contained the perfective verb in four sentences, so the telic verb was considered to be the precise translation and thus a correct answer. The researchers were interested to see if the students perceived the different nuances in meanings, the answers to which were obtained by means of a stimulated recall.

One phrasal verb, though, contained a particle which was a pure intensifier**:** *pour down.* It was included so as to determine whether the students could tell the difference between this meaning of the particle and all the rest. Though 49.5% of the participants thought that the phrasal verb *pour down* was the best translation for the sentence *Kiša je pljuštala,* only one student (FT) said: "…*poured* has less intensity". All the other students opted for the phrasal verbs as: "It always rains downwards". Only one student (NSBS) wrongly concluded that the phrasal verb denoted finished activity.

Although in all other sentences the phrasal verbs were expected, as they emphasized the endpoint and thus telic situations, and were the best translations of the given Serbian sentences, both groups of students showed preference (67.5%) for the simple verb in the case of *check/check out* in the sentence: *I made a phone call to ……. his address.* The analysis of the answers indicated that the interference of another meaning of the same phrasal verb, *leave a hotel, hospital, etc after paying the bill* played a crucial part in their choice of the correct answer. However, with phrasal verbs containing the verb *dry***,** it becomes clear that the students, besides the particle semantics, notice that there is a telic feature to it, although they do not use the term as such. The following was given:

Oprala je salatu i ostavila je da se osuši.
She washed the salad and left it to .....
a) dry b) dry up c) dry off

Test results showed that in 47.6% of the participants chose the correct answer *dry off.* Three students said they chose *dry off* as it indicated that the activity is completed. Two participants (FT) used degree modifier *completely,* which as Hay et al., quoted above, point out indicates telicity. For the majority of other students the spatial meaning which denotes separation is dominant, but it is clear that most of them understand the situation to be telic. One of them (NSBS) explained "… *off* means getting rid of everything unnecessary", while another NSBS student said: "You can't use *dry up*, as you can't dry upwards… You need to remove water from the salad". Two FT students said: "The water slid from the salad". The verbs *dry* occurred once more in the example below:

Preterana upotreba vode u domaćinstvu će isušiti reku.
Taking too much water for household use will ..... the river.
a) dry up b) dry out c) dry

According to Longman Phrasal Verbs Dictionary if a river of lake dries up, the water in it disappears. In Macmillan Phrasal Verbs plus the following can be found: if something dries up, all the water comes out of it and it becomes too dry or too hard, and then marks it as synonymous with dry out, for which we find: if something dries out, some or all the water comes out of it. Accordingly, both dry up and dry out are acceptable answers. It was expected that the students would choose the verb dry up as they already know grow up, shut up, etc. But only a few students thought dry up was possible, as "the water from the river goes out. It doesn't go up, which would mean it evaporated", said one student (FT). The majority selected the verb dry out, but while FT students tried to compare the intensity of out and up, or showed that they conceptualized it as a container from which the water was supposed to eventually leak out, NSBS students could not explain their choice and admitted they hesitated between dry out and dry, although the majority of them chose dry out. This shows that some students do not perceive the telic feature of the particle up.

When faced with the sentence When I was unemployed my parents helped me (out), 37,3% of the participants opted for the phrasal verb. Those interviewed who chose the verb help out explained that "the parents helped me to find a way out of a difficult situation /a problem", or used perfective prefixed Serbian verb ispomoći. One student said he felt the phrasal verb meant they offered financial help. Interestingly, only 3 out of 212 students chose help off in this particular sentence. The students who were interviewed said off means exclusion, and in their opinion it was definitely the wrong answer.

In the second task the least problematic seemed to be the translation of the sentence Sekla je krastavce celo poslepodne. Thus, in 85.8% of the cases, the participants selected the correct translation She sliced cucumbers all afternoon, as opposed to the translation with the phrasal verb slice off. Several explanations were obtained: "off finishes the activity" (NSBS students), "whole afternoon" (NSBS), "slowly, the activity lasted for some time" (FT, 3 students), "the activity lasted" (FT, 2 students), "for some time" (FT students).

Again, fewer NSBS students could offer any other explanation except that it sounded right.

The most problematic seemed to be the verb *write out* in *It took a police officer a minute to write out my ticket.* As many as 59.9% of the total number of participants opted for the verb *write.* However, three FT students thought *write out* collocated with a *form*, whereas *write* is used for a ticket as it takes no time at all. One FT student mistook it for *write off (a wreck).* Only two FT students and three out of five NSBS students perceived the telic nature of *out* in *write out*. Three of the students could not tell the difference as the following answers were obtained: "write out doesn't sound right", "write out makes no sense", "write, write off – pisati".

Extremely interesting results were obtained for the phrasal verb *cool off,* which was tested for two different meanings *become cooler* (lower the temperature) and *calm down.* When used idiomatically, the percentage of the correct answer was 76.9%. Seven out of ten interviewed students said that *cool off* denoted the finished activity. However, when the phrasal verb was used in a literal sense to mean that the cookies have become cooler, only 49.1% of the participants answered correctly. All five FT students perceived the difference, and only one NSBS student did so. While the mentioned five students said they did not see the difference, one student believed *cool off* was used idiomatically, while only *cool* could be used to denote the literal cooling of the cookies.

As for the verb *hunt down,* although the results of the test showed that 56.1% of the participants gave the wrong answer, nine out of ten students taking part in the qualitative research differentiated correctly between the telic and atelic meaning of the verbs *hunt down* and *hunt* respectively.

In the third task the students were supposed to fill in the gaps using either the given verb or verb particle construction, e.g. *eat/eat up*. The least problematic was the sentence *No chicken for me. I don't eat meat* (90.6% of the participants answered correctly). Two other sentences were given in this task requiring the verb *eat* or *eat up: _____ your vegetables and then go to bed* and *She has made a cake herself and wants us to help her _____ it _____*. The second sentence seemed to be less problematic as there were 161 correct answers (75.9%). These results were supported by the students' explanation of the meaning: "the whole cake", "they'll eat the whole of it", etc. The first sentence, on the other hand, posed a problem. Only 28.3% of the students chose the phrasal verb. This turned out to be caused by the way in which students interpreted the situation. Six of the interviewed students explained that they did not understand the sentence to mean *Eat all the vegetables before you go to bed* as in their experience it is never necessary to eat everything that is on your plate. However, all the interviewed students did understand the phrasal verb to be telic, as they translated it with the Serbian verb with a prefix *pojesti*.

Second on the list of the least problematic sentences in the third task seemed to be the sentence *My parents use the house as a holiday home* (75.9% correct answers). However, the interviews revealed again, that NSBS students thought that there was some sort of aspectual /aktionsart difference, but they were not really certain what it was. One of the NSBS interviewees said, "the building of the house is over", while another one said "*use up* ....it is used only for the weekends, *use* would mean every day". Still another one said: "What does *up* mean? I can't explain, like *eat, eat up*... The end." It's interesting to notice that the verb *use* was correctly used in the sentence *Most of the wood in developing countries is used for fuel* (103 answers (48.6%)), while the phrasal verb *use up* in the sentence *Who has _____ all the milk* was found in 72 answers (34%). Though the quantitative results were worse in these two cases, all the interviewed students gave right answers and accurate explanations, e.g. "All the milk has been spent; There's nothing left; The fuel is still being used and will be used in the future, etc."

As regards the pair *pump/pump up*, for the sentence *My heart pumped fast before the exam* 142 correct answers were obtained (67%), whereas in the case *The heart pumped blood around the body* there were fewer correct answers (51.9%). While the interviewed FT students explained that *pump* denotes iterative activity ("repetition", "all the time"), three of the NSBS participants mentioned, "upwards through the body", "it pushes the blood upwards", even *ispumpava* ("it pumps it out of the heart"). This clearly shows that not all students understand the verb *pump/pump up* to denote a circular movement, but rather each heartbeat. The phrasal verb *pump up* was used in 55.2% of all the answers. All interviewed students correctly used the phrasal verb. What determined their choice was the fact that when you pump the tyres their volume increases, the air fills the space of the tyres, tyres visibly move upwards as they become inflated. One FT students said that *to pump* denoted an iterative activity, while another student pointed out that *to pump* indicated that the activity was not completed. Several other students compared it to the perfective and imperfective Serbian equivalents *napumpati* vs. *pumpati.*

Understanding of the situation affected the choice of the verbs in the sentences containing verbs *squeeze/squeeze out.* In the sentence *He _____ the oranges to make an orange juice* 65.1% of the participants decided to use just the verb *squeeze,* which was the expected answer as *Longman Exams Dictionary* gives the definition *press out liquid* for the verb *squeeze,* and the example *Squeeze the oranges.* Still, if Bolinger's example of *blowing up* the balloons is anything to go by (see Bolinger 1971: 97), the same could be applied to this situation, thus making *squeeze out* also possible to denote the completion of the series (note, however, that the particles are different). One of the NSBS students explicitly said, "I used *squeeze* as he did it one by one", while several FT students explained *"He squeezed an orange",* or "the activity is not over". It is not clear why they perceive the activity as still in progress, as there is an endpoint given by *to make an orange juice* which pragmatically does not require tons of oranges to be squeezed.

According to the test results, it turned out that even more problematic was the sentence *She _____ the toothpaste but she didn't put the cap back on.* Only 48.1% of the tested students filled the gap with a phrasal verb. The answers obtained during the interviews were also mixed. Some students chose the phrasal verb because the activity was accomplished as "some of the paste got out", while others compared it to the Serbian equivalent *iscediti.* There were also students who thought that as the cap was not screwed back on the paste it meant that it was probably used up. Those who opted for the verb *squeeze* (two of them) said that not all of the paste was used. Three of the NSBS students gave no explanation.

In the sentence *Can you do anything to _____ the building work* 59.4% of the participants rightly assumed that the phrasal verb was missing, but in the sentence *I_____ at 150 kph on the motorway and got caught* only 87 students (41%) supplied the phrasal verbs. In the sentence *Can you do anything to _____ the building work?* 59.4% of the participants used the phrasal verb. Although the majority of interviewed students translated the verb *speed up* as

ubrzati, brzo voziti (increase the speed, drive fast), five of them claimed that *speed* is a noun (*brzina*), and *speed up* is a verb (*ubrzati*). The answers to the question *How would you translate "juriti"?* were: *speeding, drive* or "I can't remember right now." Two of the interviewed students used the phrasal verb in the sentence *I_____ at 150 kph on the motorway*.... They explained that they used *speed up* as "I speeded up to 150 kph and then continued at that speed".

6. Conclusions

The analysis of the quantitative results, as well as the answers obtained from the interviewed students, showed that students can perceive the telic nature of the particle. However, several factors interfere with the clear understanding of each verb and its particle. First of all, it seems that the perception of the spatial meaning of the verb comes first, as shown in sentences with the verbs *dry off, dry out, dry up, squeeze out.* When the particle *up* is clearly not connected with the upward movement and when it denotes disappearance, as in *eat up, use up,* the understanding of the telic meaning is made easier.

The results indicated that if the idiomatic meaning of a verb is too dominant in the students' minds (frequently used or acquired first) it blocks the use of the verb with another meaning as exemplified by phrasal verbs *check out* and *cool off.*

A collocation can possibly influence the learner's choice as in the case of *write out the ticket.* However, this needs further research.

The results also suggest that pragmatic choices play a crucial role in deciding which verb to use. How students perceive the situation, and whether they discern the goal or endpoint in a given situation, affects their decision of which verb to use.

Most strikingly, however, the results confirmed that the school (grammar/vocational), the participants have previously attended, plays a great part in how they cope with phrasal verbs, which was supported by the results of the qualitative research.

The results of the quantitative research showed that the length of learning the English language has an impact on students understanding of the semantics of the phrasal verb particle.

Finally, it can be claimed that males are somewhat better when faced with the problem of choosing between atelic and telic verb forms.

7. Pedagogical implications

The results of the study are important in several ways. Firstly, it can be claimed that students are not always confident what the meaning(s) of the particle is (are). It also becomes clear from the students' responses that quite often the correct answers are based on false reasoning, most notably *speed/speed up.* Secondly, explicit instruction is needed to make students aware of the fact that the particle can

have more than just a spatial meaning. Students also need to realize that extended meaning of the particle does not necessarily rob it of its telic feature. Finally, as pointed out by Brinton (1985: 160), perfectivity cannot be identified with telicity which, as pointed above, gives goal to a durative notion. The difference between perfectivity and telicity, however, does not seem to be clear to the students.

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THE PRAGMATIC ROLE OF VAGUE MEANINGS IN THE EU DISCOURSE

Abstract This paper examines the political valences of the purposefully vague uses of certain adjectival forms such as *new*, *better, stronger, greater* as well as other members of the English lexicon in the public discourse of various EU bodies, and, more specifically, in their documents relating to the EU Enlargement. By drawing on the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, this paper will try to prove that the EU bodies exploit the vagueness of certain adjectival paradigms in order to demonstrate to the Other (i.e. the non-member states) that the power to dispose of the ultimate interpretation of adjectival indeterminacy, which, together with other linguistic means that shape the EU discourse, rests entirely with those who can actively create this discourse simply because they hold all the political and economic power.

Key words: vague adjectives, the EU, the Enlargement, public discourse, the Other.

1. Introduction

In the past five or more years, one of the most pressing concerns of the former Yugoslav countries has been obtaining the EU membership. From their newspaper articles to political roundtables in prominent TV shows, to government-funded conferences and training sessions, all the Enlargement countries have extensively discussed their comparative "readiness" for entry into the EU. In their subsequent addresses to the EU they would plead their case and demonstrate their competencies, all in hope that one day (ideally sooner, rather than later) they would be part of this much sought-after Union. In response to these addresses, the EU issued a number of reports tracing the countries' progress in their various endeavors to obtain membership.

For example, this statement contained in the Enlargement Reports, "*The Western Balkans have moved closer to the EU over the past year, as the region made progress, albeit unevenly, in reforms and in meeting established criteria and conditions*" (p.15), seems, at first glance to offer a positive evaluation of the state of things in the Western Balkans, while, in fact, it gives very little substantial information on exactly what kind of progress has been made, how progress is being defined and, most importantly, against and towards what is this progress being measured? When the author states that "*the Western Balkans have moved closer to the EU*", he does not explain what exactly this phrase "*closer to the EU*" means –

that is to say "closer than what"? Does this mean that it was originally at a vast distance from "*meeting established criteria and conditions*" and is now slowly trudging towards this goal; or does this bode well for the Western Balkans because they are now very close to meeting these criteria? Similarly, what exactly is meant by "*uneven progres*s" in this context? Finally, what does the EU's use of such vague language as this ultimately say about its attitudes towards the non-member states that it is so opaquely evaluating?

This paper is concerned with tracing and explicating vagueness in the EU's political discourse on its enlargement and its putative inclusion of non-member states. More specifically, it examines the political valences of the purposefully vague uses of various linguistic forms. *Vagueness*, as I am using it, is an important linguistic term , and I draw most of my definitions of it from Timothy Williamson (1997,1996), one of the most cited philosophers and authorities on vagueness. According to Williamson:

> An unspecific term may be associated with a wide range of cases but it is not vague unless its boundary is blurred (Williamson 1997:204).

It can be inferred from Williamson's definition that a vague term is not the same as an unspecific one. Along the same lines, Williamson introduces "ambiguous terms"as the third subset of terms lacking clarity or precision. In his earlier more extensive study on vagueness Williamson writes on vagueness "as a precondition of the flexibility of ordinary language" (1996:70).

Contributing to the discussion of vagueness in the second edition of *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics,* R. Keefe insists that "other elements of language besides predicates are also vague: consider, for example, *hurries, quickly, many, very, the nicest man*" (2006: 299).

At this point it is also important to note that the philosophical or epistemological discussion of vagueness has not been a primary concern in my research. Instead, I have shifted the focus to the ethical status of vagueness, namely to vagueness in discourse i.e. in use.

2.The data

My data consisted of a body of extensive progress reports (75 pages) on non-member states aspiring to admission to the European Union in a foreseeable future. The reports referred to a wide range of countries including Western Balkan states, Turkey and Iceland. The corpus collected for the current investigation pertains solely to the EU Enlargement process and exists in the form of a collection of European Commisssion Working Documents entitled *Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2010-2011.* These Working Documents, addressed to the Council and the European Parliament, are, in fact, a series of Reports on Progress and are accessible through the EU official website www**.** europa.eu.

The creators of the *Enlargement* narrative are top European Union politicians aided by an army of Eurocrats while the narrrative itself is a textbook example of political discourse. I claim this because the narrative, like any political discourse, contains the following properties:

1. unequal power[1] relations
   <the EU as a powerful political and economic organization initiates the possibility to enlarge itself with much less powerful non-member European countries>
2. imposition of ideology
   < Only if those non-member countries adopt the norms and values of the EU, can they be considered worthy of joining the EU.The imposition of an ideology is carried out by applying strategies of self-glorification (the EU) and negative Other -presentation (non-member countries)>
3. legitimation of the EU's imposition of ideology for the purpose of maintaining the relations of power inequality.
   < How the EU is assessing the pace of change and transformation of the non-member countries is legitimate and cannot be questioned >.
   The following example from the data exemplifies the presence of all three features mentioned above:
   (1) *Enlargement countries are required to take over the acquis[2] of the Union and to demonstrate their capacity to implement it fully.* (p.3)
   [*the Union : Enlargement countries* = unequal power relation]
   [*to take over the acquis* = imposition of ideology]
   [*Enlargement countries are required to take over* = legitimation of imposition of ideology]

3.Theoretical framework

CDA is a particularly suitable theoretical framework within which to discuss the exploitation of semantic vagueness[3] precisely because it offers a variety of strategies and tools for detecting abuse of power in political discourse. Indeed, CDA's primary concern are the strategies through which political discourse either

[1] In this paper the concept of power is taken over from Wilson who defines it as „the ability to get an individual to behave or not to behave in a particular manner„ (Wilson 2009:744).

[2] This is a French word whose meaning, accessible on the internet, should be interpreted as follows*: When a new member country is to be admitted to the EU, the point of departure is that it must satisfy the entire body of rules and regulations, i.e. the 'acquis communautaire' or the 'acquis' as it is also known, from the first day of membership.* www.eu-oplysningen.dk/euo_en/spsv/all/70 .

[3] Van Dijk included vagueness in the list of categories of ideological discourse defining vague expressions as „expressions that do not have well-defined referents, or which refer to fuzzy sets" (Van Dijk 2006:739)-

reproduces or challenges political dominance. From the range of numerous definitions of CDA produced by its many advocates I opted for Van Dijk's formulation :

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (van Dijk 2001: 352).

It has long been established in CDA that political discourse cannot be dissociated from ideologies which, as a set of beliefs and ideas, the group with power wants to impose on those it dominates. In order to represent and account for the underpinnings of political discourse van Dijk (2006) introduced something called *The Ideological* Square, a formation based on the employment of four strategies: two for positive *self*-presentation and two other for *Other*-presentation.

1. Emphasize *Our* good things
2. Emphasize *Their* bad things
3. De-emphasize *Our* bad things
4. De-emphasize *Their* good things (van Dijk 2006 :734)

The following examples from the data illustrate each of the four mentioned strategies:

Emphasize Their bad things

(2) *Aspirant countries and their citizens need a clear perspective of accession, once conditions are met, and should see tangible benefits along the way.* (p.4)

Emphasize Our good things

(3) *The EU, together with the international financial institutions, helped alleviate the impact of the crisis.* (p.5)

De-emphasize Their good things

(4) *The Western Balkans have moved closer to the EU over the past year, as the region made progress, albeit unevenly, in reforms and in meeting establishe criteria and conditions.* (p.15)

De-emphasize Our bad things

(5) *As economic governance within the EU is reinforced, economic dialogue with the enlargement countries will also be intensified, enabling us to focus together on putting the crisis behind us and creating jobs.* (p.4)

From its very beginnings, CDA's adherents have foregrounded its interdisciplinarity as one of the basic concepts underpinning CDA.Wodak and Chilton (2005) thus define CDA's interdisciplinarity as "blending elements of social theory and elements of linguistic science" (Chilton and Wodak 2005: xiii). In their attempts to delineate the future of CDA,Wodak and Chilton (2005) also see it as an open-ended system capable of embracing other disciplines ranging from psychology to cognitive science, to new bio- sciences and their respective discourses. (Chilton and Wodak 2005). A quick survey of recent article titles including "Activity

Contracts and Directives in Everyday Family Politics"; "'This is jist my life noo': Marriage, Children and Choice in a Scottish Fishing Community"; "Discourse Analysis and Disability: Some Topics and Issues", that appeared in the 2011 issues of *Discourse and Society*[4], reveals that CDA linguistic methods are equally suitable for disclosing "discursive power abuse" (van Dijk 2006: 360) and injustices generated by it not only in the social, but also in private domain of human interaction. Given this openendedness, CDA is able to easily respond and adjust to the changing realities of the 21st century. In other words, it can broaden its existing agenda (terrorism, immigration, gender, racism, ecological issues) to include new discourse-generated injustices affecting the AIDS population, individuals with disabilities or citizens with different sexual orientation.

Marking CDA's thirtieth anniversary in 2005, its two leading CDA scholars, Chilton and Wodak (2005), proudly noted that CDA was now being used globally, and that its analytical tools and procedures had become applicable in a wider range of different social and political contexts, ranging from a superstate such as the EU to former communist and socialist countries in transition to China's economic boom.

4. Data analysis

The principal hypothesis of my investigation of the EU's political discourse on its expansion is that detectable instances of linguistic vagueness should be assessed from an ethical rather than an epistemological point of view.To put it differently, the objective of the research presented here is to identify instances of linguistic realization of vagueness, as a semantic phenomenon, and prove that it is used as a strategy to shape the Enlargement discourse. My intention is to prove that vagueness should be treated as equal to other linguistic phenomena of political discourse including presuppositions, implicatures, metaphorical expressions.

Identification and linguistic categorization of concrete instances of vagueness in the vocabulary of our data, that is, in the Enlargement Reports, assists an understanding of the reasons for such linguistic options as:

- quantifiers

most of (implying not all)

(6) *Strengthening the rule of law, in particular the judiciary and the fight against organised crime and corruption is a crucial challenge for <u>most of the countries</u> in the enlargement process.* (p.8)

much of (not all)

(7) *In <u>much of the Western Balkans</u>, state-building, consolidation of institutions as well as <u>better</u> governance constitute priority concerns*. (p.20).

[4] The first two articles appeared in March 2011; Vol.22, No.2: available online http://das.sagepub.com/content/vol22/issue2/?etoc while the third appeared in September 2011; Vol. 22, No. 5 available online http://das.sagepub.com/content/vol22/issue5/?etoc

some (not complete)

(8) *Some progress has been made with the reconstruction of damaged houses.* (p.30)

- comparative adjectives

wider (than what?)

(9) *A wider regional support would contribute to reconciliation.* (p.10)

more open (than what?)

(10) *By contributing to a more open, participatory and dynamic democracy, a lively and vibrant civil society is also conducive to tolerance and reconciliation*. (p.14)

*further (*from what?)

(11) *Further progress has been made in key reform areas*. (p.21)

- adverbs

poorly (insufficiently developed or undeveloped)

(12) *The access of civil society to government support is frequently hindered by a lack of transparency and poorly developed allocation criteria*. (p.29)

closer

(13) *The Western Balkans have moved closer to the EU over the past year, as the region made progress, albeit unevenly, in reforms and in meeting established criteria and conditions*. (p.15)

seriously

(14) *... that rule of law issues must be addressed seriously before accession*. (p.9)

- nouns

progress

(15) *The country needs to make further progress in relation to dialogue among political actors, judiciary and public administration.* (p.11)

reforms

(16) *The use of benchmarks in the accession negotiations serves as an important catalyst for reforms.(*p.9)

efforts

(17) *Further efforts are necessary to bring the legislation in line with the acquis*. (p.5)

- verbs

improve (with respect to what previous state of affairs?)

(18) *The dialogue between major political parties and actors needs to improve so as to permit the normal functioning of institutions and accelerate the pace of reforms*. (p.15)

strengthen (with respect to what previous state of affairs?)

(19) *The protection of women and children against violence needs to be strengthened*. (p.4)

upgrade (with respect to what previous state of affairs?)

(20) *Cooperation with civil society needs to be upgraded*. (p.29)

Besides the noticeable presence of semantically vague terms ranging from adjectives to verbs (whose borderline cases are not known or are difficult to know) the Enlargement discourse is also replete with terms typically classified as *disclaimers* (Van Dijk 2006:206).[5]

(21) *Fiscal tightening measures involving budget have been implemented in the Western Balkans. However,*[6] *this has not been sufficient to prevent a widening of fiscal deficit.*

(22) *Accession negotiations advanced, albeit rather slowly.*

Disclaimers (like *however, albeit* etc.) in tandem with vagueness define the EU as the politically dominant party in the Enlargement process. The fact that vagueness inhabits the lexis of EU narratives on Enlargement, should not be interpreted as "a stylistic accident" but rather as a set of calculated strategies intended to confuse *the Other*, namely the non-member countries, and to delay them in their efforts to join the EU. For example by referring frequently to the non-member countries' achievements as noteworthy yet never quite satisfactory, that is to say: in need of further improvements, the EU discourse–creators manipulate non-member countries. They do so by not specifying the points, actions or goals which they deem to require improvements and thus hold them in a state of suspense or even *suspension*.

Upon closer examination of these examples we see that relations of comparison are commonly cloaked in vague language. In other words these statements tend to draw a comparison between two states, two qualities (progress and further progress) or two intensities (close and closer) yet they do not specify the basis or standard of this comparison. By blurring the standard of comparison, they similarly obfuscate its expected result–what has specifically been achieved by this so-called "progress"; and what this stage of progress represents in reality. It can thus be inferred that this steady reliance on vague terms is a strategy through which the authors of these statements impose their sovereignty and their power over the duration of this state of suspension. In other words, the Other (the non-member states) may be stalled indefinitely.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion we can say that this vagueness strategy is instrumental in perpetuating the perception of the self (the "we" of the EU discourse) as someone with the upper hand in the political discourse, while at the same time upholding an

[5] Van Dijk defines disclaimers as: „a well-known combination of the ideologically based strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentaton..Rather, disclaimers briefly save face by mentioning Our positive characteristics, but then focus exclusively on Their negative attributes.(Van Dijk 2006:736).

[6] In my data I found examples like „*Alignment with the acquis is on track*. (zero disclaimer) *Further efforts are needed in the area of auditing* „ (p.33) without an overt disclaimer form. However, zero- disclaimer or implicit disclaimer had equal effect of denial of the claim expressed in the preceding text .

appearance of openness and helpfulness towards the Other (the Other being the states wishing to join the EU).

As noted earlier, this strategy is particularly insidious because it leaves its addressees in limbo.The proliferation of comparative statements regarding these countries' progression into "better, newer, greater" states indicates a constant prolongation of this state of limbo since the original referent (better, newer, greater than *what*) is always effaced. By emphasizing the ongoing process rather than clearly marking the finite duration of this period or the concrete and context-bound achievements (or lack thereof) of these countries, the EU may, in effect, extend this state of suspension indefinitely.

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PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF ENGLISH WORDS IN THE TV SHOW *ŽIVOT U TRENDU*

Abstract The paper aims to explain and exemplify the principles of formal (phonological and morphological) adaptation of English words which enter Serbian through television shows. The corpus draws on the abundance of English words used frequently by a host of a popular television show, who constantly tries to sound "trendy" and more "Western"-like. Very often, the use of English words in this context is unjustified, either because Serbian already has words for notions at issue or it can easily form equivalents from its own language inventory. It has been noticed that, under such constant influence of formal features of English words, Serbian has started "importing" not only phonological segments and their combinations from English, but also certain morphological markers typical of English. As a result, Serbian has been forming new words which do not originate from English but only look like they do, and their categorization is offered in the paper.

Key words: language borrowing, adaptation, substitution, importation, phonology, morphology, transphonemization, transmorphemization

1. Introduction: theoretical framework

The process of *language borrowing* can be defined as a tendency to accept the word from another language in order to fill in the lexical gap and adapt it according to the rules of the receiving language in order to naturalize it (Prćić 2005). It includes the processes of substitution and importation on all linguistic levels (Filipović 1986: 68). This paper deals with both of these processes on the two formal levels: phonological and morphological, while putting aside the semantic level and the justification of loanwords in the corpus.

Substitution is a process which aims to replace every element of the English model with corresponding elements from the Serbian language system in order to naturalize it and start treating the loanword as any other word in the system. On the other hand, *importation* is a process which aims to preserve original formal elements of the English model by importing those elements into Serbian. Since loanwords usually tend to integrate into the system of a receiving language, the process of substitution is said to be a far more common operation in the process of language borrowing than importation.

Furthermore, the process of substitution on the two formal levels presented in the paper includes different adaptations on these two levels. Phonological adaptation involves the process of substituting phonological properties of the English model with their Serbian equivalents, or as Prćić (1991, cited in Filipović S. 2004: 21) calls them *"approximants"* (which is a more appropriate term giving that there are no phonemes in the two languages which are phonetically same, only similar). On the other hand, morphological adaptation involves the process of substituting English morphological markers with the corresponding elements from the Serbian language system which have the same (or similar) function and meaning. Moreover, morphological adaptation includes the process of adapting the English model to the Serbian inflectional morphology due to the fact that Serbian and English considerably differ in this area. Thus loanwords become a part of the Serbian language system by receiving different affixes for different lexical categories.

When a word enters Serbian for various reasons (very often there is no other reason than to sound "in" and modern), it undergoes two stages of adaptation. The first stage begins once the word comes from English and lasts until it is fully integrated into the Serbian language system. This stage is called *primary adaptation*. At this stage, the word undergoes adaptations on the level of phonology and sometimes morphology. After the word is fully integrated, the rules of the receiving language are applied to the new loanword. This stage is called *secondary adaptation* and at this point the word receives morphological markers characteristic for different parts of speech in Serbian (Filipović 1986: 57).

2. Corpus selection

The corpus was created from the examples found in the lifestyle television magazine called *Život u trendu*, hosted by Snežana Dakić-Mikić, a Serbian journalist who is famous for using too many English words in her speech in order to sound "modern" and "trendy". Around 20 episodes of this show were analyzed and the corpus consists of words from the register of everyday life – related to health, food, cosmetics, make-up, fashion, music, as well as computers, sports, business, and tourism, among others. The examples selected mostly illustrate English words used by the host and her guests in the show but which are either not integrated into Serbian at all or not fully integrated yet. Prćić (2005) makes distinction between *"anglicisms"* (examples 3 and 4) and *"englishisms"* (examples 1 and 2), the latter being the ones which are used in Serbian but are not fully integrated on various levels. Here are some examples from the corpus:

(1) "[...] mašna koja je vrlo <u>*lejdilajk*</u>." (E. [...] a bow which is very *ladylike*)
(*Život u trendu*, 19th January 2008)

(2) "Ove sezone lak je <u>*masthev*</u> takoreći." (E. Lacquer is sort of a *must-have* this season)
(*Život u trendu*, 19th January 2008)

(3) "[To] je odlična zamena za *džoging*. " (E. [It] is an excellent replacement for *jogging*)

(*Život u trendu*, 2nd February 2008)

(4) "Te mlade generacije izričito su *fokusirane* na *biznis*." (E. Those young generations are only *focused* on *business*.)

(*Život u trendu*, 19th January 2008)

The first two examples have gone only through primary adaptation on phonological level, but lack any other adaptation at this point: they still have morphological markers of English originals, and they have not yet become a part of the Serbian lexical inventory. These are the examples of people trying to sound "trendy", instead of sounding "old-fashioned" and too "Serbian" by using Serbian terms *ženstveno* or *damski* in the second example (*lejdilajk*, E. ladylike), or using too many words to explain the English term "a must-have" in the first example, which could be translated only by using an explanation like *"Ove sezone lak je nešto što morate imati na sebi"* (E. Lacquer is something you have to wear this season).

On the other hand, the other two examples are the examples of English words which have already become a part of the Serbian lexical system and are used frequently. They have gone through both primary and secondary adaptations on both phonological and morphological levels, and they now behave as any other Serbian lexeme. The word *džoging/ džogiranje* (E. jogging) is used as a hyponym of the Serbian term *trčanje* (E. running), and has thus filled in the lexical gap which would be otherwise filled in with the Serbian noun phrase *"rekreativno lagano trčanje"* (Vasić, Prćić, Nejgebauer 2001: 79). In the last example, words *fokusirane* (E. focused) and *biznis* (E. business) can easily be replaced with Serbian equivalents *usresređene* and *posao*, but they have been so widely used in business terminology that they have become a part of the Serbian lexical system over the years. However, this is where the discussion about the justification of the loanwords will stop and where the paper intends to focus on the formal aspects of such words, paying special attention to the words which have recently entered Serbian language through the abovementioned television show, and which are not fully adapted according to the rules of the Serbian language system. Their classification will be offered later and special attention will be paid to the most interesting and most illustrating examples.

What also needs to be mentioned here briefly is the fact that this topic is also interesting from a sociolinguistic point of view. Namely, our society is well-known for a tendency to import different aspects of Western cultures in order to be "*trendi, fensi i poš*" (E. trendy, fancy, and posh). So, by using as many English words as possible, we feel "closer" to the Western countries and a part of Europe and the world. Filipović (1986) recognized this phenomenon many years ago and named it *"anglomania"*, while Prćić (2005) goes one step further and explains our "intoxication" with everything that comes from "the West" by using the term *"angloholism"*.

3. Phonological adaptation

The substitution on phonological level is called *transphonemization* (Filipović 1986) and is defined as the process of forming the phonological shape of a loanword (Filipović S. 2004: 21). It is a result of the fact that phonological systems of English and Serbian differ in all three aspects: 1) inventory of phonemes (English has more phonemes than Serbian), 2) distribution of phonemes, and 3) accent or stress, its nature and a position within a word. However, only the–segmental layer of phonological structure will be dealt with here. The process of substitution replaces English phonemes with their Serbian approximants (Filipović S. 2004: 21, according to Prćić 1991). Primary adaptation takes place here since it starts happening from the moment the English model enters Serbian and goes until its integration into the Serbian language system.

According to Filipović (1986), there are two principles of adaptation of the words that come from English: *phonological* and *orthographic approach.* The difference between the two approaches is based on the difference between English orthography and pronunciation. Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the difference between the two approaches by using the examples found in the corpus[1]:

Example from Serbian	English model	English pronunciation
plejboj	playboy	/ˈplæɪbɔɪ/
disrapšn (priznanje)	disruption	/dɪsˈrʌpʃən/
bjuti (proizvod)	beauty	/ˈbjuːti/
(to je vrlo) *lejdilajk*	ladylike	/ˈleɪdilaɪk/
mejkap artista	make-up artist	/ˌmeɪkʌp ˈɑːtɪst/
hendmejd (proizvod)	handmade	/ˌhændˈmeɪd/
tajming	timing	/taɪmɪŋ/

Table 1: Phonological approach – based on the phonological properties of the English model

Example from Serbian	English model	English pronunciation
laptop	laptop	/ˈlæptɒp/
klijent	client	/ˈklaɪənt/
fan	fan	/fæn/
reprogramirati	reprogram	/ˌriːˈprəʊgræm/
Australijan open	Australian Open	/ɒˈstreɪliən ˈəʊpən/

Table 2: Orthographic approach – based on the orthographic properties of the English model

If we take a closer look at the examples presented in the two tables, it can be concluded that the words which have been adapted according to the orthographic

[1] *Život u trendu*, December 2007 – Apil 2011

approach are mostly the words which were borrowed from English earlier than the ones adapted according to the phonological approach. This can be explained by the fact that in times when these words made their "impact" onto the Serbian language, people were less exposed to spoken English and thus words were adapted on the basis of their orthography. That is why we have words like *klijent* (E. client) and *fan* (E. fan). The more spoken language was available to people, especially through mass media, the more words were adapted on the basis of their pronunciation, rather than orthography. Thus we have examples like *hendmejd proizvod* (E. handmade product) or *tajming* (E. timing) instead of **handmade proizvod* and **timing* which would be the case if the two words have been adapted according to their orthography.

There are also examples where the two principles of adaptation were combined either in a noun phrase or even in one lexeme. Such examples from the corpus are presented in Table 3:

Example from Serbian	English model	English pronunciation
Dejvis kup	The Davis Cup	/deɪvɪs kʌp/
Rotari klub	The Rotary Club	/rəʊtəri klʌb/
Balkan prodžekt	The Balkan Project	/bɔːlkən prɒdʒekt/
flovles (perfekšn rumenilo)	flawless	/ˈflɔːləs/
emoušn (senzor)	emotion	/ɪˈməʊʃən/
(turistički) *risort*	resort	/rɪˈzɔː(r)t/
šoping raport	shopping report	/ʃɒpɪŋ rɪˈpɔː(r)t/
džins	jeans	/dʒiːnz/
mafins	muffins	/mʌfɪnz/

Table 3: Combination of the two approaches

It can be seen in examples like *emoušn* (E. emotion) and *risort* (E. resort), and especially in examples which have the English bound morpheme for plural -s and which is pronounced as /-z/ in English while Serbian adaptation preserves /-s/ due to the orthography of the word (*mafins*, E. muffins and *džins*, E. jeans, to name some).

Moreover, due to different principles of adaptation being used by different people and in different circumstances, we also have parallel forms used at the same time. Two examples which were found in the corpus are presented in Table 4 and they include *reality show/ realiti šou/ rijeliti šou* (E. reality show), all three used in written media, while the last two used in the show this paper focuses on:

Principle	Compromise replica	English model	English pronunciation
original English spelling preserved	*reality show*	reality show	/riˈæləti ʃɔʊ/
orthographic approach	*realiti šou*		
phonological approach	*rijeliti šou*		
original English spelling preserved	*chatovati*	chat	/tʃæt/
orthographic approach	*čatovati*		
phonological approach	*četovati*		

Table 4: Parallel forms (variations in compromise replicas)

Filipović (1986) mentions three levels of transphonemization on the basis of to which extent English and Serbian phonemic systems differ. Thus he talks about complete, partial (or compromise), and free transphonemization. *Complete transphonemization* is said to take place when phonemes of the English model are replaced with their Serbian equivalents which have the same distinctive features. However, Filipović, S. (2004: 22) finds this categorization inappropriate since there are no pairs of phonemes that are completely the same, phonetically speaking, which denies the existence of complete transphonemization – thus transphonemization can be either partial or completely free. That is why Tables 5 and 6 will illustrate the latter two types of transphonemization on the basis of Filipović's (1986) comparison of the two sound systems (English and Serbian):

Phonemes		Examples	
English	Serbian	English model	Serbian form
/b/, /ɔː/	/b/, /o/	billboard /ˈbɪlbɔːd/	*bilbord*
/b/, /uː/	/b/, /u/	beauty /ˈbjuːti/	*bjuti* (proizvodi)
/ɪ/	/i/	lift /lɪft/	*lift*
/b/, /ɪ/, /z/	/b/, /i/, /z/	business /ˈbɪznɪs/	*biznis*
/p/, /ɒ/, /t/	/p/, /o/, /t/	project /prɒdʒekt/	*prodžekt*
/t/, /e/, /d/	/t/, /e/, /d/	trend /trend/	*trend*
/dʒ/, /iː/	/dž/, /i/	jeans /dʒiːnz/	*džins*
/dʒ/, /æ/, /g/	/dž/, /e/, /g/	jet lag /ˌdʒet ˈlæg/	*džetleg*
/k/, /ʌ/, /m/,/æ/	/k/, /ʌ/, /m/,/e/	comeback /ˈkʌmbæk/	*kambek*
/s/, /l/	/s/, /l/	slip /slɪp/	*slip* (gaćice)
/m/, /h/, /æ/	/m/, /h/, /e/	must-have /ˌmʌstˈhæv/	(lak je) *masthev*
/tʃ/, /æ/	/č/, /e/	chat /tʃæt/	*čet*
/æ/	e	brand /brænd/	*brend*

Table 5: Partial or compromise transphonemization – phonemes of the English model are replaced with their Serbian equivalents which share some distinctive features, but differ in others

Phonemes		Examples	
English	Serbian	English model	Serbian form
/ə/	/e/	celebrity /səˈlebrəti/	*selebriti*
	/i/		
	/a/	adviser /ədˈvaɪzə/	(art) *advajzer*
	/er/		
	/er/	charter /ˈtʃaːtə/	*čarter* (letovi)
/ɔɪ/	/oj/	boys' bend /bɔɪz bænd/	*bojz bend*
/əʊ/, /aɪ/	/ou/, /aj/	smoky eyes /sməʊki aɪz/	*smouki ajs*
/əʊ/	/ou/	emotion /ɪˈməʊʃən/	*emoušn* (senzor)
/eɪ/, /aɪ/	/ej/, /aj/	ladylike /ˈleɪdilaɪk/	*lejdilajk*
/ɛə/	/er/	fair /fɛə/	*fer*
/θ/	/t/	Menˈs Health /ˌmenz ˈhelθ/	*Mens helt*
/ŋ/	/ng/	jogging /ˈdʒɒgɪŋ/ screening /ˈskriːnɪŋ/	*džoging* *skrining*
/w/	/v/	wellness /ˈwelnəs/	*velnes* (centar)

Table 6: Free transphonemization – phonemes of the English model are replaced with their Serbian approximants more or less freely since they do not have their Serbian pairs which would have the same distinctive features; the orthography of the model plays an important role here

When two languages differ in the inventory of phonemes, the receiving language faces the problem of substituting the phoneme from the model which does not exist in its phonological system. In that case, the orthography of the model plays an important role in the adaptation of the model. It is especially evident in the examples with the English vowel schwa /ə/.

4. Importation on phonological level: tendencies

In order for a language to import a certain element from another language whose influence it has been exposed to, the receiving language has to have a lack of such element in its system. Since phonological systems of Serbian and English differ considerably, which can be seen from the two tables showing partial and free transphonemization, Serbian is prone to importing some elements from English to which it has been highly exposed. When it comes to phonology, this paper will only deal with importations related to the inventory of phonemes, although prosody can also be influenced by a giving language (Filipović 1986: 58, Filipović S. 2004: 164).

Examples from the corpus presented in Table 7 show a tendency of importing especially the bilabial semi-vowel /w/ and the central vowel "schwa" /ə/, the sounds which do not exist in the Serbian sound system, but are frequent in English every-day vocabulary:

Phoneme	English model	English pronunciation	Serbian compromised replica
/w/	Wow!	/waʊ/	*/wau/*
	wellness centre	/welnəs sentə/	*/welnes centar/*
	website	/websaɪt/	*/websajt/*
	sweetheart	/swiːthaː(r)t/	(baš si) */swithart/*
/ŋ/	screening	/skriːnɪŋ/	*skrining /skriniŋg/*
	single	/sɪŋgəl/	(da li si još uvek) *singl /siŋgl/*
/ə/	fashion week	/fæʃən wiːk/	*/fešən vik/* or */fešən wik/*
	fashion selection	/fæʃən səˈlekʃən/	*/fešən selekšən/*
	passion	/pæʃən/	(to je taj) */pešən/*
	workaholic	/wəːkahɔlɪk/	(pravi si) */wərkaholik/*

Table 7: Importation on phonological level

The exclamation "Wow!" has already become a part of every child's vocabulary influenced by the plethora of foreign (especially English-speaking) cartoons and cartoon channels, and alongside this imported exclamation came the bilabial semi-vowel /w/. Since this sound is no longer a mystery to an average Serbian speaker, people (as well as the show-host mentioned previously) tend to preserve it in words like */websajt/*, E. website, */(fešən) wik/*, E. (fashion) week, and */welnes (centar)/*, E. wellness (centre), instead of replacing it with its Serbian approximant /v/. On the other hand, the velar nasal /ŋ/, presented in the Table 7 as well, is already a part of the Serbian allophonic system (Filipović S. 2004: 63 calls it "a positional allophone" since it appears in Serbian only when followed by velar consonants /g/ and /k/ and never makes lexical contrasts). However, the question is: can this allophone become a phoneme in Serbian due to the constant borrowing of English words ending in –ing, as it was the case in French (Filipović 1986: 81)?

The importation of the vowel "schwa" seems to be inevitable as well, especially due to the expansion in use of words like */fešən (vik)/*, E. fashion (week), */fešən selekšən/*, E. fashion selection, and */pešən/*, E. passion. If we try to replace it with one of the Serbian vowels, the result sounds rather odd *(*fešin, *fešon, *fešen*). Even if we leave the consonant cluster –šn (*fešn*), which is a possible consonant cluster in Serbian, especially in words like *šnajder*, *šnala*, *mašna*, it still sounds rather odd to a native speaker since this consonant cluster is rarely found at word boundaries in Serbian.

5. Morphological adaptation

Once a loan word undergoes the phonological adaptation, it becomes suitable for further changes, but this time on morphological level. The substitution on morphological level is called *transmorphemization* (Filipović 1986). This is a process of substituting English bound morphemes with their Serbian correspondents

in order for a word to become a part of the Serbian language system. It is necessary for English loanwords to undergo this type of adaptation since English and Serbian differ considerably in the area of morphology as well, especially the inflectional one since Serbian has a wide range of inflections (for case, person, number, tense, etc), while English does not.

Filipović (1986: 119) recognizes three stages of morphological adaptation: zero, compromise, and complete transmorphemization, which are illustrated in Tables 8, 9, and 10 with examples from the corpus:

NOUNS		ADJECTIVES		VERBS	
English models	Serbian forms	English models	Serbian forms	English models	Serbian forms
trend	*trend*	fair	*fer*	* There are no verbs in this category since Serbian language assigns markers for infinitive forms (secondary adaptation).	
brand	*brend*	fit	*fit*		
party	*parti*	retro	*retro*		
finish	*finiš*				
outfit	*autfit*				
cup	*kup*				
puzzle	*pazl* *pazla* ("žurim da slažem svoju *pazlu*")				

Table 8: Zero-transmorphemization – when a free morpheme from English is combined with a zero (Ø) bound morpheme, there is no need for morphological adaptation. This is the domain of primary adaptation since it is enough for a word to go through phonological adaptation and it is ready to receive Serbian inflectional markers.

Both replicas of the noun "puzzle" are found in the corpus (*pazl* and *pazla*), which is a perfect example of one word undergoing either only primary (*pazl*) or both primary and secondary adaptation (*pazla*). The loanword even changes some of its properties when it undergoes secondary adaptation. Namely, it receives the inflection *–a* since Serbian does not allow the consonant cluster *-zl* at word boundaries and the word changes its gender properties (*taj pazl* – masculine, *ta pazla* – feminine).

What is interesting about adjectives in this category is that they do not have any markers for person, number, gender, or case and are always the same regardless of nouns they are used with. They practically preserve their English properties. For example, *(taj) retro luk* (E. retro look), and *(te) retro naočare* (E. retro sunglasses). However, there is one example of the adjective *fer* (E. fair) undergoing secondary adaptation as well, but still not making distinctions in the abovementioned categories. It only receives a negative prefix *ne-* (E. un-): *nefer (ponašanje)* (E. unfair behaviour), which will be mentioned later (see Table 10).

Verbs obviously do not undergo this stage of adaptation since all the verbs in Serbian automatically receive inflections to mark their infinitive form, while English verbs do not have such inflections.

NOUNS		ADJECTIVES		VERBS	
English models	Serbian forms	English models	Serbian forms	English models	Serbian forms
styling	*stajling*	trendy	*trendi*	* This is still a domain of primary adaptation.	
jogging	*džoging*	sexy	*seksi*		
lifting	*lifting*				
shopping	*šoping* *šopingovanje*				
screening	*skrining*				
advertising	*advertajzing*				
adviser	*advajzer*				
old timer	*oltajmer*				
shaker	*šejker*				
(make-up) artist	*(mejkap) artist* *(mejkap) artista*				

Table 9: Compromise transmorphemization – a free morpheme from English is combined with a bound morpheme from English, which means that Serbian, instead of replacing the bound morpheme of the model with the corresponding bound morpheme from its own system, imports the bound morpheme from English alongside the free morpheme. This is still the domain of primary adaptation.

Since the second stage of transmorphemization is still the domain of primary adaptation, it is quite obvious why there are no verbs at this stage either. However, many nouns and adjectives can be found at this stage of adaptation. English bound morphemes, like –ing, -er, -ist for forming nouns, and –y for forming adjectives, are still not replaced by their Serbian correspondents, but are imported along with the English free morphemes they are attached to. Some examples, like *džoging* (E. jogging), have their parallel forms which have already undergone secondary adaptation and the English bound morpheme used for forming verbal nouns –ing is replaced with its Serbian correspondent *–iranje* (*džogiranje*). However, there are also some examples in which the bound morpheme has not been replaced but the Serbian bound morpheme has been attached to the whole compromised replica, for example the word *šoping* (E. shopping) did not become **šopovanje* but *šopingovanje* after attaching the Serbian bound morpheme for forming verbal nouns *–ovanje*.

Adjectives in this category import the English adjectival suffix –y but still do not make distinction in person, gender, number, or case, so we have examples like *(taj) seksi video* (E. sexy video), and *(te) seksi fotografije* (E. sexy photographs).

NOUNS		ADJECTIVES		VERBS	
English models	Serbian forms	English models	Serbian forms	English models	Serbian forms
chatting	*čatovanje četovanje*	an off-Broadway play	*ofbrodvejska predstava*	focus	*fokusirati* (se na biznis)
mingling	*minglovanje*	gentlemanly	*džentlmenski*	mark	*markirati*
jogging	*džogiranje džoging*	unfair	*nefer* (ponašanje)	reprogramme	*reprogramirati*(ćelije)
brands	*brendovi*			jog	*džogirati*
bands	*bendovi*			check	*čekirati* (zdravlje)
fans	*fanovi*			mingle	*minglovati* (sa gostima)
jets	*džetovi*			teleport	*teleportovati se*
timings	*tajminzi (< tajming + -i)*				
trend	*trendovanje*				
laptop	*laptopaši*				

Table 10: Complete transmorphemization – a free morpheme from English is combined with a bound morpheme from Serbian. There has thus been a replacement of bound morphemes, which is now the domain of secondary adaptation, since the rules of the Serbian language system are being imposed onto phonologically adapted English loanword.

At this stage of transmorphemization loanwords undergo first primary and then secondary adaptation. After the word has gone through the adaptation on the phonological level and the English phonemes have been substituted by the corresponding phonemes from Serbian (either with the acoustically similar phonemes or on the basis of the word's orthography in case Serbian does not have a similar phoneme to replace it with), the loanword is ready to be fully integrated into the Serbian language system. At this point, rules of Serbian are applied to the loanwords and the words start behaving like any other word from Serbian: it receives morphological markers for different word categories (nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc), inflections for number, gender, person, and cases (since Serbian has a wide range of different inflections), etc. Bound morphemes from the English model which mark word categories in English are replaced with the corresponding morphemes from Serbian (verbal nouns: E.mingling > S. *minglovanje*; adjectives: E. gentlemanly > S. *džentlmenski*; verbs: E. check(Ø) > S. *čekirati*). Sometimes, one loanword can be found both partially and completely transmorphemized and both replicas are frequently used (E. jogging > S. *džoging* > S. *džogiranje*; E. shopping > S. *šoping* > S. *šopingovanje*).

Moreover, the plural marker –s is substituted by its Serbian equivalents *–ovi* (E. bands > S. *bendovi*) and *–i* (E. timings > S. *tajminzi*). Examples from the corpus also show that some words are further derived, which means that they have been so integrated into the Serbian language system that they have become productive (E.

laptop > S. *laptopaši* = people who use their laptops a lot and know everything about using them).

The adjective *nefer* (E. unfair) is particularly interesting here since it obviously undergoes secondary adaptation as well (the bound morpheme un- for expressing negation has been substituted by its Serbian equivalent *ne-*), but it still does not make distinctions in number, person, gender, or case (same as its positive pair mentioned in the Table 8): S. *(to) nefer ponašanje*, E. the unfair behaviour; S. *(u toj) nefer igri*, E. (in) the unfair play; S. *(ti) nefer odnosi (među zaposlenima)*, E. the unfair relations (among employees).

6. Importation on morphological level: pseudo-anglicisms (Filipović 1986)

The importation of free morphemes is an every-day phenomenon since the system of free morphemes is open and is constantly being broadened due to the necessities of naming new phenomena in language. On the other hand, the importation of bound morphemes is very rare since the system of bound morphemes is a closed system. In order for such importation to take place, the two languages need to be in close contact, which is the case with English and Serbian. We are constantly exposed to English especially via mass media that, very often, we subconsciously treat some English words as they were a part of our language system. Moreover, there is also the abovementioned sociolinguistic phenomenon, widespread among Serbian people, that everything which is new and foreign is far better than anything that we have. However, that should be a subject of a completely different study. Table 11 classifies examples found in the corpus on the basis of which elements (both Serbian and English) are combined:

	Morpheme		English model	Serbian replica
English free morpheme + English bound morpheme	the word exists in English	-ing	shopping	*šoping*
			styling	*stajling*
			face-lifting	*fejslifting*
			body-lifting	*bodilifting*
			pealing	*piling* (krvnih sudova)
		-er	freelancer	*frilenser*
			art adviser	*art advajzer*
			filler	*filer*
		-ist	artist	*artist*
			perfectionist	*perfekcionist*
		-y	sexy	*seksi*
			trendy	*trendi*
	the word does not exist in English (a	-er	double	*dubler*
			tennis player	*teniser*
			a man who fancies himself (infml)	*fenser*

	pseudo-anglicism)	-ist	water polo player	*vaterpolist/ vaterpolista*
Serbian free morpheme + English bound morpheme		-er	worker	*šljaker* (old slang!) *šljak(ati)+ -er > šljaker* (E. to work)
			hair-stylist	*frizer* *friz(irati) + -er > frizer* (E. to style one's hair)
		-aholic	workaholic	*radoholik* *rad(iti)+-oholic >radoholik* also: *radoholičar*
			shopaholic	*kupoholik* *kup(iti)+-oholic>kupoholik* also: *kupoholičar*

Table 11: Importation of English bound morphemes: classification of examples

The most interesting are the examples of words which do not exist in English, but only look like they do. Those words are called *pseudo-anglicisms* and are constructed of English elements (free and bound morphemes), but the word as such does not exist in English and is not borrowed from it, for example: S. *teniser* – E. tennis player (*tenniser). They are also called *secondary anglicisms* since they only undergo secondary adaptation, while anglicisms undergo both primary and secondary adaptations. Here are some more examples from the corpus: *dubler* (E.double + E.-er > E. *doubler), *fenser* (E. fancy + E.-er > E. *fancer), *frizer* (S. *friz(irati)* + E.-er), *kupoholik* (E. shopaholic => E. shop = S. *kupo(vati)* + E.-aholic = S.-*oholik*), *radoholik* (E.workaholic => E. work = S. *rad(iti)* + E.-aholic = S.-*oholik*), *vaterpolist(a)* (E. waterpolo > S.*vaterpol(o)* + E.-ist(a) = E. *waterpolist). Such words are combined either of English elements completely but a combination as such does not exist in English (for example, E. double > S. *dubler*), or English bound morphemes have been imported and thus combined with Serbian elements (for example, E. worker > S. *šljaker* – in slang). In the latter group of words, very often, the free morpheme of the model is translated into Serbian, while the bound morpheme is imported from the English model (in Serbian slang *šljakati* means 'to work', and thus a worker is called *šljaker*). However, sometimes, a free morpheme is translated but a bound morpheme is *not* imported from the model but some other English bound morpheme is used which has the same function: in Serbian *frizirati* means 'to style one's hair', and thus a hair-stylist is called *frizer*, and not **frizist*, as one might expect following the previous analogy.

6. Conclusion

The paper aims to present and exemplify some general characteristics of phonological and morphological adaptations of words which come from English through television shows such as the one described above. The corpus was constructed mostly of words which have not yet been fully adapted according to the rules of Serbian nor become a part of the Serbian lexicon. It offers classification of examples from the corpus according to some general rules presented by Filipović (1986). Moreover, it discusses gradual importation of English formal elements into Serbian and offers examples which illustrate this phenomenon. Although examples of importation on both formal levels discussed in the paper have been found in the corpus, the importation of English formal properties, as presented in the paper, is still within the domain of speculation, but there are some very obvious tendencies towards the language change which could be expected in the future. The imported elements are still not in accordance with the Serbian language system, which is the opposite of what language borrowing should be, but are an inevitable consequence of the impact English has had on Serbian especially in the past several decades with the development of mass media. Unfortunately, the process of language borrowing, which originally had the purpose of naming certain phenomena that had not existed in our language or culture, has been replaced with the process of borrowing almost anything that can sound more "trendy, fancy, and posh" than what our language has to offer. Consequently, that has led to an inevitable process of English influencing not only Serbian inventory of lexemes but also the two formal linguistic levels (phonological and morphological) and this paper is an attempt to draw attention to what such uncontrolled language borrowing has done to modern Serbian language.

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Passive and Aktionsart in English

Abstract The scope of this paper is the analysis of the English passive with relation to *Aktionsart*, or the type of verb situation. The analysis is based on a corpus excerpted from the novel *The DaVinci Code* by Dan Brown (2003), which consists of 58 units containing one or more passive constructions. With primarily semantic approach, the aim was to determine if passivisation can result in a change of situation types and which situation types are involved in the process. Additionally, by establishing the link between the traditional theory on passive and its use in a recent piece of literature, the paper seeks to give a complete overview of the contemporary uses of passive and syntactic functions affected by voice shift.

Key words: passive, Aktionsart, activities, states, achievements, accomplishments, thematic roles, syntactic functions.

1. Introductory notes

This paper is based on the research for the purposes of a doctoral exam paper at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, titled *English and Serbian Passive Constructions – Type of Passive and Type of Verb Situation*, for the doctoral course of *Contrastive Language Studies*. The scope of the exam paper was a contrastive analysis of English and Serbian passive construction on a parallel corpus excerpted from the novel *The DaVinci Code* (Dan Brown, 2003) and its Serbian translation. The English part of the corpus consists of 58 units containing one or more passive constructions. The principal approach to the passive in this paper was semantic, with the primary goal of determining the influence of passivisation on Aktionsart; the paper also serves to give a thorough account of using passive in contemporary English. The grammaticality of the examples and differences in meaning were verified by a native speaker of English.

The term passive refers to the marked member of the binary division of voice, the unmarked being the active. The grammatical category of voice concerns the morphological change of the verb phrase along with the reassignment of syntactic functions of verb arguments with certain thematic roles. As Quirk et al. (1985:159) put it: *the category of voice concerns not only verb phrases*, *but other constituents in the clause*.

The verb phrase (VP), being central to the category, is most affected by passivisation. The verb head is converted into its past participle form (V^{en}) and assigned the auxiliary *be* that contains the active verb's features of tense–aspect ($^{t\text{-}a}$). The syntactic functions affected by the shift are those of subject and object. The active object becomes the passive subject, while the active subject may or may not be realised in the passive as the prepositional agentive phrase (the *by*-phrase). Basically, the prototypical voice shift can be explained through the formula:

S $V^{t\text{-}a}$ O → O *to be* $^{t\text{-}a}$ V^{en} (*by* S)

Active Passive

The thematic roles represent the roles assigned to verb arguments according to their semantic relations with the verb. The most frequent thematic roles (cf. Haegeman) are the following: 1) AGENT/ACTOR – the one who intentionally initiates the dynamic situation expressed by the predicate; 2) THEME – the entity affected by the situation expressed by the predicate; 3) EXPERIENCER – the entity that experiences some psychological state expressed by the predicate, 4) BENEFICIARY (RECEPIENT) – the entity that benefits from the dynamic situation expressed by the predicate; 5) GOAL – the entity towards which the dynamic situation expressed by the predicate is directed; 6) SOURCE – the entity from which something is moved as a result of the dynamic situation expressed by the predicate; 7) LOCATION – the place of the situation, and 8) INSTRUMENT – a means for realising the dynamic situation expressed by the predicate.

1.1. Types of passive

Following Quirk et al. (1985) and, more recently, Huddleston and Pullum (2002), the following classification of passives can be established:

I. According to the presence of the *by*-phrase, two passive types can be distinguished:
   A) Long passives – the *by*-phrase is included, *e.g. He was found in the woods by his cousins.*
   B) Short passives (agentless) – the *by*-phrase is excluded, *e.g. He was found in the woods.*

II. According to the type of auxiliary with the V^{en} the passive can be:
   A) Be passive – the structure is: *be* + V^{en}, e.g. *He was wounded in the fight.*
   B) Get passive – the structure is: *get* + V^{en} , e.g. *He got wounded in the fight.*
   C) Bare passive – the standalone V^{en} – in the non-finite participial clause, e.g. *He tried to run with his leg wounded in the fight.*

III. According to the lexical properties of the V^{en}, the passive can be:

A) Verbal (regular, or true passive) – where the V^{en} is a past participle verb.

B) Adjectival – where the V^{en} is actually an adjective, *be* is copular, thus the structure is complex intransitive. There are two subtypes of adjectival passives:

i. Semi-passives – with possible active transformation or agentive phrase addition, e.g. *They were surprised by her attitude/Her attitude surprised them.*

ii. Pseudo-passives – there is no active counterpart; agentive phrase addition is impossible, e.g. *The statue is now broken* (the resulting state).

Furthermore, following the verb semantics, an additional type can be discussed:

C) Lexical (notional) passive – the VP is active intransitive, yet the subject is the theme, rather than the agent, which is excluded. The verbs that are normally transitive, but used intransitively without the agent include: *break*, *close, drive, divide, open*, *polish, pull, read, sail, sell, steer, tear, wash, wind up.* There is usually an adverbial complement and implied modality in verb meaning (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 1565)).

1.2. Aktionsart

The type of verb situation (*Aktionsart*) represents the semantic properties of the verb, the way the verb situation is realised; it is *a purely lexical category, non-grammatical, optional, and unsystematic, defined in very special terms as inceptive or resumptive* (Binnick 1991: 170). Following Vendler (1967), Brinton (1988) and Novakov (2005), the types can be defined as:

1. Activities – the situation is a structure consisting of sequential segments, equal in quality. Its features are: [*–stative*], [+*durative*] and [*–durative*].
2. States – the situation is not segmented; it is not any process, but a characteristics lasting for some time. Its features are: [+*stative*], [+*durative*] and [*–telic*].
3. Accomplishments – the situation is a structure consisting of segments, but unequal in quality, since the last segment represents the goal, the point at which the situation normally ends. Its features are: [*–stative*], [+*durative*] and [+*telic*].
4. Achievements – the situation is a structure consisting of a single segment which represents the goal, the single point for the realisation of the situation. Its features are: [*–stative*], [*–durative*] and [+*telic*].

2. Passive types and aktionsart

2.1. Verbal passives

The regular passives tend to keep the situation type regardless of voice. The majority of attested regular passives were telic situations – achievements or accomplishments, the goal being most often assigned by the theme argument – the semantic role, rather than the syntactic function, as with passivisation functions shift, but semantic roles remain unaffected.

Activities with true passives are attested when the theme argument is a mass/indefinite plural NP (cf. Brinton, 2008: 146), yet the context is the ultimate means to perceive the situation telic or atelic.

1. *His wisdom lived on, his words still whispered by thousands of faithful servants around the globe.* (ACT/ACC).

There are transitive verbs belonging to states that can be passivised as well. In this case, the theme argument has no influence on the telicity because of the non-voluntary nature of the verb:

2. *The correlation between this symbol and the sacred feminine is widely known by art historians and symbologists.* (STA)

Sometimes although the verb itself appears to belong to achievements/accomplishments regardless of voice, epistemic modality assigns it duration and removes telicity:

3. *Its residence halls, teaching centers, and even universities could be found in almost every major metropolis on earth.* (STA)

Aktionsart affected by passivisation is attested with the following verbs: *schedule, slate, disappoint* and *stun.* With these verbs, the active form belongs to achievements, being a momentary process leading to a result, yet the passive form with the recipient subject involves some duration and behaves like a state the subject got in and does not behave like an adjective:

4. *a) You were scheduled to meet with the curator…(*STA)
   b) X scheduled you to meet with the curator. (ACH)
5. *a) He and the revered curator Jacques Saunière had been slated to meet for drinks.* (STA)
   b) X had slated you and the curator to meet for drinks. (ACH)
6. *a) He was disappointed when the curator had not shown.* (STA)
   b) The curator disappointed him when he had not shown. (ACH)
7. *a) Langdon had been stunned to learn the planet Venus traced a perfect pentacle across the ecliptic sky every four years.* (STA)
   b) Learning the fact stunned Langdon. (ACH)

This adjective/verb ambiguity could lead us to consider the possibility of the V^{en} somehow being adjectival and verbal at the same time, which would mean that the situation type does not change at all.

Polysemous verbs do not necessarily have voice counterparts for each type of verb situation:

8. *a) The late French president who had commissioned the pyramid was said to have suffered from a "Pharaoh complex".* (STA)
   b) People said that the president had suffered… (?STA)
9. *a) John said that Alice didn't call.* (ACH)
   b) ? Alice was said not to have called. (ACH)

2.2. Adjectival passive

When a VP consists *be* + V^{en}, it does not necessarily mean that it is the regular passive construction. Instead of being the passive auxiliary, *be* may be a copular verb, while V^{en} can actually be its adjectival complement: the adjectival passive. What follows is that the structure is complex intransitive – actually not passive. As mentioned above, there are two principal types of adjectival passives – the semi passives and the pseudo-passives. With the latter, the adjectival/verbal ambiguities are easily resolved, since no active paraphrase or agent introduction is possible. With the former, there are several cases when it is easy to distinguish them from the verbal passives and such instances are used as basic tests to resolve ambiguities in other cases. The adjectivity tests used in this paper for making adjectival/verbal distinction are the following (cf. Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 1436-1437):

10. *Forgiveness was assured.*

1. Premodification by an intensifier (*10a. Forgiveness was quite assured*); 2. Replacement of *be* with another copular verb (*10b. Forgiveness remained assured*); 3. Coordination with another adjective (*10c. Forgiveness was assured and promising*).

When the verbal/adjectival status of the passive construction cannot be determined by adjectivity tests, considering Aktionsart and its relation to the context could resolve the ambiguity:

11. *He was trapped, and the doors could not be reopened for at least twenty minutes.* (STA)

All adjectival *be*-passives are states, since the V^{en} is actually an adjective which, in combination with the copular *be*, has the features of a state resulting from a prior process (achievement or accomplishment). The distinction can be summarised as:

A PROCESS LEADING TO A STATE vs. A STATE RESULTING FROM A PROCESS

Adjectival *get*-passives (*get* pseudo-passives) cannot be states because of the semantic features *get* introduces to the situation being a dynamic resultative copula, the goal of the situation is found in the adjectival complement to *get.* In this way, all *get*-passives, whether verbal or adjectival, belong to either achievements or accomplishments.

12. *I cannot get involved.* (ACH, adjectival)

13. *Legaludec is probably a live-in here to avoid getting picked up.* (ACH, verbal)

2.3. Lexical passive

With lexical passives, an active verb, prototypically transitive, occurs without its internal argument and its external argument is semantically non-agentive.

14. *The seventy-six-year-old man heaved the masterpiece toward himself until it tore from the wall…*(ACH)

The dynamic situation appears more subtle, being more indirect, yet more dramatic and sudden, since it is active without an agent expressed; compare, for instance the following two sentences:

15. *a) As the Citroën accelerated southward across the city...*(ACH/ACT)
    b) As the driver accelerated the Citroën southward across the city...

In the regular active sentence (*15b*), the situation appears to go out at a normal pace; we would expect the theme argument to be internal to the active verb. Moving it externally, while keeping the verb active, we somehow accelerate the process, making it appear more sudden (*15a*).

In some cases, the agent of the lexical passive verb can be recovered from the subject phrase, having the same referent with the possessive adjective premodifying the NP representing his/her integral part:

16. *Fache's enormous palm wrapped around Langdon's with crushing force.* (ACC)

Aktionsart is unaffected by lexical passivisation, even though there is one verb argument less than with the true active verb, for instance:

17. *a) For an instant, his eyes refocused...* (*[–stative]*, [+*durative*], [+*telic*]) → ACC
    b) For an instant, he refocused his eyes. (*[–stative]*, [+*durative*], [+*telic*]) → ACC

When depending on arguments for successful interpretation, telicity is not conditioned by the syntactic category (object), but by the semantic role (theme), since lexical passives have the theme argument functioning as the subject (examples *14–17*)

Based on some of the attested examples another category of passive can be established:

Lexical active – the structure is syntactically passive yet semantically active:

18. *She glanced playfully at Langdon, who was seated onstage.* (STA)
19. *His last correspondence from Vittoria had been in December — a postcard saying she was headed to the Java Sea…*(ACH)

The syntactic structure consists of *be* + V^{en}, the V being prototypically intransitive. There is no theme; the external argument may have some agentive properties, but its involvement in the situation is less direct.

Other examples for the category would include: *be drowned*, the adjectival *be gone,* and a lexical get-passive: *get started.*

20. *She was drowned at sea.*

21. *He is gone.*

22. *Let's get started.*

It is possible to replace the structure with the true active, although there would be no argument movement:

18a. *She glanced playfully at Langdon, who was seated / seated himself / was sitting onstage.* (STA; ACH; STA).

20a. *She drowned / was drowned.* (ACH; ACH)

In some cases, like in *18a*, the true active verb may not fully correspond to the lexically active verb, the difference showing in the *Aktionsart* as well, so a better equivalent in true active would be a verb formally different, yet semantically equivalent in situation type.

When considering differences between lexical active constructions and their true active counterparts, it can be established that the lexical active is more indirect – presenting an active situation as if it were a passive one would imply less involvement from the subject, as if it were caused by some external factors. Consider the example *20a*: in the true active situation (*She drowned*) it may appear that the subject is more responsible for the situation, while the lexical active (*She was drowned*) distances the subject from it; in this particular case, it is reducing the possibility that it was the subject's doing that caused the drowning.

3. Syntactic functions and voice shift

Upon examining the attested passive sentences and their active counterparts, while concerning syntactic functions shifting in passive with the process of subjectivisation, it has been established that potential candidates for the passive subject are:

I. Object direct NP:

23. a) X sprawled his arms and legs.

b) His arms and legs were sprawled.

II. Object direct clause (via formal subject):

24. a) Langdon decided to help the girl.

b) It was decided by Langdon to help the girl.

III. Object indirect NP:

25. a) X had entrusted them with a mission.

b) The mission with which they had all been entrusted.

IV. Complement NP in Object indirect PP:

26. a) X gave all the letters to the girl.

b) The girl was given all the letters.

V. Complement NP in place Adverbial PP (prepositional passives):

27. a) X has slept in the bed.

b. The bed has been slept in.

VI. Non-finite object clause Subject:

28. a) X scheduled you to meet with the curator.

b)You were scheduled to meet with the curator

Object Complement cannot be made the passive subject, nor can it be externalised together with the Object, thus remains stranded in the passive, now complementing the Subject:

29. a) The girls consider Langdon a genius.

b) Langdon is considered a genius by the girl

*c) *A genius is considered Langdon by the girls.*

*d)*Langdon a genius is considered by the girls.*

With prepositional passives, the preposition remains stranded after its complement is made the subject, but only with PPs denoting location (example *27* above). Furthermore, such passivisation is possible only when the referent of the candidate for the subject is affected by the situation (cf. Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1446–1447).

When it comes to the other direction of the voice shift, the potential candidates for the subject when shifting to the active voice are:

I. NP in the agentive PP (having the thematic role of the agent/experiencer/source/cause).

30. a) The keystone was hidden by the Templars.

b) The Templars hid the keystone.

II. NP in the agentive PP instrument, only in the absence of the previous type of PP.

31. a) The pain caused by/with the device.

*b) *The pain caused by the device by the enemy.*

c) The pain caused with the device by the enemy.

d) The device caused the pain

*e)*The device caused the pain by the enemy.*

With cognitive passive verbs, though, the instrument cannot be made active subject:

32. a) The goddess had a place in the night time sky and was known by many names...

*b) *Many names knew the goddess.*

III. NP in the agentive PP location, only in the absence of any of the previous two types of PP and intentionality markers.

33. a) The keystone was (*ingeniously*) *hidden at the location.*

b) The location (**ingeniously*) *hid the keystone.*

c) The keystone was hidden at the location by a secret panel/the Templars.

d)**The location hid the keystone by a secret panel/the Templars.*

Syntactic roles do not influence *Aktionsart*, as can be seen with passivisation. Consider a typical pair of sentences used for distinguishing accomplishments from achievements:

paint (ACT) *vs. paint a picture* (ACC)

The object (*a picture*) introduces telicity to the situation, so it changes from an activity to an accomplishment. However, this can no longer be claimed with passivisation, since the active object becomes the passive subject. What remains unchanged is the semantic role; in this case, that of the theme:

A picture is painted (ACC)

The passive verb here (*is painted*) is sufficient for determining situation type, since the form presupposes the theme argument being the subject, unlike the active where one must turn to the internal argument for a successful interpretation.

4. Concluding remarks

Concerning *Aktionsart*, i.e. type of verb situation, the analysis has shown that all the types can be found in the passive. All adjectival *be*-passives are states, since the V^{en} is actually an adjective which, in combination with the copular *be*, has the features of a state resulting from a prior process (achievement or accomplishment). On the other hand, adjectival *get*-passives (*get* pseudo-passives) cannot be states because of the semantic features *get* introduces to the situation being dynamic resultative copula. In this way, all *get*-passives, whether verbal or adjectival, belong to either achievements or accomplishments. The telicity of adjectival *get*-passives is primarily conditioned by the complement (the adjectival V^{en}), while with regular *get*-passives it is conditioned by the theme NP.

The regular passives tend to keep the situation type regardless of voice. Most often, those are telic situations – achievements or accomplishments. The telicity of these situations is not conditioned by the presence of the object (the syntactic function), but rather by the thematic role of the theme, constant through the voice shift. This can be observed best in the passive voice, since the object can be made the subject, and with lexical passives – active verbs used intransitively with the subject being the theme. Activities can be found, though, despite the presence of the theme. It normally occurs when the theme is a plural/non-count NP, yet the context is the ultimate means to perceive the process telic or atelic.

Furthermore, some verbs tend to show different behaviour in situation type tests when in the passive; such verbs are *schedule, slate, disappoint, stun*, where the active form is an achievement, being a momentary process leading to a result, yet the passive form with the recipient subject involves some duration and behaves like a state the subject got in. In that case, it remains a question how to treat telicity. Another possibility exists with such verbs, though, which is about the situation type not changing at all, but the V^{en} simultaneously behaving as a verb and an adjective. Concerning the differences in type of situation through voice shift, it was noticed

that polysemous verbs which, accordingly, have different types of verb situations, do not necessarily have passive counterparts for each type of situation (e.g. *say*).

Concerning discrepancies between form and meaning in terms of voice, it has been observed that lexical passives, although having a theme in the subject position, could have an agent expressed in some cases. Most notably, when the theme NP in the subject represents some person's integral part, the premodifying possessive adjective is the agent, for example: *Helen's finger moved back and forth = Helen moved her finger back and forth.*

Furthermore, another voice subtype can be established. Based on the analogy with lexical passives, i.e. formally active and semantically passive verbs, one could discuss lexical actives – the VP consists of *be* + V^{en}, yet the subject has agentive properties, as it is the case with the verbs *be seated*, *be gone*, *be drowned*, *get started, be headed.* It is possible to replace these constructions with real actives. The difference, however, is that the lexical active is more indirect, distancing the subject from the situation, unlike with the true active where the subject is agentive.

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FACTORS INFLUENCING SERBIAN LEARNERS' PRODUCTION ACCURACY OF ENGLISH INTERDENTAL FRICATIVES

Abstract This study investigates the effects of speech style on production accuracy of English interdental fricatives by Serbian L1 learners of English. In this, it continues an established research tradition in SLA focusing on variation in interlanguage (IL) and, in particular, in IL phonology, developed as a response to conventional studies which tend to assume that a single fixed variant will be categorically substituted for a given L2 target variant by an L1 group. A multivariate account of variation patterns in the production of English interdental fricatives by high school students was used to discover which combinations of internal and external factors (e.g. Preston, 2002; Fasold and Preston, 2007) best account for accurate production of the English interdental fricatives by Serbian learners across three different speech styles.

Key words: speech style, English interdental fricatives, SLA, interlanguage phonology

1. Introduction

After a brief account of the most relevant theoretical considerations on which the present study is based, research results are presented and discussed. The paper is conceived as a preliminary study which should lead into a more exhaustive investigation of interlanguage phonology, especially Serbian EFL learners' production of English interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/. As such, it represents a continuation of a well established research tradition in SLA, focusing primarily on interlanguage variation.

The idea for the paper derives from a similar study conducted in China, by Rau, Chang & Tarone (2009), which investigated Chinese EFL learners' pronunciation of the English voiceless interdental fricative /θ/. Immediate phonetic environment and speech style proved to be the two factors accounting for accurate production of target [θ], whereas lexical frequency seemed to facilitate target pronunciation only slightly. Learners who pronounced the target sound more accurately tended to rely on monitoring strategies, whereas those whose pronunciation was less precise relied on phonetic salience strategies. As will be demonstrated by the data presented below, our study yielded similar, as well as some divergent results. The paper concludes with a discussion of possible explanations for the results obtained.

2. Background and rationale

Variationist linguistics has much to offer to SLA research, yet only recently has the interconnectedness of the two fields come to be explicitly recognized and explored. Contrary to traditional approaches which explain variation in learners' language through reference to a single contextual factor, the variationist framework tends to assume that interlanguage variation is subject to multiple contextual influences (Bayley & Preston, 1996). Traditional studies focusing on the influence of L1 on interlanguage phonology suppose that speakers frequently substitute each target variant for a single variant in L1. However, numerous studies yielded results that better supported a variationist explanation.

Phonological variation seems to be highly structured and orderly. Although we cannot categorically predict the surface realization of an utterance, it is evident that specific phonological contexts prefer particular realizations (Guy, 2007).English interdental fricatives are acquired late by L1 speakers of English and usually have the following variants [t], [f] and [d], [v] for [θ] and [ð], respectively (Lee, 2006). Plausible factors influencing L1 speakers' tendency to articulate an interdental fricative as either of the variants are markedness, faithfulness, auditory salience and weight (Lombardi, 2003; Brannen, 2002). Of course, the sounds previously mentioned tend to have even more variants in the pronunciation of English L2 speakers, namely [t], [f] and [s] for [θ] and [d], [v] and [z] for [ð] (Rau, Chang & Tarone, 2009). Following results obtained in previous studies, we assumed that Serbian L1 EFL learners' pronunciation of the English interdental fricatives might be realized in the form of several variables: e.g.[t], [f], [ts], [z] or [θ] for target /θ/ (Lee, 2006; Rau, Chang and Tarone, 2009).

Quantitative sociolinguistic studies have identified the influence of both internal and external factors on interlanguage variation. According to the model developed by Fasold & Preston (2007), patterns of linguistic change can be related to both the socio-cultural context, i.e. external factors, such as age, style, geographic region, ethnicity and social status of the speaker, and to various types of internal or linguistic factors, such as transfer of L1 variational constraints (Schmidt, 1987), the interaction between L1 transfer and universal developmental factors (Major, 2001), or the immediate phonetic environment in which a sound occurs (Romaine, 2003) when speaking of interlanguage phonology in particular.

Bearing in mind the theoretical considerations presented above, we attempted to address the following research questions:

a) Which factors affect production accuracy of /θ/, that is, /ð/ by Serbian L1 learners?
    - What is the role of external factors, primarily speech style? What is the role of vocabulary level?

- What is the role of internal factors, i.e. the immediate phonetic environment?

b) Can a constraint hierarchy be identified, and if so, which internal and/or external factor groups impose the greatest effect on variation?

3. Data Collection

The data analyzed for the purposes of this present paper was collected in the period from April to June 2010.

3.1. Participants

The subjects participating in the study were Serbian L1 learners of English at the intermediate to upper-intermediate level, with a vocabulary range from 2000-3000 words (13 students), that is, 3000-5000 words (5 students). The vocabulary range of participants had previously been measured according to the vocabulary size test of controlled productive ability by Laufer & Nation (1999).

3.2. Data Collection

The participants were engaged in two tasks adapted from Rau, Chang & Tarone (2009). The first task the participants were engaged in was the retelling of a well-known children's story, *Three little pigs.* The participants read the story fifteen minutes before elicitation. In order to facilitate their recollection of the story, they were provided with a set of pictures illustrating key segments of the plot. The second task consisted of reading the words provided on a pre-planned list of examples focusing on various contexts for both /ð/ and /θ/ identical to those represented in the story retelling task. Subsequently, the data were recorded and transcribed.

3.3. Data Analysis

In order to investigate interlanguage variationa VarbRul (Sankoff, Tagliamonte & Smith, 2005) analysis was selected as most appropriate to the research design. Tokens for the variables /ð/ and /θ/ were coded for GoldVarb X as dependent variables (accurate, inaccurate).The independent variables were grouped into factor groups, internal and external. A step-up/step-down (multivariate) analysis was performed.

4. Results

The analysis yielded somewhat unexpected results, some of them contrary to previous findings. For the sake of convenience, the obtained results are presented in tables to follow.

4.1. Factors with a significant effect on target pronunciation of /θ/

The VARBRUL analysis identified internal factors only, i.e. the immediate phonetic environment, as having a significant effect on target pronunciation of /θ/, $p < 0.01$.Speech style, however, was not found to have a significant effect on the latter. The statistical significance of the effect of vocabulary level is questionable - what may be at issue is the less-than-well-balanced distribution of participants across vocabulary levels.

TASK	% ACCURATE	% INACCURATE
Word list reading	54.5	45.5
Story retelling	51.2	48.8
% OVERALL	53.2	46.8

Table 1: Accuracy across Tasks

Vocabulary level	% ACCURATE	% INACCURATE
2000-3000	39	61
3000-5000	80.1	19.9
% OVERALL	53.2	46.8

Table 2: Accuracy across Vocabulary Level

Factor group: Vowel following an onset /θ/	Percentage Target	VARBRUL Weight (Pi)	
Low front	70.6	0.82	
Back mid round	58.8	0.58	
Low mid	52.9	0.52	
High front	56.2	0.51	
Mid/rhotacized	44.7	0.45	range = 0.37

Table 3: Factor group – Vowel following an onset /θ/

Factor group: Vowel following onset /θr/	Percentage Target	VARBRUL Weight (Pi)	
High back	71.4	0.69	
High front	60.0	0.63	
Mid front	50.0	0.48	range = 0.21

Table 4: Factor group – Vowel following onset /θr/

Factor group: Vowel preceding a coda /θ/	Percentage Target	VARBRUL Weight (Pi)	
High back	60.7	0.64	
Closing diphthong	59.3	0.62	
High front	51.6	0.53	
Mid front	50.0	0.48	
Mid/rhotacized	19.2	0.06	range = 0.58

Table 5: Factor group – Vowel preceding a coda /θ/

Factor group: Consonant preceding a coda /θ/	Percentage Target	VARBRUL Weight (Pi)	
/l/	68.0	0.71	
/n, ŋ/	45.1	0.41	
/r/	39.4	0.31	range = 0.40

Table 6: Factor group – Consonant preceding a coda /θ/

The ordering of different phonetic contexts in the tables was performed based on the contexts provided in the word list and the retelling task, thus some other possible phonetic environments are excluded from the tables since there were no examples of them either in the word list or in the story retelling task. Furthermore, non-rhotic accents exhibit no occurrence of coda /θ/ preceded by /r/ and the instances pronounced this way by the participants in the present study are examplified in tables by the context "a vowel preceding a coda".

Based on the differences in range between different factor groups we conclude that factor groups facilitating target pronunciation of /θ/ demonstrate a constraint hierarchy: segments preceding a coda /θ/ impose the greatest influence (with range for vowels at 0.58 and range for consonants at 0.40), followed by segments following an onset /θ/ (with range at 0.37 for vowels and range at 0.21 for the consonant cluster /θr/ in onset position).

4.2. Effects on target pronunciation of /ð/

An insufficient amount of variation was found in the corpus, in other words, too many participants consistently replaced the target pronunciation [ð] with [d] in all environments across styles (although this was not the only realization of /ð/ encountered). This resulted in a multitude of knockouts, i.e. too many instances of all tokens being accounted for by one or the other of the application values ('accurate' and 'inaccurate' in this case). Hence, multiple regression analysis could not be performed.

5. Discussion

In the present study considerable variation was attested in learners' pronunciation of the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/, but practically no variation was found in learners' pronunciation of its voiced counterpart /ð/. Furthermore, target /ð/ was realized as [d] in an overwhelming majority of cases, across phonetic environments and across styles. Thus it may be possible that at this stage, target pronunciation of /θ/ is in the process of being acquired, while target pronunciation of /ð/ begins to be acquired at a later stage for the majority of learners. In order to obtain more evidence, further research might engage with a larger number of learners at various proficiency levels.

Contrary to findings reported in the literature, none of which, to the best of our knowledge, address the acquisition of English interdental fricatives by Serbian L1 learners of English, speech style does not have a significant effect on the pronunciation of /θ/ for this particular group of Serbian L1 English learners. Such a situation may have resulted from a methodological issue: the monitoring strategies engaged in by participants during the word list reading task and story retelling task may not have been dissimilar enough. Future research might employ semi-structured interviews instead of story retelling. A potential problem, however, could well be eliciting a sufficient number of target tokens in an interview situation and, moreover, a sufficient number of target tokens in a sufficient range of different phonetic environments.

Vocabulary level was not found to have a significant effect on pronunciation accuracy of /θ/ for this group of learners. Again, this is potentially a methodological concern: future research might do well to engage with learners at more varied proficiency and vocabulary levels and a more balanced sample.

Internal factors have a significant effect on target pronunciation of /θ/: a constraint hierarchy was attested, with segments preceding a coda /θ/ imposing the greatest influence. The results further point to privilege of high vowels and closing diphthongs over other phonetic environments in promoting accurate production of /θ/ as they are closer to the interdental position compared to other vowels. A rhotacized vowel preceding a coda /θ/ and, to a lesser extent, the consonant /r/ preceding a coda /θ/ inhibit the accurate production of /θ/. In this respect, our results are very similar to those reported in Rau et al. (2009). Accurate production of /θ/ is consistent with the implicational typology or markedness principle with ease of articulation as an additional facilitator of accurate production.

6. Conclusion

Following a concise overview of the relevant theoretical framework, the paper presented the results of a study of Serbian EFL learners' production of English interdental fricatives.

Judging by the results, a greater degree of variation can be found in the learners' pronunciation of the voiceless interdental fricative than in their pronunciation of its voiced counterpart, which may be due to some developmental as well as methodological issues, as stated previously. Future studies involving a larger number of participants may provide us with further insights leading to clarification of such an outcome. Moreover, future research may account for the influence, or the lack of influence of speech style which proved to be a significant factor affecting the accurate production of /θ/ in previous studies.

Adhering to the initial presuppositions, internal factors seem to have a significant effect on the target pronunciation of /θ/, yet more elaborate future studies including participants from diverse cultural backgrounds, belonging to different social statuses, age or ethnic groups may lead to novel conclusions, thus enabling powerful insights into the development of theoretical issues regarding interlanguage phonology, especially in the Serbian EFL context.

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WEB 2.0 TOOLS IN THE ELT CLASSROOM – HOT POTATOES AND DVOLVER

Abstract The aim of this article is to offer an overview of two very effective Web 2.0 applications, Hot Potatoes and Dvolver, which may easily be incorporated into the English language teaching process at all levels to further the acquisition of particular segments of a planned syllabus. In order to show how these two applications may influence the teaching process, they have been tested in real classroom conditions for the teaching of a portion of Legal English with students at tertiary level. At the end of the class, the students were asked to complete a questionnaire regarding their attitude to the way the class had been conducted. The qualitative and quantitative analysis of their answers will show that the incorporation of Web 2.0 in general may positively influence the process of ELT.

Key words: Web 2.0, improve ELT, Hot Potatoes, Dvolver, grammar of English.

1. Introduction

Web 2.0 tools refer to a combination of applications, tools and technologies (programs and other software solutions), business strategies (blogs, wikis, etc.) and social trends (chat rooms, forums, etc.), which may improve individual content creation on the internet as well as their sharing in electronic media. For the sake of simplification, the term 'tool' shall be used throughout this article.

The necessity of incorporating Information Communication Technology (ICT) into the English language classroom (ELC) was recognised quite a while ago. However, the proper understanding, planning and realisation of the process of incorporating ICT as a complete and structured system should be based on more than just recognition. Any change occurring in the education system has to be preceded by thorough planning, testing, research and justifications. The financial and the economic background are almost irrelevant at the beginning. What is relevant is why change anything. What benefit will the system have? What will the objectives and the outcomes be? Who should the changes be introduced to? At which level should changes occur first? The list of questions may go on forever. In brief, if Web 2.0 tools are to become a regular teaching device in the ELC, it is the ELC that will have to test them first.

The aim of this theoretical and empirical research is to review and present the results of an experiment which was conducted to test two Web 2.0 tools, Hot Potatoes and Dvolver, in order to investigate the possibility of applying them in the process of teaching grammar as part of the English Language Teaching (ELT) process at tertiary level of studying English as a foreign language at the Department of English. For the purpose of illustration, the two tools have been tested in real classroom conditions with one grammatical segment – the meaning of Modal Verbs in Legal English.[1]

2. Background

The starting point of this research would be the possibility of modernising the process of ELT by implementing ICT into the process. This idea is not a new concept and it has been the subject of research for quite some time both abroad (Anderson, 2008; Brown, 1988; Erben *et al.*, 2008; Mariott *et al.*, 2009; Thomas, 2009; etc.) and in Serbia (Bajčetić & Lazarević, 2007; Mandić, 2003, 2006; Dovedan *et al.*, 2002; Mandić, 2003; Mandić & Ristić, 2006; Milanović & Milosavljević, 2006; Mišić Ilić, 2007; Ristić, 2006; Seljan *et al.*, 2004; etc.). Furthermore, there are several examples of conferences in Serbia (ELTA "Have we got what it takes", 2007; Press conference "Information technologies and the education system in Serbia", 2009; Metropolitan University "Electronic learning towards a society of knowledge", 2010, etc.), cooperation programmes (Microsoft education programme "Partner in studying") and competitions (Institute of Education Improvement "Creative school"), all targeting the aim to direct modern education to a future with ICT.

The modernisation of the teaching process would have to be based on a scientific and practically assessed concept of using ICT in the EL classroom. A generally accepted and well-established concept is that of Computer Assisted Language Learning or CALL. The first ideas related to this concept appeared as early as in the 60s of the last century[2] but were fully recognised only during the last decade as potentially beneficial to education in general and to foreign language

[1] The research presented in this article is part of an ongoing PhD research, Mogućnost primene tehnologije Veb 2.0 u nastavi gramatike engleskog jezika (The Possibility of Using Web 2.0 Technology in the Teaching of English Grammar), the application for which has been accepted at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš and is currently being conducted by the author of this article under the mentorship of Professor Biljana Mišić Ilić, PhD, full professor at the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Philosophy, Niš.

[2] The first official attempt was the PLATO project, initiated at the University of Illinois in 1960. Because repeated exposure to material was considered to be beneficial or even essential, computers were considered ideal for this aspect of learning as the machines did not get bored or impatient with learners and the computer could present material to the student at his/her own pace and even adapt the drills to the level of the student. Hence, CALL programs of this era presented a stimulus to which the learner provided a response.

study in particular (Warschauer, 1996, 1998, 2000; Delcloque, 2000). Although the term itself changed several times, the concept has been defined in more or less the same way. One of the many established definitions of CALL is that it is "the search for and study of applications of the computer in language teaching and learning" (Levy 1997:1). However, in the process of actual implementation of ICT, a more important resource is the project ICT4LT (Information and Communication Technology for Language Teaching)[3]. The project is said to be "pedagogy-driven, and the emphasis is on language teaching methodologies that can be implemented successfully with the aid of new technologies." (*ICT4LT*, subtitle "Aims of the ICT4LT project").

Just as in the case of applying other media in ELT, the main assumption of this research is that for the implementation and incorporation of Web 2.0, a series of research has to be conducted. Therefore, methods and techniques have to be chosen or improved, appropriate Web 2.0 tools have to be selected, their characteristics evaluated, their influence examined and their usefulness tested in real classroom conditions because "the use of the computer does not constitute a method... it is a medium in which a variety of methods, approaches, and pedagogical philosophies may be implemented" (Garrett, 1991: 75). Since the scope of this article does not allow an elaborate review of potential benefits and advantages related to the implementation of ICT in ELT, the summary in Table 1 shall be deemed sufficient at this point (further reading regarding this topic can be found in Đorđević, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, Radić-Bojanić & Đorđević, 2010).

Premise	Advantage	Expected result
Technology motivates	Teacher and students benefit from the fresh approach	A completely new dimension to the process of teaching and learning is created
Unlimited choice of multimedia resources	Texts, pictures, video and audio recordings can be combined	Students are exposed to truly interactive teaching and learning
Unlimited choice of applications	Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Yahoo, Google, Wikipedia, etc. are familiar concepts	Students can be taught to use their computer literacy in a more purposeful way
Unlimited choice of authentic material	Any topic that might be interesting to the students can be found on the Internet	Students are stimulated to read on their own and get to know more about language and culture

[3] The project was started with the financial aid of the European Commission in the period from 1999-2000. Though no longer financed, it is still being updated successfully. *ICT4LT* http://www.ict4lt.org/index.htm

Greater individuality and autonomy for the student	Material can be updated constantly, students can participate in the syllabus	Students are motivated to participate in the process by actively contributing to it in the form of finding and/ or suggesting material, content, etc. and they are in charge of their own study and research time.
Faster feedback	Teachers can provide feedback in a more intimate, yet more efficient way by answering promptly	Students have the opportunity for immediate self-correction and error management
Direct communication via the Internet	Less exposure to peers' scrutiny boosts self-assuredness	Students feel more comfortable to ask questions and are less afraid of the answers

Table 1: Summary of potential results of ICT implementation in ELT

For the purpose of this article, two examples of Web 2.0 have been tested in a small-scale experiment. A small segment of grammar, the meaning of modal verbs in Legal English was presented, practiced and tested by means of two Web 2.0 tools, Hot Potatoes (http://hotpot.uvic.ca/) and Dvolver (http://www.dvolver.com/live/moviemaker.html) via PBworks (http://pbworks.com/content/edu+overview?utm_campaign=nav-tracking&utm_source=Home%20navigation), an online workspace, at tertiary level at the Department of English, Faculty of Law and Business Studies Dr Lazar Vrkatic.

The following sections of this article shall provide a short overview of the basic features of the tools used in the experiment (further reading regarding this topic can be found in Đorđević, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, Radić-Bojanić & Đorđević, 2010), the description of the conducted experiment as well as a discussion of the obtained results.

2.1. Hot Potatoes

The basic characteristic of Hot Potatoes (HP) is that it is actually a package of five types of exercises: Multiple-choice questions, Cloze test, Jumbled sentences, Crosswords and Mixed exercises. The advantage of HP is that answers can be supplied either in the exercise or in a separate file, entire tests can be created with multiple features in quite an easy way, it saves time, the exercises can easily be hyperlinked (Figure 1) enabling the students to retrieve the exercise over and over again. Students can save the files and keep them on their own PCs for future reference. The key can be incorporated or offered in a separate file, peer assessment and self-evaluation are possible and feedback is provided almost instantly.

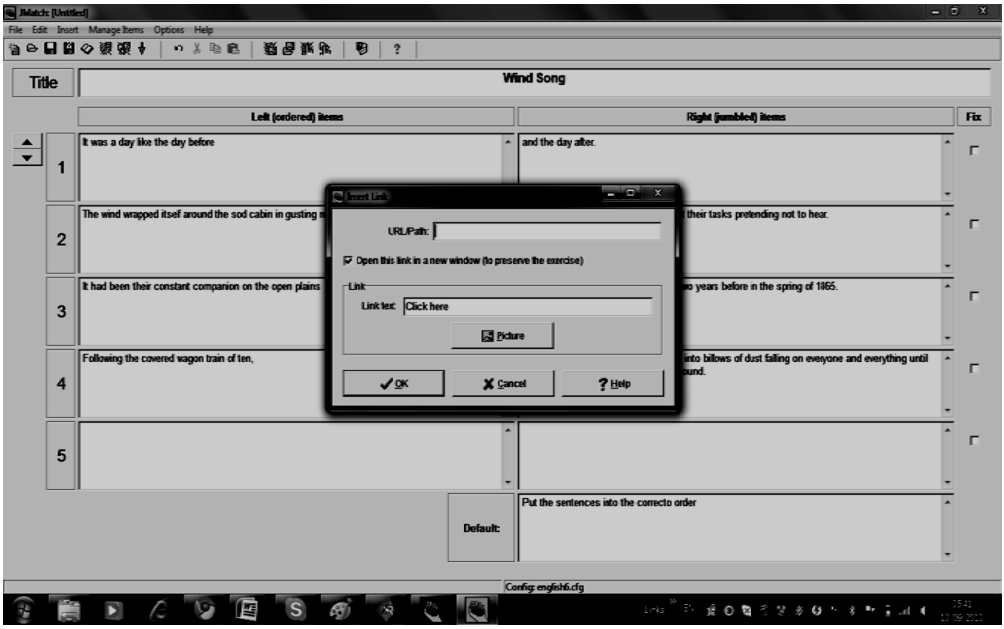

Figure 1: Example of window in Hot Potatoes – the creation of hyperlinks to external URLs

2.2. Dvolver

This online application is actually a collection of different applications and is also referred to as a type of a widget[4], an application commonly used for creating animated films. This tool is attractive for the ELT process because the teacher can create an animated film in just a few steps to illustrate a grammatical point, which would otherwise be created in the form of a dialogue. The film itself has to be created online but the link to it can be saved and used repeatedly. The teacher can send the link to the film to all students by contacting them directly (Figure 2). The instructions are precise and the completed film is only a few steps away. The dialogue itself may vary from shorter discourses to larger conversations. The application offers the possibility of creating scenes, which might happen at different

[4] (1) *Widget* is a generic term for the part of a Graphical User Interface (GUI) that allows the user to interface with the application and the operating system. Widgets display information and invite the user to act in a number of ways. Typical widgets include buttons, dialog boxes, pop-up windows, pull-down menus, icons, scroll bars, resizable window edges, progress indicators, selection boxes, windows, tear-off menus, menu bars, toggle switches and forms.

(2) The term also refers to the program that is written in order to make the graphic widget in the GUI look and perform in a specified way, depending on what action the user takes while interfacing with the GUI.

The term *widget* is used to refer to either the graphic component or its controlling program or to refer to the combination of both. (http://www.webopedia.com/TERM/W/widget.html)

points in time and the gallery of characters, backgrounds, sceneries and music themes makes the dialogue more interesting without much extra effort.

Figure 2: Window in Dvolver illustrating the last step – creating recipient addresses

3. Research hypothesis and methodology

The main aim of this research was to propose a way to modernise and improve ELT by incorporating user-friendly, cheap and available forms of ICT into the teaching process. It has been established so far that Web 2.0 tools are simple and quite suitable for this purpose as they are free of charge, widely available on the Web and quite simple to implement. As no new methodology is needed, they can simply be introduced without validation or verification.

The basic premise of the research presented in this article is that Hot Potatoes and Dvolver are two Web 2.0 tools, which can improve the presentation, practice and production of rather specific grammar segments in the EL classroom considerably. For the purpose of this article, the grammar segment referring to the meaning of modal verbs in Legal English has been tested as based on the mentioned tools with 15 third-year English language students at the Faculty of Law and Business Studies Dr Lazar Vrkatic in Novi Sad (see Table 2 for detailed summary of the experiment). The results were then analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively as based on the students' performance tested first in the practice examples and then in a grammar test.

Methodology	Qualitative and quantitative research
Techniques	Performance analysis and Statistical analysis
Aim	Test two types of Web 2.0 applications in simulated EFL classroom conditions
Date	21 December 2010, scheduled at 18:00 (open till noon the following day)
Site	Faculty of Law and Business Studies Dr Lazar Vrkatic, Novi Sad
Sample	15 students, III year, Department of English
Procedure	Ss downloaded material and Answer sheet and worked through the material individually by supplying feedback on the Answer sheet: 1. Presentation (Modal verbs in LE, Dvolver and Hot Potatoes via an existing workspace on PBworks) 2. Practice (Hot Potatoes: Cloze test, Jumbled sentences) 3. Production (Fill-in-the-blanks, use the correct MV, rewrite the sentences)
Hypothesis	Introducing ICT in language teaching may improve EFL and ELT
Conclusions	1. Students very motivated 2. No pressure (pace and duration within framework of 12 hours) 3. Communication, feedback and evaluation considerably improved 4. Good performance reflected in the results of the test

Table 2: Summary of the experiment

3.1. Techniques and procedure

The empirical verification of Hot Potatoes and Dvolver has been performed by means of an experiment based on the following procedure:

1. The participating students agreed to be ready on a particular day at a particular time, sit at their computers at home and do the following:
    a) open a folder in their 'Documents' library on their PCs,
    b) at the scheduled time, download the Experimental class material and the Answer Sheet from the PBworks workspace, which is already in use for their regular Legal English classes, and save the material in the prepared folder on their computers.
2. The students were expected to work through the presentation of Modal verbs in Legal English. The presentation table, the examples and explanations had been prepared as regular Word documents whereas the short presentation exercises, the comprehension questions and the sample sentences had been prepared in the Hot Potatoes tool and hyperlinked in the Word presentation document posted on the PB workspace. The presentation dialogue had been

prepared in Dvolver and the link to it pasted into the Word document containing the explanations.

3. After completing the presentation part, the students had to complete the practice part prepared in the same way as the presentation part. They could check their answers by requesting the key from the teacher two hours later. The Key was then posted on the PB workspace.
4. The students then took the production test, which had been prepared in the Hot Potatoes tool and hyperlinked on the PB workspace.
5. Finally, the students had to submit their Answer sheet by sending it to the teacher's e-mail. The submission deadline expired 12 hours after the class had started.
6. Two hours after the deadline had expired, the key for the production test was posted on the PB pages allowing immediate self-evaluation.
7. A follow-up was a questionnaire and a discussion in class evaluating the experimental class, the flaws, the advantages and the results.

3.2. Discussion and results

As already pointed out, the two suggested tools were tested in classroom conditions through a regular teaching procedure including presentation, practice and production with the only difference that the class was not conducted in a regular classroom but online. In the follow-up discussion with the participants, as well as based on their answers provided in the questionnaire they had to complete, not only was the experiment evaluated in terms of being interesting, fun and new, the students were also asked to suggest flaws and shortcomings as perceived by them.

Therefore, the following conclusions can be drawn from their answers:

1. The presentation activities were highly interactive motivating the students to compare and contrast, make inferences, draw conclusions, apply analogies and critical thinking.
2. The students believed that this segment could be based on self-studying probably because they had some pre-knowledge on modal verbs. However, they pointed out that some other segment, an unfamiliar one, might cause difficulty in a self-study procedure.
3. The students liked the practice part primarily because of the possibility for self-evaluation. They had clear instructions referring to the exact source of reference in the presentation material, which made it easier to get to the right answer.
4. Since the production part based on the performance test followed the previous two parts almost immediately, the students had no time to study the segment in greater detail. Generally, they said they were satisfied with their results considering the circumstances but thought that this type of teaching and studying should be performed during a longer period.

5. The general conclusion was that the experiment was fun, very interesting and different in comparison to what they usually do. They also commented on the fact that the class was not demanding as far as ICT was concerned. On the contrary, they stated that the tools were user-friendly and easy to understand.

A separate qualitative and quantitative analysis was performed regarding the students' performance, which was evaluated and assessed on two levels:

a) in the practice part and
b) in the production part.

The practice part consisted of two steps:

Step A: The students had to complete sentences with modal verb phrases that had been provided.

Step B: The students had to complete sentences where no modal verb phrases had been provided so they had to infer them as based on the material in the presentation part.

As presented in Chart 1, the students' performance was generally better in Step A where the modal verb phrases had been provided. Half the students managed to complete all the sentences successfully in Step A; however, none of them managed to complete all the sentences successfully in Step B. Conversely, all the students completed at least 2/3 of the exercise in Step B, but none of them completed all the sentences successfully in Step B. Step B being the more difficult exercise seems to have caused them difficulty in the sense that they had to compare their example sentences with the meanings in the table presented in the presentation part. When asked about this in the discussion, they admitted that they had been curious about the whole experiment and that they did not have the patience to work through the entire exercise as thoroughly as instructed.

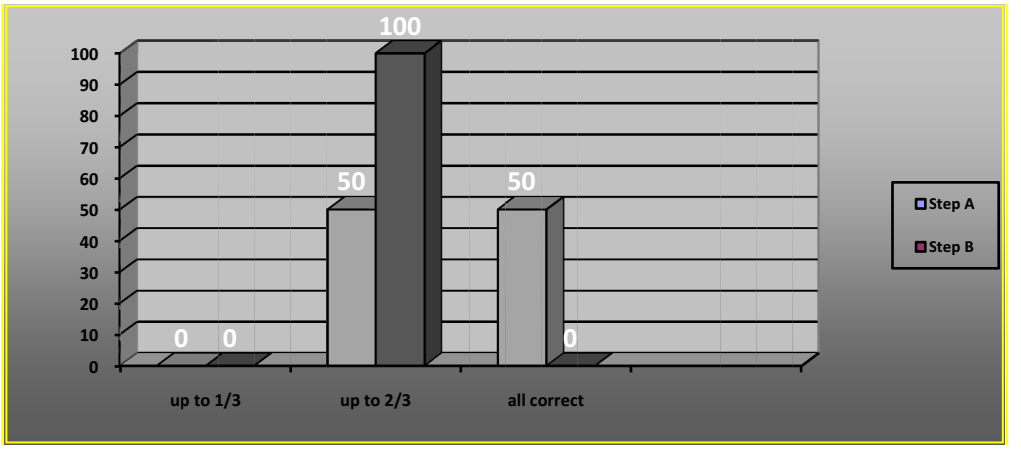

Chart 1: Students' performance in the practice part

The production part consisted of three steps:

Step A: The students had to complete a text with correct modal verb phrases by using lexical verbs offered in brackets for each blank line.

Step B: The students had to complete a text with a correct modal verb phrase by choosing from a list provided above the text.

Step C: The students had to rewrite provided sentences by using the modal verb prompts suggested for each sentence.

The students' performance in the production part is illustrated in Chart 2. What can be noticed immediately is that the exercise in Step A seems to have been the most difficult one. However, the bad performance was not only a result of the students making mistakes in the sense of choosing the wrong modal verb phrase or not applying a correct tense. Some of them actually did not use modal verbs; they just tried to put the verbs in brackets into the correct tense. When asked about that in the discussion, they said they did not even think of what they were supposed to do but simply did what they had always been expected to do in their grammar exam tests.

As far as Step B is concerned, which had been deemed the easiest exercise due to the fact they had to choose modal verbs from an already provided list, it turned out that only half of them completed the entire exercise successfully. Surprisingly, the best performance was realised in Step C, where they had to do the rewriting of the provided sentences. When asked about this in the discussion, they all stated that paraphrasing and rewriting was something they generally considered difficult so they invested a little more time and effort hoping to submit as many correct sentences as possible. As for Step B, they assumed they had taken the exercise lightly believing it to be simple, which is why they did not pay enough attention.

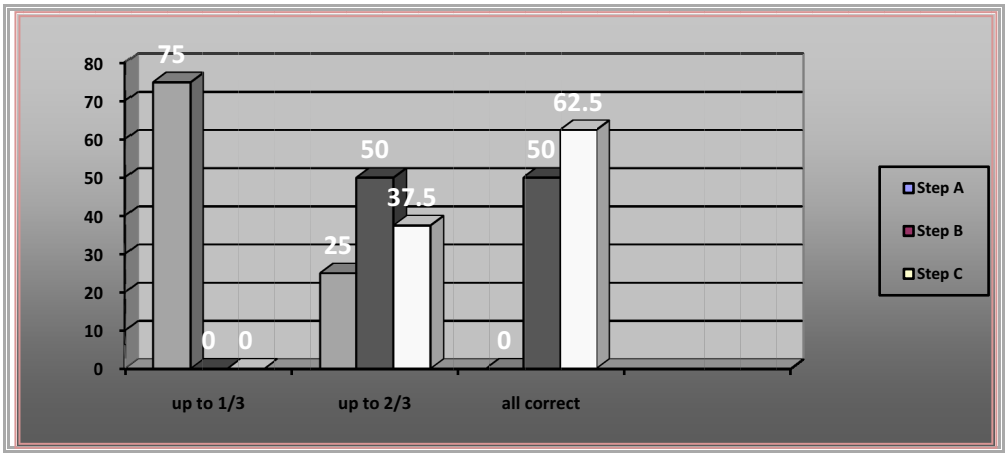

Chart 2: Students' performance in the production part

4. Conclusion

The experiment described in this article is just a small segment of a larger and more elaborate research[5] and should thus be accepted only as a small attempt to investigate the possibility of modernising and improving modern ELT by means of incorporating ICT into the process. Much more research as well as extensive experiments and testing will be needed to evaluate possible flaws and potential advantages of ICT in ELT. Furthermore, Web 2.0 tools will have to be tested on different segments of the ELT process, across all the skills the process focuses on including vocabulary, grammar and cultural elements. Finally, ICT in ELT cannot be evaluated as an isolated area of usage. All testing and investigations will have to be put into the context of modern education in general including all levels, elementary, secondary and tertiary.

Nevertheless, as small-scale as it may seem, this experiment has proven that ICT can be put into effective use in the ELT classroom. The two user-friendly and simple Web 2.0 tools, Hot Potatoes and Dvolver, have proven benefits exceeding the fact of being free of charge. Generally, the fact that many tools are free of charge alleviates the financial impact of the first stages in the process of incorporating ICT as they allow both teachers and students to practice as much as needed, investigate and try out, select and verify, without worrying about the cost-effectiveness of these activities. In the experiment conducted for the purpose of the research described in this article, the set outcome to teach and practice the segment covering the meaning of modal verbs in Legal English has been accomplished by means of two Web 2.0 tools. The performance of the students was within average limits, thus not exceeding results they regularly show. It may be said that the experiment showed that ICT may and should be incorporated into the ELT process.

However, what should most certainly be done in the future is evaluate the potential outcomes and results students achieve with ICT incorporated into the ELT process in comparison to currently achieved results in ordinarily conducted EL classes. A substantially broader research[6] should attempt to establish the benefits and advantages of ELT with ICT and without it. Only then may it be determined how much, where, at what level and to what extent the incorporation of ICT might prove necessary and beneficial to the ELT process.

[5] Refer to note 1.

[6] As mentioned in note 1, such a research is on its way.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME?
Adopting Ancient Indian Practices in 21st Century Cross-Cultural Translation Studies[1]

Abstract In the Indian literary tradition *transcreation* denotes creative translations of culturally-oriented classic Sanskrit texts or, in other words, reinterpreting rather than literally translating the ST in such a way that it should suit the TT readers culturally, socially and aesthetically. The purpose of this paper is to advocate, in line with Susan Bassnett's 'cultural turn' in translation studies, transcreation in the sense of interpreting, transposing and recreating the ST, instead of translating it word-for-word, in the case of rendering contemporary Indian English literature into languages of limited diffusion. The fundamental hypothesis is that the translator of cross-cultural texts has a viable option of moving beyond fidelity and using the power of a creator to destabilize the ST and adapt it to the TC, by twisting André Lefevere's conceptual and textual grids, in an original and imaginary way through a culture-informed approach.

Key words: transcreation, creative translation, literal translation, culturally-oriented text, Indian English literature, languages of limited diffusion, cross-cultural translation, Susan Bassnett, G. Gopinathan, Purushottama Lal.

"All my life I have had more than one language in my head.
I translate to build bridges between languages and cultures and
I write to understand the processes of bridge construction, today and in previous ages."
(Susan Bassnett)

1. Introduction: Defining translation

Though the concept of translation as cultural negotiation, resulting from the recognition of its cultural function, appeared not long ago – in the eighties, we can trace the germ of understanding its hermeneutical dimension and the mission of the translator as a cross-cultural mediator to as early as the *Authorised King James*

[1] This paper is part of the research project "National, Regional, European and Global Framework of Social Crises, and Contemporary Serbian Literature and Culture", financed by the Serbian Ministry of Education and Science for the period of 2011–2014 (Project No. 178018).

Version of *The Bible*, whose translators wisely said: "Translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtaine, that we may look into the most holy place; that remooveth the cover of the well, that we may come by the water […]" (Carroll and Prickett 2008: lvii).

At an early age of translation studies, in his book *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, George Steiner defines this activity "as an interpretation of a foreign text that is at once profoundly sympathetic and violent, exploitive and ethically restorative" (Chatterjee 2010: 13), and draws attention to the translator's 'hermeneutic incursion', which he describes as "the thrust of understanding into the neighbouring or kindred language or cultural context" (Steiner 1998: 380, my emphasis).

Among the theoreticians who significantly moved the borders of appreciating the true importance of translation, the one who certainly deserves being mentioned in this context is Walter Benjamin, who pointed to the following crucial difference between the TT[2] and its respective ST: "translation issues from the original – not so much from its life as from its afterlife. For a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life." (Benjamin 1992: 73)

This dual rapport between the ST and the TT is also mirrored in Lawrence Venuti's definition: "Translating is generally seen as a process of communicating the foreign text by establishing a relationship of identity or analogy with it." (Venuti 2000: 121)

Similarly, Christiane Nord insists on a broader scope of translation, defining it "as an intentional, intercultural, partly verbal communicative interaction involving a source text" (Nord 1997: 44, my emphasis), and underlines the important roles of intentionality and the intended communicative purpose of the TT in the translation process.

On the other hand, the dispute about the need of the TT to be 'faithful', as well as the essence of that 'faithfulness' – whether it means to transmit 'the message' of the ST, to evoke 'the same feelings' or to provoke 'the same effects' on the TT receivers as on the ST readers – has been going on for ages, as is witnessed by these Venuti's words: "traditional dichotomies between 'sense-for-sense' and 'word-for-word' translating […] date back to antiquity, to Horace, Jerome, Augustine." (Venuti 2000: 122)

But it was only with Derrida's concept of deconstruction that an entirely novel approach to translation could gain momentum. For the purposes of this paper, it is important that Derrida's deconstruction undermines the ways in which translation used to be understood in the western tradition of metaphysics, which implicitly

[2] In this paper, the following abbreviations will often be used: SC = source culture, SL = source language, ST = source text, TC = target culture, TL = target language, TT = target text.

suggested limits and categorizing, elements that will in this paper be opposed to a more open and liberal eastern viewpoint, along these lines: "Derrida challenges the reader to think and rethink every moment a translation solution is posed, an item named, an identity fixed, or a sentence inscribed. With each naming gesture Derrida suggests a footnote, a note in the margin, or a preface also is in order to retrieve those subtle differing supplementary meanings and tangential notions lost in the process of transcription." (Chatterjee 2010: 14, my emphasis)

Fortunately, in the twenty-first century the following two key points are no longer disputed: that translating is a creative endeavour and that it crosses cultural borders. Thus, Susan Bassnett defines translation as "a creative activity that is in no way lesser than the so-called original writing" (Bassnett 2010), and draws attention to its cross-cultural function: "Translation is a particular kind of writing because it necessarily involves the crossing of a frontier and is, in consequence, dual, containing both the point of departure and the point of arrival." (Bassnett 2009: 18)

2. Transcreation in Occidental translation studies

With a view to both these features of translation, Bassnett has appealed for a basically new term that would encompass its many functions and forms (Bassnett 2010). The terms used so far instead of translation include the following: *recreation, rendering, transformation, transposition, transcription, transliteration, reading, version[ing], interlingual rendition, adaptation*, and many others. Haroldo de Campos, famous Brazilian writer and translator, even coined some new terms in order to replace the word translation, because he thought it "could no longer define a complex practice of interpenetration between two cultures" (Di Giovanni 2008). Among these terms, the most interesting ones are: "translumination, transparadisation, transluciferation, transtextualization and, most importantly, transcreation" (Di Giovanni 2008, my emphasis).

However, transcreation is in no way a new concept, either in the West: "It is interesting to note how as early as Horace there is a hint in translation of what in the twentieth century would be termed a process of 'trans-creation'." (Chatterjee 2010: 4), or in the East: "The term was coined long ago with reference to the creative translation of the Bible in order to make it accessible all over India." (Bollettieri Bosinelli 2010: 178)

It basically consists of the aforementioned deconstruction of the ST and then its recreation in the TL, with the aim of reflecting cultural meanings implied in the ST, transmitting the local colour and capturing cultural elements and associations with which the target reader is not quite familiar. Otherwise, the translation lacking this liaison with the SC would not have the same meaning as the original, and sometimes it does not have any meaning at all, as will be seen from examples in this paper.

Therefore, in such situations the translator cannot remain invisible,[3] because what he or she has to make is "crucial intervention in the foreign text" (Venuti 2004: 1).

Thus, to transcreate means much more than to translate – it is the process of transferring a text from one cultural environment into another. In fact, according to their etymology the verbs *to translate* and *to transfer* have exactly the same meaning, because their roots are identical: *latum* is just another form of the verb *ferre* – its past participle. The ST is transcreated by being first deconstructed and then transferred to the TC to be retextualized or recreated. In other words, first the ST is dislocated and then the TT is relocated: "The dislocation happens in the source language/culture and its relocation in the target language/culture." (Chatterjee 2010: 4)

Speaking about adaptation of literary works onto film, Brian McFarlane highlights a fact which is crucial for this activity: that no text has one single meaning, so the translator has to be very creative when responding to the intertextuality of the ST; therefore, instead of respecting a fixed version which is to be translated correctly, the translator should respect its polysemy and transcreate it.[4]

As of lately, in western media the word transcreation can be seen more and more frequently in advertisements announcing services of translation companies and agencies, where it is used as a marketing and advertising tool. Basically offering translation services, for purely marketing purposes these firms purport that transcreation is something different and better, that it is translation which is *value-added* because it reflects all the aspects of the ST: "Transcreation is used to make sure that the target text is the same as the source text in every aspect: the message it conveys, style, the images and emotions it evokes and its cultural background." (Balemans 2010, my emphasis)

If they wish to become professional transcreators, "it is important for translators to possess not only translational – that is, linguistic – but also intercultural competencies" (Đorić Francuski 2008: 158). A first-class transcreator is expected not only to be an expert in both languages, the SL and the TL, but also to possess excellent knowledge of both cultures, the SC and the TC, because: "[I]f language is an integral part of culture, the translator needs not only proficiency in two languages, he must also be at home in two cultures." (Snell-Hornby 2006: 42)

3. Transcreation in Oriental translation studies

On the opposite side of the globe – in the Orient, transcreation has a long-standing tradition in translating old texts from Sanskrit into Hindi and other Indian languages.

[3] See more about this in Venuti's book *The Translator's Invisibility*.

[4] See more in McFarlane 1996: "Part I: Backgrounds, Issues, and a New Agenda", 3-29.

In his article "Translation, Transcreation and Culture: The Evolving Theories of Translation in Hindi and Other Modern Indian Languages", G. Gopinathan talks about translation theory in the Indian languages, in which "creative writing and translation were never considered as two separate processes." (Gopinathan 2006: 1) The author of the article further explicates in these words the fact that translation is also a form of original literature: "As a shadow can differ from its original object, depending on the intensity and the angle of light falling on it, a translation may also have a different form depending on the nature of light thrown on it by the translator by his interpretation." (Gopinathan 2006: 1-2)

In the first chapter – "The tradition of Transcreation", Gopinathan emphasizes that this "has been the general mode of translation in modern Indian languages from the olden days". (Gopinathan 2006: 2) Highlighting the three crucial elements that can be said to *add value* to transcreation as compared with translation and which can help us differentiate between these two activities, he supplies the following definition: "The people oriented and the time oriented creative translations of the ancient Sanskrit spiritual texts are generally termed as 'Transcreation'." (Gopinathan 2006: 2)

This term is applicable to "the whole tradition of creative translation of great classics like Ramayana, Bhagarata and Mahabharata in the regional languages from Sanskrit" (Gopinathan 2006: 2), explains Gopinathan, who thinks that transcreation seems to be the best word to express this literary tradition of India, but also adds that some other authors, like Sujeet Mukherji, prefer to call it 'Translation as New writing'.[5]

Gopinathan further underlines that "[T]ranscreation can offer the best possible solution for the problems of culturally oriented literary texts." (Gopinathan 2006: 3) The justification for this statement is that, when the ST is transcreated, it is re-interpreted in such a way as to satisfy the needs of the readers who live in the specific cultural environment, at a specific time. This *aesthetic re-interpretation*, adds Gopinathan, "is performed with suitable interpolations**,** explanations**,** expansions**,** summarising and aesthetic innovations in style and techniques." (Gopinathan 2006: 3)

Therefore, the reason for making such radical changes while translating a text from another culture, which is not so well-known to the target audience – and especially in the case of distant cultures, is the need to make that text not only comprehensible for but also more culturally accessible to the new readers, in spite of the existing cultural differences. Thus we can say that the output of translation is improved by the process of transcreation, which contributes to the cross-cultural exchange precisely because it is not linear but implies another, creative dimension.

Talking about the history of transcreation, Elena Di Giovanni explains that in the first translations of sacred Sanskrit texts in India transcreation "allowed for a number of even radical changes to the original texts, which went well beyond the

[5] See more about this in Mukherjee 1994: Chapter 6 - "Translation as New writing", 77-85.

concept of 'translation proper' as it was and is still perceived within translation studies. The transcreated text had to be entirely fluent and, most importantly, it had to be fully understandable to its target audience." (Di Giovanni 2008)

But all this does not mean that transcreation is perceived as an unfaithful translation of the ST, quite the contrary. In his classic work *Transcreation*, one of the most famous contemporary Indian authors and scholars who wrote transcreations in the twentieth century, Purushottama Lal,[6] discusses the English translations of some of Rabindranath Tagore's poems and underlines that "these 'transcreations' […] are faithful to an extreme" (Lal 1996: 87). In the section about the translation of Hindi literature into English, Lal says that the purpose of transcreation is "to recreate for the *English reader* something of the experience of the Hindi reader" (Lal 1996: 69, my italics). Or more precisely – which is extremely important for the purposes of this paper, the reader he later calls "non-Indian English-speaking reader" (Lal 1996: 70, my emphasis).

On the other hand, in another canonical work – *Translation as Discovery*, Sujit Mukherjee makes a distinction between translating old Indian texts into modern languages and translating Modern Indo-English literature. The translators of ancient and medieval texts were permitted to indulge in many changes and liberties, because fidelity was not demanded as much as *appropriation* into the TL and *domestication* into the TC, so that Mukherjee concludes: "In such works we have travelled much beyond the realm of translation" (Mukherjee 1994: 78). As for contemporary works, however, the primary aim of the translator should be fidelity to the ST, while allowances can be made "only for the unavoidable lexical or linguistic, cultural or environmental adjustments with the original" (Mukherjee 1994: 9).

4. Where East and West meet

Those cultural adjustments, however, are extremely important when Indian English literature is presented to readers in a remote country, where Indian culture is still essentially unknown, and when these works are translated into languages of limited diffusion, for instance Serbian. In such cases, a new translation strategy is needed in order to stress cultural specificity by translational choices, as well as to arouse the readers' curiosity and their wish to discover more about that culture. My crucial line of argument is the fact that these works belong to the realm of the so-called *multilingual* or *heterolingual* literature, because they are genuine hybrid literary texts.

Heterolingualism or textual multilingualism in Indian English literature is reflected in the use of several foreign languages in the text which is basically written in English, as well as of numerous culture-bound words or culture-specific terms,[7]

[6] Who unfortunately died in November 2010.

[7] See more about the concept of culture-bound words in Đorić Francuski 2008: 147-149.

which are in this case words and phrases from languages other than English, mostly Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi. This hybrid language – a *mélange* of these several South-Asian languages and English – was in use in the Indian Subcontinent already at the time of the British *Raj*. Later on, with the advent of Indian immigrants on the British soil, the blending of these languages with English became so popular there as well, both in the immigrant community and with the local population, that it was named *Hinglish*.

The use of Hinglish in Indian English literature has a particular aim: to create for the audience the multicultural atmosphere of life in an environment in which several ethnic communities live together. Such a context is conjured up by the use of code mixing between different languages spoken by the members of these communities. Code mixing is defined as "a type of insertional code switching, where a constituent from language A is embedded into an utterance in language B, and where language B is clearly the dominant language" (Van Dulm 2007: 10-11), and it usually involves a single word or a stereotypical expression, unlike code switching, in which elements from different languages that are interchanged are often much longer.

And that is exactly what happens in Indian English writing: the dominant language is obviously English, while there are hardly any long conversations conducted solely in Hinglish, and when it is used in a text, it is usually a short sentence or a single word. Generally speaking, it is very difficult to reproduce code mixing in translation, and therefore I advocate the option that such cross-cultural works should be transcreated instead of translated word-for-word.

In fact, transcreation in the sense of Gopinathan's *interpolations*, *explanations* and *expansions* is something that has been done by some of the Indian English authors themselves, as well as by the translators and researchers of their works. Thus, within the very text of some of his works, like for example in *Midnight's Children*, Salman Rushdie explains certain words and expressions, not only those whose meaning is not clear from the context, but even some universally recognizable terms, such as the word in the first example:

- "only Hajis, men who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca" (Rushdie 1991: 8) – although all the readers worldwide probably know who Hajis are;
- "*Hartal!* Which is to say, literally speaking, a day of mourning, of stillness, of silence." (Rushdie 1991: 30) – this name may have needed some explaining, although its meaning would have been clear from the context alone.

However, here is an extremely interesting term, which could have caused confusion to the Serbian reader – *a shikara*. In Serbian that word: *šikara* (шикара) means underbush, underbrush, or undergrowth. A particularly important fact is that the real meaning of this Urdu word cannot be deduced from the context, the more so as Rushdie uses it metaphorically – as a personification. Luckily, Rushdie himself first explains the term and then provides it in an apposition:

> "The lake was no longer frozen over. The thaw had come rapidly, as usual; many of the small boats, the shikaras, had been caught napping, which was also normal. But while these sluggards slept on, on dry land, snoring peacefully beside their owners, the oldest boat was up at the crack as old folk often are, and was therefore the first craft to move across the unfrozen lake." (Rushdie 1991: 7)

Shikara is an excellent example for justifying the act of transcreation, because had Rushdie not explained this term, the translator should have done so anyway.

Of course, there are plenty of similar illustrations, in which the difference between false friends or *the additional meanings* (Baker 2004: 25) of a word that exists in both the SL and the TL should be explained, and the two pairs of such words which are certainly most often an obstacle to the Serbian translators are:

– *pajama* (in Serbian *pidžama*), a word which originally came into English from Hindi, in which it denotes a type of loose trousers, worn in Southeast Asia not only as a common item of nightwear but also as everyday clothes. However, in Serbia this piece of clothing is used only as nightwear, so when Serbian translators use that loan word, without any additional explanation it can be understood in the wrong sense, and thus our readers must be confused when they discover that some people in India go to work or even to some formal occasions wearing *pajamas*; and

– *curry* (*kari*), which is a popular Indian dish, resembling stew, but in the Serbian language this loan word is used only with one of its original meanings, and that is curry powder – a kind of spice. For that reason, Serbian translators who are not aware of this distinction make the following mistakes: they translate *lamb curry* as 'lamb with curry', *vegetable curry* as 'vegetables with curry', *chicken curry* as 'chicken with curry', while *fish curry* is even translated as 'fish stew with curry' (in Serbian: "riblji paprikaš s karijem" - where the word curry is redundantly translated twice, by using its cultural equivalent and in its meaning as a spice).[8]

However, when the translator attempts to transcreate a text, serious mistakes can occur if he or she is not well-acquainted with the SC. For instance, in this phrase: "beneath a Jesus in a dhoti" (Desai 2006: 28), the translator uses the loan word: "ispod Hrista obučenog u doti" (Desai 2007: 38), but also adds a footnote explaining that *a dhoti* is 'a garment similar to trousers': "Deo nošnje sličan pantalonama" (Desai 2007: 38). Well, if Jesus was in a dhoti, and a dhoti is a kind of trousers, that means that Jesus was wearing trousers.

Similarly as Rushdie, another famous Indian English writer, Vikram Seth, inserts at times some additional clarifications in his book *From Heaven Lake*, in which foreign words are mixed with English, with the aim of pointing to the existing cultural differences: "the situation is aggravated by the ever-present phenomenon of *lianxi* – a word as fundamental to an understanding of China as *guiding*

[8] These examples have been found in numerous translated works over many years of research, some of them several times in various texts, so the sources are not mentioned because that would take a lot of place and burden the text.

(regulations), or *guanxi* (personal connections in official places). Roughly translatable as 'contact' or 'liaison', *lianxi* is absolutely essential for effective action" (Seth 1993: 6).

On the other hand, many translators also choose to make a glossary for the book they translate, in order to clarify for the reader of the TT some culture-bound terms that are not widely known. Thus, for instance, the translator of a Japanese author Soseki Natsume's novel *The Wayfarer* compiled a "Glossary of Japanese Words" on two pages, but emphasized that "[W]ords whose meanings are apparent in the context are not included." (Natsume 1977: 321) Serbian translators of Indian English literature rarely make such an effort, so it is praiseworthy that Professor Svetozar Koljević in his excellent translation of Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* provides a glossary which includes the terms repeated several times in the text, while the culture-bound words which are mentioned just once are explained in footnotes (Rušdi 1987: 593-598).

Also, for the readers of Rushdie's works, there is an on-line "Glossary to accompany Salman Rushdie", including both the familiar words like *ashram* or *Avatar*, and those with which Serbian readers are almost certainly not acquainted, usually regarding the Indian caste system, like *chandala*, or the Hindu religion, like *darshan* or *prem*.[9]

Such glossaries are also often made by scholars researching the work of a certain author, like in the case of professor Paul Brians,[10] who composed what he called "Notes for Anita Desai's *Baumgartner's Bombay*".[11]

As regards the usual practice of translators into Serbian, even a few decades ago they used to insert footnotes in order to clarify the meaning of foreign words, phrases or culture-specific items. I shall just quote here one out of many examples from an English text with French words which are left in the translation and then explained in footnotes, with an emphasis on the fact that at the time this translation was published, in the seventies, many people in Serbia could understand French, unlike Hindi at the moment.

"– Oh, qu'elle y sera mal – peu comfortable.[1] I kada joj se odelo podere, kako ćete joj nabaviti novo?

[1] Oh, kako će joj tamo biti rđavo – tako neugodno! – *Prim. prev.*" (Bronte 1973: 322)

[9] This glossary is available at: http://www.subir.com/rushdie/glossary.html, while another helpful device when reading Indian English works is "Glossary of Indian Terms" available at: http://www.timelessindia.us/glossary.htm.

[10] Paul Brians is a professor of postcolonial literature in the Department of English, Washington State University, the author of *Modern South Asian Literature in English* (2003).

[11] This glossary is available at: http://www.wsu.edu/~brians/anglophone/baumgartner.html.

5. Transcreating Indian English literature

"Translation is not a matter of words only:
it is a matter of making intelligible a whole culture"
(Anthony Burgess)

Talking about the process of translation in his essay "Composing the Other", André Lefevere claims that translators "do not, first and foremost, think on the linguistic level, the level of the translation of individual words and phrases" (Lefevere 1999: 75). When they translate a text, they rather think in terms of two intertwined grids, which are equally important, and Lefevere calls them 'a conceptual grid' and 'a textual grid'. Therefore, the problems in translating are not caused only by discrepancies in languages but also by discrepancies in the two grids. According to Lefevere, the consequence of this hypothesis is that both the ST writer and its translator are faced with the conceptual and the textual grid, which is something they have to deal with. (Lefevere 1999: 75-77) And that is also the element Lefevere sees as "an argument in favour of the creativity of translators: like writers of originals, they too have to find ways of manipulating the grids in such a way that communication becomes not only possible, but interesting and attractive." (Lefevere 1999: 77)

Consequently, we can conclude that the translator of cross-cultural texts has a viable option of moving beyond fidelity and using the power of a creator to destabilize the ST and adapt it to the TC, by twisting Lefevere's grids, in an original and imaginary way through a culture-informed approach. This is especially important when a non-Western ST is translated into a Western culture, such as the case is when Indian English literature is translated into the Serbian language, and that is why it calls for transcreation instead of mere translation, because: "Western cultures 'translated' (and 'translate') non-Western cultures into Western categories to be able to come to an understanding of them and, therefore, to come to terms with them." (Lefevere 1999: 77)

When we discuss the practical viewpoint, transcreation is rendered possible by numerous translation methods that have been defined in translation studies, and the choice would depend on several factors, of which the ST historical setting and the type of the TT audience are the most important ones. The translation techniques that are available to the Serbian translator range from the ones that are clearly aimed at domestication of the ST because they replace the SC elements by their TC equivalents, to those aimed at foreignization that keep the TT close to the SC. The following are the procedures suggested by several translation studies experts, mixed together and ranged from the most domesticating to the most foreignizing ones:

> cultural equivalence, substitution, neutralisation, literal translation, adaptation, omission or reduction, addition, supplementation or amplification, expansion, compensation, paraphrasing, using a related word or a superordinate, doublet, lexical creation, neologism, borrowing or loan word,

calque, label, mapping, naturalisation, transference, transcription or transliteration.[12]

According to the analysis of a large corpus of translated Indian English texts and the respective originals, gathered and examined over many years, I have concluded that the best solution for the Serbian translator is to revert to using as often as possible the so-called *doublet*, which is defined by Newmark as the combination of transference, label or naturalisation – to put it more simply: a loan word, with additional explanation (notes, glossing, definition, explicating, interpretative description). (Newmark 1988: 103) The explanations, which supply the additional cultural, technical or linguistic information, can be inserted within the text as an "adjectival clause, noun in apposition, participial group, classifier" (Newmark 1988: 92), or provided in the form of footnotes or endnotes, as well as given in a glossary at end of the book. Now then, if we go back to the hypothesis about *The Translator's Invisibility*, we can see that Newmark concludes just the opposite: "The artistic illusion of your non-existence is unnecessary." (Newmark 1988: 93)

Newmark suggests that the additional explanation should be given in the text itself whenever and wherever that is possible, in order to avoid interrupting the reader's thoughts, and this is something that was already frequently done in Professor Svetozar Koljević's translation of Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*. For lack of space, only one example will be presented here,[13] but it will be enough to clarify the essence of the translation technique called doublet:

– the phrase in which the author himself explained the first culture-bound word: "the fishermen – who were called Kolis – sailed in *Arab dhows*" (Rushdie 1991: 101, my italics)
– is thus translated, or even better said – transcreated into Serbian:
"ribari – koji su se zvali Koli – jedrili su u *doima, arapskim brodicama sa širokom krmom*" (Rušdi 1987: 117, my italics)

We can see from this example that the second culture-specific term was translated by a loan word plus explanation in the form of a parenthetical non-restrictive apposition. It is also worth mentioning that Professor Koljević regularly supplies footnotes, which are sometimes rather long and exhaustive, for all the culture-bound items with which the TT audience is probably not acquainted, and that is the practice that should be adopted by all Serbian translators of Indian English texts.

Instead of a conclusion, let me quote the words of Goethe, who observes the following:

> "There are two principles of translation. The translator can bring to his fellow countrymen a true and clear picture of the foreign author and foreign

[12] These are the translation techniques found in the works by Peter Newmark, Susan Bassnett, Mona Baker, Mary Snell-Hornby and Lawrence Venuti.

[13] Many more examples of this sort can be seen in Đorić Francuski 2010.

circumstances, keeping strictly to the original; but he can also treat the foreign work as a writer treats his material, altering it after his own tastes and convictions, so that it is brought closer to his fellow countrymen, who can then accept it as if it were an original work."

(Cited by Thriveni 2002)

The choice is the translator's, or shall we say, transcreator's.

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ENGLISHISATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION VIEWED THROUGH METAPHORICAL LENSES

Abstract The paper investigates how metaphors used to describe the prevalent role of English in the European language policy shape the issue of multilingualism in the European Union. Analysing the discursive strength of the metaphorical expressions, such as *lingua frankensteinia, cuckoo, linguicide, linguistic capital dispossession, balanced language ecology, linguascape*, etc., selected from both academic papers and official EU documents, we explore the structure of the conceptual metaphors, LANGUAGE IS AN ANIMATE/LIVING ORGANISM, LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT and LANGUAGE IS ECOLOGY, and examine their consequences for social practice. In other words, we try to find out whether the implicit language policy in the European Union is rather slanted towards the use of English in spite of the EU language policy officials' pursuit of constructing a modern 'tower of Babel', at the risk of creating unintelligible European language space.

Key words: Conceptual metaphor; LANGUAGE metaphors; European language policy.

1. Introduction

The concept of language is of dual nature. On the one hand, language is the generic, biological capacity of people for acquiring and using a complex system of communication initiated and controlled by the brain. "[I]t is a distinct piece of the biological makeup of our brains." (Pinker 1995: 18). Language, on the other hand, is a specific system of a highly elaborate structure and a set of rules relating to any particular instance of this common human faculty. In addition, language is an inseparable part of the culture that it represents with accumulated tradition, set of values and identity. All this makes language an elusive and hard-to-understand concept. "Language is inadequate as an object of knowledge both because there is too little information available, and because there is too much…" (see Seargeant 2009: 393). One of the most efficient ways of understanding abstract concepts is by applying a cognitive perspective which hinges on, *inter alia*, conceptual metaphor that helps us grasp how our mind is structured and how we use more comprehensible concepts to explain less comprehensible concepts.

In this paper we deal with the prevalent role of the English language in the European Union from a metaphorical viewpoint. We explore the LANGUAGE

conceptual metaphors as exemplified with a number of metaphorical expressions selected from both academic papers and official EU documents in order to show how metaphors structure the language imbalance in the European language policy and what implications this may have on multilingualism, as one of the major issues on the European agenda. The paper is divided into four parts: what follows in this introductory part is a general background against which we will give a cursory view of the current language situation in the European Union. The second part contains a description of the theoretical framework in which the paper is set. In the third part we provide examples of metaphors and their metaphorical expressions related to LANGUAGE and discuss their possible implications. The last part comprises a conclusion which summarises our analysis.

The European Union founded as the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 has undoubtedly been marked as a "big bang" in political, economic, and cultural sense. It primarily rests on the European member states' resolution to join the project of political unification and economic integration. A particularly sensitive issue of defining the European identity pertains to language as the most valuable heritage of each member state. The common official stance has been taken up – languages are the European identity card[1], which should frame "pan-European linguistic policy, aiming at the cross-cultural diffusion of all languages in all countries, through the education system at all levels, via Internet, by cultural programs etc."[2] Although a single currency serves as the most notable example of economic and monetary integration, languages, not a single language, as well as the preservation and enhancement of cultural and linguistic diversity lie, according to the Union's officials, at the core of the European Union, leading to building up the European integration. This means that all languages spoken in the member countries deserve to be heard and represented on an equal footing – "there cannot be double standards, say, between big and small countries or between those with well-known and lesser-known languages."[3] Translated into numbers this means that the EU language chart encompasses "23 official languages; some 60 regional and minority languages; and some 175 migrant languages."[4] In other words, the European identity should be recognisable by multilingualism and two interrelated concepts – unity in diversity.

[1] According to the title of the speech, "Languages – the European Identity Card.", delivered by the former European Commissioner for Multilingualism, Leonard Orban, at the Vilnius Book Fair. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/orban/news/docs/speeches/080221_speech_Vilnius/Languages_the_European_Identity_Card_EN.pdf

[2] URL: http://*chet.org.za/webfm_send/327*

[3] URL: http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/move/45/en.pdf

[4] URL: http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/orban/news/docs/speeches/081205_VUB_speech/Speech_VUB_05_Dec_2008_EN.pdf

Yet, the situation on the ground is not quite in compliance with the proposals and guidelines of EU language policy makers. According to Special Eurobarometer 243[5], the balance weighs heavily in favour of English. It is rated as the most-widely spoken foreign language throughout Europe – 38% of EU citizens state that they have sufficient skills in English to have a conversation. English is also perceived by Europeans to be by far the most useful language to know for personal development and career, accounting for 68% and being well ahead of French (25%), German (22%), or Spanish (16%). Even more so, "English is probably the only natural language today, and certainly the only major language, with (far) less native speakers than people who learned it as a second language." (van Parijs 2003: 9). Rogerson-Revell also states that "[t]he spread of English is commonly seen as a 'language problem' threatening to engulf and replace indigenous European languages." (2007: 106). Furthermore, the overwhelming dominance of English is spreading beyond the European borders, which makes Phillipson conclude that "[e]xternally the EU has become monolingual." (Phillipson 2008b: 257).

Hence on the one hand, there is a noticeable language imbalance with English which will surely remain a *lingua franca* for some time, and the commitment of relevant EU bodies to multilingualism and the active promotion of using and learning all EU official languages equally, on the other. That is why we try to establish in this paper whether the implicit language policy in the European Union viewed through metaphorical spectacles is rather slanted towards the use of English which is grabbing much more 'market share' than French and German in spite of the EU language policy officials' pursuit of constructing a modern 'tower of Babel' and running the risk of creating an unintelligible European language space. Indeed, fears that proclaimed insistence on an equal dispersion of national languages at the supranational level will lead to a new Babel seem to be far-fetched since English, rather distantly accompanied by French and German, is dominating the very backdrop of the EU language scene.

2. Theoretical framework

The small-scale analysis is set in a theoretical framework compounded of the main tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a convenient and very plausible mode of rationalising less tangible, abstract concepts, such as LANGUAGE. This stems from one of the top postulates of CMT that complex and hard-to-understand concepts are predominantly metaphorical, and it is conceptual metaphor or the relationship between the two domains which make up conceptual metaphor that provides the structure to reason about these concepts and understand them better. More precisely, according to CMT originators Lakoff and Johnson (1980) conceptual metaphor lives

[5] URL: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf

by the dichotomy of the source ('donor') domain – the more concrete and physical conceptual domain, and the target ('recipient') domain – the more abstract domain to which the knowledge of the source domain is transferred by way of the systematic and most relevant mappings or perceived structural similarities between the two domains. Lakoff and Johnson explain this in a pervasive metaphoric way: "Abstract concepts have two parts: (1) an inherent, literal, nonmetaphoric skeleton, which is simply not rich enough to serve as a full-fledged concept; and (2) a collection of stable, conventional metaphorical extensions that flesh out the conceptual skeleton in a variety of ways." (1999: 128). It is these mappings, or a set of systematic correspondences, between the source and the target domain that allow us to talk and reason about the abstract target domain in terms of the conceptual structure of the more concrete source domain. The cognitive theory of figurativeness hinges on the idea that metaphor plays a pivotal role in our cognition and overall experience, while its role in language is subsidiary. Hence when contemporary metaphor theorists use the term metaphor they refer to conceptual metaphor, or rather conceptual mappings as a way of decoding the metaphorical connection that exists between the source and the target domains, whereas what was previously thought of as a metaphor is designated now as a metaphorical expression – the language and terminology as linguistic vehicles of the conceptual domain for which they stand (the source domain). The corollary of this is that it is our conceptual system that is metaphorical in nature, not the language itself. However, contemporary metaphor research from the late 1990s onwards has completely shifted focus from viewing metaphor as a primarily cognitive phenomenon, placing great emphasis on "the importance of language use in understanding metaphor" (Cameron and Deignan 2006: 672), which has led in turn to regarding metaphor as an equally cognitive and linguistic phenomenon. In this new perspective, metaphor is viewed as a blend of linguistic, conceptual and socio-cultural aspects (see Cameron and Deignan 2006).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), on the other hand, "sees language as 'social practice' and considers the context of language use to be crucial" (Wodak 2007: 209). This may explain why conceptual approaches have not been adequately represented in CDA so far. But if, according to Hart, "CL [Cognitive Linguistics] like sociocognitive CDA, explores the relation between language, cognition and society." (Hart 2008a: 107), i.e. "provides insights into pervasiveness and persuasiveness of metaphor" (Hart 2008b: 93), then metaphor becomes "central to critical discourse analysis since it is concerned with forming a coherent view of reality." (Charteris-Black 2004: 28). The main focus in CDA is on the *selections* made in constructing texts, which presupposes that "texts are not as neutral as they at first appear" since "the social processes that lead to conscious choices being made" are couched "in their linguistic encoding". (Charteris-Black 2004: 30). Metaphors, treated as discourse in CDA, also become one of the deliberate linguistic choices. Opting for one metaphor over another may conceal or reveal a potentially conscious intention which may ask for metaphor interpretation. This is in line with Charteris-Black's claim that one of the facets of metaphor is a pragmatic one which

arises from "the underlying purpose of [metaphor] influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion" (Charteris-Black 2004: 21). This argumentation relates to one of the most significant functions of metaphors – highlighting or foregrounding one aspect of a concept in terms of another, which necessarily leads to hiding or leaving other aspects of the concept in dark. By choosing via metaphors what aspects of a concept they will emphasise, text producers, more or less consciously, reveal their value-judgements, which in turn may expose their ideological stance. Metaphors in this paper are considered to be a discursive tool which aids in understanding and shaping certain social issues, more specifically the prevalent role of English in the European language policy and the aspect of multilingualism in the European Union.

We have explained elsewhere (Đurović 2009) what lies behind metaphorical expressions that depict the issue of multilingualism as one of the key ideas around which the European Union and the relationship between the member states are organised. We have centred our analysis on the following conceptual metaphors – LANGUAGE IS A CONSTRUCTION, LANGUAGE IS BUSINESS, and LANGUAGE IS A PERSON – in an attempt to show that the guided choices of metaphorical mappings, i.e. foregrounding only the positive evaluations of LANGUAGE metaphors aims at providing the pool of values around which all the EU nations may gather. However, what is usually more important is what metaphors tend to downplay, which is in line with Lakoff and Johnson's principle of metaphorical systematicity, which states that applying the structure of the source domain to the target domain necessarily results in focusing on some aspects of the chosen target concept obscuring some other aspects, viewed by the metaphor creators as less relevant (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10-14). For example, in pursuit of emphasising only positive evaluations of LANGUAGE (LEARNING) as the CONSTRUCTION/BUILDING, metaphor authors keep other legitimate connotations hidden, such as various costs entailed in building, in terms of material, people, time. While the issue of multilingualism is *per se* positively evaluated, desirable and should be encouraged, what is problematic is the discourse strategy manifested in the public addresses of EU officials and the underlying values and meaning they convey. This will be discussed in greater detail in the part that follows.

The analysis in this paper is conducted on a small data collection of both academic papers, particularly those written by one of the sharpest critics of unequal status of languages and adamant supporter of linguistic human rights Robert Phillipson[6] and official EU documents, such as the press releases and speeches of the former EU Commissioner for Multilingualism Leonard Orban in the so-called Barroso's I Commission (2007-2010), as well as several reports on multilingualism issued in the period of 2005-2009.[7] The goal of this paper is *not* to offer a

[6] Cited Phillipson's papers are listed in the reference list.

[7] The examples have been collected from the official site of the EU, http://europa.eu/, as well as the following sites: http://europa.eu/languages/; http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/;

quantitative analysis of the LANGUAGE metaphor nor is it to establish absolute or relative frequencies of metaphorical expressions or metaphor density in the data collection. Our main focus is on the qualitative analysis of the examples of the LANGUAGE metaphor in question and its contextual usage within the frameworks of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, our collection of texts provides us with a broader academic and institutional backdrop against which metaphors are established and open to particular interpretations.

3. LANGUAGE metaphors

A more or less visible thread that can be traced in the writing on the issue of multilingualism in the EU points to the role of English and its position to other EU languages. Following this issue more closely, particularly by reading the papers of Robert Phillipson, we have noted several conceptual metaphors, three of which have been chosen for this paper: LANGUAGE IS AN ANIMATE/LIVING ORGANISM, LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT, and LANGUAGE IS ECOLOGY. In all three metaphors, English stands metonymically for the concept of LANGUAGE. The selected metaphors are exemplified by their metaphorical expressions, or surface linguistic instantiations of more profound concepts, and a good deal of them seem to foster "English linguistic hegemony." (Phillipson 2008a: 12). More generally, conceptualising "language qua language" aims to show how the selected conceptual metaphors "give actual shape to the multiple and diverse practices which constitute human linguistic behaviour." (Seargeant 2009: 384).

The selected conceptual metaphors revolve around either animising abstract entity such as LANGUAGE (LANGUAGE IS AN ANIMATE/LIVING ORGANISM and LANGUAGE IS ECOLOGY), i.e. "referring to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate" (Charteris-Black 2004: 21), or concretising, reifying abstract entities and seeing them as concrete objects (LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT). Both processes, personification and reification, are forms of ontological metaphors which allow us to "identify our experiences as entities or substances" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 25) in order to reason about them.

3.1. Language is an animate/living organism

One of the most striking metaphors that portray the present state of affairs regarding English is the (ENGLISH) LANGUAGE IS AN ANIMATE ORGANISM metaphor as exemplified by Phillipson's originally Latin expression – *lingua frankensteinia*

http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/orban/keydoc/keydoc_en.htm; http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/orban/news/news_en.htm.

(Phillipson 2008b; 2008c). Though the expression linked with the original one, *Frankenstein's monster*, draws on the idea that monsters are qualified by the feelings they arouse in people, at a deeper level *lingua frankensteinia* aims to label 'the person' who created the monster, not the monster itself. In other words, the blame for an unequal dispersion of languages in the EU rests with both people and circumstances that helped reinforce the prevalent role of English within the European borders. Overt implications are no doubt negative – English is a monster language that terrifies and kills other indigenous European languages, perceived as human beings. Viewing English in this way introduces elements which make it different from other creatures. Thus the expression *lingua frankensteinia* underlies the aspect of exclusion of English compared to other languages, even to English as a native language, and serves to foster its dominance, due to the implied notion that monsters, being powerful and hideous, defy all social norms, which strangely gives them the freedom to act in any way they like, thus highlighting their uncontrollability. But, at the same time this may be regarded as a way of inclusion – knowing this 'monster' language opens numerous possibilities, arising from its dominance in international communication in the fields of business, science and the media, which, on the other hand, reverses inherently negative evaluation of the expression *lingua frankensteinia*. Still, the conditions that have generated and facilitated the growth of English, many of which have not been induced by any planned activities of national governments (e.g. the training of EU officials at either the American and British universities or at the English-language universities in Europe), have only been evolved in such a way to pinpoint a growing prevalence of English inside and outside the EU institutions and a lack of ability to control the monster. Hence opinions of the EU officials that "in order to partake in Europe, i.e. both contribute to and benefit from the European Union politically, economically and socially, it is now highly desirable to have English." (Hoffmann 2000: 20), do not contribute much to revoking the (ENGLISH) LANGUAGE IS AN ANIMATE ORGANISM metaphor soon.

Equally contestable is another expression of the LANGUAGE IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor, that of *tyrannosaurus rex* (Swales 1997) or *lingua tyrannosaura* (Phillipson 2008b; 2009), which addresses the excessive use of English in international professional communication such as higher education and research, likening the present situation in that domain to the one that existed some several million years ago when The King Tyrant Lizard lived and by its size exercised complete dominance over other species of the time. The size (although it was not the biggest dinosaur at the time) of T-rex and its predator style of behaviour when mapped onto non-native English (be it English as a global language – Crystal 1997, English as an International language – Jenkins 2000, World English – Brutt-Griffler 2002, or European *lingua franca* – James 2000: 22), portrays it as a creature or an organism that may bring about termination and extinction of other living organisms – languages. That English behaves as "a *powerful carnivore gobbling up* the other denizens of the linguistic grazing grounds" (Swales 1997: 374) and spreads

linguistic cannibalism (Phillipson 2009: 146) is witnessed in the fact that "more than 90 per cent of the journal literature in some scientific domains is printed in English and the most prestigious and cited journals are in English" (Hyland 2006: 24), which leaves other languages far behind. The situation is equally disturbing in the EU. For example, "[t]he organisation of research at a European level also tends to promote the use of English in academic circles and in publications, networks, programmes and institutions." (Truchot 2002: 11), while the project of a single European higher education actually entails "English-medium higher education" (Phillipson 2006: 16). Thus, given the current trend of overwhelming influence of English in the EU scientific and educational arena, the originator of this expression applied to language probably did not instantly draw on the notion of extinction of T-rex such as the one in paleontological terms as to make parallelism with the potential fate of English. Though the expression *lingua tyrannosaura* remotely invokes the future in which English/es may be superseded by some other language, this image is still highly unlikely. In the meantime, it is crucially important to curb the insatiable appetite of T-rex by genuinely promoting linguistic diversity in the EU, especially in the education domain with wise national language policies which would primarily advertise university programs in the native languages, as well as exert pressure on relevant bodies that published papers can be equally available and rated in both the native language and English.

Closely linked with the previous expression is *linguicide* (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000) – composed of two words, *language* and *genocide*, indicating extermination and vanishing of languages perceived as living organisms. A superficial analysis of *linguicide* or *linguistic genocide* would suggest that language, in this case English (or, non-native English) murders other indigenous European languages with the intention of the deliberate elimination of these languages, akin to physical genocide. Still, languages do not kill languages, this is what people do willingly, in order to accommodate to ever growing demands of being a part of the globalised world with all the benefits it offers, or unwillingly, when due to wrong national language policies some languages are simply given up by their speakers, the reasons again being pretty much economic and political ones. Hence when using evaluatively loaded phrases which are linked to *linguicide*, such as *killer language* or *language murder*, we have to ask ourselves when the seeds for cultivating 'killing instincts' were sown and who sowed them. In addition, equating a language with the killer of other languages may potentially stir negative and biased feelings towards a culture that nurtures such allegedly 'genocidal' aspirations. However, non-native English, i.e. Euro-English has long ceased to be exponent of one particular culture. It has a supranational character and "it is being jointly developed by its users for their communicative needs and cultural practices as citizens of Europe, transcending particular nationalist ideologies and biases, and these people are to that extent its authentic 'owners'." (Bugarski 2009: 115).

On the other hand, in order to prevent *language death* of *moribund languages*, where the selected metaphorical expressions aim at labelling the extent of

deteriorated language status, i.e. their *health*, language policy makers may exercise different practices of *language regenesis* which should result in *language revival* and *revitalisation* of endangered languages. The performance of various procedures of this treatment is contingent on noticing the right *symptoms* of Englishisation of the EU, indicating that the language situation in the EU is not healthy, but it is in no way beyond repair. A cure should be directed at preventing *monolingual myopia* and letting other European languages be adequately represented, but it cannot be wrongly substituted for English as a *panacea* (see Phillipson 2008d), without generating some unwanted side effects. As there is no universal medicine for all our illnesses, there cannot be one language of communication we can be identified with without any constraints. No-one denies that English superseded French as a vehicular language in the EU discourse, but what needs to be changed, lest English in the EU become *pandemic* and life-threatening, the way we see it, is the prevailing rhetoric with its symbols and values which covertly favouritises English while overtly votes for an equal diffusion of national languages which shape the common European space.

Cuckoos (Phillipson 2006) and *mongrels* (Jenner 1996) are yet additional expressions used to more closely structure the concept of the English language. The expression *language cuckoo – lingua cucula* describes how the ever growing presence of English in the EU is affecting other languages of the same topos. Drawing on a cuckoo who parasitically lays its eggs into other animals' nests and depends on these hosts to raise its young, *language cuckoo* once again highlights the 'devious' character of English which heedlessly conquers the territories inhabited with other species, i.e. languages (e.g. French, German, etc.). The expressions *devilish linguistic cuckoo*, *invading English cuckoo*, which should be *tamed*, rather address the need and insight of other European languages and their users to notice this 'symbiosis of English with other species' so that English should not infiltrate that much and expel other languages from their habitat. Equalising English with the *mother of mongrels that has spawned independent offspring* and is *by instinct an acutely cosmopolitan creature* (see Jenner 1996) hinges again on the predominance of English and its use in different spheres of life and knowledge.

3.2. Language is an object

Apart from animating (English) language and viewing it as a creature or a living organism, (English) language is also perceived as a commodity. Hence the LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT metaphor, which is in line with Lakoff and Johnson's (1980: 25) views about the motivation to conceptualise abstract phenomena in terms of objects. We reify the concept of language and reason about it in ways similar to those we use for physical entities. If language is an object, it means that one can possess it, it can be assigned a certain value, belong to an individual or group, in other words it becomes a resource. Thus, the EU officials say that "[w]ith English

you *can buy anything* in the world: But if you have something *to sell*, you had better learn you client's language…"[8], they speak about English as *added value*, *competitive* or *precious asset*, while multilingualism in general is a *source of richness or wealth*, and it does not only make sense, *it makes money*. Research papers describe *domain loss* in some European languages because of the prevalent use of English, *loss of languages*, English is labelled a *'worldly' global commodity* and the main culprit for *linguistic capital dispossession* of national languages or for *linguistic capital accumulation by dispossession*.

In each of these expressions, the domain of possession is mapped onto a particular aspect of language. LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT, via LANGUAGE IS A POSSESSION, becomes LANGUAGE IS A RESOURCE. Equating the English language with the concept of RESOURCE underlines a high value of this resource as a social goal. If language is a resource, then we can use it (similar to a literal resource) to increase not only our wealth in terms of our knowledge, but also our material wealth, in terms of what that knowledge may bring. This is in line with the idea of *linguistic market* originally developed by Bourdieu (1993) and adopted by Wodak (2010). A linguistic market exists "whenever someone produces an utterance for receivers capable of assessing it, evaluating it and setting a price on it" (Bourdieu 1993: 78). Those who make most of the linguistic market may be characterised as those who hold capital in that market and generate linguistic profit by having control over the rules of price formation. If Bourdieu's ideas are applied to EU market and multilingualism in particular, Wodak writes, the corollary is that "when a market is unified, those products which hold less value on the market will be discontinued by their 'producers' (speakers) because they are not being 'bought' (valued) by 'consumers' (interlocutors)." (Wodak 2010: 26), which aptly serves to justify the leading position of English. In other words, some languages have more prestige or resources (capital) than other, supposedly equal languages on the EU language map. Given the present situation in the EU language policy it seems that what the LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT/RESOURCE metaphor hides – the fact that some resources are scarce, non-renewable or that they may be depleted, is related to a vast majority of European languages, exclusive of English which is distantly followed by French, German or Spanish.

3.3. Language is ecology

The LANGUAGE IS ECOLOGY metaphor appears to be derived from both LANGUAGE IS A LIVING ORGANISM and LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT metaphors. One part of this metaphor draws on the conceptualisation of language as a living being or species. The interrelationship of languages is likened to the interrelationship of organisms with and within their environments. Generally, we owe the concept of the

[8] See the following link: http://www.celelc.org/docs/china_speech_conference_0.pdf

ecology of language to Haugen who defined it as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment," where the environment of the language includes both psychological – "its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers", and sociological aspects – "its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication" (Haugen 1972: 325). Thus, the main implication of the LANGUAGE IS ECOLOGY metaphor is the cultivation and preservation of languages, where languages are understood to live and evolve in an eco-system along with other languages, interact with their sociopolitical and cultural environments and become endangered if there is an inadequate environmental support for them in relation to other languages in the eco-system (see Hornberger 2002: 35-36). What causes *unbalanced language ecology* in the EU? According to Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996), it arises from the promotion of the English language as the major tool of market economy, democracy, human rights, as well as ideological globalisation and transnationalisation. In this regard, (the English) language becomes equated with a valuable object or resource (the LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT metaphor) and it serves as a benchmark to other nations and their languages. In other words, "'free-market' theory of unfettered capitalism" is likened to a linguistic geostrategy which embodies the race for 'market share' among the governments representing the major international languages, English being a case in point in the EU. This in turn calls for implementation of "'green' theory of ecological protection" of *endangered languages* (see Kibbee 2003: 47), via sound language policy and planning, taking into account the ideologies that pervade and influence the language choice.

The continuing ascendancy of English in the EU distorts the usual balance that exists between languages, or *balanced language ecology*, and accelerates language disappearance. A loss of languages, similar to a loss of plant or animal, leads to a loss of certain cultural heritage, which necessitates a *balanced cohabitation* with English, i.e. with *additive* English (English plus or English in addition to other languages), as opposed to *subtractive* English (oppressive monolingualism, or English Only aspect) (see Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996). In order to preserve *(bio)linguistic diversity*, akin to biological diversity, which entails the relationship of languages with their social environments, English should be restricted so as not to jeopardise the natural order that exists. The European *linguascape* needs to foster *language-friendly environment* and *linguistic sustainability* in spite of the evident tendency of the growing use of English at the EU supranational level,[9] which seriously questions the aspect of linguistic rights. It looks as if English has been chosen in the process of natural selection to be the one that dominates other language species, by being the major exponent of capitalism, globalisation, "Americanization and homogenization of world culture" (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996: 436), and increasingly becoming an *eco-linguistic threat* (see Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2007). The

[9] "[T]hough not yet in the European Commission in Brussels, where French still dominates." (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996: 444).

LANGUAGE IS ECOLOGY metaphor is thus heavily imbued with negative implications (identified in case of the previous two metaphors as well) such as the following: any language has the right to grow and develop and deserves to be treated as equal to other languages (including English); attempts to forcibly dominate other languages or even worse, cause language death or loss, are wrong, so that supremacy of one language (in this case English in the EU) over other unprotected languages, perceived as living species, should not be tolerated.

4. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt has been made to analyse three conceptual metaphors, LANGUAGE IS AN ANIMATE/LIVING ORGANISM, LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT, and LANGUAGE IS ECOLOGY, exemplified with the selected metaphorical expressions so as to point out how prevalent the English language is in the European language space, though the official language policy makers seem to be declaratively advocating equal representation and distribution of all European languages. We think that generally negative implications of the selected metaphorical expressions related to English and its position to other EU languages only serve to reinforce the predominance of English. This particularly refers to equating the English language with a valuable object which competes for its share of the European linguistic market. In an attempt to establish genuine linguistic diversity the EU officials tend to resort to loaded rhetoric that invokes images of European member states as companies competing with their languages as assets, which in turn, though surprisingly, serves to reaffirm the already present language imbalance in the EU, with English still holding the lead. It appears that the so-called traditional European values which constituted and constitute European identity narratives have been extended and multilingualism policy redefined to embrace new values, stemming from neo-liberal policies, "obsessed with competitiveness" (see Krugman 1994), which seriously affects language policy in the European Union. Thus, as Lichtkoppler (2010: 194) argues, if we cannot change *which* languages are spoken in the European Union, we could try to change *how* they are spoken, and ask ourselves how to be the responsible users of English, rather than whether or not to be the users of English. The restoration of linguistic diversity through wise national and supranational language policies in the EU on which language planning of the countries yet to join the EU may be modelled without fear of losing their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness, is urgently needed. Creating a new metaphorical imagery to counteract the present EU linguistic hierarchy may be, *inter alia*, a step in that direction.

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THE ROLE OF EXTRATEXTUAL FACTORS IN THE ACQUISITION OF TRANSLATION COMPETENCE

Abstract This paper deals with problems in the acquisition of pragmatic aspects of bilingual translation competence, as exemplified by students' inadequate decisions and choice of translation strategies when confronted with particular extralinguistic problems in translation. Fifteen final year students of English participated in the study. The students' answers to the questions concerning the importance of extralinguistic factors in translation and translations of a newspaper advertisement demonstrated that their theoretical awareness of the importance of pragmatic factors is not internalized to the extent that would empower them to apply adequate translation strategies when confronted with extralinguistic problems in actual translation assignments. A possible etiology of the students' answers is discussed and then a proposal is made to make better use of translation assignments which focus on the *skopos* of translation.

Key words: translation from English into Serbian, *skopos* theory, extratextual factors, Translation Competence.

1. *Skopos* theory and strategic subcompetence

As one of the core theories within the functional approach to translation, the *skopos* theory offers an analytical apparatus that is most suitable for the analysis of the translation of technical and scientific texts. The traditional demand of literary translations that the target text should achieve an equivalent effect as the original is usually not relevant for the translation of technical texts. The functionalist approach to translation has undergone many modifications since Vermeer first postulated the *skopos* theory in 1978 (Baker and Saldanha 2009: 115-116). As opposed to the paradigms that center around the concept of equivalence, according to the *skopos* theory, the importance of the elements of the source text is dependant on the requirements of the target communicative situation at hand. It allows for the target text to have a different function from the source text, and therefore may exhibit a number of new features more suited to the needs of the target context. The translator's choices and strategies are conditioned by the extratextual factors such as the brief defined by the client as well as by the features of the genre and type of text in the receiving culture.

The translator is therefore no longer regarded as an imitator, but rather as an autonomous text producer. The translator needs to recognize the purpose, define the goal, and choose strategies that will accomplish this. The translator is predominantly a communicator, and, in order to be successful, he needs to be able to think strategically about his task. In a pedagogical setting, the development of Don Kiraly's (2000:3) notion of a 'translator self-concept' as a "psychological identity that the translator creates through learning and experience with translation activites, the individual's understanding of him- or herself as a translational information processor" is a goal that could be tested by looking at the way students think about extratextual factors in translation before and after a project-based course.

The methodological approach applied in a course on Scientific Translation at the English Department, University of Novi Sad, is aimed at developing all translation subcompetences. Having adapted Laswell's New Rhetoric formula for the purposes of translation-oriented text analysis, Nord (2005:41) offers one possible model for the analysis of the source text. It begins with the analysis of the communicative situation of the source text, the interaction of extratextual[1] and intratextual[2] factors of analysis and the recognition of the communicative function of the text. In the following step, the relationship between the source communicative situation and the translation *skopos* or the purpose of the target text is established. On the basis of this perceived relationship, students choose the main strategy and adequate translation techniques to solve recognized problems, and all of these are elements of strategic subcompetence.

Strategic competence features all componential models of translation competence. The Spanish research group, Pacte, which has been experimentally researching the components of translation competence for the last eleven years, defines it as (2008:107) predominantly procedural knowledge which ensures the efficacy of the translation process and the search for a solution to a problem through adequate strategies and techniques. This component is crucial because it coordinates other subcompetences (bilingual, extralinguistc, theoretical and instrumental), activates them when necessary and compensates for the deficiencies in each of them. It is also actively involved in the evaluation of both the process and the product of translation.

This paper will discuss one unexpected finding in one part of the author's research[3] into the acquisition of translation competence: that the exact nature of the

[1] *Who* transmits [the message/text] *to whom*, *what for*, *by which medium*, *where*, *when*, *why*, *with what function*?
(Nord 2005:41, 43-86)

[2] *On what subject matter* does s/he say *what, (what not), in what order, using which non-verbal elements, in which words, in what kind of sentences in which tone to what effect*? (Nord 2005:41, 87-142)

[3] This research is part of a PhD research on *Translation Competence for the Language Pair English – Serbian (the role of cooperative and collaborative models of teaching)* which is underway.

role of extratextual factors in translation is difficult for students who are within the learning environment of a project-based course on Translation of Scientific Texts to grasp, even if they are constantly made aware of the needs of the client and the recipient of the commissioned translation.

2. Research methodology

2.1 Subjects

The subjects were 16 fourth- year students of English Language and Literature who volunteered to do a pre-test at the beginning of October 2008, before the course on scientific translation started, and a post-test in February 2009 at the end of the course. All subjects had previously attended both direct and inverse courses dealing with the translation of literary and general texts for the language pair English – Serbian as well as a course on General Principles of Translation. Translation of Scientific Texts was their first project-based course, which included a client, a deadline and expert advisers and was held in a computerized room with good access to the internet. The internet was used for terminology searches in parallel Serbian texts.

2.2 Measuring instrument

The Pacte research group (2000, 2005, 2008) created, tested and validated three instruments for measuring the acquisition of direct translation competence (L1-L2) which they define as "the underlying system of knowledge and skills needed to be able to translate" (2000: 100). The instruments[4] developed for repeated measurement designs are supposed to test subjects' knowledge about translation (Translation Notion Instrument), how they recognize/deal with translation problems (Translation Problem Instrument) and translation errors (Translation Error Instrument). The subjects Pacte targeted in pilot tests were students in their first year of Translation Studies programs at three Spanish universities with three different language combinations (English-Spanish, French-Spanish and German-Spanish), but the instruments can also be used to test the effectiveness of different training methodologies.

In our research we used the English version of the instruments published in Orozco and Hurtado Albir 2002. The only change we introduced concerned the

What is presented here are some findings pertaining to the students' ability to recognize and successfully deal with pragmatic problems.

[4] The instruments, their description and detailed account of verification procedures they were exposed to can be found in Orozco & Hurtado Albir 2002, and the grading system in Orozco 2000.

names of the source and target languages, which in the original were English-Spanish, and in our study English-Serbian. Students wrote their answers in the language of their choosing, either Serbian or English, and they had a selection of monolingual English and Serbian lexicological resources available, as well as *Rečnik jezičkih nedoumica* by Ivan Klajn, *Pravopis srpskog jezika* and *Transkripcioni rečnik engleskih ličnih imena* by Tvrtko Prćić.

For the purpose of this paper we will only present the answers to the questions about extratextual factors in translation, which are questions 8 and 9 of the Translation Notion Instrument and questions 10, 11 and 12 of the Translation Problem Instrument.

3. The results

Two questions from the Translation Notion Instrument showed that, although extratextual factors were regularly considered during the source text analysis in all previous translation courses, students neither gave the accurate answer to the question regarding the factors which influence translation, nor did they manage to successfully solve a concrete problem taken from professional translation practice.

The first question on extratextual factors in translation demanded that students underline factors that intervene in the process of translation. The factors were:

client,
original author,
socio-cultural environment of the original text,
date of the original text,
socio-cultural environment of the translated text,
date of the translation,
original reader,
final reader,
function of the original text,
function of the translation.

The correct answer would have been that all factors influence the process of translation. Out of 16 subjects, only one student underlined all the factors in the pre-test, and four in the post-test measurement. Nine students underlined more factors in the post-test than in the pre-test, three underlined less, and one underlined the same number of factors. The Table 1 shows which factors students underlined (+) in the pre-test, and which in the post-test.

In the second task, the students had to decide whether the following situation was T(rue) or F(alse):

Your translation of a sales contract for the British company, WHL Inc., will be different if

you are translating it for a lawyer who wants to use it as proof in a trial, or for a Serbian

subsidiary company, attached to WHL Inc. that needs the translation to sign contracts with other Serbian companies.

Contracts are an example of a rigid text type that is culture specific. The most obvious differences relate to its macrostructure, the graphic layout of the text, the number and type of information they contain as well as the register. The relevant extratextual factors here are:

a) the purpose of a piece of evidence presented in court is to give a precise and exact account of all the information from the source text literally and in the original layout.
b) the purpose of a contract is to facilitate the conclusion of a business agreement and in order to do that, it has to respect the norms of the target culture for this text type.

Since the first text was supposed to be a literal translation of the original document and the second a translation-adaptation in compliance with target norms, the correct answer would have been to circle letter T(rue). This question was accurately answered by 6 students in the pre-test, and 7 in the post-test. The table 3 shows the correct (+) and incorrect (-) answers to this question.

Student translations of the selected text in the Translation Problems Instrument serve as a good illustration of the same issue. Students were given an hour to translate an advertisement with the following brief:

A Serbian company has decided to start a business like The Writers' Bureau, with offices in Novi Sad, to teach writing in Serbian. You have been asked to translate the following advertisement, taken from the front page of The Guardian. Your translation will be published in Dnevnik *exactly as you have delivered it to the newspaper.*

ORIGINAL TEXT:
Advertisement
Would you like to be a writer?
by NICK DAWS

Freelance writing can be creative, fulfilling and a lot of fun, with excellent money to be made as well. What's more, anyone can become a writer. No special qualifications or experience are required.

The market for writers is huge. In Britain alone there are around 1,000 daily, Sunday and weekly papers, and more than 8,000 magazines. The Writers Bureau runs a comprehensive correspondence course covering every aspect of fiction and non-fiction writing. The 140,000-word course is written by professional writers and has been acclaimed by experts.

Why not be a writer?

First-class home study course gets you a flying start. Earn while you learn. Expert tutors, personal guidance, help to sell your writing, and much more! It's ideal for beginners. Details free. No cost. No obligation. Send the coupon.

Name_____
Address _____
Telephone_____Postcode _____

The goal here was to ascertain whether students would recognize the linguistic (flying start), extralinguistic (Sunday papers), transfer (Details free. No cost. No obligation. Send the coupon.) and pragmatic (Great Britain) translation problems, if they could solve them and what strategy they would apply. Upon finishing their translations, students were asked to circle answer Yes or No to the following questions:

12. Do you think the following segments of the text are a translation problem (not just for you, but in general?)

a. flying
yes
no
b. Sunday and weekly papers
yes
no
c. It's ideal for beginners. Details free. No cost. No obligation. Send the coupon
yes
no
d. Britain
yes
no

12. Did you find the following segments of the text a problem to translate?
a. flying
yes
no
b. Sunday and weekly papers
yes
no
c. It's ideal for beginners. Details free. No cost. No obligation. Send the coupon
yes
no
d. Britain
yes
no

The answers could show whether a student recognized the problem even if the solution that was implemented was not adequate. We will now see how students dealt with the extralinguistic/cultural (*The Sunday Paper*), and pragmatic (*Great Britain*) translation problems in the advertisement (Table 4).

Extralinguistic problems have been noted in the literature in Translation Studies as problems with the translation of cultural realia. Pacte (Orozco & Hurtado Albir 2002:381) make a difference here between an extralinguistic problem which stems from nonexistant cultural realia of *Sunday paper* in Spanish, and the pragmatic problem, *Britain*, which involoves an adaptation of the source text item for the target text receiver (Hansen 2006:7, Nord 2005:174). *Sunday papers* does not have an exact equivalent among Serbian newspapers either; there is only an approximate cultural equivalent in the weekend editions of some papers. Therefore, an adequate strategy in this case would be to translate the phrase by using a generalization (*dnevne i nedeljne novine*). Since the brief stated that the translation was to be made for a local daily, it was necessary to consider the relevance of data about *Great Britain* and conclude that it could have been left out completely or replaced with, at least, imaginary data for Serbia.

Almost all students (14 in the pre-test, 15 in the post-test) recognized that Sunday papers constituted a translation problem, but only a small number of them (3 in the pre-test, 4 in the post-test) solved it adequately (Table 4).

That *Britain* was also a translation problem was recognized by 5 students in the pre-test and 9 students in the post-test, and 3 students solved it successfully at both testing times (Table 4).

4. Analysis of the results and conclusions

The Translation Notion and Problem Instrument and the translation of a preselected text that exhibited extralinguistic and pragmatic problems clearly indicated which factors in translation need more attention if translation trainees are to master strategic subcompetence.

An analysis of the question about extratextual factors in translation (Table 1) showed that students underlined different factors at two testing times. In the pre-test, most students underlined the sociocultural environment of the source text (14), then function of the original text (12), original author and reader (9 each), function of the translation (8), client (6), date of the translation (4) and the final reader (3).

s.	*client*		*original author*		*sociocult. environm. of the original text*		*date of the original*		*sociocult. environm. of the translation*		*date of the translation*		*original reader*		*final reader*		*function of the original text*		*function of the translation*	
	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post	pre	post
1	+	+	+	+	+	+												+		+
2		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3			+		+	+	+		+		+				+	+	+	+		
4					+	+	+				+						+			
5		+			+	+		+		+						+	+	+		+
6		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+						+			+	+
7					+	+			+							+	+	+	+	
8	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+					+	+	+	+	+	
9	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+		+
10											+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12		+					+		+							+				
13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14			+		+							+		+		+		+	+	+
15	+		+	+	+		+	+	+			+			+	+	+	+		+
16			+	+	+	+	+	+							+	+	+	+		
total	6	10	10	9	14	12	9	8	10	7	4	7	3	6	9	15	12	13	8	10

Table 1: Extratextual factors

In the post-test, the most underlined factors were final reader (15), followed by the function of the original text (13), sociocultural environment of the original text (12), client and the function of the translation (10 each), original author (9), date of the original (8), sociocultural environment and date of the translation (7 each) and finally, the original reader (6).

	pre-test		post-test
1	original/sc environment	↓	translation / reader
2	original /function	=	original / function
3	original /author	↓	original / sc environment
4	translation/sc environment	↓	translation / client
5	original /date	↓	translation / function
6	translation /reader	↑	original / author
7	translation/function	↑	original / date
8	translation /client	↑	translation / sc environment
9	translation /date	=	translation / date
10	original /reader	=	original / reader

Table 2: Rank order of important factors based on the students answers in the two tests

Considering that translation motivated text analysis in previous translation courses always included all extratextual elements listed in this question, it is not likely that students were unaware that all of them may affect translation. Furthermore, while they were completing the test, some even commented out loud

that the question did not make sense because all the factors are important. These comments, as well as different answers from the same students in the two tests suggest that what may have interfered in this case were the students' expectations of what an answer to this particular type of question should look like. They expected that a multiple choice question should contain some answers that were correct and some false and, correspondingly, that they were *supposed* to circle only some of the factors offered, not all of them. Therefore, regardless of the clear written and oral instruction that said *Underline the elements you think intervene in translation*, what the students did was guess which elements were *more influential* than others. However, even if their answers did not truly reflect what they knew, the answers also indicated a certain lack of confidence and that the functional approach was not firmly set in their comprehension of what translation depends on. Therefore, it could be concluded that the importance of the elements that were underlined by the fewest number of students (client, function, sociocultural envirnoment and date of translation) had not been demonstrated clearly enough in previous translation courses and also that it could not be established by virtue of a project-based course alone.

The ranking of the elements in Table 2 indicates a certain change in the way students comprehended the role of the final reader (it moved from the 6th to the 1st place). The answers to the second question (Table 3), however, show that they do not fully understand the impact of the final reader, and the way the function/purpose of the translation influences a translator's choices. Since the answers from the two testing periods were almost identical (Table 3), the project-based course did not help students form a clear perception of the role of the target-end user, even though the final reader perspective had constantly been used as a yardstick for stylistic choices. It seems that, regardless of whether we base the course around a project or a selection of texts varied in terms of subject matter or text type, what usually gets stressed in these learning environments is the importance of the source communicative situation. This would indicate that the choices in the target text are based on the hierarchy of factors in the source text and that the full measure of target impact does not become evident.

A useful approach that can establish a balance between the source and target factors, according to Nord (2005:162-163), is a small but important correction in the formulation of the translation task: it should always be accompanied by a brief which explicitly states the characteristics of the target communicative situation relevant to the assignment. In addition to this, different translation briefs for one and the same source text help students realize the implications of different target situations. An example of such a realistic translation brief could be a translation of the same source text for a popular internet site, a newspaper and an expert in the subject matter. An economic text could be translated for a radio programme, a TV documentary, a daily newspaper or a bank.

student	pre-test	post-test
1	-	+
2	-	-
3	-	-
4	-	-
5	-	-
6	-	-
7	+	+
8	+	+
9	-	-
10	+	+
11	-	-
12	+	+
13	+	-
14	-	+
15	-	-
16	+	+

Table 3: Extratextual element – client (+is important; -is not important)

It is also interesting to analyze why most students recognized a problem in *Sunday paper*, but not in *Britain* (Table 4). It seems that previous translation courses sensitized them to cultural elements in translation, and a small number of adequate solutions could be attributed to their fragmentary knowledge of the types of papers published in Serbia.

student	*problem recognized*				*problem solved*			
	Sunday paper		Britain		Sunday paper		Britain	
	pre-test	post-test	pre-test	post-test	pre-test	post-test	pre-test	post-test
1	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
3	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
4	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
6	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
7	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
14	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-

15	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
16	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
ukupno	14	15	5	9	3	4	3	3

Table 4: Extralinguistic and pragmatic problems

In order to solve the pragmatic problem *Britain*, the students had to recognize it as a problem in the first place. A conspicously small number of students managed to do this. A possible reason could be that they are still thinking as language teachers and not as translators and that their 'translator self-concept', i.e., 'their understanding of themselves as translation information processors' has not fully developed. Bilingual linguistic competence is not the same as translation competence. Translation competence rests on familiarity with a theoretical framework that makes it possible to recognize problems and search for solutions, an ability to appraise the target situation and move away not only from the wording, but also from the purpose of the source text if the target situation so demands. Students' answers show that their concept of a translation problem is restricted to linguistic unfamiliarity, i.e. not knowing a word or a phrase. They do not single out transfer issues as problems which can be competently solved through the application of adequate strategies and techniques.

Another reason could also lie in the type of text presented in the assignement. Students had not been exposed to advertisements in previous courses. Most of the texts they had encountered were literary or general non-fiction, with no natural variation in terms of translation purpose, target readers and sociocultural circumstances. The most common *skopoi*/purposes of the source texts were careful rendering of the meaning and style of a work of art or informing the target reader about an unfamiliar aspect of life. In this light, it should not come as a surprise that students had not recognized *Britain* as pragmatic translation problem in the pre-test. The fact that they could not successfully solve it in the post-test indicates that the project-based organization of the course is not enough to foster the development of this aspect of strategic thinking: recognition of translation problems and consideration of extratextual factors of the target situation. Although a project-based course is indispensable in making students aware of the complexity of a translation task as a whole, they also need to be exposed to a considerable number of cases which would more explicitly show what functional orientation in translation entails so that they can arrive at solutions to pragmatic translation problems in a variety of situations they will find themselves in the professional life of a translator.

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NAMES OF ADVERTIZED PRODUCTS AS MINI ADVERTISEMENTS: A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC VIEW[1]

Abstract This paper studies creative aspects of language use in advertising. It focuses on attention-grabbing names of advertised products in English which do not relate either directly or solely to the product advertised. For example, *Spyware Doctor* names a program against spyware, *Turboccino* names coffee. The aim is to show that these very simple linguistic structures "hide" the implied meanings meant by advertisers, and as such function as mini advertisements themselves. In order to show how meaning is inferred from these simple linguistic structures the theoretical framework of conceptual integration is applied. This theory accounts for dynamic, online construction of meaning by showing how mental spaces are activated and blended in specific ways. The results of the research show how names of advertised products prompt particular mental spaces and their blending, which results in inferred meanings. Also, different types of linguistic prompting of meaning organised in mental spaces are determined.

Key words: advertisement, advertized product, name, cognitive linguistics, conceptual integration, meaning.

1. Introduction

The modern culture at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century is marked by three defining features – globalization, material prospect and speed. In such circumstances and with such modern standards different new modes of communication developed, the most widespread being E-mailing and text messaging. It is interesting that language in these modern modes of communication has altered – it is short and focuses on key lexical words which carry the crucial information. This is in line with speed as the most characteristic feature of modern culture. Advertising fits into this modern framework as well.

One might wonder why begin a paper on language, specifically the language of advertising by writing about culture. As Bugarski (2005: 16–26) explains it, there is strong, deep link between language and culture. To start with, culture emerged from

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man`s unique ability to create and use symbols, and language is the basic, and most developed symbolic system (Bugarski 2005: 16). He also points to the fact that language itself is a cultural system, and moreover the most structured one (Bugarski 2005: 17–18). Furthermore, Bugarski (2005: 19–20) says that the peculiarities of local or regional cultures are reflected in localisms, regionalisms and dialects, whereas on the other hand, international, world and even planet cultures are reflected in the general vocabulary. Apart from this, different socio-economic, educational, professional, age and cultural groups in the modern society show linguistic differences in the form of different sociolects, jargons, technical language, functional styles, etc.

In modern advertising the practice of directly praising the advertized product is more and more giving way to the practice of indirect and subtle promotion. Thus, modern advertisements feature metaphors, metonymies, both linguistically and visually expressed, analogies, puns, counterfactuals, and the like, which is testified by different studies (Ward and Gaidis 1990, Leigh 1994, Forceville 1996, McQuarrie and Phillips 2005, van Mulken et. al 2005, ...). As Klikovac (2008: 131) puts it, modern advertisements often do not inform at all, but rather affect potential buyers by stimulating their emotions and subconsciousness. Similarly, Ramone (2001, according to Klikovac 2008: 132) points out that advertisements provoke the feeling of satisfaction; for example, smoking is often associated with the feeling of freedom.

Advertizing is such a unique way of establishing communication that Cook (1992), who dedicated a whole book examining the discourse of advertizing, starts with the premise that advertizing is a contemporary genre in its own right due to its specific purpose and function, specific way of communicating information, different media used for that purpose, the language used, and the like. Similarly, Myers (1994) in his book on advertizing lists six key assumptions which run through the book, one of them being: “Advertisements are stereotypical acts of communication – a genre” (Myers 1994: 6). Furthermore, focusing on describing the language of advertizing, Klikovac (2008: 131) points out that it is simple because the message has to be imprinted on the mind of the receiver quickly and efficiently. Thus, Klikovac concludes that the language of advertizing is so special that it represents a special functional style.

The phenomenon of advertising is an important part of modern culture. Advertisements are everywhere; whether we are walking, watching TV, reading newspapers, surfing the Internet, and the like; they are always present. Thus, they form an important, though mostly intrusive, part of our lives that deserves special attention.

As already said, advertisements are mostly intrusive since they are never the focus of our activities. They are considered to be a peripheral creation (Cook 1992: 1). For example, when going for a walk, we want to relax, or when reading, we want to get information from certain articles, and the like. This affects the very concept behind the structure of advertisements. Namely, since we are not interested in

advertisements in the first place, they have to attract our attention by being interesting in some way. At the same time, they should not contain many words since reading takes time and patience, which we are not ready to risk for advertisements. In a similar vein, Joan Crook (2004: 733) concludes that advertising has two main aims: salience and memorability. Actually, these aims stem from the main formula regulating successful advertizing conceived by Strong (1925) AIDA. The AIDA advertizing formula is an acronym which stands for: attention, interest, desire and action. In other words, it marks four stages in the sale process – first, one should attract the attention of potential buyers, then arouse their interest and keep their attention, then create in them a crave for the advertized product or service, and finally comes their action, i.e. the purchase, which satisfies their need.

There are different ways in which the AIDA requirement is fulfilled, for example, making use of interesting headlines and pictures. Thus, in the advertisement for Restylane, a cosmetic product against scars and lines, in the headline there is no mention of anything related to cosmetics: *Every face tells a story. Edit yours*. In this way readers are made to think of lines and scars on their faces as showing their life stories. On the other hand, the pictorial component in advertisements plays a very important role. For example, in an advertisement promoting milk with strawberry taste, there is a picture of a cow`s white fur with black spots shaped as strawberries.

However, apart from interesting or provocative headlines and pictures, very often unusual product names themselves function as attention-grabbers[2]: *Spyware Doctor* (anti-spyware program), *Crocs* (boots), *Turboccino* (coffee), *Toughbook* (computer), ... In this paper the focus is on the mentioned unusual product names. An unusual product name is a product name which prompts concepts not (directly) related to the very product. It brings together different objectively unrelated domains of experience. Thus, the anti-spyware progam (*Spyware Doctor*) is related to doctors, the boots (*Crocs*) are related to crocodiles, the coffee (*Turboccino*) is related to turbines, or anything having the `turbo`quality and the computer (*Toughbook*) is related to things which have the `tough` quality.[3]

Unusual product names deserve special attention for three reasons: (1) the language affects our attitude towards the advertized product, (2) the language is most economical and (3) the language is most creative at the same time. The first cited reason needs explaining. As Geis (1982: 109) explains it, human perception is selective and thus, the language we use to refer to things influences our perception and judgment of things. He illustrates this saying that few people were ready to buy

[2] When mentioning product names in the context of attracting attention Geis (1982: 109–110) differentiates between two types: those that serve as mini advertisements (e.g. The Dry Look (men`s hair spray)) and those that attract attention by virtue of being unusual in some way (e.g. Vanquish (pain reliever)).

[3] Thus, product names as mini-advertisements in this paper refer to names which are unusual and `hide` messages which need to be inferred.

and eat *horse mackerel*, but once the same fish came to be called *tuna*, the product gained popularity, i.e. it seems it started to taste better. A very good example for the claim that words affect our perception are anglicisms which are swarming in the languages of the modern world. As for the other two reasons mentioned, on the one hand, unusual product names are very short; mostly they contain one or two words. On the other hand, they evoke various positive associations at first glance unrelated to the product itself. It is hypothesized that it is in the product name that the essential information about the product is hidden, i.e. that unusual product names are like mini advertisements. In this research three issues will be studied:

(1) how unusual product names relate to the very products,

(2) how intended meanings are inferred from unusual product names, and

(3) what types of linguistic structures are used.

2. Cognitive linguistic approach

Since the starting point in this research is the hypothesis that complex layers of meaning are hidden behind unusual product names, and since it is the paper`s aim to show how message recipients mentally arrive at these meanings, it is only logical that the cognitive linguistic framework is applied here. Thus, before embarking on the very analysis, the most important postulates of this approach relevant for this research will be presented.

(1) Linguistic units prompt concepts. Meaning is at the level of concepts (not language) and it is encyclopedic; language acts in such a way that it activates concepts associated with words. For example the meaning of the word *Saturday* according to a dictionary definition is "the day between Friday and Sunday". However, *Saturday* means more than what is written in a dictionary and its real meaning varies from person to person depending on their encyclopedic, world, i.e. cultural knowledge, or in other words the concept of Saturday that they have in their minds. Thus, for most young people Saturday also means the first day of the weekend when they can sleep as long as they want; for people who have children Saturday is the day on which they play with children all day; for some people Saturday is the day when they have lunch at their parents` place; for some people, Saturday is the day when they get up early and do the weekly shopping, etc.

(2) Metaphor and metonymy are conceptual devices, not just rhetorical figures. They represent the way we think and help us conceptualize the world. Conceptual metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain (target domain), which is abstract, in terms of another conceptual domain (source domain), which is concrete. For example, we think of ideas in terms of food, via the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD, as is testified by the following everyday expressions: *raw facts*, *half-baked ideas*, *to digest facts*, *to swallow a claim*, *to devour a book*, *food for thought*, ... (Kövecses 2002: 5).

Conceptual metonymy makes it possible for one entity, vehicle entity, to indicate or provide mental access to another entity, target entity, within the same conceptual domain. For example, the metonymy THE PART FOR THE WHOLE makes it possible for a part of the body to refer to the whole person, as in the following examples (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 38): Get *your butt* over here! We don`t hire *longhairs*. The Giants need a *stronger arm* in the right field.

(3) Meaning is constructed**.** Conventional, dictionary meaning associated with a particular word is just a prompt for the process of meaning construction, i.e. the 'selection' of an appropriate interpretation against the context of the utterance (Fauconnier 1997: 1–5, Evans and Green 2006: 161). For example, the word *safe* has a range of meanings rather than just a single fixed property. Thus, the utterance *The beach is safe* (Evans and Green 2006: 161–162) against the context of a child playing on the beach means that the beach is an environment in which the risk of the child coming to harm is minimized. Otherwise, the same utterance could be interpreted differently. For example: the beach has avoided the impact of a recent oil spill; or, this beach is not going to be dug up by property developers; or, due to its location in a temperate climate, you will not suffer from sunburn here; or, there are no jellyfish in the sea, ... Thus, the correct interpretation depends on the context of the utterance.

(4) Conceptual blending or conceptual integration is a mental operation for dynamic, online construction of meaning (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). In this process different concepts organized as elements with particular relations in mental spaces get blended, i.e. integrated in specific ways, whereby a new structure, with new, emergent meaning is created. Conceptual blending operates with mental spaces, mappings, and projections, which will be briefly explained and subsequently illustrated. Mental spaces are conceptual units with elements and relations created for the purpose of local understanding an action (Turner and Fauconnier 1995: 184). They are partial structures that proliferate when we think and talk, allowing a fine-grained partitioning of our discourse and knowledge structures (Fauconnier 1997: 11). According to the Conceptual Blending Theory, there are at least four mental spaces: at least two input spaces, one blended space, which contains selective and partial projections of elements and relations from input spaces which are integrated in such a way that they yield new, emergent structure not existing as such in any of the input spaces. Finally, there is a generic space, a highly schematic structure which encompasses all the other mental spaces, and allows their integration. For the process of blending to begin, it is necessary to establish mappings, i.e. counterpart relations between elements in input spaces. After that, particular elements and relations from input spaces are projected into the blended space, depending on the very context in which the communication takes place. The process of conceptual blending is often represented graphically as a diagram, where mental spaces are circles, dots elements and relations, full lines cross-space mappings between input spaces, and dotted lines projections form the generic space to input spaces, as well as from input spaces to the blended space, as represented in the following figure:

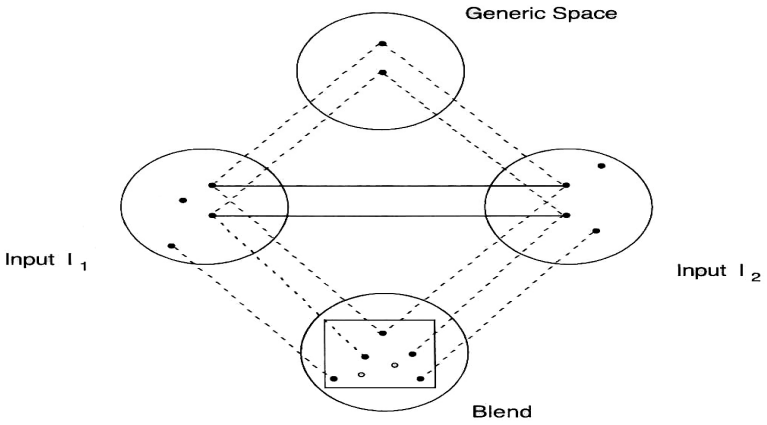

Figure 1: The basic diagram of conceptual integration (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 46).

Conceptual blending will be briefly explained taking one example, which is often quoted in the relevant literature – *land yacht.* Namely, this compound does not designate a type of yacht, but a 'luxurious car' (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 356–357, Coulson 2001: 155–156). The question is how we get this meaning. The theory of conceptual blending provides the answer. There are two input spaces, one relating to moving in a vehicle on the land and the other relating to moving in a vehicle on the water. The corresponding elements in the two input spaces are: *land* and *water*, *driver* and *captain*, *road* and *course*, *car* and *yacht*, *car owner* and *tycoon*. In addition to this, our encyclopedic knowledge in the input space *water* tells us that yacht ownership is associated with higher social status and wealth. In the blended space the following elements and relations are projected: *car*, *driver*, *highway*, *driving*, i.e. mostly elements from the *land* space. However, the *water* space provides a useful frame for this blend, too, because from there the status, i.e. luxury that goes with yacht ownership is projected, which is crucial for the new meaning. Luxury is associated with a car, not a yacht. The elements involved in conceptual blending in *land yacht* are represented below:

Generic space: moving in a vehicle

Input space 1 Land: land, driver, road, car, car owner

Input space 2 Water: *water, captain, course, yacht, tycoon* + encyclopedic knowledge: *status, higher class, wealth*

Blended space: *car, driver, highway, driving* + *luxury, wealth, status symbol*

► *luxurious car*

The represented conceptual blending theory will be applied to the analysis of unusual product names since it is supposed to show how we, interpreters, get the most important inferences, i.e. advertized messages from blended spaces.

3. Material and method

The material analyzed consists of advertisements collected mainly from popular magazines in English: *Vogue*, *Glamour* and *Elle,* since they typically include a lot of advertisements for a wide range of products. In addition to this, one specialized magazine, *PC World*, was chosen as a source of advertisements for computer-related products to make up for their lack in the popular magazines, since computing has become an essential part of our lives.

As a first step in the selection procedure of advertisements, I looked for products with names which are unrelated to the functions of the products themselves and thus look puzzling and provocative (e.g. *Crocs* for boots). The corpus resulted in 40 product names (containing 1 – 4 words) used to label the following product categories: technical products – computers and computer-related products (e.g. *ClearSky* – Bluetooth phone kit), cars (e.g. *Ford Taurus*), mobile phones (*Android Siemens*), watches (e.g. *Pulsar*), cosmetic products – hair-care products, perfumes, lipsticks, correction fluids, toothpastes (e.g. *Euphoria* – perfume), medicines (e.g. *Canesten Oasis*), drinks – coffee, juices and alcoholic drinks (*Peels* – alcoholic drink) and food (e.g. *Galaxy Caramel*).

In corpus analysis, in line with the applied cognitive linguistic framework, I first identified mappings between different mental spaces activated by the analyzed product names and considered the processes of conceptual integration involved. Then I established three main categories depending on the types of mental spaces activated by the product names, and within each category typical linguistic prompts for mental space activation.

4. Research results and analysis

In this section, in line with the cognitive linguistic framework described, the results of the research will be presented; they address the following issues: the types of cognitive links between the product names and the products they designate and the types of linguistic prompts activating conceptual blending, as the process of meaning inference.

4.1. The types of cognitive links between unusual product names and products

The first question posed is: How do product names relate to the very products? In other words, what is the cognitive link between the name of the product and the product itself? The results of the analysis show that the mentioned link is either metaphorical or metonymical, or both metaphorical and metonymical.

(A) Metaphorical cognitive link means that the product is equated with the concept denoted by the product name. For example:

Infusium – a hair-care product for dry hair: A HAIR-CARE PRODUCT IS INFUSION. 'It works like infusion, i.e. instantly revitalizes'.

Ford Taurus – A CAR IS A TAURUS. 'Ford has the characteristic typical of the bull: strong'.

(B) Metonymic cognitive link between the name and the product is realized in several ways:

(i) It indicates the emotional effect of the product on the consumer, i.e. it shows the way you feel after using the product. For example:

Euphoria, *Touch of Pink* – perfumes. 'When wearing *Euphoria*, you feel euphoric, whereas when wearing *Touch of Pink*, you feel well and are optimistic'. In the latter case metaphor is also involved, because pink means being in good condition, and optimistic.

(ii) It indicates the product`s internal characteristic or quality. For example:

Smart – a car. 'The car has the feature of being smart.' Here, metaphor is involved, too, since smart is a human characteristic, now applied to cars (OBJECTS ARE PEOPLE).

(iii) It indicates containment, i.e. what the product contains. For example:

Garnier Fructis – hair shampoo. 'The shampoo contains fruit, i.e. vitamins, and is thus, very good.'

Absolut Mandrin – vodka. 'The vodka contains mandarin; thus, it is very delicious and healthy'.

(iv) It indicates the manner in which the product works and the result. For example:

ThermaSilk – hair-conditioner. 'It turns hair into silk. In other words, hair is smooth and glistening.' Metaphor is also involved: HAIR IS SILK.

Smoothliner – a hair straightener. 'It makes hair smooth. '

(v) It indicates that the consumer of the product becomes X. For example:

Princess – a perfume. 'You become a princess. In other words you feel great and other people appreciate you'. Metaphor is involved here, too, because a princess metaphorically means someone with a special status.

4.2. Linguistic prompting of conceptual blending

The second issue addressed in this research is: How are intended meanings inferred from unusual product names? It is shown that the cognitive mechanism of conceptual blending is ``responsible`` for this. In this section of the paper a connection is made between surface linguistic structures and inner cognitive mechanisms. Namely, three main categories of unusual product names are established depending on two criteria: (1) whether the activated mental spaces are related and/or unrelated to the product advertised and (2) whether the mappings between mental spaces are semantic and/or formal. Furthermore, within each category linguistic structures of unusual product names are classified.

(1) The first category encompasses unusual brand names which activate just one unrelated mental space, i.e. a mental space containing a concept not directly relating to the advertized product. For example, *Peels* is a name of an alcoholic drink with fruit taste. The name of the product evokes fruit, rather than alcohol. Here, one mental space is granted linguistically, whereas the other is activated by the concept of the product that we have in our minds (semantic mapping).

Linguistic structures involved are already existing words, neologisms and exocentic compounds:

(i) Already existing words:

Euphoria (perfume), *Inspire* (perfume), *Apricorn* (portable hard disk), *Ovation* (power point), *Allure* (lipstick), *Smart* (car), *Citizen* (watch), *Shape* (Danone yoghurt), *Pulsar*

(watch)

(ii) Neologisms, new words or expressions, or words used with a new meaning.They appear as (morphological) adaptations of existing words, results of homonymy or exocentric compounds. These three subcategories will be illustrated and explained:

(a) (morphological) adaptations of existing words:

Infusium (haircare product). This is a pseudo-Latin word. Pseudo-Latin and Latin words, which are found in many product names (e.g. *Euphoria, Apricorn, Taurus*, ...) make anything seem scientific. *Infusium* should evoke the English word *infusion,* and the inferred meaning is: 'it instantly revives'.

Spector (program for monitoring employees` computer activities). *Inspect, v → spect (by clipping[4]) + -or (agent, doer) spector, n*. This name is probably coined by analogy with the word *specter* 'a ghostly apparition; a phantom' to refer to the fact that the computer program operates so that employees do not know about it.

Crocs (shoes). Croc(odile)s, n → crocs, n (by clipping) Crocodiles are dangerous, strong and resistant, and so are the shoes named after them.

Ultraviolet (perfume): *ultra,* prefix + *violet*, n. The name of the product is metonymically related to the product. The one who wears the perfume feels very rich. In the United Kingdom the color royal purple is associated with luxury (Wikipedia).

(b) result of homophony:

Cingular (mobile broadband network) – homophonous with *singular* /sINgjUl@/. The focus is on the uniqueness of the product.

Breil (watch; the headline: *Don`t touch my breil*. It seems that there is allusion to the Holy Grail) – homophonous with *grail* /greIl/. The focus is on the holiness, i.e. significance of the product.

[4] Clipping is the process of shortening a word without changing its meaning or part of speech (Bauer 1988: 33).

(iii) Exocentric compounds. They denote something which is not a sub-class of either of the elements in the compound (Bauer 1988: 35). For example, *piggy-bank* is neither a pig nor a bank, but a container in which children can save coins.

ClearSky (Bluetooth Phone Kit, which makes skyping easy): *clear*, adj + *sky*, n. The name of the product is metonymically related to the product; clearsky is not sky, but a phone kit which works effectively because the channel of communication, sky, is clear, i.e. there is no noise.

Skinflash (correction fluid): *skin*, n + *flash*, n. The name of the product is metonymically related to the product. It gives skin light, i.e. new radiance, in just seconds.

Aquafresh (toothpaste): *aqua*[5], initial combining form + *fresh*. The name of the product is metonymically related to the product. It gives teeth the feeling of freshness.

(2) The second category encompasses unusual brand names which activate two (or more) mental spaces, one related and the other unrelated to the advertised product. For example, *Ford Taurus* is a name of a car. The product name evokes a car (Ford; the make of a car is metonymically related to the very car) and an animal, a taurus, i.e. a bull (semantic mapping).

Linguistic structures involved are phrasal lexemes and blends:

(i) Phrasal lexemes – hybrid lexical units formally realized as phrases, but in terms of function, content and use like lexemes. In other words, they name one entity in the world (e.g. *personal computer, behind closed doors, let down, of course*, ...) (Prćić 2008: 162–166). Mostly, it is phrasal lexemes that signal this category of conceptual blends, which, in turn, are the result of integration at the level of the content (i.e. semantic mapping), accomplished by existing linguistic forms. There are two types of phrasal lexemes regarding the order of linguistic elements:

(a) The element referring to the advertised product[6] on the left, whereas the element referring to the unrelated concept is on the right. This is typical. For example: *Ford Taurus* (car), *Garnier Fructis* (shampoo), *Canesten Oasis*[7] (medicine against cystitis), *Samsung Sprint* (mobile phone), *Spyware Doctor* (anti-spyware program), *Absolut Mandrin* (vodka).

Such ordering of linguistic elements suggests that the unrelated concept with which the product is equated is in focus.

[5] Prćić (2008:88–89) recognizes the existence of initial combining forms, i.e. elements which have characteristics of both affixes and bases, originating from Old Greek and Latin. These are for example: *biblio-*, *zoo-*, *-phile*, but also *aqua-* and *ultra-* in these advertising examples. The process of word-building with initial combining forms is a type of composition or compounding, referred to as neoclassical composition (e.g. *bibliophile*, *zoology*).

[6] In the product name, the advertized product is often metonymically given.

[7] The example of this product name is taken from Lundmark (2005: 164–168).

(b) The element referring to the advertised product is on the right, whereas the element referring to the unrelated concept is on the left: *Android Siemens* (mobile phone), *Galaxy Caramel*[8] (chocolate), *Ferrari 4000 Technology Driver* (laptop).

(ii) Blends or portmanteau word, which contain two meanings packed up into one word (Bauer 1988: 39). Thus, 'linguistic' blends are the result of integration happening at the levels of the content and form simultaneously, i.e. the mapping is both formal and semantic.

Toughbook (laptop) – *tough* + *book*. Meaning: the focus is on the following characteristics of the computer: it is portable and resistant.

Netbook (laptop) – *network* + *book*. Meaning: the focus is on the following characteristics of the computer: it is portable and provides good Internet services and connection.

Crystalens (intraocular lenses against cataract) – crystal + lens. Meaning: with these lenses your sight is extremely good, clear like crystal.

Turboccino (coffee) – *turbine/turbo* + *capuccino*. Meaning: this capuccino gives you extra energy.

(3) The third category encompasses unusual product names which activate two (or more) mental spaces, but the mapping is accomplished between form and content. Namely, a characteristic form of the linguistic unit, as a matrix, indicates a particular concept and activates one mental space. On the other hand, the very content of the linguistic unit, which is fitted into the chosen form, activates the other mental space. For example:

NOD32 (antivirus program) – the form of this linguistic unit, *letters* + *number*, is characteristic of labelling highways (like M40), whereas the content fitted into that form indicates the name of an anti-virus program.

the MacBooks (laptop) – the form of this linguistic unit, the definite article and a name in the plural, is characteristic of labelling families (like the Johnsons), whereas the content fitted into that form indicates computers.

4.3. Conceptual blending at work in unusual product names

Now follows a description of the process of conceptual blending on examples representative of the three established categories of unusual product names. It will be presented how linguistic units serve as prompts for activating mental spaces, how these mental spaces are integrated to yield blended spaces with a `strange` structure, and, finally, how we construct inferences, i.e. real, intended meanings, from them. The elements involved in conceptual blending in *Infusium 23* are represented below:

(1) Conceptual blending in *Infusium* (hair-care product)

[8] The example of this product name is taken from Lundmark (2005: 89–92).

- *Input Space 1*: *patient, feeling very bad, infusion* + encyclopedic knowledge: dangerous condition, instantly revives
- *Input Space 2*: *hair in a bad state*, *hair-care product*
- *Blended Space*: *hair in a bad state*, *hair-care product / infusion*, *curing, works instantly*
- *Inferences*: 'This hair product works very fast and thus, is very effective.'

In Input Space 1 there is a scenario involving a patient feeling very bad and thus, getting infusion. Our encyclopedic knowledge tells us that if infusion is needed, the health condition must be very serious and in need of instant medical response; also, we know that infusion works effectively, i.e. instantly revives. In input space 2, there is a scenario which involves dry, matted hair, and the advertized hair-care product. In the blended space, though, the curing scenario is projected from one input space, whereas the elements are projected from the other input space, i.e. hair in a bad state is cured by applying the cosmetic product as infusion. The main inferences drawn from this fictitious blended space are the following: the advertized hair-care product is very effective (since it "cures hair instantly").

(2) Conceptual blending in *Spyware Doctor* (anti-spyware program)

- *Input Space 1*: *patient, illness, doctor* + encyclopedic knowledge: illness – can be dangerous, with serious consequences, has to be treated; doctor – great knowledge, expertise, the best, feel reverence; medical treatment – something serious, already tested, reliable, efficient
- *Input Space 2*: *computer, spyware, program against spyware*
- *Blended Space*: *computer / patient, curing, spyware / illness, antispyware program / doctor*
- Inferences: 'The program against spyware is reliable, efficient, the best, ... '

In Input Space 1 there is a scenario involving a patient suffering from an illness and a doctor treating it. Our encyclopedic knowledge tells us that illnesses can be dangerous, with serious consequences. Apart from that we know that doctors are people with great knowledge, and expertise; they are the best and we feel reverence for them; also a medical treatment is something serious, but already tested, reliable and efficient. In Input Space 2 there is a scenario where a computer is threatened by spyware, and there is a program against spyware as protection.

In the blended space, though, the curing scenario is projected from one input space, whereas the elements are projected from the other input space, i.e. spyware is cured by undergoing medical treatement by the advertized antispyware program

The main inferences drawn from this fictitious blended space are the following: 'the advertized antispyware program is reliable, efficient, the best, ... (since it is has the characteristics of a doctor).'

(2) Conceptual blending in *NOD32* (anti-virus program)

- *Input Space 1*: *man*, *air*, *viruses*, *hospital and doctors, curing illness* + encyclopedic knowledge: professional help, treatment of various infections

- *Input Space 2*: *computer, the Internet, malicious programs, NOD32, protection against malicious programs* + encyclopedic knowledge: viruses hinder surfing
- *Input Space 3*: *vehicle, highway, dangers on the road* + encyclopedic knowledge: great speed, many cars
- *Blended Space*: computer/man/vehicle, the Internet/highway/air, malicious programs/dangers on the road/viruses, NOD32/hospital.
- *Inferences*: 'NOD32 anti-virus protection is very good; it deals with various types of malicious computer programs (like a hospital, where various infections are cured).'

There are three input spaces here and two conceptual metaphors holding the relationships between them. In Input Space 1 there is a medical scenario involving a man being infected by viruses in the air and treated at a hospital, where various infections are cured. This medical scenario is prompted by NOD, which originally stood for the name of a popular Czechoslovak TV series, *Nemocnica na Okraji Mesta* (eng. *Hospital at the Edge of the City*). The first viruses attacked disk book sectors, which are located at the edge of a disk. That is why the then newly created virus was named NOD (http://www.wilderssecurity.com/showthread.php?t=25585). In Input Space 2 there is a scenario with the computer affected by malicious programs while surfing on the Internet. The mappings between the two input spaces are initiated by the conceptual metaphor DESTRUCTIVE COMPUTER CODE IS A VIRUS (Lakoff, Espenson, Schwartz 1991: 181). In Input Space 3 there is a road scenario involving a vehicle driving on a highway. Our encyclopedic knowledge tells us that on highways there are many cars driving very fast, which makes greater chances for accidents. Input spaces 2 and 3 are associated by the metaphor INTERNET IS A HIGHWAY (Rohrer 1997). In the blended space, there is a computer, searching for web locations (from Input Space 2) on the highway (from Input Space 3). On its way it is infected by malicious computer programs and treated in NOD32 hospital (projected from Input Spaces 1 and 2). Thus, in the blend NOD32 is a hospital, which offers professional treatment for computer accidents.

5. Conclusion

In this paper unusual product names are treated and analyzed as a special type of conceptual blends. The cognitive mechanism discussed helps us understand at first puzzling phenomena, such as unusual product names, which seem quite vaguely related to the products they name. At the textual or linguistic level of analysis it is shown that unusual product names are quite simple linguistic structures which contain between 1 and 4 words (*Euphoria, Turboccino, Ford Taurus, Ferrari 4000 Technology Driver*). In terms of structure they are: already existing words, neologisms, exocentric compounds, phrasal lexemes or blends. Although they are simple on the surface, there is a lot of meaning hidden in them, which is illustrated

by applying conceptual blending theory to get inferences. Unpacking the meaning requires huge, but unconscious both linguistic and encyclopedic knowledge on the part of message recipients.

Further thinking about how the issue of conceptual blends and their linguistic realization could be developed, leads to the conclusion that it would be interesting to see what kind of positive associations unusual product names of various products evoke in potential buyers in order to provoke a desire for possession in them. Another line of research would be to focus on one identified type of linguistic structure in product names and analyze their hidden creativity. Finally, it would be interesting to see how the conceptual blending theory works with product names which mix elements from two different languages, for example Serbian and English.

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TEAMING UP TO OVERCOME 21ST CENTURY CLASSROOM CHALLENGES

Abstract The 21st century classroom is an increasingly changeable environment in which teachers are required to update their knowledge and skills constantly. Professional development should therefore become a continuous activity rather than a single event. In a situation when opportunities for professional development are scarce, inadequate or costly, peer coaching, as a form of classroom supervision, may be a valuable solution. The aim of the paper is to indicate the need for teacher cooperation for overcoming classroom challenges. The paper is based on the results of a yearlong research project in which twelve English language teachers attempted to overcome their teaching difficulties by transforming their personal knowledge into a collective, shared and cohesive professional knowledge. The results obtained clearly indicate that peer coaching yields desired changes related to the teaching practice and students' knowledge even though it is a lengthy process entailing extensive logistics.

Key words: ELT, 21stcentury classroom, professional development, peer coaching.

1. Introduction

People from fields other than education could wrongly assume that teaching in general, especially teaching in the 21st century, is an easy job. With all the technology advancements at hand, all available internet and printed sources of information, entertaining course books and various interactive teaching aids, teaching seems to be quite an enjoyable profession and learning seems to be real fun. However, the reality is, more often than not, quite the opposite. Many schools in Serbia struggle with insufficient funding and cannot afford many "education luxuries" (Internet access, computer, data projector, etc.). In such a situation, teachers often escape to the "teaching tradition" – lecturing. Many would probably say that it is, after all, what teaching and education should be all about. Is that really so?

Several decades ago, when the teacher was the only source of information, lecturing as the only teaching practice was indisputably appropriate. Today, when students are exposed to a myriad of different sources of information, traditional lecturing is no longer an acceptable mode of teaching. Students of all ages come to school with good basic knowledge in many fields, which calls for teachers'

redesigning instruction and the learning environment. Therefore, the 21st century teaching is a much more complex issue and more demanding job than it appears to be at first sight. Above all, the 21st century teaching should provide learning that is learner-centered, problem-based, holistic, experiential, collaborative and applicable.

Some countries, such as the USA and Australia, have recognized these sweeping educational changes and have thus created national strategies to help the schools in their countries overcome the transitions they are facing. The have recognized four key elements to focus on and work towards: quality teachers, quality leaders, quality school management and recognition of quality (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2000). Other countries have not responded to these changes quickly and adequately enough.

2. The new millennium education

The 21st century classroom is a highly interactive environment suited to all students, who are usually of markedly differing interests, needs and abilities. The one-size-fits-all approach yields no results. The imperative of the modern classroom is searching for and creating one's own truth that works for an individual beyond classroom walls. Students today are exposed to numerous sources of information and can thus broaden their knowledge more easily than students could do it before. As they are skilled at searching for information and manipulating it, students nowadays expect to create their own knowledge and understanding while doing a task set rather than being given knowledge. The modern learner is expected to become a critical thinker, a problem solver, a good communicator, a good collaborator, as well as information and technology literate, flexible and adaptable, innovative and creative, globally competent, and financially literate (The Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2009). Besides that, the learner today needs to become environmentally conscious and socially responsible. Perhaps the most challenging task teachers are facing is the need to teach those skills within the context of academic subjects.

According to "21st Century Skills English Map" (2008: 2-16) published by the Partnership for 21st Century Skills, a US national organization that advocates for 21st century readiness for every student, 21st century learning presupposes mastering and developing the following skills and characteristics: (1) creativity and innovation, (2) creative thinking, (3) communication, (4) collaboration (5) information literacy, (6) media literacy, (7) ICT literacy, (8) flexibility and adaptability, (8) initiative and self-direction, (9) social and cross cultural skills, (10) productivity and accountability and (11) leadership and responsibility. Moreover, in her book *Tween Crayons and Curfews: Tips for Middle School Teachers* (2011) Heather Wolpert-Gawron presents the findings of her research project conducted among higher education stakeholders with the aim to find out what skills they expect their future candidates to have. The list of the skills that Wolpert-Gawron advocates includes the

following: (1) collaboration, (2) communication (3) problem solving, (4) questioning, (5) independent learning, (6) decision-making, (7) understanding bias, (8) leadership, (9) compromise, (10) summarize, (11) share the air (students need to develop the habit of learning from others), (12) persuasion (students need to be convincing in speaking and writing) and (13) goal setting.

Above all, the 21st century teacher should be aware of the great millennium change in education and thus willing to accommodate his teaching to the change. The change presupposes, above all, heavy reliance on modern tools that have found their way into education, and are thus used for searching for information, analyzing, synthesizing and presenting it. The 21st century teacher by no means blames his students for their "unusual" or "inappropriate" learning style, but he understands from where those changes stem. Today it is the teacher's most challenging role to find ways to infuse and foster the 21st century knowledge and skills in, more often than not, poor conditions and a threatening environment.

The 21st century educator is required to assume different roles at the same time. According to Churches (2008), the educator needs to be:

(1) Adaptor – The 21st century teacher is an adaptor in that he constantly adapts the curriculum to students' needs and thus bridges an everlasting gap between the old and the new. He always needs to find ways to present the content in a technology savvy way and thus make learning more interesting. He also needs to adapt constantly to the increasingly changing teaching and learning environment.

(2) Learner – The teacher, just like his students, should take every opportunity to learn. The teacher must come to the understanding that professional development is an ongoing process rather than a single activity. By setting the example of the need to become a life-long learner, students will realize that one can never learn and know everything and that living in this dynamic and ever-changing world presupposes learning as a mode of living.

(3) Visionary – The 21st century teacher is visionary in that he needs to foresee what skills and types of knowledge his students will need in the future and provide them with those. The visionary teacher is imaginative and creative and recognizes an opportunity for enjoyable learning even in the most uninteresting content.

(4) Leader – The teacher needs to have the vision he wants to accomplish. He uses all available resources to attain his goal.

(5) Model – The teacher needs to work on developing his own personal and academic traits that he will model for his students, including integrity, responsibility, reliability, social responsibility, environmental concern, global awareness, etc.

(6) Collaborator – The teacher is expected to set an example of how collaboration is important for one's learning and social networking. The

teacher needs to use different means of communication to search for information, present it, share it and keep in touch with other people.

(7) Risk-taker – The teacher needs to show leadership skills in that he has a vision he wants to attain, which sometimes presupposes being at the forefront and stepping into the unknown.

In its report "What Matters Most: Teaching for America's Future" (1996: 6), the US National Commission on Teaching and America's Future states categorically that, "in terms of student achievement, the teacher is a more significant factor than any other kind of school resource," owing to the fact that it is no longer enough to learn things, but to learn how to search for information and manipulate it so as to transform it into knowledge. Students expect to be provided with knowledge that is not at their fingertips; they also expect the teacher to present knowledge from different fields and make it applicable and life-related.

All the previously mentioned requirements imposed on teachers due to the new millennium change in education presuppose the change of teacher's beliefs, values and practices so that he can conform to the needs of new age students. In order to respond to the increasingly changeable teaching and learning environment, teachers need good quality, continuous professional development probably more than ever.

4. Professional development

Studies done in the US show that teachers spend 93% of their working time in isolation from their colleagues (Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 2010). Extensive literature (DuFour, 2004; Kissock, 2003; Guo, 2005; Scott & Miner, 2008) shows that working in isolation is a common practice among many teachers worldwide. Teachers go into their classroom, face challenges, solve them to the best of their ability (if they solve them at all), and usually remain silent before colleagues about those challenges as if they were not customary of every classroom. The existing model of schooling supports neither continuous individual teacher learning nor collaborative teacher learning.

Based on the aforementioned, it is obvious that the teaching profession has become highly skilled and very demanding. Moreover, in the increasingly changeable teaching and learning environment, it has become the teacher's responsibility to pursue continuous professional development so as to respond adequately to ever-changing educational challenges. The teacher who fails to embrace change as a component part of his profession, will undoubtedly turn his class today into a group of bored, non-ambitious, indifferent and disinterested young people. A logical question ensues from this: How possibly can a teacher face the 21st century challenges successfully? It is undeniably a daunting task to do on one's own, so the answer may lie in collaborative teacher learning as a professional development activity. According to Richards (2008: 12), "Although much teacher

development can occur through a teacher's own initiative, collaboration with others both enhances individual learning and serves the collective goals of an institution." By working in teams, however big or small they are, a teacher ensures accomplishing more than he could accomplish on his own. Ample research in the US (Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 2010; Neufeld & Roper, 2002; Honigsfeld & Dove, 2010; Liston, Peterson & Ragan, 2008) shows that collaborative teams positively affect the rewards of the teaching profession, improve instructional practice, enhance teaching effectiveness and increase student achievement. It is now a well-known fact that teachers benefit from the creative power of collaborative learning, enjoy the sense of increased efficacy and professionalism.

Because of all the new millennium demands imposed on teachers, it is quite obvious that teachers need opportunities to refine their skills and broaden their knowledge of technology, the content, etc. There are various forms of professional development in which teachers can engage. These include: workshops, seminars, conferences, summer and winter schools, teacher development curses (CELTA, DELTA, etc.), teaching logs, classroom action research, teacher observation, reflective teaching, peer coaching and the like. When the current situation regarding professional development opportunities in Serbia is analyzed, it is quite obvious that they are scarce, inadequate and mostly commercial. The major flaw of the currently available and accredited professional development events in Serbia is that they are not continuous, but rather separate, individual events, and they do not address teachers' real classroom-related problems due to which they are ineffective in helping teachers overcome everyday classroom challenges.

5. Peer coaching

In a situation in which the established educational system cannot respond adequately to the emerging needs of its students and teachers, teachers are left to overcome the challenges they are facing on their own. In such a situation, teacher collaboration may be a viable solution, especially that known as peer coaching.

Peer coaching is engaged by pairs of practicing teachers who are well aware of the necessity to create an opportunity for an ongoing professional development process to take place. They also need to be ready to try to overcome classroom-related challenges by disclosing their teaching practice and talking about it openly. It is important that each pair of teachers establish trust as an invaluable prerequisite for desired peer coaching results to be attained. Peer coaching is aimed at assisting teachers in refining their present skills, improving instructional strategies, analyzing the existing situation, seeking solutions for classroom-related problems and improving their relationships. Eventually, the coaching process has the potential to boost student learning by contributing to teachers' professional growth. It is a non-evaluative process and the teacher who is being observed directs the supervision.

The partner visits the classroom to collect data on an issue the observed teacher finds important after which they engage in a constructive, meaningful dialogue about the findings, trying to find the best possible solution to implement.

However, if explained and understood properly, peer coaching is an indispensable strategy for making classroom-based decisions based on data, rather than making assumptions and implementing decisions based on them.

According to Nolan and Hoover (2005), the peer coaching process comprises the following stages:

(1) Espoused platform – prior to commencing the peer coaching process, teachers discuss their teaching beliefs, repertoire of teaching practices and techniques they use, changes in their practice so as to be able to interpret data and find viable solutions more easily.
(2) Pre-observation conference – before each classroom observation teachers do pre-observation conferencing in order to get acquainted with the aim of the lesson, activities planned, what needs to observed, data collection technique the observed teacher would like the observer to employ, etc.
(3) Observation – the observer collects data on what the observed teacher regards important for him to find about.
(4) Interpretation and analysis of data gathered – each teacher takes time to interpret the data gathered so as to understand them and list his observations and possible solutions.
(5) Post-observation conference **-** teachers meet to discuss the data gathered and try to draw a conclusion regarding a possible solution worthy to be implemented as a means of aiding the existing situation
(6) Cycle evaluation – after the agreed upon solution has been implemented, the observer collects data on the same issue again this time to examine whether there have been any changes issuing from the implemented solution.

Peer coaching is a professional development activity that enhances not only teaching and learning that take place within the classroom, but the overall school environment as it requires teachers' collegial relationships based on trust. Even though its advantages clearly outweigh its disadvantages (Glušac, 2011; Vacilotto & Cummings, 2007; Wong & Nicotera, 2003), it is a very rarely performed professional development activity.

Based on what the observed teacher wishes to improve about his own teaching practice, different authors recognize different types of feedback. Garmston (cited in Nolan and Hoover, 2005), Ackland (1991), Becker (1996), Galbraith and Anstrom (1995) and Showers and Joyce (1996) identify the following types of peer coaching: *technical coaching* and *collegial coaching*. The former is a follow-up to some other type of professional development, its primary aim being to aid the teacher in implementing new knowledge or skills the teacher learned in that other professional development activity. The observer's role is to collect data as to how successfully

the teacher has implemented the new knowledge and skills and what effect they have on his students. This type of coaching should thus help the teacher introduce novelties into his repertoire of practices. The former, on the other hand, presupposes a teacher's attempt to find a solution to a problem or an answer to a question related to a concrete classroom situation. This type of coaching is therefore aimed at teacher's refining his practices and thus helping students improve their knowledge. Costa and Garmston (2002) call this type of coaching *cognitive coaching* as it presupposes teacher's reflecting on his practice and changing it as a result of the change of their beliefs and values.

Ackland (Ibid.), Becker (Ibid.) and Galbraith and Anstrom (Ibid.) agree that there is also *challenge coaching* whose primary aim is to identify problems beyond the classroom level and attempt to solve it. The problem may be school-wide or related to a particular grade of students. This type of coaching presupposes participation of more teachers and even school administrators, all of whom can contribute to devising a solution with their different expertise and experience.

Galbraith and Anstrom (Ibid.) add also *team coaching* as another type of peer coaching. In team coaching two teachers do peer coaching and team teaching at the same time. In other words, a teacher who is an expert in a field joins his colleague in teaching a lesson. At the same time, the visiting teacher acts as an observer and helps the observed teacher assess the effectiveness of the methods employed and the like.

6. The model implemented

In order to experiment with this form of professional development and find out how feasible and effective it is in our teaching context, an attempt was made to carry out the research described below.

In September 2009 six pairs of volunteer English language teachers were selected. Relying exclusively on personal contacts, it was important to find teachers willing enough to undertake quite a demanding task of engaging in a new, experimental, professional development activity. Those teachers who consented to participation needed to choose a colleague with whom they had a good, collegial relationship as they were going to work with him/her during the course of the research. All teacher-participants held a university degree in English language and literature. Moreover, three pairs taught at primary and the remaining three at secondary schools. A two-day workshop was organized for them so as to provide them with necessary knowledge and equip them with the skills needed to participate successfully. The workshop was given in November 2009.

At the beginning of the research, the teachers were given a questionnaire to complete regarding their professional development engagement and preferences. For the purposes of this research each teacher needed to choose one class he/she taught in which he/she wanted to improve certain aspects by exploring them in greater detail by having the colleague to observe and help in devising good enough

solutions. During the course of eight months each teacher needed to ask the peer coach to do seven observations in his/her chosen class.

The participants were asked to make a portfolio and keep a journal so as to collect data. The portfolio needed to contain information regarding all the stages of an observation they would go through (pre-conference, observation, interpretation of data, post-observation conference and cycle evaluation). Moreover, it was important that teachers document evidence of students' reactions to an implemented solution, be it more or less favorable, as well as any additional material they consulted when seeking for a solution. As regards the journal, it was important that teachers keep records of their feelings, reflections, and impressions before and after an observation, ask themselves questions, enter comments regarding their students' progress and the like.

7. Findings

As described in the previous part of the paper, the data were gathered in different ways – through portfolio, journal, questionnaire, students' pieces of work and interview with participants. Owing to the fact that the aim of this paper is to investigate the need for teachers to cooperate to meet the demands of the new millennium education as viewed from the teachers' perspective, only those data gathered through teachers' journals and the interview with them at the end of the research project were analyzed. Those data best identify teachers' feelings when teaming up with a colleague, their attitudes to peer coaching, as well as teachers' perception of its benefits and drawbacks.

All the teachers agree that peer coaching requires extensive logistics. The participant teachers hardly managed to fit peer coaching meetings into their busy schedules as it required from them to meet several times to complete a coaching cycle. Despite that, their overall impression was that peer coaching helped them find answers to the questions they had long had - it helped them refine their skills (collegial / cognitive coaching) and introduce novelties into their teaching (technical coaching). Irrespective of their teaching experience, there was no significant difference among the issues the teachers wanted their colleagues to observe. The most commonly used type of peer coaching was collegial / cognitive coaching. Teachers mainly wanted to inquire into their practice and explore how well they taught, what teaching strategies they employed, how effective they were, etc. Some of the issues the participant teachers listed were: students' use of L1 and L2 in class, efficacy of the teacher's questions, clarity of teach instruction, how well the teacher monitors the students' class work, whether the teacher uses any non-verbal methods, etc. As far as technical coaching is concerned, a few teachers wanted to introduce novelties into their teaching practice. They included the introduction of new formats of work and portfolio assessment. There were no examples of the teachers' engagement in challenge or team coaching.

The participant teachers appreciated the opportunity to learn and improve, especially to learn in collaboration with a colleague with whom they had a good relationship. All the teachers stated they improved in a certain way due to their collaboration with their colleague. They all regard peer coaching to be an indispensable tool for reflecting on their own practice. Having a colleague to "hold a mirror" for them while they taught was of significant importance for the teachers to get an insight into their practice. Conferencing with the colleague also helped them raise awareness of many aspects of their teaching. Collaboration with a colleague eventually helped the teachers learn about the effectiveness of the techniques they employed, assumptions they supposed their teaching was based upon, as well as those they were unaware of, etc.

Having a colleague observe their classes also helped them learn the importance of self-observation and self-assessment. Never before had they had a chance to reflect on their instruction and their students' learning characteristics using data. Not only were the participant teachers able to focus on their performance, but that of individual learner's as well. They were eager to investigate individual student's participation in class, their specific reactions, the effect of certain teaching methods on them and the like. The teachers felt empowered in the sense that they had data available to make decisions, as it was not the case before.

The participant teachers were especially proud of assuming the ownership and responsibility of their own professional development (Nolan and Hoover, 2005). Most of them stated that peer coaching finally helped them find answers to many questions they had long searched for. Namely, the teachers said that peer coaching differs from other forms of professional development in that it helps them deal with real problems. They felt excited about having found a possible way to finally solve their classroom problems and queries. Also, the teachers appreciated the opportunity to work at their own pace having no specific deadlines to meet.

The opportunity to choose their peer coaching partner made most of them feel relaxed. The initial feeling of uneasiness due to having an observer in class was alleviated gradually as the observer soon became a source of ideas and solutions, motivation, etc. Moreover, that contributed to mutual trust and confidence between partners being improved during the research.

These findings are in concert with the findings on collaborative continuing professional development published in *Team Up for 21st Century Teaching and Learning* (2010: 34): "The reported changes in teacher behavior included: greater confidence; enhanced beliefs among teachers of their power to make a difference to pupils' learning; development of enthusiasm for collaborative working despite initial anxiety about classroom observation; and, greater commitment to changing practice and willingness to try new things". Being a comprehensive professional development activity, peer coaching provides grounds for constant improvement and introduction of new practices.

8. Conclusion

The participant teachers found peer coaching helpful as it aided them in assessing, modifying and altering their present practices, as well as in introducing new ones. Moreover, the teachers valued collaborative learning as it shed new light on their teaching and helped them find answers to doubts they had long had. They regard peer coaching as an indispensable strategy in the pursuit of improved teaching and learning. Above all, peer coaching enabled teachers to take control of their own and their student learning by relying on data collected through collaboration with a colleague. The data helped teachers face the reality of their classroom, inquire into their own practice, search for and find solutions to the problems that had long troubled them. Owing to the solutions they found, the teachers altered and/or changed their practices having one goal in mind – improved student learning. However, what concerned teachers was the lack of time and the fact that results were not immediately visible.

All in all, despite the fact that it is time-consuming and that it presupposes extensive logistics, peer coaching has proved to be a valuable professional development activity. If implemented properly and engaged in willingly, peer coaching benefits not only teachers and students, but the whole school environment.

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THE TREATMENT OF POLYSEMOUS LEXEMES IN ENGLISH-SERBIAN DICTIONARIES[1]

Abstract The aim of the research described in this paper is to gain an insight into the ways in which different dictionaries deal with lexicographic difficulties related to the treatment of polysemous lexemes: the number of senses a dictionary offers, sense discrimination, the structure and organisation of an entry, the typical context of a sense illustrated by example phrases and sentences and labelling of different senses and subsenses. These are five criteria on the basis of which three polysemous and synonymous verbs (*drive*, *ride* and *fly*) were analysed as the entries in three English-Serbian dictionaries: *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (Benson: 1986), *Englesko-hrvatski ili srpski rečnik* (Filipović: 1993) and *ESSE rečnik* (Kovačević: 1998). The comparison of the entries in the three dictionaries reveals potential irregularities in the strategies for dealing with the relevant lexicographic issues and contributes to the development of an optimal strategy for the treatment of polysemous lexemes in English-Serbian dictionaries.

Key words: lexicography, polysemy, English-Serbian dictionaries, entries, senses.

1. Introduction

While compiling a dictionary entry, one of the main difficulties a lexicographer encounters is an adequate treatment of polysemous lexemes. This challenging task boils down to finding the way for distinguishing among senses of a polysemous lexeme and then, presenting them within the framework of a dictionary entry as a list of neatly separated and consecutively numbered senses. Thus, the issue of selection is accompanied by the problems of organisation and representation, which should be clear and comprehensive so that a dictionary fulfills its pragmatic purpose by enabling its users to grasp different senses of a lexeme easily.

This paper deals with the analysis of the treatment of polysemous lexemes in three English-Serbian dictionaries with the aim of examining the adequacy of their lexicographic practice taking into account the reliance on linguistic theory,

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systematic selection, structure, organisation and representation of senses as well as the degree of user-friendliness. The results of the analysis provide the firm basis for developing a set of strategies for the optimal arrangement of senses within dictionary entries.

2. Polysemy

Polysemy is a linguistic phenomenon referring to the ability of a lexeme to have several senses all of which are mutually connected and presented within one dictionary entry. As Dragićević claims (2007: 130), the main cause of polysemy lies in the fact that the number of objects and notions around us is considerably larger than the number of different lexemes for denoting them. If every object were denoted by a different lexeme, speakers would not be able to memorise all of them. This would cause difficulties in communication among speakers of the same language. Polysemy can be regarded as a tool based on linguistic economy that a language uses to respond to new situations keeping to a minimum its demands on speakers' memory capacity.

One of the main characteristics of polysemy is relatedness of meaning, the term given by Lyons (1990: 551) referring to the fact that all the senses of a single polysemous lexeme are mutually related since they are derived from the same basic sense by means of various mechanisms. For the purpose of illustrating this claim, the same author (1990: 551) provides an example of the noun *mouth* as a lexeme with several related senses including the ones that this lexeme has in the expressions *the mouth of the river*, *the mouth of the bottle* or *speak with somebody's mouth full*. The last expression reveals the basic or literal meaning of the lexeme *mouth* that can be defined as *the part of the face which men and animals put food into or which they use for speaking* (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, new ed. 2003). Due to the figurative extension of meaning, this lexeme is also used for the reference to the part of the river where it joins the sea, or the open part at the top of a bottle.

These examples support Dragićević's claim (2007: 131-132) that the set of all the senses of one lexeme forms its polysemantic structure consisting of the primary sense and secondary senses which are derived from it by means of various productive mechanisms including specialization, generalization, metaphor and metonymy.

The primary sense is also known as a direct sense (Zgusta 1971: 61), which is usually the dominant one so that is the first meaning to be thought of by the majority of speakers if they see the given word outside any context.

2.1. Linear Polysemy

As it has already been mentioned above, new senses of a lexeme are often developed through the mechanism of specialization that refers to the process in

which the use of a lexeme becomes progressively narrower, as it is shown in the following set of examples:

(1) *She raised the cup to her mouth and drank.* (to swallow a liquid)[2]

(2) *Jack doesn't drink, so I ordered him a Coke.* (to drink alcohol)

(3) *She left her first husband because he drank.* (to drink alcohol excessively)

The new senses of the verb *drink* are derived from the basic and most general one present in the example (1) through the specification of the liquid, as in the example (2) or both the liquid and way of drinking it, as in the example (3) leading to the enrichment of the given polysemous structure.

The related senses of a lexeme are also developed in the process of generalization in which the lexeme's basic sense becomes broader. For instance, the word *cat* primarily refers to a domestic cat that people often keep as a pet, but also it can refer to the whole cat family including lions, tigers, etc in which case the sense of the lexeme *cat* is generalized.

It is obvious that the relation among polysemous senses is motivated. If the relationship among senses in a polysemous structure of a lexeme is based on generalization or specialization of meaning, it is regarded as an instance of a linear relation, i.e. linear polysemy (Cruse 2004: 108).

2.2. Non-linear Polysemy

Secondary senses of a polysemous lexeme can also be generated through metaphor, a mechanism characterised by Cruse (2004: 110) as figurative usage based on resemblance. Actually, a transferred sense is derived from the basic one by means of conceptual metaphor, which involves figurative extension of meaning based on the similarity between two unrelated conceptual domains. The similarity between the two domains is not absolute. It is based on a common feature including shape, position, use, characteristic, ability, etc. Thus, there is an implied resemblance between primary and secondary senses. Atkins, B.T. and Rundell, M. (2008: 287) refer to the examples in which an abstract sense is derived from a literal or physical one:

(1) *They climbed the mountain.*

(2) *The stock market climbed to a new high.*

Moving upwards is the common semantic feature for the two examples, which the metaphoric transfer of meaning is based on so that the basic meaning of physical upward movement is developed into a new sense implying an increase in amount, number or level.

While metaphor is based on similarity, metonymy, another mechanism involved in the development of new senses within a polysemous structure is based on contiguity. The essential idea of metonymy is that one entity is used for

[2] These examples are given by Atkins, B.T. and Rundell, M. (2008: 284).

indicating another entity related to it. Generally speaking, one of the most frequent relations between the entities in metonymy is of part-and-whole nature. The word for a part of something is used to refer to the whole or the whole is referred to in terms of something associated with it. Also, the whole can be used to refer to one of its parts, attributes, or aspects. This definition of metonymy is illustrated by the following examples:

(3) *There were just too many mouths to feed*. (the mouth refers to a person)[3]
(4) *He wanted everyone to admire his new wheels*. (the wheels stand for the car)
(5) *The kettle's boiling*. (the kettle stands for the water in it)
(6) *Would you mind if I used your bathroom*? (the bathroom stands for the toilet in it)

A polysemantic structure containing senses developed by means of metaphor or metonymy, according to Cruse (2004: 110), exemplifies non-linear polysemy.

Transferred senses of a lexeme produced by means of metaphor and metonymy can often be of a technical or terminological nature meaning that such senses reveal themselves in specialized contexts dealing with a particular subject matter (e.g. a branch of science, technology, etc). In that way, certain senses get their terminological value becoming terms of a particular area of knowledge.

Thus, the secondary senses developed from the primary one by means of previously mentioned mechanisms involve narrower or specialized senses, generalized senses, transferred or figurative senses and technical terms.

2.3. Lexicographers' task

As for polysemy, the primary task of a lexicographer is to arrive at an inventory of senses for each polysemous word and to organise them into a structured dictionary entry, which means an entry consisting of a list of separated, consecutively numbered senses with the definition of the typical context for each of the senses illustrated by example sentences.

In dictionaries, within one dictionary entry, the primary (basic) sense is the first one, while the secondary ones are listed after it according to their semantic closeness to the basic meaning. Semantically related or close senses are grouped under the same number but clearly separated by the use of various bullet symbols in front of them.

When dealing with polysemous words, lexicographers encounter two main difficulties: sense discrimination and structuring of a dictionary entry. Sense discrimination is related to the number of senses a dictionary offers as well as the criterion according to which these senses are established (syntax, collocation, morphology, etymology, specific context, etc). The problem of structuring a dictionary entry boils down to finding the way for the most effective presentation of

[3] These examples are given by Atkins, B.T. and Rundell, M. (2008: 291-292).

a lexeme's different senses. A lexicographer's task is to decide on the structure of the senses (flat[4] or hierarchical) as well as the order of senses (historical[5], logical or based on frequency). Also, the attention of a lexicographer has to be drawn to the explanation of each sense including the context in which it typically appears, such as collocations or specific syntactic conditions, which are to be supported by illustrative example sentences or phrases showing a lexeme's particular sense realised in a characteristic environment. The visual representation of an entry is an equally important aspect of its structure referring to labelling of different senses so that they can be easily distinguished one from another, which greatly contributes to the dictionary's user-friendliness.

3. Corpus analysis

The aim of the reasearch described in this paper is to gain an insight into the treatment of polysemous lexemes in English-Serbian dictionaries, i.e. the comparison of how different dictionaries deal with the lexicographic difficulties related to verbs and polysemy and summarised as five criteria: the number of senses a dictionary offers, sense discrimination, the structure and organisation of an entry (which subsumes the structure of senses and their ordering), the typical context of a sense illustrated by example phrases and sentences and labelling of different senses and subsenses. These are the criteria on the basis of which three polysemous and synonymous verbs (*drive*, *ride* and *fly*) were analysed as the entries in three English-Serbian dictionaries: *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (1986), *Englesko-hrvatski ili srpski rečnik* (1993) and *ESSE rečnik* (1998). The aim was to find several highly polysemous lexemes that are semantically related. Since in English, verbs are often highly-polysemous, this word class is suitable for this research. The verbs mentioned above were selected on the basis of their rich polysemous structure consisting of a list of more than ten different senses including a number of specific and figurative ones so that such entries provide a good insight into the organisation and structure of polysemous entries in English-Serbian dictionaries. The given entries of each dictionary were examined with the purpose of revealing the strategies for dealing with the relevant lexicographic issues, which were, then, compared so that the overall picture on the treatment of polysemous verbs in English-Serbian dictionaries could be built up.

The New Oxford Dictionary of English (*NODE*) was used as a source of all the possible senses of the given verbs taking into account the organisation of the entries.

[4] In a flat structure, senses are listed without labelling the primary or dominant sense and secondary ones as it is the case in a hierarchical structure.

[5] A historical order implies that the first sense is the one which all the others originated from; when senses are given according to frequency, the first sense is the most frequent one; a logical order is based on the list of the core and extensional meanings according to a lexicographer's judgment.

The sense inventory of the selected verbs given in *NODE* is presented below:

DRIVE Primary sense: **1** [no obj.,usu. with adverbial of direction] operate and control the direction and speed of a motor speed of a motor vehicle ▪ [with obj.] own or use (a specified type of motor vehicle); ▪ [no obj.] be licensed or competent to drive a motor vehicle ▪ [with obj.] convey (someone) in a vehicle, especially a private car

Secondary senses: **2** [with obj. and adverbial of direction] propel or carry along by force in a specified direction ▪ [no obj.] (of wind, water, or snow) move or fall with great force ▪ [with obj.] (of a source of power) provide the energy to set and keep (an engine or a piece of machinery) in motion ▪ Electronics (of a device) power or operate (another device) ▪ [with obj.] force (a stake or nail) into place by hitting or pushing it ▪ [with obj. and adverbial] bore (a tunnel) ▪ (in ball games) hit or kick (the ball) hard with a free swing of the bat, racket, or foot ▪ [with obj.] Golf strike (a ball) from the tee, typically with a driver

3 [with obj. and adverbial of direction] urge or force (animals or people) to move in a specified direction ▪ [with obj.] urge forward and direct the course of (an animal drawing a vehicle or plough) ▪ [with obj.] chase or frighten (wild animals) into nets, traps, or into a small area where they can be killed or captured ▪ compel to leave

4 [with obj.] (usu. be driven) (of a fact or feeling) compel (someone) to act in a particular way, especially one that is considered undesirable or inappropriate ▪ [with obj.] bring (someone) forcibly into a specified negative state ▪ [with obj.] force (someone) to work to an excessive extent

RIDE Primary sense: [with obj.] **1** sit on and control the movement of (an animal, especially a horse), typically as a recreation or sport ▪ [no obj., with adverbial] travel on a horse or other animal ▪ sit on and control (a bicycle or motorcycle) for recereation or as a means of transport ▪ [no obj.] (ride in/on) travel in or on (a vehicle) as a passenger ▪ chiefly N. Amer. travel (in a vehicle) or on (a public transport system) as a passenger ▪ go through or over (an area) on horseback, a bicycle, etc. ▪ compete in (a race) on horseback or on a bicycle or motorcycle ▪ N. Amer. travel up or down in (a lift) ▪ S. African transport (goods) ▪ [no obj., with adverbial or complement] (of a vehicle, animal, racetrack, etc.) be of a particular character for riding on or in ▪ informal transport (someone) in a vehicle

Secondary senses: **2** [with obj.] be carried or supported by (something with a great deal of momentum) ▪ [no obj.] project or overlap ▪ [no obj.] (of a vessel) sail or float ▪ [no obj., with adverbial of place] float or seem to float ▪ yield to (a blow) so as to reduce its impact ▪ vulgar slang have sexual intercourse with ▪ (of a supernatural being) take spiritual possession of (someone) ▪ N. Amer. annoy, pester, or tease

3 (be ridden) be full of or dominated by

FLY Primary sense: [no obj.] **1** (of a bird or other winged creature) move through the air under control ▪ (of an aircraft or its occupants) travel through the air ▪ [with obj.] control the flight of (an aircraft); pilot ▪ [with obj. and adverbial of direction] transport in an aircraft ▪ [with obj.] accomplish (a purpose) in an aircraft ▪ [with obj.] release (a bird) to fly, especially a hawk for hunting or a pigeon for racing.

Secondary senses: **2** move or be hurled quickly through the air ▪ [with adverbial of direction] Baseball hit a ball high into the air ▪ [with adverbial of direction] go or move quickly ▪ informal depart hastily ▪ (of time) pass swiftly ▪ (of a report) be circulated among many people ▪ (of accusations or insults) be exchanged swiftly and heatedly

3 [with adverbial] (especially of hair) wave or flutter in the wind ▪ (of a flag) be displayed, especially on a flagpole ▪ [with obj.] display (a flag).

4 archaic flee; run away ▪ [with obj.] flee from; escape from in haste

NODE gives a clear division of senses into one primary or basic sense and several secondary senses, which are derived from it by means of metaphor or metonymy. They are ordered according to the degree of their semantic closeness to the primary sense ranging from the semantically closest sense to the one which is least related to the basic meaning.

The total numbers of senses and related subsenses of each verb in *NODE* are the following: *DRIVE*: 20; *RIDE*: 20; *FLY*: 18. However, the total number of senses in the selected English-Serbian dictionaries varies from dictionary to dictionary.

The inventories of senses for the verbs in question found in the three dictionaries are listed below:

ENGLESKO-SRPSKOHRVATSKI REČNIK (1986)

DRIVE 1. *tr* terati (tjerati); oterati (otjerati); doterati (dotjerati); 2. *tr* uterati (utjerati); 3. *tr* voziti, upravljati; 4. *tr* odvesti (odvezem); 5. *tr* dovesti (dovezem); 6. *tr* provozati, provesti (provezem); 7. *tr* dovesti (dovedem), naterati (natjerati); 8. *tr* ukucati; zabiti; udariti; probiti; 9. *intr* voziti; 10 *intr* odvesti (odvezem) se; 11. *intr* provesti (provezem) se; provozati se; 12. misc.[6]

RIDE 1. *tr* jahati; 2. *tr* voziti; 3. *tr* (colloq.) kinjiti, jahati; 4. *tr* ploviti (na, po); 5. *intr* jahati; 6. *intr* voziti se; 7. *intr* voziti; 8. *intr* držati se na vodi; 9. misc.

FLY 1. *tr* pilotirati; 2. *tr* preleteti (preletjeti); 3. *tr* istaći; 4. *intr* leteti (letjeti); 5. misc.

[6] The last sense that *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (1986) offers within each of the entries carries the label misc. (miscelaneous) and includes the list of idioms related to the given verb as well as their translations, e.g. DRIVE *what is he ~ing at? na šta (što) cilja? *to ~ a point home uliti činjenicu u glavu, dokazati nešto; to ~ a hard bargain napraviti dobar pazar*. However, this section is not taken into account as one of the distinct senses of the given verbs.

ENGLESKO-HRVATSKI ILI SRPSKI REČNIK (1993)

DRIVE I vt 1. goniti, tjerati; 2. zabiti (čavao), zatjerati (klin), zagnati, potjerati 3. baciti (loptu) 4. otjerati, rastjerati 5. hunt hajkati 6. upravljati, voditi, voziti (kola, stroj); kočijašiti; šofirati 7. fig natjerati, prisiliti, skloniti, navesti, nagovoriti 8. voditi (posao), vršiti (zanimanje) 9. zaključiti (posao) 10. odgoditi 11. bušiti (tunel); graditi (cestu) II vi 1. biti gonjen, nošen, trčati, žuriti se, hitjeti 2. nasrnuti, navaliti; udariti, udarati 3. voziti se; izvesti se 4. ciljati, nišaniti; misliti

RIDE I vi 1. jahati 2. voziti se 3. (o brodovima, stvarima) biti nošen, kretati se; usidriti se; juriti; lebdjeti (on na) 4. (o terenu) biti podesan; prikladan za jahanje II vt 1. sjediti jašeći; jahati (konja i sl.); upravljati (konjem) (at na, prema); dostići, prestići 2. (često pasivno) svladati; tlačiti; mučiti; sjediti na; voziti (bicikl); ležati; počivati; plivati na, lebdjeti 3. pustiti koga da jaše 4. vs prevoziti kolima, voziti 5. (udaljenost, zemlju itd.) projahati

FLY I vi 1. letjeti; uzletjeti; nastaviti let; odletjeti; žuriti se, hitjeti, juriti, pojuriti, srnuti; (fly, flying zamjenjuje flee, fleeing) 2. bježati, pobjeći 3. lepršati, vijoriti se 4. odmicati; promicati II vt 1. prelijetati, preletjeti 2. kloniti se, izbjegavati 3. loviti (sokolom, jastrebom); dići, natjerati da uzleti (pticu) 4. izvjesiti (zastavu) 5. sport prijeći preko čega 6. aero upravljati avionom, voziti avionom 7. fam poslati, nabaciti (npr.| will ~ you a line)

ESSE REČNIK (1998)

DRIVE 1 voziti (se), upravljati; odvesti (kolima) 2 terati, goniti; rasterati; *to ~ oneself too hard* preterivati (s radom); *he was ~n to despair* doteran je do očaja; *to ~ sb out of one's mind* dovesti do ludila 3 (takođe ~ in) ukucati, zabiti, (fig.) utuviti; *to ~ a home point* razjasniti 4 (sport) udariti, uputiti (loptu) 5 teh. startovati

RIDE 1 jahati (konja); uzjahati (na ramena) 2 voziti (bicikl); AE voziti se (kolima i sl.) 3 (pom.) plutati, biti nošen (na talasima); (fig.) *to be riding high* biti ponesen (uspehom) 4 (AE kol.) maltretirati 5 (boks) eskivirati

FLY 1 leteti, preleteti (avion, ptica); (fig.) *to ~ high* biti ambiciozan 2 pilotirati; prevesti (avionom) 3 (po)juriti; *I must ~* moram da požurim; *to ~ by/past* prohujati (vreme); *time flies* vreme leti; *to ~ open* naglo otvoriti 4 lepršati (se); *rumours are ~ing* čuju se glasine; *to ~ into a rage* razbesneti se; (fig.) *to ~ in the face of* suprotstaviti se 5 umaći; *to ~ the country* pobeći iz zemlje

The examination of the three entries following the criteria described above has revealed certain inconsistencies in relation to the number of the given senses as well as other aspects of the organisation of these polysemous entries.

3.1. Number of senses

The analysis of the number of senses included in the three dictionaries has shown that the entries do not contain all the possible senses of the given verbs. This is understable taking into account the scope of the dictionaries in question. However,

the senses are not systematically and consistently selected. Thus, certain secondary main senses are not included into the inventories or if they are, they are not marked as such. As for the subsenses included into the inventory, mainly those that represent figurative extensions, it can be said that they are selected according to the lexicographer's judgement on their frequency in language usage. For instance, in *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (1986), the excluded main senses and subsenses are the ones that are perceived by the lexicographer as less frequent ones, e.g. *RIDE 2* ▪ *[no obj.] project or overlap,* ▪ *(of a supernatural being) take spiritual possession of (someone);* *FLY 2* ▪ *[with adverbial of direction] go or move quickly,* ▪ *(of a report) be circulated among many people*.

Moreover, most of the omitted subsenses are those that are related to quite specific contexts, such as special areas of knowledge, technical terms, informal register, vulgar expressions, particular dialects or, if they are included, as in *ESSE rečnik* (1998), there are only traces of such examples. *ESSE rečnik* (1998) involves the senses related to specific varieties and registers (e.g. *RIDE 4 (AE kol.) maltretirati*), as well as technical terms (e.g. *DRIVE 5 teh. startovati*) and the senses related to specific areas of knowledge (e.g. *DRIVE 4 (sport) udariti, uputiti loptu*) although they are quite rare.

Englesko-hrvatski ili srpski rečnik (1993) even includes the senses that do not belong to the inventory of senses of the given verbs according to *NODE*, which is misleading for users since they are introduced with the senses that a particular verb does not have. These senses are highlighted in the entry.

In order to be in accordance with users' needs, lexicographic practice should involve the systematic selection and labelling of senses including main senses and the most frequent subsenses related to them.

3.2. Sense discrimination

The criteria used for sense discrimination vary from dictionary to dictionary. They include: transitivity, specific context, morphology, etymology, figurative extension, etc. The problem lies in the fact that several different criteria are used in one and the same dictionary. For instance, in *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (1986), all three entries contain two distinct groups of senses based on the distinction transitive-intransitive use of the given verbs. Thus, transitivity is taken as the main indicator of meaning. Furthermore, morphology is one of the criteria used, as in the case of the verb *drive*, e.g. ***1. tr*** *terati (tjerati); oterati (otjerati); doterati (dotjerati);* ***2. tr*** *uterati (utjerati);* ***3. tr*** *voziti, upravljati;* ***4. tr*** *odvesti (odvezem);* ***5 tr*** *dovesti (dovezem);* ***9. intr*** *voziti;* ***10. intr*** *odvesti (odvezem) se;* ***11. intr*** *provesti (provezem) se; provozati se*. It seems that there is a basic sense in both groups of senses from which several other senses are developed by means of prefixation. In this way, the aspect of the verb is modified, which causes the change in meaning. Moreover, the senses are often discriminated on the basis of the specific context in which they appear involving a specific object that the verb takes, e.g. *RIDE 1.* tr *jahati (an*

animal); 2. tr *voziti (a bicycle or motorbycle);* an adverbial, e.g. *DRIVE 9.* intr *voziti (in a motor vehicle); RIDE 5.* intr *jahati (on an animal);* or a subject *DRIVE 7.* intr *voziti (of a motor vehicle)*. In *Englesko-hrvatski ili srpski rečnik* (1993), it is often the case that one section involves a list of senses which are not mutually related, e.g. *RIDE* II vt *2. (često pasivno) svladati; tlačiti; mučiti; sjediti na; voziti (bicikl); ležati; počivati; plivati na, lebdjeti*, so that the common feature on the basis of which these senses are grouped together is completely unclear as well as the criterion on the basis of which this section marked as a distinct sense is established. As for *ESSE rečnik* (1998), the starting point in the sense discrimination was obviously the primary, basic or core sense, while all the other senses present in the inventories are developed from it by means of figurative extension. Thus, the recognition of an example of figurative extension is a signal of a new distinct meaning.

It can be concluded that various criteria are used for establishing different senses of the verbs that are often inconsistently applied so that it cannot be said that there is a clear sense discrimination system present in these dictionaries. This also leads to the conclusion that the senses are not established following an objective, predefined criterion, but rather the lexicographer's impression and subjective judgement, which, obviously, cannot be taken as a reliable criterion.

3.3. Structure and organisation

The flat structure of senses is present in all three dictionaries so that the distinctions primary sense - secondary senses and main sense - subsenses are not clearly indicated.

The primary, unmarked sense (not characterized by added connotation, figurative extension, special restricted language, etc) should be listed as the first sense and followed by the secondary senses derived from it. The primary and, at the same time, dominant senses of the verbs *drive*, *ride* and *fly* are *voziti*, *jahati* and *leteti*, but they are not given as the first ones in all the dictionaries. For example, *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (1986) offers *terati*, *goniti* as the first sense of the verb *drive* and *pilotirati* as the first sense of the verb *fly*. *Terati* and *goniti* are, etymologically speaking, the original senses of the verb *drive*. However, taking into account users' needs, the primary sense should be determined, at least in this case, on the basis of the modern language usage in which *voziti* is clearly the primary and dominant sense, while *terati*, *goniti* is today perceived as the sense derived from it by means of metaphor. *Pilotirati* is a subsense of the primary sense *leteti* derived by means of metonymy so that it should be positioned accordingly.

In order to reflect the real relation among senses in an inventory, the order of secondary senses should be based on the declining scale of semantic closeness to the primary meaning, i.e. their position depends on how specific and restricted the context in which they appear is. However, this strategy was not adopted in *Englesko-hrvatski ili srpski rečnik* (1993). Namely, in the entry of the verb *drive*, the

dominant sense *operate a motor vehicle* is positioned as the sixth one so that it is preceeded by its transferred senses *1. goniti, tjerati*; *2. zabiti (čavao), zatjerati (klin), zagnati, potjerati*; *3. baciti (loptu)* that should be regarded as the secondary senses and ordered appropriately.

On the other hand, *ESSE rečnik* (1998) offers a clear distinction between the primary and secondary senses. The sense listed first is the primary one and it is established either as a basic sense from which other senses are developed (e.g. *RIDE 1 jahati*) or as a dominant one in contemporary language usage (e.g. *DRIVE 1 voziti*). However, the senses belonging to the same numbered section are often grouped together as the verbs with the same base and one derived from another by means of prefixation, e.g. *DRIVE 1 voziti (se), odvesti (kolima)*; *2 terati, rasterati; RIDE 1 jahati (konja); uzjahati (na ramena)*; *FLY 1 leteti, preleteti (avion, ptica)*. Although they are represented as such, these senses do not have an equal status. For instance, *odvesti (kolima)* is a narrower sense in relation to *voziti* and should be positioned as its subsense. The following pairs of senses examplify the same relation: *terati – rasterati*, *leteti - preleteti*. The second verb is derived from the first one by means of prefixation getting a modified meaning so that it should be marked as a subsense.

Taking into account the overall picture of the organisation of senses in the dictionaries, it can be said that, in most cases, there is no hierarchy among senses that are listed and grouped together according to an unclear criterion. Consequently, users are not able to distinguish between the main senses of the verbs and their subsenses realised in specific contexts. The main senses can be ordered according to the frequency of their use or the relation core-extended senses. Both criteria impose certain order among senses providing users with the possibility to uderstand the existing relations among them. However, the entries of the verbs in these dictionaries offer a pretty exhaustive, but chaotic lists of possible translation equivalents.

3.4. Illustration of the context

Although example sentences are needed, especially in the cases where the relations among the offered senses are not quite clear, none of the examined dictionaries contain them. In most cases, the listed senses are supported by short verb phrases including a typical object, e.g. *DRIVE 2. zabiti (čavao), zatjerati (klin)*, adverbial, e.g. *1 voziti (se), upravljati; odvesti (kolima)* or even subject, e.g. *1 leteti, preleteti (avion, ptica)* given in brackets. This kind of explanation is sometimes sufficient to clarify the sense and syntactic behaviour. In *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (1986), every distinct sense is followed by phrases or even sentences that illustrate typical, possible and the most frequent contexts in which a particular sense appears as well as their translations, as it is shown in the following example: e.g. *DRIVE 2.* tr *uterati (utjerati); to ~ cattle into a stall uterati stoku u štalu; to ~ a car into a garage uterati auto u garažu*.

However, example sentences are needed since they clarify senses more precisely, which helps users to grasp meaning more easily.

3.5. Labelling

In *Englesko-srpskohrvatski rečnik* (1986), different senses are continuously numbered carrying the labels *tr* or *intr* and being separated by semicolons. The two groups of senses within each entry in *Englesko-hrvatski ili srpski rečnik* (1993) are marked with the roman numerals *I*, *II* and labels *vt* and *vi*. The senses are separately numbered and marked with arabic numerals within each group of senses. Except for the division of the entries into two groups of senses marked with roman numerals, the system of labelling in *ESSE rečnik* (1998) is the same as in *Englesko-hrvatski ili srpski rečnik* (1993).

In the three dictionaries, distinct senses are separated by semicolons, while senses perceived by the lexicographer as more closely related to each other are separated by a comma probably to mark them as the members of the same group of related senses. However, this kind of labelling is not prominent enough and does not appropriately correspond to the relations among the senses.

4. Conclusion

Summarising the results obtained by examining the three dictionaries presented above according to the criteria relevant for the research on the treatment of polysemous lexemes, it can be concluded that there are various inconsistences regarding different aspects of tailoring the entries.

The reliance on various indicators of meaning implies inconsistency in the methodology for determining different senses of a polysemous lexeme. Different criteria can be used for sense discrimination, but for distinguishing distinct subsenses of the main ones. The change in transitivity of a verb or the introduction of a typical adverbial brings about the change in meaning. However, a derived sense still remains closely related to the core one and as such it should be positioned as the subsense of the corresponding main sense within an entry, e.g. main (dominant) sense: *DRIVE* tr *voziti (motorno vozilo)*; subsenses: intr *voziti (umeti voziti)*, intr *voziti (kola voze)*, intr *voziti (se)*, tr *voziti (kolima)*. The same holds for derivative forms, e.g. main (dominant) sense: *FLY* intr *leteti*; subsenses: *preleteti*, *doleteti*, *odleteti*, *uzleteti*. The specific context indicated by an object or typical adverbial can be a signal of a distinct sense possibly recognised as a result of a sense extension mechanism distinguishing it from other possible senses. The senses which share the same common feature on the basis of which they are derived from the core sense can be grouped together. The most general one can be extracted as their superordinate main sense, while the others are marked as its subsenses, e.g. *DRIVE* secondary main

sense: *pokretati, nositi, gurati silom u nekom pravcu*; related subsenses: *pokretati (mašinu), zakucati (ekser), zabiti (kolac), kopati (tunel), udariti (loptu)*, etc.

As it has already been stated, main senses and their related subsenses should be clearly distinguished. However, the flat structure of senses present in all three dictionaries does not allow this. Thus, for polysemous verbs, a hierarchical structure is more suitable since it provides more scope for arranging and grouping of senses. However, it also requires a new system of labelling that would involve numbered senses as well as subsenses following the model: 1.a, 1.b; 2.a, 2.b, e.g. *FLY 1 (ptica) leteti; 1.a leteti (letelica ili putnici u njoj); 1.b voziti avion, pilotirati; 1.c prevoziti (nekoga avionom)*, etc. In this way, the distinction between the main sense and its subsenses as well as among the subsenses themselves is more prominent in comparison to the distinction made only by using commas and semicolons. Also, such a system enables grouping of closely related senses under one numbered item so that they are easily perceived as semantically close senses distinguished from other groups of related senses. The other useful labels necessarily involve grammatical labels *vi*, *vt* marking the transitivity of verbs, which can affect their meanings considerably as it has been shown. Furthermore, the appropriate labels should be put in front of the senses marked as belonging to specific areas of knowledge, particular dialect or register. If transferred senses are marked, for example by the label *fig*, it should be done consistently so that all such senses are marked in this way.

The illustration of a typical context is indisputably required in the case of polysemous lexemes. The precise definition of the environment in which a sense appears is, in some cases, achieved by giving a typical subject (e.g. *leteti –ptica, avion*), object (e.g. *jahati – konja*), adverbial (*prevoziti – avionom*) or a syntactic configuration (*goniti, terati sth nešto into sth u nešto, towards sth ka nečemu*) in brackets next to the sense definition. Italicising makes the illustrative items more prominent and clearly distinguished from definitions. Sometimes additional explanations of a sense are necessary besides a Serbian equivalent in order to make it distinguishable from other similar senses often belonging to some other verb, e.g. *DRIVE voziti (ob. vozilo na četiri točka)*; *RIDE voziti (voziti bicikl, motocikl)*. However, example sentences and phrases are necessary to clarify more semantically remoted transferred senses, e.g. DRIVE terati, goniti: *They drove the sheep into the field. Isterali su ovce na polje*; ▪ *dovoditi nekoga do nekog stanja: dovoditi nekoga do ludila, očaja*: *Her stupid questions drive me mad. Njena glupa pitanja dovode me do ludila*.

The examination in question has provided an insight into the problematic issues related to lexicographic treatment of polysemous lexemes, but also pointed to the strategies for more efficient and user-friendlier structure and organisation of these entries, which are illustrated by a suggested entry for an English-Serbian dictionary:

drive /draIv/, pt **drove** /dr@Uv/, pp **driven** /'drIvn/ **1.** *vt* **voziti** (*vehicle* motorno vozilo ob. na četiri točka), **upravljati** (motornim vozilom); **1.a** *vi* **voziti** (umeti voziti); **1.b** *vi* **voziti se** (*in a car* u automobilu); **1.c** *vt* **voziti** (sb nekoga),

povesti (sb nekoga), **odvesti/odvoziti** (*sb somewhere* nekoga nekuda) **2.** *vt* **pokretati**, **nositi**, **gurati silom u određenom pravcu**; **2.a** *vt* **pokretati**, **stavljati u pogon** (motor ili mašinu); **2.b** *vt* **zakucavati** (ekser); **2.c** *vt* **zabijati** (kolac); **2.d** *vt* **kopati** (tunel); **2.e** *vt* **udariti** (loptu palicom, reketom, nogom); **2.f** *vt* teh. **startovati** (uređaj) **3.** *vt* **terati**, **goniti** (ljude, životinje *into sth* u nešto, *towards sth* ka nečemu): *They drove the sheep into the field.* Isterali su ovce na polje. **4.** *vt* **naterati**, **nagnati** (sb nekoga *to do sth*, *into doing sth* da (u)čini nešto ob. nepoželjno, neprikladno): *The voices in my head have nearly driven me to suicide.* Glasovi u mojoj glavi su me gotovo nagnali na samoubistvo. **4.a** *vt* **dovoditi nekoga do nekog stanja**: *Her stupid questions drive me mad.* Njena glupa pitanja dovode me do ludila. *drive sb to despair* dovesti/dovoditi nekoga do očaja; **4b.** *vt* **terati** (nekoga na težak rad), **iscrpljivati**: *You shouldn't drive yourself so hard.* Ne bi trebalo da se toliko iscrpljuješ.

Tailoring the entries of polysemous verbs requires precise, systematic and consistent discrimination, structuring and organisation of senses which are, as it has been shown, heavily context dependent. Constant adherence to the profile of users and their needs is equally important since it ensures the user-friendliness of a dictionary involving the easy access to distinct senses supported by the precise and reliable information about the context in which they appear.

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CLEFTS, PSEUDO-CLEFTS AND REVERSE PSEUDO-CLEFTS AS MAJOR CONSTRUCTIONS FOR EXPRESSING INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN ENGLISH

Abstract The present paper gives an account of cleft (e.g. *It is John who I want to marry*), pseudo-cleft (*Who I want to marry is John*) and reverse pseudo-cleft constructions (*John is who I want to marry*) in terms of their information structure potential, i.e. whether they serve the purpose of expressing the theme or the focus of the sentence and, in the latter case, whether it is the information focus or the contrastive focus that each of these structures emphasizes. The second part of the paper aims at establishing the degree of prototypicality of each of these constructions as a means of achieving topic-focus articulation.

Keywords: cleft, pseudo-cleft, reverse pseudo-cleft, information structure, topic, information focus, identificational focus.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to give an analysis of the information structure potential of cleft, pseudo-cleft and reverse pseudo-cleft constructions in English, exemplified by sentences (1) to (3), respectively:

(1) It is John who I want to marry.
(2) Who I want to marry is John.
(3) John is who I want to marry.

As the above examples illustrate, English allows the option of splitting the proposition of a simple, monoclausal sentence like (4) and expressing it with a more complex structure.

(4) I want to marry John.

The proposition of (4) is, thus, split into *John*, on the one hand and *I want to marry*, on the other. Some pragmatically-oriented authors, e.g. Prince (1978), Hedberg (1990), Hedberg and Fadden 2007), among others, term the former 'the clefted constituent', and refer to the latter as 'the cleft clause'. Other, syntactically oriented authors, like Akmajian (1970), call *John* the focus and the *wh*-clause simply

'the clause'; Bošković (1997), Meinunger (1997, 1998), den Dikken (et al. 2000, 2005) and others talk about the distinction 'counterweight' and '*wh*-clause', etc. For ease of exposition and for various other reasons to be made explicit in what follows, we shall commit ourselves to this last distinction and in our analysis of all three constructions refer to the counterweight as set apart from the *wh*-clause.

The examples in (1)-(3) are clearly marked versions of the unmarked example in (4). What is also clear is that not all three marked versions of the same sentence will always be possible, let alone be equally appropriate in all contexts. The first goal of this paper will be to establish whether each of the three constructions under scrutiny serves to express the topic or the focus of the sentence. In the latter case, a distinction will be made between information focus, which merely marks the nonpresupposed nature of the information it carries, and identificational focus, which expresses exhaustive information (É. Kiss 1998: 248). Secondly, the paper aims to establish the degree of prototypicality of each of these constructions as a means of achieving topic-focus articulation, which will be shown to follow from pragmatic factors.

The presentation is organized in the following way: Section 2 introduces tests which help to establish whether a given structure (any structure, not just a (subtype of a) cleft construction) is most readily used to highlight the topic, the information focus or the identificational focus of the sentence; Section 3 examines cleft, pseudo-cleft and reverse pseudo-cleft constructions in terms of the syntactic type of the counterweight (cf. Delin 1989, Hedberg and Fadden 2007). Section 4 analyses the (possible) topic-comment structure(s) of all three constructions ('relational givenness' in terms of Gundel 1974, Gundel et al. 1993 and Gundel and Fretheim 2004). Section 5 aims to determine the degree of prototypicality of clefts as a means of achieving topic-focus articulation. The results of the study are summarized in Section 6.

2. The information structure potential of cleft, pseudo-cleft and reverse pseudo-cleft constructions

Generally speaking, information structure encodes which part of an utterance is informative in which way, in relation to a particular context. The two primitive dichotomies of information structure are the discoursal aspect ('givenness') and the sentential aspect ('aboutness'). The former dichotomy concerns the distinction between what is new information, advancing the discourse ('new' in Halliday 1967, Chafe 1976; 'focus' in Dahl 1969, Chomsky 1971, Jackendoff 1972; 'contextually non-bound' in Sgall et al. 1986, Hajičová 1994, Kruijff-Korbayová 1998; 'topic' in Gundel 1974) and what is known, anchoring the utterance in existing knowledge or discourse ('old/given' in Halliday 1967, Chafe 1976; 'background' in Dahl 1969; 'presupposition' in Chomsky 1971, Jackendoff 1972; 'contextually bound' in Sgall et al. 1986, Hajičová 1994, Kruijff-Korbayová 1998; 'comment' in Gundel 1974).

The latter, the sentential aspect, distinguishes between what the utterance is about ('theme' in Firbas 1964, Bolinger 1965, Halliday 1967, Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998; 'topic' in Sgall et al. 1986, Hajičová et al. 1998; 'ground' in Vallduví 1990) and what the speaker has to say about it ('rheme' in Firbas 1964, Bolinger 1965, Halliday 1967, Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998; 'focus' in Sgall et al. 1986, Hajičová et al. 1998, Vallduví 1990).

Since various authors use different terms to refer to the same or similar things, it is very important to be explicit about the terminology that will be used in this paper. In what follows, the term 'topic' will be used when talking about that part of the utterance that connects it with the preceding discourse, the point of departure for the utterance. The standard topic tests are the "What about X?" question test and the "as for" test: since topics are necessarily known, they can be asked about, as in (5):

(5) A: What about John? Which exam did he take?
B: (*John/He* took) the Phonology exam.
B': (As for *John*, he took) the Phonology exam.

As the two responses in the above example illustrate, the topic, already contained in A's question, can be left out altogether (in fact, the answer to any question obligatorily supplies only the part that answers the question word). Whether overtly realized or not, it serves the purpose of connecting B's answer to A's question, i.e. the context. Note that the "as for" test predicts that indefinite noun phrases cannot be topics unless they are used with generic reference:

(6) As for a crocodile, it is a bloodthirtsty animal.
(7) *As for a pupil, she came to see me yesterday.

As already mentioned in Section 1, 'focus' will be specified: the label 'information focus' will be used when talking about that part of the utterance which intoroduces some new information (with capitals marking this in the examples), whereas 'contrastive focus' will refer to the parts of the utterance which negate something previously said and supply a new value for it or which reinforce what was previously said (marked by bold face print). *Wh*-questions are the most commonly used to determine the information focus of an utterance. The part of the response which corresponds to the question word in the context question or statement and supplies new information is the information focus, as illustrated by the following examples:

(8) A: What did John tell you?
B: He told me THE TRUTH.

Lastly, the test that will be used to decide whether an element is the contrastive focus of the sentence is providing a context sentence or question and checking if the

relevant structure can be employed to negate part of it and assert something different, as in the following example:

(9) A: Did John take the Phonology exam?
B: No, he took the **Semantics** exam.

Let us now apply all three tests to all the three constructions examined in order to see what the information structure potential of each individual structure is.

It-cleft construction

(10) a. (Tell me about Peter.) – It was Peter who asked the girl out.
b. (Who asked her out?) – ?It was PETER who asked her out.
c. (John asked her out.) – (No,) it was **Peter** who asked her out.

Pseudo-cleft construction

(11) a. (Tell me about Peter.) – #(The one) who asked the girl out was Peter.
b. (Who asked her out?) – (The one) who asked her out was PETER.
c. (John asked her out.) – (No,) (the one) who asked her out was **Peter**.

Reverse pseudo-cleft construction

(12) a. (Tell me about Peter.) – Peter was (the one) who asked the girl out.
b. (Who asked her out?) – PETER was (the one) who asked her out.
c. (John asked her out.) – (No,) **Peter** was (the one) who asked her out.

Although the above examples conclusively demonstrate that of the structures we are interested in here *it*-clefts and reverse psedoclefts pass the topic test, and all three constructions pass the contrastive focus test, things are less clear with respect to the information focus test. It could be the case that the marked status of the it-cleft in (10b) is attributable to an independent factor, such as the syntactic category of the counterweight. In order to check if this is the case, in the next section we try to establish the differences between the three constructions in this respect.

3. The syntactic type of the counterweught in cleft, pseudo-cleft and reverse pseudo-cleft constructions

In the previous section we showed that the it-cleft and the reverse pseudo-cleft construction pass the topic test, and that it-clefts are less approapriate in answer to *wh*-questions than the other two constructions, while all three types of clefts can be used in contrastive contexts.

Let us now us turn to the syntactic category of the counterweight. Based on a corpus study, Delin (1989) and Hedberg and Fadden (2007) reach similar conclusions with respect to this issue. The former author finds that the vast majority of reverse *wh*-clefts have the demonstrative pronouns *that* or *this* as the

counterweight (or 'clefted constituent'), while VPs and clauses never occur in this position. The situation is exactly the opposite with pseudo-clefts, while in *it*-clefts, the counterweight is most frequently an NP. The results the Hedberg and Fadden (2007) research, obtained by examining 98 cleft sentences of all three types, are presented in the following adapted table:

	it-cleft	pseudo (*wh*)-cleft	reverse *wh*-cleft
question word	2	-	-
relative pronoun	-	-	8
personal pronoun	-	-	4
that	-	-	44
this	-	-	3
full NP	6	7	5
adverb	-	-	1
VP	-	6	-
clause	-	11	-
gerund	-	1	-

Table 1: Syntactic type of counterweight (adapted from Hedberg and Fadden 2007)

While the above results are doubtlessly true, the fact that no personal pronouns appeared as the counterweight in an it-cleft, or that no nominal clause, infinitival clause or NP occured as the counterweight in the pseudocleft examples in a corpus tells us little about whether these elements *can* indeed occur in these environments.

The impossiblity of a relative pronoun ocurring as the counterweight in it-clefts is expected under the classical Doubly filled COMP filter of Chomsky and Lasnik (1977), as well as more recent attempts to explain this phenomenon (e.g. Koopman 2000, Baltin 2010), which all reduce to the ungrammaticality of the sequence *[$_{CP}$WH *that*]. Similarly, the fact the demonstrative *that* fails to occur as the counterweight of it-clefts is reducible to the general tendency of languages to avoid sequences of homophonous words (cf. Bošković 2002). However, a simple Google Scholar search provides us with numerous examples of the other syntactic types of counterweights, not attested in the corpus studies mentioned above:

It-clefts

(13) It is *him* that I blame.

(14) What is futile is the alternative approach, and it is *this* that must now be explained.

(15) He alone survives the shipwrecks. Alone he sets out again upon the raft he builds. It is *alone* that he finally sets foot on his native soil.

(16) It was *without delay* that he made his bed.

(17) It is *in Rome* that this competition will finsally take place.

Example (13) illustrates the use of a personal pronoun as the counterweight in an *it*-cleft construction; in the underlined sentence of (14), the demonstrative

pronoun *this* is clefted, whereas in (15) the adverb *alone* occurs in this position. A manner and a locative PP are clefted in (16) and (17), respectively. It seems that clauses and gerunds indeed cannot be the counterweight in it-clefts.

While it is exactly the latter three syntactic types of counterweight that Hedberg and Fadden (2007) report to be found in pseudoclefts, in addition to NPs, the following examples aim to complete this account. Using a *wh*-word as the counterweight of a pseudocleft (18) results in a construction similar to what is referred to as sluicing (e.g. *I'd love to book one of these trips but I don't know which*), regardless of whether it is a question word or a relativizer. However, with the appropriate context, personal pronouns (19), demonstrative pronouns like *this* or *that* in the underlined parts of (20) and (21), respectively, perhaps even adverbial APs (22) or PPs (23) seem to be possible candidates for a counterweight:

Pseudo-clefts

(18) He knows he put the keys in one of his pockets. What he doesn't know is *which*.

(19) He expected to inherit her fortune once she dies. But who died first was *him*.

(20) What I dreamt was *this*. I was running in a cornfield, ...

(21) I don't like any of the jobs you're offering. What I want to do is *that* (points to a picture representing a chef cooking in a state-of-the-art kitchen)

(22) ?How he waited for the guests was very patiently.

(23) ?Where he forgot his keys was *on the cupboard*.[1]

Reverse pseudo-clefts, which in Hedberg and Fadden's (2007) account appeared to be least resctrictive with respect to the syntactic type of the counterweight, can be shown to allow also VPs and gerunds in this position:

Reverse pseudo-clefts

(24) *Take up French* is what I intend to do next.

(25) *Going swimming* is what I enjoy most.

Naturally, heavy constituents are more likely to occur in sentence final position, which predicts that the acceptability of examples like (24) and (25) will decrease if the counterweight is a heavier, longer or more complex structure. This, presumably, is also the reason why *that*-clauses are banned from being the counterweight of reverse cleft constructions (e.g. #*That I love you is that I wanted to say.*)

[1] Pseudoclefts in which the counterweight is a PP are somewhat tilted, but they sound more natural if the *wh*-word in sentence initial position is preceded by the phrase *the way/the manner* for sa manner adverbial, *the place* for a locative adverbial, or *the time* for a temporal adverbial (cf. Adger 2003).

Based on the above data and discussion, we suggest that the account of the syntactic types of counterweight given in Table 1 be complemented as shown in Table 2:

	it-cleft	pseudo (*wh*)-cleft	reverse *wh*-cleft
question word	+	?	-
relative pronoun	+	?	+
personal pronoun	+	+	+
that	-	+	+
this	+	+	+
full NP	+	+	+
adverb	+	?	+
VP	-	+	+
clause	-	+	-
gerund	-	+	+

Table 2: An overview of the syntactic types of counterweight allowed in cleft, pseudocleft and reverse pseudocleft constructions in English

4. The topic-comment structure of clefts

Next, we shall try to establish other similarities and differences between the three structures and see if we can relate them to the properties of these constructions. It was noted in Delin (1989) and summarized in Delin and Oberlander (1995) that while clefts cannot be united a class, some generalisations based on usage can be made about them. All clefts must convey some new information, at least by specifying the relationship between the *wh*-clause and the counterweight, although no cleft may carry only new information, even in cases where a simple declarative might. Clefts are not good 'out of the blue' sentences because they serve to make special and specific links with the preceding discourse. Different types of clefts relate to contexts in different ways (cf. Prince 1978, Delin 1989): it is not always the counterweight that conveys new information, as was supposed in the early literature on clefts (Akmajian 1970, Keenan 1971). In fact, if we take the topic to be what the utterance is about and to be given in the sense that both interlocutors have previous knowledge of it or familiarity with it, while the comment is what is said or asserted about the topic, the new bit of information in the utterance (roughly corresponding to É. Kiss's 'information focus'), we find that it-clefts pattern with reverse *wh*-clefts in that they allow either a topic-comment (26) or a comment-topic structure (27), i.e. it is either the counterweight or the *wh*-clause that carries new information while *wh*-clefts always have a topic-comment structure (28), i.e. only the counterweight may provide new information (or, alternatively, contrast):

(26) a. A: And does the Head know?

B: No. Oh, wait a minute. *It was the head who arrANGED it.* (Prince 1978)

b. Mr. McLaughlin: Don't you think resources are really being redirected, for example, into security and into counterterrorism? *That's where the resources are GOING*. Those are going to be the economic winners. (Hedberg & Fadden 2007)

(27) a. Well we can do lower-level specifications of what's needed. *I mean it's basically PROtocols you're specifying.* (Prince 1978)

b. *THIS is what I want*. I want to go to Dubai.

(28) a. A: Is this what you wanted?

B: # *What I ASKed for is this*.

b. *What I want is THIS*. I want to go to Dubai.

In (26a), the counterweight *the head* is the topic and the verbal part of the *wh*-clause conveys new information. Similarly, in the reverse cleft example in (26b), primary stress falls on the verb of the *wh*-clause, the provider of new information (even though the counterweight is clearly also stressed, but less, according to Hedberg and Fadden 2007). In the two clefts in (27), the situation is reverse: here, the counterweight *protocols* in (27a) and the demonstrative pronoun *this* in (27b) is what bears sentential stress.[2] In the former example, the *lower-level specifications* mentioned in the preceding sentence make the act of specifying already available in the cleft construction, which in turn implies that the *protocols* represent the new bit of information; in the latter sentence, the cataphoric counterweight *this* and its referent are new to the discourse, e.g. in a situation in which friends are discussing their wishes, so that the *wh*-clause *what I want* is already available in the discourse. However, as the unacceptability of B's reply suggests in the context of A's question in (28a), the *wh*-clause of pseudo-clefts may not contain the focus of the sentence.

There are various other facts that support the claim that it-clefts and reverse *wh*-clefts can have a focus-topic or topic-focus organization, while pseudo-clefts can only have a topic-focus organization. For example, the unstressed pronoun *it* may occur as the counterweight in reverse pseudo-clefts, but not in pseudo-clefts, because the counterweight of these latter has to bring new information:

(29) a. You might not like the fact that I just called you names, but *it*'s what you have been doing to ME for the past 5 years.

b. # You might not like the fact that I just called you names, but what you have been doing to ME for the past 5 years is *it*.

[2] While Chafe (1976) and Creider (1979) suggest that the head constituent of any cleft is focal and that focus is marked by nuclear accent, Delin (1990) claims that in most cases a nucleus frequently exists in both the counterweight and the *wh*-clause, which is closer to the view advocated in Quirk et al. (1985). Delin (1990) thus concludes that syntax and accent "do not correlate in the way that would be required to support the view that cleft constructions indicate the position of an accentually-marked focal element."

Thus, in the above examples, *it* is clearly not an expletive, but a pronoun referring to *the fact that I just called you names* of the preceding sentence, and as such, it is banned from the counterweight position of a pseudo-cleft construction. For another example to illustrate the same point imagine the following situation: the father arrives home only to find that his two sons have got into a fight with each other earlier that day. One of the boys asks the father to let him play with his friends outside, so the father consults his wife:

(30) Father: Do you think I should let him go out with his friends?
a. Mother: No, he was the one who STARted the fight!
b. Mother: # No, the one who STARted the fight was he!

Obviously, *he*, referring to one of the sons, is not new to the father, therefore the infelicity of the response in (30b) is expected.

Another point, noted in Horn (1969) is that while clefting is generally taken to specify uniqueness or exhaustiveness, like *only*, *also* and *even* presupposed non-uniqueness and so they cannot be clefted, as shown in the following examples:

(31) a. It is only John who Mary kissed.
b. It is *even / *also John who Mary kissed.

However, with the appropriate context, *also* can occur in the topic part of it-clefts and reverse *wh*-clefts, but not pseudo-clefts (cf. É. Kiss 1998, Hedberg and Fadden 2007, *inter alia*).

(32) Why do you think John is the murderer?
a. It was John who had the motive. It was John who had the opportunity. <u>It was also John who found the BODY.</u>
b. John was the one who had the motive. John was the one who had the opportunity. <u>John was also the one who found the BODY.</u>
c. (The one) who had the motive was John. (The one) who had the opportunity was John. <u>??(The one) who found the BODY was also John</u>. (Hedberg 2008)

In fact, *also* can occur even in the comment part of an it-cleft (33), as well as in the topic part, but associated with the focus in the *wh*-clause, as in (34):

(33) A: Bill danced with Mary.
B: No, it was SAM that danced with Mary.
C: It was also JOHN that danced with her. (É. Kiss 1998)
(34) It was the President, in a rare departure from the diplomacy of caution, who

initiated the successful Panama invasion. It was also Bush who came up with the ideas of having an early, informal Malta summit with Gorbachev and a second round of troop cuts in Europe after the fall of the Berlin wall. [M. Dowd and T.L. Friedman, 'The Fabulous Bush and Baker Boys, The New York Times Magazine, 5/6/90, p. 64]. (adapted from Hedberg and Fadden 2007)

In the comment-topic it-cleft in (33), speaker B's utterance is understood to identify a member of the relevant set as such for which the predicate *danced with Mary* holds, whereas C's utterance adds another member to the one identified in the previous sentence, while still excluding all other members of the relevant set (e.g. all the other people at the party who did not dance with Mary). The underlined it-cleft construction of (34) illustrates the fact that while *also* is is the topical counterweight of the sentence, it associates with the focus in the *wh*-clause, resulting in the interpretation that the President, i.e. Bush, initiated the Panama invasion as well as the Malta summit and troop cuts.

Another consequence of the fact that it-clefts and reverse *wh*-clefts may have either a topic-focus or focus-topic organization, whereas reverse clefts may have only the former, is that it-clefts and reverse *wh*-clefts can have 'vice versa' counterparts, as in the following example:

(35) It's not John who shot Mary. It's Mary who shot John. (Ball and Prince 1977)

As can be observed in this example, in addition to the presupposition that clefts obligatorily carry, as illustrated by (37) for the clefts in (36), provided both the counterweight *John* and *Mary* of the *wh*-clause in (36) are stressed, as in (38), the stressed item from the presupposition is released, when there is a matrix negation. Thus, the presupposition of (38) is not (39a), but (39b):

(36) a. It is JOHN who shot Mary.
b. The one who I want to marry is PETER.
c. Take up FRENCH is what I intend to do.
(37) a. Somebody shot Mary.
b. I want to marry someone.
c. I intend to do something.
(38) It's not JOHN who shot MARY. It's MARY who shot JOHN.
(39) a. Someone shot Mary.
b. Someone shot someone.

Similarly, the presupposition carried by a reverse *wh*-cleft like (40), given in (41), will change by adding extra stress within the *wh*-clause (42), as illustrated in (43):

(40) JOHN is the one who slapped me.
(41) Somebody slapped me.
(42) JOHN is the one who slapped ME.
(43) Somebody slapped somebody.

This behaviour cannot be observed in pseudo-clefts, where extra stress does not seem to change the presupposition. Notice in this sense the oddity of (45) and the fact that the presupposition carried by this utterance is the same as that carried by (44), i.e. (41) above, but not (43).

(44) The one who slapped me is JOHN.
(45) # The one who slapped ME is JOHN, not vice versa.

All the above 'vice versa' clefts seem to have a 'double' focus which, however, is reducible to contrastive topic in the counterweight and contrastive focus in the *wh*-clause. Since in pseudo-clefts the *wh*-clause is necessarily the topic, it is clear that in this construction there can be no 'double' focus, i.e. the topic cannot be contrastive.

Having illustrated several differences between the it-cleft and the reverse *wh*-cleft construction as opposed to the pseudo-cleft construction in English, in what follows we shall concentrate on trying to establish the degree of prototypicality of each of these three structures as a means of expressing topic-focus articulation.

5. Which one is more prototypical than the other(s)?

In order to decide which of the three constructions under investigation is the most prototypical means of expressing topic-focus articulation, several factors must be taken into account: the range of syntactic categories to which each of these can be applied, whether they are most readily used to highlight the topic, the information focus and/or the identificational focus of the sentence, how they relate to the context, i.e. whether they impose any contraints onto which part of the cleft construction must carry the new bit of information, and so on. On the basis of the data discussed in the previous sections of this paper, one may conclude that while pseudoclefts are less restrictive in terms of the syntactic types of counterweight, as shown in Table 2, they only allow a topic-comment, but not a comment-topic organization, i.e. only the counterweight may convey new information. This explains also why pseudoclefts may never be used to highlight the topic, i.e. why they fail the topic test discussed in Section 2. On the other hand, while it-clefts are perfect for the latter purpose, they sound somewhat tilted in expressing information focus, unless used in a special context, as is the case in example (27). It seems, then, that reverse pseudoclefts are the most prototypical means of expressing topic-focus articulation, not just because they provide a felicitous answer to the topic, information focus and contrastive focus context question/statement, but also because it allows most syntactic types of

counterweight. Yet it is exactly this construction of the three that is syntactically the most complex, which calls for additional explanation.

In order to test the conclusions reached in this paper and to determine the frequency of usage of it-cleft, pseudocleft and reverse pseduocleft constructions in English, a comprehensive corpus study needs to be conducted. The corpus which would best serve the purposes of such a study should contain spontaneous speech and should be analysed not only in syntactic and information-structure terms, but also in prosodic terms, by identifying stress and intonation. Needless to say, such a corpus is extremely difficult to collect, not only because cleft constructions are marked in their very nature, but also because most of the spoken data available (TV shows, radio programmes, etc.) do not represent spontaneous speech but rather adhere to a script, thereby reflecting the author's style rather than the speaker's discourse strategies.

6. Conclusion

The paper explores three similar constructions found in English: it-clefts, pseudo-clefts and reverse pseudo-clefts. While at first sight they all appear to be 'focusing' constructions, a closer look at these reveals that 'focusing' can only be understood in a very loose sense and that there is considerable difference among them with respect to whether they express topic, information focus or contrastive focus, in the syntactic type of elements they allow as the counterweight, and in the topic-comment organization of information. The necessity of conducting an in-depth research is emphasized, which will, hopefully, provide support for the ideas expressed in this paper and reveal more about these curious constructions in English.

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SIMILES IN ENGLISH: SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS

Abstract A considerable number of current cognitive linguistic studies of similes reduce them to metaphors, without much further analysis of the meanings and uses involved. This paper aims to shed fresh light on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of similes, including underlying conceptual metaphors, their typical source and target domains, and the creative ways similes are used in fiction. It uses a corpus analysis of 470 similes of two structural types: similes containing the linking word *as*, e.g. *as strong as a horse,* and similes containing the linking word *like*, e.g. *to drop like a stone.* These have been collected from seventeen modern British literary works of different genres. The results of the research are expected to show the existence of more diversity in the semantics and pragmatics of similes than is at present recognized.

Key words: simile, conceptual metaphor, semantics, pragmatics, cognitive linguistics.

1. Introduction

More often than not, similes have been somewhat neglected by linguists. This is due to the simple structure by which they explicitly compare two entities. Nevertheless, metaphors have been explored at great length and similes have sometimes fallen in the same category. This paper aims to look into the semantic and pragmatic aspects of similes from a cognitive point of view, including underlying conceptual metaphors.

A simile is defined as a figure of speech by which two unlike entities are compared using copulas *as* and *like*. In addition to the member which we compare (i.e. the target domain) and the member by which we compare it (i.e. the source domain), similes contain 'tertium comparationis' – the part that expresses the feature by which we compare the two entities. The target domain is actually the domain which we try to understand through the source domain. The semantic-pragmatic distinction is made in general terms, relying mostly on the standpoint that semantics refers to the stable meaning of language, whereas "pragmatics is about the interaction of semantic knowledge with our knowledge of the world, taking into account contexts of use" (Griffiths 2006: 1).

As for the cognitive approach to the research, it needs to be said that cognitive linguistic theorists believe that in a linguistic sense, similes are not at all different from metaphors - that is to say, similes are based on metaphors as a cognitive

mechanism. This means that not only metaphors but also similes contain an underlying conceptual metaphor in their structure. For example, if we say *Peter is as stubborn as a mule*, the conceptual metaphor we have used is HUMAN IS ANIMAL, but at the level of linguistic expressions this conceptual metaphor is expressed in language by means of a simile. Given the fact that metaphors and similes function on the same bases, their source and target domains should be the same; however, the conceptual metaphor in similes is much more explicit.

There is also a certain level of dilemma regarding the difference between similes and comparison and the extent to which they actually differ. Comparison is a linguistic mechanism that covers a wide range of linguistic expressions through which it can be conveyed, and simile is one of them. For instance, we can see in the examples s*he had eyes shaped like almonds*, *a cheetah is faster than a rabbit* and *this place reminds me of my home town*, that although comparing two entities is evident, these do not involve similes, as similes compare two *unlike* entities - a feature that puts them closer to metaphor. This leads us to make a distinction between direct (i.e. literal) comparisons, e.g. *she had eyes shaped like almonds*, and similes, e.g. *her eyes were as blue as sapphires*. While not all comparisons are similes, all similes are comparisons (Bredin 1998: 73). Literal similes are actually direct comparisons (e.g. *roses are as expensive as violets*), whereas metaphoric similes are 'real' similes (e.g. *my love is like a red, red rose*), namely comparisons involving conceptual metaphors, which is the distinction the paper is based on.

A corpus of 470 similes has been collected from seventeen modern British literary works of various genres and authors, including Julian Barnes, Helen Fielding, Terry Pratchett and Sue Townsend, to name a few[1]. All of the examples used in the analysis belong to this corpus. Similes which contain clauses such as *go on like some clockwork toy that won't change direction until it bumps into something* or *beam like a flower blossoming in the sun* have not been included as a part of this study due to their complex structure, with the exception of a few examples used mainly to illustrate their function and diversity.

As Black (1979: 20) points out, even today, we still encounter the problem that figures of speech in general are considered metaphorical. This disregards substantial differences between metaphor and other figures, such as simile, metonymy, synecdoche and others. Therefore, one of the aims of this paper is to try to account for viewing simile as a separate category.

2. Semantic aspects of similes

The semantic aspects of similes dealt with in this paper are mainly semantic idiomatization and sense relations which involve synonymy and antonymy.

[1] For the full list of literary works included in the corpus as well as the corpus itself, see: Ivandekić (2009: 107-118).

According to the level of idiomatization, there are two types of similes: (1) creative similes, which emerge on a daily basis in speech as well as in written texts (especially literature); (2) conventionalized similes, which are often semantically lexicalized. Conventionalized similes are sometimes called dead similes; creative similes are called alive similes. This refers to the fact that conventionalized similes have lost their figurativeness and have become literal – that is, they only one meaning (Bredin 1998: 77).

2.1. Semantic idiomatization of similes

Semantic idiomatization involves 'semantic restructuring', a process in which a phrase or a part of its components gets a new meaning. Idiomatization can take place at any one element of the expression; however, idiomatization of the left part of the simile is extremely rare. One example of this type is the simile *as nutty as a fruitcake* (meaning 'crazy'). Decrementation of the right part is much more common. Similes most often undergo partial idiomatization when at least one of the elements retains its meaning on the basis of which the whole phrase can be defined. Some examples of this are *dumb as a heifer*, *as crazy as a bedbug*, *dotty as doughnut*, *as sick as a parrot*, *right as rain* and *get on like a house on fire*. A considerable number of these similes refer to adjectives with negative associative meaning, such as stupidity and craziness. Despite a lack of logical connection between the source and its target domain, these expressions fulfil their function and their meaning is easily understood.

There is another type of idiomatization of similes, which refers to a few conventionalized phrases used to intensify the meaning of the expression by intensifying the meaning of tertium comparationis. Source domains in these phrases have lost their meaning up to a certain extent. The examples include lexical links *like hell*, *like mad*, *like a lunatic, like a maniac, like a madman*. These expressions in most cases do not carry negative connotations (e.g. *like hell, like mad* and *like a lunatic*), although the possibility is not excluded, especially in creative links (e.g. *smoke and snivel like mad psychopath*, *grin/simper like an idiot*).

2.2. Lexical relations

Lexical relations presented in this chapter involve synonymy and antonymy. Synonymy represents equivalence in meaning, whereas antonymy embodies the opposite meaning of two lexemes or lexical link.

Synonymy among similes is rarely complete because each source domain (even when describing the same target domain) maps its features in a specific way depending on the characteristics of the target domain. Thus by highlighting certain target domains, different elements are given to the meaning of the simile. For example, *talk like a movie* has the meaning 'to talk a lot'; *talk like a dictionary* can

have the same meaning, however it also implies that the person uses specific vocabulary and words not so common in everyday communication. The similes *sharp as a knife* and *sharp as scimitars* mean 'very sharp', as do *sharp as a needle* and *sharp as icicles*, but depending on the physical characteristics and appearance of the target domain, the appropriate source domain is chosen. Some of the choices are the result of a wish to convey a certain effect (e.g. *grin like a Cheshire cat/ an idiot/ a necrophiliac in a morgue*), such as to add humour or a negative feeling. Finally, there are similes in which differences are not so obvious: *stand like a statue/ a beacon/ waxworks*; *tremble like a harpstring/ an aspen leaf; as thin as wet crepe/ a whistle/a straw/a wire/ a stick insect*; *as pale as ghouls/ glaciers/ snow/ smoke*; *as blind as bat/ a kitten; as bald as a newt/ an egg*, etc.

It is worth noting that similes with the source domain of PIG often appear as synonymous pairs of other similes, but entailing additional negative connotative meaning. Moreover, since they are closely related to the qualities such as excessive weight, dirtiness and an untidy way of life, these animals are almost seen as an embodiment of negative qualities in a rather wide sense. Describing a big eater can be done using two similes - *eat like a horse* and *eat like a pig*, but bearing in mind that *eat like a pig* involves an element of voracity and sloppiness. For the same reason, together with the expression *as drunk as a lord* (meaning 'very drunk') there is also *as drunk as a pig*, which is a way to transfer a lack of measure in eating to drinking as well, implying a possibly indecent way of behaviour in the state of drunkenness. Although fatness generally carries negative implications and in spite of the fact that the following expressions both mean 'very fat', that of *fat like a pig* is still more pejorative than *fat as a pincushion*.

Antonymy among similes also exists, but the number of examples found in the corpus is considerably smaller. In addition, the number of similes in which antonymy is related to the change of only one element is insignificant, as shown in phrases *get on like a house on fire* and *get along as easily as cats in the sack*. Other examples involve completely different lexemes in an antonymous relation, e.g. *vanish like smoke* and *appear like a ghost*; a *face as white as snow* and *a face like a furnace*. Nevertheless, most examples were adjectival similes: *as brainy as Einstein; as dumb as a heifer/ a stump*; *as cool as paint; as alert and jittery as a long-tailed cat in a rocking chair factory*.

3. Pragmatic aspects of similes

As has already been implied, pragmatic features of similes are quite deeply intertwined with their semantic features. As Anna Papafragou puts it, "The issue of adjudicating between semantic and pragmatic aspects of lexical meaning is one of the most thorny ones in theoretical linguistics" (Papafragou, 1996: 11).

Similes very often involve some extralinguistic elements, i.e. 'knowledge of the world'. These are elements which speakers incorporate into their language depending on the culture or background which they belong to, and/ or some other

social or psychological reality. Knowledge of the world can vary in terms of generality and therefore so can similes that comprise elements of such knowledge (Prćić 1998: 87, according to Leech 1981: 158).

Some similes are more general in character, as they refer either to world history or are conditioned by religion. The reference can be made towards either world or national history, e.g. *behave like a proper little cave-person* or *fallen like the stock market in 1929*. Similes with reference to religion originate mainly in the Bible, e.g.: *as rich as Creosote; as bedinized as Jezebel; fallen like Lucifer; part like the Red Sea; fall like mighty Daedalus; tumble down like the walls of Jericho*.

They can also be motivated by cultural or social causes so comprehension of them requires knowing these elements. Examples include the phrases *as brainy as Einstein*, *look like Ken, as frequently as the passing of Halley's Comet* and *charmed like (so many) cobras*. Within this category we can also recognize similes created under the influence of literary works, such as *grin like a Cheshire cat* or *feel like Dorothy*, the latter depending on the listener's/ reader's knowledge of the world (i.e. the knowledge of the main character of *The Wizard of Oz*). In the process, the target domain is 'enriched' by adding new features, whereas the source domain retains all its characteristics. Some similes are so specific to the society in which they originated that they are unlikely to be recognized outside of them (examples include *as-subtle-as-a-Frankie-Howerd-sexual-innuendo style*, *as happy as sand boys*, *drunk as lords*, *go off like a Claymore min*e and *come on like Old Bill*).

On the other hand, all that is needed at times is a general impression. For instance, the expression *grin like a necrophiliac in a morgue* clearly carries a negative connotation which is sound enough to be immediately understood, although the reader is invited to create an image of the situation. Examples like these do not refer to our general knowledge or experience, but leave it to our imagination to infer the actual meaning of the expression (Hanks 2005). Likewise with the simile that describes someone *like a monkey with a key to banana plantation.* While it is highly unlikely that someone has ever seen such a monkey, or that a monkey would even behave in this way, this simile draws on our (stereotypical) knowledge of monkeys and creates an image of a person who is exhilarated to the point of acting in a silly way. Similarly, the simile *as alert and jittery as a long-tailed cat in a rocking chair factory* creates an image in our mind based primarily on our imagination. Despite not being based on specific knowledge or experience, the image is so self-explanatory that the intended message is conveyed and thus its communication successful.

One of the pragmatic elements of similes is the already-mentioned use of the source domain PIG. Although a drunken pig is not a common part of a person's experience (or ever likely to be, for that matter), the image is descriptive enough to help us connect it with general knowledge and imagination, creating a picture of a dirty person who is misbehaving and greatly under the influence of alcohol.

In addition, similes are influenced by the culture in which they originated to the extent that creating links and phrases will depend more on people's subjective beliefs than on objective facts. This can be seen in the examples *blind as a bat*, *keen-eyed*

as an owl or *crazy as a coot*. In spite of the fact that bats are not blind or that coots are not crazier than any other animal, speakers will understand each other and communication will flow (since these are common beliefs that both speaker and listener/s are aware of).

Similes are quite often used in an ironic way and for humorous effects. In these cases it is necessary to perceive them in their context and thus decide on their meaning. For instance, the expression *as internally likely as a lead lifebelt* is clearly not a literal one, as we know from our experience that lead cannot float, so we automatically look for other possible interpretations of the utterance.

The pragmatic features of similes, and more importantly, our world and linguistic knowledge together, enable us to decipher them even when they are not full or explicitly stated. This can be seen in the following examples:

Using a metaphor in front of a man as unimaginative as Ridcully was like a red rag to a bu- was like putting something very annoying in front of someone who was annoyed by it.[2]

W*hen you're a single mother, you're far more likely to end up thinking in feminist clichés. You know, all men are bastards, a woman without a man is like a . . . a . . . something without a something that doesn't have any relation to the first something; all that stuff.*[3]

By relying on readers' cultural knowledge, authors play with words in unexpected ways, creating humorous effects without impeding the communication. Indeed, even if the reader does not specifically know the phrase the allusion is made to but is familiar with the English-speaking culture, the effect is still achieved.

4. Conceptual analysis

Conceptual analysis focuses on identifying the conceptual metaphors that are used most frequently and through which source and target domains. Furthermore, it would be interesting to determine the relationship between conventionalized and creative similes in literature, as well the extent to which creative similes (as opposed to conventionalized similes) are used in this type of texts.

A great majority of similes from the corpus refer to descriptions of human beings, their general characteristics and feelings. After this, the most frequent are those that refer to abstract notions and things, with many fewer referring to animals and some to situations in life. For the sake of easier study, these areas are divided into five categories, according to the target domain (the categorisation is based on the one used by Prodanović-Stankić (2008) and Fink-Arsovski (2002)): the domain of human being, the domain of animals, the domain of objects, the domain of the abstract and other domains.

[2] Pratchet, T. (1993). *Lords and Ladies.* Corgi Books, London
[3] Hornby, N. (2002). *How to be Good.* Riverhead Books, New York

4.1. The domain of human being

The most diverse domain by far is that of the human being, with similes referring to physical characteristics, character, feelings and states, behaviour and interpersonal relationships. Amongst these, the most significant parts tend to be the ones with the underlying conceptual metaphor HUMAN IS ANIMAL and HUMAN IS THING, which are found in all subgroups.

The domain of physical appearance comprises various similes, from ones that describe general physical appearance and elements (such as height and build or beauty and ugliness), to ones that focus on specific characteristics or parts of the body (such as the face and body or senses and bodily functions). The following examples illustrate each category: *as strong as a horse, as shrivelled as prunes, look like death, (have) eyes like ancient seas, go from red to green faster than a set of traffic lights, a stare like a diamond drill, (a grip) as tough as tempered steel*. The examples in the domain of physical appearance are much more numerous with respect to the pattern HUMAN IS THING than the same domain within the pattern HUMAN IS ANIMAL - in other words, when illustrating physical appearance, things are used in the process rather than animals. Likewise, within the same conceptual metaphor, the target domain contains parts of human body more frequently than human being as a whole.

The domain of character is not as diverse as the domain of physical appearance. The dominating conceptual metaphors are the same insofar as similes that describe human character through animals in target domains are more numerous than the ones with objects. The character traits depicted are tenderness, agility, stubbornness, attitude to work and others (e.g. *as gentle as a lamb, as frisky as a ferret, cunning as a fox, as patient as a brick)*; two categories in which animals prevail as source domains that are especially frequent are stupidity and craziness, as can be seen in the examples *dumb as a heifer/ a stump, crazy as a coot/ bedbug, stubborn as a mule/ pig* and *as direct as a lorry*.

The domain of human feelings and states illustrates health, attraction, happiness and unhappiness, love, sexual attraction, anger and fear (where fear makes up a rather broad category), as well as sleeping and death. Examples include *as sick as a dog, fly as high as a kite, wretched as the grass beneath the foot, cling to somebody like a wet shower-curtain* and *frown like thunder*. Some other interesting metaphors observed were GOOD IS UP, SAD IS DOWN, HUMAN IS NATURAL FORCE, FALLING ASLEEP IS DYING. Within the domain, feelings also appear as target domains and are described through animals and things, but besides these common patterns (HUMAN IS ANIMAL/THING), there are also metaphors EMOTION IS HOT FLUID IN CONTAINER or BODY IS CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS (e.g. *anger rose in me like boiling milk)*, as well as ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE (e.g. *suck in happiness like a long flexible, infragible strand of pasta*) and EMOTIONS ARE HUMAN. These are used to describe hate, shame, hope, gratitude, love.

The domain of behaviour and interpersonal relationships contains examples which illustrate posture and movement, speech, attitude towards food, drink and work, and relationships with other people. Besides the usual conceptual metaphors (e.g. *stand out like a copper lighthouse, pace around the room like a rattled lion, demand food like cuckoos*), this domain comprises some less common ones such as HUMAN IS NATURAL FORCE when describing the speed of movement (e.g. *travel rapidly as lightening*), or HUMAN IS MACHINE when describing work (e.g. *puff like the largest railway engine*).

The illustration of interpersonal relationships includes two examples with the underlying metaphor HUMAN IS THING. One of them describes people who get along extremely well (*get on like a house on fire*) and the other describes people who are completely different (*as different as chalk from cheese/* (*be*) *like chalk and cheese*). The same characteristics described by the latter can also be represented by the simile *get along as easily as cats in the sack* with the underlying metaphor HUMAN IS ANIMAL, whereas closeness is shown with the expression *as close as a heartbeat*.

The domain of human mind and thought involves several different metaphors. The human mind is most often compared to a machine - therefore the conceptual metaphor in question is HUMAN MIND IS A MACHINE. By using this metaphor, the way of functioning of a machine is mapped to the way of functioning of the human mind (as in the example *powerful like a locomotive* (target domain: INTELLECT)). In addition, the mind can be also compared to a sharp object to highlight its perceptiveness and quick-wittedness (e.g. *mind like an arrowhead*), as well as being compared to animals (*as cool as a bald mammoth*, *flip around like a fish*) when describing its calmness or lethargy and worry or restlessness.

4.2. The domains of animals and objects

Animals and objects are not common elements of description in similes. While HUMAN IS ANIMAL is quite a productive metaphor, the opposite (ANIMAL IS HUMAN) is not the case. The most frequently used is ANIMAL IS THING, followed by ANIMAL IS MACHINE (e.g. *bright little birds pecking away between their teeth like distraught dental hygienists; (run) straight as a bullet* (target domain: ASLAN, THE LION)*; purr like an engine* (target domain: TOM, THE CAT)). When describing animals, the most common source domain is SPEED, so the adequate underlying metaphor is ANIMAL IS NATURAL PHENOMENON – e.g. *spring like a spark of lightning*.

Objects are rarely described through living beings, be it animals or people, for which reason the number of examples noted in this group is quite small. Amongst those recorded are: *cling to the sea anchors like a mountain climber to a rope* (target domain: THE BOAT)*; leap like a salmon* (target domain: THE SWORD)*; fly down like rain* (target domain: ARROWS). A certain number of examples contain the conceptual metaphor CONCRETE IS ABSTRACT (e.g. *crush as easily as timid love* (target domain: LINEN)), but objects tend to be represented through objects, thus constructing direct comparisons and not similes.

4.3. The domain of the abstract

The domain of the abstract encompasses general abstract notions as well as linguistic notions and fantastic elements. Since these notions are impalpable and seen as remote, they are described through more concrete concepts so as to be more easily understood. This is why we find here target domains such as NATURE, CHILDHOOD, SILENCE, IDEAS, MEMORIES, RUMOURS, most of which are described through conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE (e.g. *take over like the automatic pilot on an airplane* (target domain: *NATURE*); *heavy as a greatcoat* (target domain: SILENCE)). The situation is similar when linguistic notions are represented, involving notions such as phrases, arguments, questions, comments, and even plots, as illustrated in the following examples: *fall over themselves like dominoes in a line* (target domain: WORDS); *explode inside head like fireworks* (target domain: QUESTIONS); *be like rusted machinery* (target domain: PLOTS). As the corpus compiles a few works of popular literature with fantastic elements, some similes reflect these features, too. The concepts mentioned are magic and spells, both of which contain underlying metaphor ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE, as well as ABSTRACT IS ANIMATE when referring to spells (*rise through the university like a tide* (target domain: MAGIC); s*it like an old toad at the bottom of a pond* (target domain: SPELL)). They are both often given characteristics of living beings.

4.4. Other domains

This category includes the domains of geographic notions, natural phenomena and situations. Within the domain of geographic notions, the source domains noted are MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, GROUND, LAKES and STARS (e.g. *wind away like a silver snake* (target domain: RIVER); *have a halo like an angel* (target domain: MOUNTAIN). The domain of situations includes only a few examples, as these were not in the focus of this research but serve rather as an illustration (e.g. *Every time I catch his eye or hear his voice, it's like a dart to my chest*). While neither of the aforementioned domains is particularly productive, the domain of NATURAL PHENOMENA is much more diverse. This is not surprising because people have been trying to explain natural phenomena since the ancient times as something remote and unattainable, so this tendency is reflected in the language even today. The notion of natural phenomena is used here in a rather wide sense since it includes day and night, light and darkness, natural disasters, and life and death. The most common underlying metaphor is ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE as seen in the following: *drop like jewels through the fresh foliage* (target domain: LIGHT), *sharp as icicles* (target domain: CHILL), *spread out like ripples in a puddle* (target domain: SILENCE).

5. Function of similes in literary texts

The main motivation for creating similes is a similarity between two concepts. This does not necessarily need to be objective; it depends largely on human experience, cultural background and on the general knowledge of the person creating it. Therefore, it is not surprising that similes are sometimes used to highlight the differences as much as similarities between two entities.

Similes give us insight into a culture or mentality of a people, since in many cases they take their inspiration from deeply-rooted beliefs, emphasize values, or criticize flaws. These are expressed through conceptual metaphors in the underlying structure of similes and are of course especially characteristic for dead similes.

Besides enabling us to see the world from a different perspective by creating new links between entities, similes also help us express ourselves more precisely and more vividly, as well as broadening the use of linguistic devices.

Similes in popular texts are used for establishing direct links with the reader's general knowledge, and in journalism as an illustration of behaviour as well as experience (e.g. *it was, she says, like belonging to a very exclusive, exciting club*). However, they are perhaps used most in literature where, aside from their aesthetic function, they are often creative and used in such a way as to surprise the reader and make common things unusual (Pierini 2007: 24). As such, they create countless possibilities for playing with words and meanings:

The sorcerer had offered to replace everything as good as new, all wood sparkling, all stone unstained, but the Librarian had been very firm on the subject. He wanted everything replaced as good as old.[4]

On the other hand, unlike metaphors, which are mainly used to describe human character and behaviour, similes often describe physical appearance. Their role is also to intensify the meaning expressed by tertium comparationis, or to determine it more closely. For example, the simile *as stubborn as a mule* has the meaning 'very stubborn', '*eat like a horse'* means 'to eat a lot' and '*get on like a house on fire'* means 'to get on very well'.

Similes can have humorous effect too, especially the ones that appear in literary texts:

It was Twoflower. Since early morning he had been like a monkey with the key to the banana plantation after discovering he was breathing the same air as the greatest hero of all time.[5]

In this sense, authors can compare the most unusual notions, such as *[the] sun dawned like a badly poached egg* or *grin like a necrophiliac in a morgue*. More often than not, humorous effects are achieved by using irony, so that a phrase expresses completely the opposite meaning from the one seen on the surface - something that can be noted in the following examples: *as-subtle-as-a-Frankie-*

[4] Pratchet, T. (1993). *Lords and Ladies.* Corgi Books, London
[5] Pratchet, T. (1986). *The Light Fantastic*. Corgi Books, London

Howard-sexual-innuendo style (meaning 'not subtle at all'); *as exciting and dangerous as a bedroom slipper* ('not exciting at all); *as internally likely as a lead lifebelt* ('not likely at all').

Similes can be used creatively in a wide variety of forms, with the user's aims ranging from producing the most beautiful descriptions to one-off puns.

We can build dams, like a beaver, without love. We can organize complex societies, like the bee, without love. We can travel long distances, like the albatross without love. We can put our head in the sand, like the ostrich without love. We can die out as a species, like the dodo without love.[6]

The use of simile when describing an entity is often much more than just the mere comparison of a characteristic - it gives a more complete picture of the target domain. This can be seen for example in the phrase *yawn like a lion*, where the source domain can attribute mainly tiredness and boredom to the target domain, but also indirectly calmness, power, physical strength or insensibility/ apathy to influence from the environment. In situations like this, the attributes do not exclude each other but serve the same purpose (a feature especially characteristic of literary similes). In addition, besides giving more freedom to the author in the sense of way and purpose of their usage, readers also have more freedom when interpreting them.

6. Results

The analysis showed that the two most productive metaphors by far are HUMAN IS ANIMAL and HUMAN IS THING, as more than half of the examples from the corpus contain people as the target domain. Besides people, abstract notions can work as target domains, too. Similes are also used to describe animals and things but to a much lesser degree; there were also some examples which contained notions related to language and to fantastic elements in target domains; in addition, situations can be the target domain of similes.

While all these elements can be found in source domains as well, it is clear that some tendencies do exist. When depicting people, animals prevail in similes describing behaviour, whereas things are mostly used to illustrate physical appearance (especially parts of human body) where the conceptual metaphor HUMAN PROPERTIES ARE PROPERTIES OF INANIMATE THINGS is quite prominent. Moreover, animals are more numerous in the case of human character or emotions. Furthermore, despite the fact that source domains are mostly concrete and palpable notions (e.g. animals and objects), they can also be abstract notions like feelings, or more commonly, natural phenomena.

It is remarkable how we emphasize and criticize negative characteristics more often than praise positive ones, no matter which conceptual metaphor is used. Domestic animals are a more frequent source domain than wild animals when

[6] Barnes, J. (1990). *History of the World in 10½ Chapters*. Picador, London

illustrating negative character or physical traits - in this sense the pig is particularly exploited, as it never appears in similes with positive traits, and even in negative ones, it appears just as often in logical links as it does in completely illogical ones.

There are a number of other conceptual metaphors which are not so frequent. Some of them are HUMAN IS ABSTRACT and CONCRETE IS ABSTRACT. Natural phenomena can describe feelings, e.g. anger is described through a storm and calmness through a breeze, so the metaphor is HUMAN IS NATURAL FORCE. Other conceptual metaphors related to feelings are HAPPY IS UP (i.e. BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND), SAD IS DOWN, EMOTION IS HOT FLUID IN CONTAINER or BODY IS CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS, and CLOSENESS IS AFFECTION. Additionally, man is compared to a machine, giving us HUMAN IS A MACHINE and HUMAN MIND IS A MACHINE. Other interesting metaphors are: FALLING ASLEEP IS DYING, LOVE IS COMMODITY, QUANTITY IS VERTICALITY, WORDS ARE SHARP OBJECTS. These are not illustrated with a lot of examples, but they obviously exist in our minds as such.

It also needs to be said that there is a relatively high level of overlap between simile and metaphor in literature, and that this connection represents a rather powerful means of communication:

He had quite a powerful intellect, but it was powerful like a locomotive, and ran on railscand was therefore almost impossible to steer.[7]

In comparison with the typical source and target domains in conceptual metaphors which were established by Kövecses (2004), the results obtained in this research are somewhat different. It appears that in regards to similes the human body is rarely present as a source domain, but it is a common target domain. In addition, the domains of ILLNESS, GAMES AND SPORT, BUYING and SELLING are not as frequent, yet in both investigations we find ANIMALS, MACHINES, BUILDINGS, LIGHT and DARKNESS, HEAT and COLD. On the topic of target domains, the mutual ones are the domains of EMOTIONS, WISHES, MORAL CATEGORIES, THINKING and COMMUNICATION, HUMAN RELATIONS, EVENTS and TIME; in contrast to Kövecses's (2004) conclusion, similes rarely contain domains of life, and religion, politics and economy are almost non-existent. It is worth mentioning however that the nature of the corpus researched must be taken into account, so in this sense these differences are not quite unexpected.

The research carried out by Omazić (2002) (which involved looking into conventionalized similes in English and Croatian on the corpus gathered mainly from dictionaries) indicated that verbal similes in English are by and large limited to verbs such as *be*, *have*, *feel*, *eat*, *drink* and *look like*. On the other hand, while these similes are indeed more numerous than others, judging by the corpus gathered from modern British literature, creative similes involve a much wider and more diverse range of verbs being used to express the left part of a simile.

[7] Pratchet, T. (1993). *Lords and Ladies.* Corgi Books, London

7. Conclusions

It is quite difficult to come to general conclusions on source and target domains in similes, since everything is allowed so long as the author of the text manages successfully to illustrate the link between two notions without causing a break in communication. Furthermore, the situation in literature is considerably different to that of speech, where dead similes are much more present. In addition, besides poetic (i.e. creative) similes being much more frequently used, the extent to which they are used is largely dependent on the author and his/ her literary style.

Some authors consider similes to be clichés and as such a feature of bad style. This is particularly true of conventionalized similes for this reason such authors do not use them (Omazić 2002). However, since they are quite an illustrative device, other authors use similes in creative ways, modifying them transforming them to create new, powerful and expressive pictures. Terry Pratchett wittily explains the essence of understanding (or misunderstanding) similes: “Poets always get it wrong. 'S’ like ’she had lips like cherries.' Small, round, and got a stone in the middle? Hah!”. It is precisely because of this creativity that the limitations on similes have moved, causing creative similes to be less idiomatic and more prone to changes and transformations. In literary texts, even conventionalized similes often get different shapes, as they are decorated with additional elements and so made novel and creative.

The research has shown some implications for why we should reconsider defining similes as widened metaphors, as well as implications for their usage. Unfortunately, this study has not taken into account more complex similes containing clauses; however, they would certainly provide some interesting bases for another research. Another area that has been rather under-explored are similes in the Serbian language, particularly creative similes and their equivalents in English. The comparison of these two languages might indicate if and how the mechanisms for creating similes are the same, and may also provide some implications relevant for language learning.

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THE STUDY OF THE PROBLEM OF ABSOLUTE SYNONYMS IN RELATION TO THEIR COLLOCATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

Abstract Absolute synonyms are defined as words which pass the test of substitutability or interchangeability. This diagnostic tool for synonymy theoretically allows the possibility of existence of absolute synonyms. The immediate objective of this study was to prove absolute synonymy an impossibility. For this purpose we created the corpus by collecting the synonyms explicitly given in the so-called 'extra column' in two dictionaries: the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary for Advanced Learners* and the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. We analysed the circumstances in which these words appear by examining their collocational behaviour. For this purpose the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* was used. In the examination we have not encountered pairs of synonyms with all matching collocational attributes. This discovery demonstrates that absolute synonymy is non-existent and it completes our understanding about the complexity of the issue.

Key words: absolute synonymy, collocational behaviour of synonyms, non-existence of absolute synonyms.

1. Introduction to synonymy

The term 'synonymy' comes from the Greek word *sunōnumon* meaning 'having the same name'. Synonymy refers to the phenomenon of different words having the same or nearly the same meaning. Such words are called synonymous, namely they are synonyms of each other. Thus for *stare* we can provide a litany of synonyms such as *gape*, *gawp*, *gaze*, *glare*, *goggle*, *look fixedly*, *peer*. Similarly, for *argument* we can list *altercation*, *bickering*, *dispute*, *feud*, *quarrel*, *row*, *squabble*, *wrangle* and many more. From these examples we can say that for words to be called synonymous they need to have the same (or nearly the same) basic meaning. The basic meaning of the above-mentioned examples is: looking at something for an extended period and a disagreement which varies in intensity.

Synonymy is a salient linguistic phenomenon and many distinguished linguists have given significant attention to it. However, for people who approach the subject without much care, synonymy seems to be quite simple. The idea about the same or virtually the same meaning sounds perfectly sustainable. This explanation is satisfactory, but beneath this uncomplicated definition there is an underlying

complexity of the issue. This is the reason why we have chosen this subject. We want to show that synonymy and lexical synonymy in particular are anything but simple. Synonymous words can, in fact, differ on many levels. Their shades and nuances of meaning, however subtle, can create an important alteration, if we attempt to use two synonymous words interchangeably in one sentence. We will now produce the levels on which we distinguish between synonyms, showing that they vary in meaning.

native – foreign	*freedom – liberty*
geographical dialects	*aerial – antenna*
temporal dialects	*girl – damsel*
social dialects	*man – dude*
register	*pulchritudinous – beautiful*
euphemisms – dysphemisms	*stupid – dumb as a box/bucket of hair*
collocations	*blossom – flower*
denotation – connotation	*public servant – bureaucrat*

Table 1: Synonym classification

As previously shown, there are enumerating ways in which synonyms may differ, thereby when we speak of synonymy, we mean varying degrees of synonymy. Does that mean that a synonym pair must contain two words which are different in some regard or that synonymy requires that two words be identical in every possible sense and context? The rule is this: two words that are synonymous would have to be interchangeable in all their possible (sentential) contexts of use. The choice would have no effect on the register, connotation or any other attribute already shown, or in any way change what was being said or written. This diagnostic tool for synonymy is called substitutability or interchangeability and it is accepted by many theorists. Two words are interchangeable as long as all their meanings match. As soon as one meaning falls outside the shared area, they are no longer considered synonyms. Synonyms that fit into this definition are known as absolute synonyms. Cruse contrasts them with cognitive synonyms. Some choose categorical synonyms, others decide on strict synonyms.

Another type of synonyms is called near-synonyms. Cruse uses the term plesionyms instead. The term pseudo-synonyms is also used. Near-synonyms are words that are close but not identical in meaning. All the synonyms that we have introduced are near-synonyms and they are found in dictionaries of synonymy and thesauri, and when people think of synonyms, they actually think of near-synonyms. The most important feature two near-synonyms should have in common is denotation. The more features they share, the more similar they are, until they reach the point of absolute similarity. Near-synonyms may be similar from a lesser to a higher degree.

Some linguists speak of analytic synonymy being opposed to synthetic synonymy but since these types are more connected with sentential synonymy (with

comparison of expressions and the individual words within them, to be more precise), their meaning and analysis do not concern us.

After establishing the basic division of synonyms, without going into too much detail (since linguists approach synonymy types in different ways, contrasting them would be of no relevance to our matter at hand) we will now concentrate on the most salient issue. The issue we will have to resolve, and which is the subject of this thesis, is the problem of absolute synonyms. Do they exist? How common or uncommon are they? Is it possible to have absolute synonyms in natural languages? Are they superfluous? Can we have two words that match in every possible sense? At this point it is important to emphasise that we are well aware that the concept of absolute synonymy is theoretical. However, we believe that studying absolute synonymy in practice is of interest to readers because different ways of analysing the concept always leads to the refutation of the idea. We opted for one of those ways which we will introduce shortly.

It has long been believed that the only two members of a pair of absolute synonyms in British English are *gorse* and *furze* (a type of bush with sharp thorns and small yellow flowers) (Spark Jones, 1986: 106). True as this may be and despite the fact that these two words belong to a special-purpose vocabulary, we still need to represent and prove our leading hypothesis, which is as follows: absolute synonyms are non-existent in natural languages. In our hypothesis we appeal to Lyons' stance in his book *Language and Linguistics* where he opines: "They may be described as absolutely synonymous if and only if they have the same distribution and are completely synonymous in all their meanings and in all their contexts of occurrence […] and that absolute synonymy, as it here defined, is almost non-existent". We will try, to the best of our knowledge, to pay special attention to the circumstances in which synonyms occur and elucidate how words that are given as synonyms collocate with far too many different words to be viewed as such. And with this, we will try to give sufficient evidence in favour of our hypothesis.

2. Creating the Corpus

In this research we created the corpus by randomly collecting the synonyms explicitly given in the so-called 'extra column' in the *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* and within entries in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. We analysed the circumstances in which these words appear by examining their collocational behaviour. For this purpose the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary* was being used. We examined thirty six words and their synonyms. They include twelve nouns, twelve adjectives and twelve verbs and their equivalents. Here is the list of the analysed synonyms from the *CCEDAL*: 1) *ability – capability*, 2) *backlash – revolt*, 3) *elation – delight*, 4) *fad – craze*, 5) *gadget – appliance*, 6) *paradise – heaven*, 7) *candid – frank*, 8) *dazed – confused*, 9) *harmful – damaging*, 10) *ordinary – normal*, 11) *ornate – elaborate*, 12) *acceptable – satisfactory*, 13) *identify – recognise*, 14) *magnify – enlarge*, 15) *navigate – sail*, 16)

oversee – supervise, 17) *perspire – sweat*, and 18) *improve – upgrade*. The *OALD* offers: 19) *zest – appetite*, 20) *tablet – pill*, 21) *waist – waistline*, 22) *welfare – well-being*, 23) *scarcity – shortage*, 24) *valour – bravery*, 25) *unbearable – intolerable*, 26) *wary – cautious*, 27) *tired – weary*, 28) *rich – wealthy*, 29) *boring – tedious*, 30) *conventional – traditional*, 31) *moan – wail*, 32) *drift – waft*, 33) *tackle – confront*, 34) *yearn – long*, 35) *gape – yawn*, and 36) *prohibit – prevent*. Due to the word limit of the publication, we will only provide the analysis of a few examples.

1) a. the following adjectives precede *ability*: exceptional, extraordinary, great, outstanding, remarkable, uncanny; inherent, innate, natural, proven, academic, acting, artistic, athletic, creative, intellectual, linguistic, mathematical, musical, reading, technical, mental, physical, high, limited, low, average, mixed

verbs that accompany *ability* are: have, demonstrate, show, acquire, develop, lack, lose, appreciate, recognise

phrases: a level of ability, a range of ability/abilities, to the best of your ability

b. *capability* is preceded by these adjectives: enormous, limited, potential, proven, human, intellectual, mental, technical, technological, manufacturing, production, research, computing, design, graphics, multimedia, networking, printing, processing, sound, video, defence, fighting, military, missile, nuclear, offensive, weapons

verbs that accompany *capability* are: have, increase, lose

prepositions: beyond your ~, within your ~, ~for

Ability and *capability* share only four adjectives: limited, mental, proven and technical. They also share two verbs: have and lose. *Capability* cannot be used in the phrases with *ability*. Based on these examples *ability* is neither followed nor preceded by prepositions. We may have to view this with an element of skepticism because examples of '*beyond your ability*', '*within your ability*' and '*ability for*' can be found. Moreover, '*beyond your ability*' is much more common in contemporary English than '*beyond your capability*'. The *OCD* seems to be inconsistent and a more detailed analysis of these instances would otherwise be required. When we observe the adjectives we notice that *ability* is more commonly used for people and that some of the adjectives have abstract meaning. *Capability* is used for people and devices, and it collocates with fewer abstract adjectives.

2) a. *dazed*

adverbs: almost, half, a bit, a little, slightly

verbs: appear, be, feel, look, seem, sound, leave sb

prepositions: by

b. *confused*

adverbs: extremely, highly, hopelessly, very, completely, highly, totally, utterly,

increasingly, a bit, a little, rather, slightly, somewhat, further

verbs: appear, be, feel, look, seem, sound, become, get, remain, leave sb

prepositions: about, by

Shared features are: adverbs – a bit, a little, slightly; verbs – appear, be, feel, look, seem; preposition – by. All the verbs that *dazed* collocates with match those of *confused*. *Confused* has a few extra verbs.

3) a. *navigate*
adverbs: accurately, successfully
prepositions: across, by, through
phrases: navigate your way
b. *sail*
adverbs: serenely, single-handed, away, back, on, out, past
verb + sail: learn to, teach sb to
prepositions: across, down, for, from, into, on out of, to, up
Shared features: preposition – across.

4) a. *scarcity*
adjectives: great, relative
noun: value
prepositions: ~ of
phrases: in times/years of scarcity
b. *shortage*
adjectives: acute, desperate, dire, serious, severe, growing, increasing, chronic, general, national, world, current, wartime, cash, energy, food, fuel, housing, labour, manpower, skill/skills ,staff, water
verbs + shortage: cause, create, lead to, result in, be affected by, be hampered by, face, have, suffer (from), alleviate, deal with, ease, meet, overcome, solve, tackle, exacerbate
shortage + verbs: occur, cause sth, lead to sth
prepositions: because of/due to a/the ~, ~ in, ~ of
Shared features: preposition – of. These two synonyms have very little in common, not a single adjective and not a single verb.

5) a. *conventional*
adverbs: highly, very, entirely, quite, strictly, largely, fairly, pretty, rather, relatively, somewhat
verbs: be, seem
b. *traditional*
adverbs: very, almost, fairly, pretty, quite, rather, essentially
verbs: be, become
Shared features: adverbs – very, fairly, quite, pretty, rather; verb – be.

6) a. *tackle*
adverbs: properly, seriously, directly, head-on, effectively, successfully
verb + tackle: attempt to, try to, help (to), fail to
prepositions: with
phrases: a way of tackling sth
b. *confront*
adverbs: directly, immediately, suddenly

phrases: be confronted with sth, find yourself confronted by sth
Shared features: adverb – directly.

3. Conclusion

"…languages abhor absolute synonyms just as nature abhors a vacuum…"
(Cruse, 1986: 270)

The conclusion of this paper could not be complete without this famous and much quoted line. There is an important distinction between synonyms that needs to be noted. The *OALD* at times behaves as a collocations dictionary. It provides lists of synonyms, explicating the differences among them and then gives patterns and collocations. For example, after we have been introduced to *moist*, *damp*, *soaked*, *drenched*, *dripping*, *saturated* as synonyms for *wet*, we are then supplied with the definitions for each of these synonyms which are given in order of frequency, from the most common to the least common. In the end, like in a collocations dictionary, we get their collocational behaviour. This is a much better and more painstaking description of a set of synonyms than the one found in the *CCEDAL* where synonyms are provided with no further explications. With this in mind, when we are given *bored* as a synonym for *jaded* and when we read the definitions of these two words, we wonder how they could have been given as synonyms in the first place. The *OALD* at same time serves the same purpose as other dictionaries. It introduces synonyms in the same way as the *CCEDAL*. This unprincipled treatment of synonyms leads to a discrepancy in a number of synonyms. The *OALD* gives 7,000 synonyms and antonyms and the *CCEDAL* has more than 16,000.

Regardless of the disparity, when looking at the corpus more closely we notice that adjectives tend to be the most synonymous, followed by nouns and then verbs. All these examples of nouns, adjectives and verbs share at least one feature, i.e. one word that they collocate with. Verbs usually do not exceed that number. There are six verbs in the corpus that have only one shared feature. The word that two synonymous verbs have in common is usually a preposition, or an adverb. In the corpus, we have only encountered pairs of synonyms with common features. This proves the concept that two synonyms must have at least one feature in common. There is also another idea which manifests itself in the corpus, that of two synonymous words being examined in detail, and found to be more different than they are alike. This by default refutes any claims about the possible existence of absolute synonyms.

By looking at what the corpus has shown us, we can now declare absolute synonymy to be an impossibility in natural languages. Absolute synonymy is inefficient, redundant and uneconomical. And natural languages (as opposed to special-purpose languages) need to be economical. Otherwise, one would just have to learn far too many symbols. Also, why would there even be a need for two words

absolutely identical in meaning? One of them would indubitably become redundant, or it would acquire new senses. We can exemplify this with *spirit* and *ghost*. *Spirit* is a word of Latin origin, and when it was adopted by English through French, it co-existed with *ghost* for a while. Today *spirit* has a more general and *ghost* more specific meaning: 'spirit of a dead person' (Jackson, H. and Zé Amvela, E., 2000: 109). The trinitarian formula 'in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit' was once 'in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost'.

Therefore, while we dismiss absolute synonymy as being non-existent and unnecessary, we embrace other variations of it because they are essential to a language as they contribute to its efficiency. They also have a great communicative value among speakers and writers because of the possibility of conveying the same or slightly different information through different form.

We started this research by exploring Lyons' stance from his book *Language and Linguistics*. Through the examples from the corpus we have demonstrated that no two words can match in every possible sense and that absolute synonyms are therefore redundant and unmanageable in natural languages. By observing the circumstances in which they appear we have shown that words deemed absolutely synonymous in actual fact are not. We have reached the same conclusion as Lyons and we hereby confirm his stance to be correct.

It is our hope that we have offered satisfactory explanations regarding the problem of this paper. We believe that it will give helpful guidance to professors of English and their students whenever they encounter the matter and that it will become their useful and indispensable tool.

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COMPUTER-RELATED TERMINOLOGY IN SERBIAN: A DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF BORROWING TRENDS, TRANSLATION AND ADAPTATION STRATEGIES

Abstract The aim of this pilot research was to determine certain general trends in translation and adaptation strategies within the lexical field of English computer-related terms employed by Serbian journalists in different temporal segments spanning from 1986 to 2010. The secondary aim of the research was to establish the chronology of borrowing, periods of mass borrowing and to determine the predominant trends for each period. The analysis was based on the corpus consisting of one issue of the Serbian computer magazine *Svet kompjutera* for every four-year period from the temporal frame being analyzed. The research employed the quantitative methodology of corpus linguistics paired with a theoretical analysis based on the frameworks of pragmatics and translation studies. The research identified two periods of mass borrowing, as well as predominant translation and adaptation strategies used in each of those periods.

Keywords: computer terminology, diachronic analysis, corpus linguistics, borrowing, translation, lexical analysis, *Svet kompjutera*.

1. Introduction

At the very beginning it is important to note that this research, which applies the methodology of corpus linguistics in order to analyze diachronic lexical variation, represents a pilot study and, as such, its purpose was to test the feasibility of the chosen dataset and methodology for a more detailed future research study. Hence, its findings represent merely the tip of the iceberg, i.e. a starting point for a more in-depth analysis.

The goals of the research were set at two separate levels: the theoretical level and the methodological level. Within the theoretical plane, the goals were twofold. The primary theoretical goal was to determine general diachronic trends in translation and adaptation strategies within the lexical field of English computer-related terms employed by Serbian journalists in different temporal segments spanning from 1986 to 2010. The secondary theoretical goal was to try to establish the chronology of borrowing, periods of mass borrowing (if any) and to determine the predominant trends for each period. Within the methodological plane, the goal of the research was to develop a methodology for a more elaborate and wider research project in the future.

The primary theoretical goal of the research actually consisted of three separate theoretical analyses: a quantitative diachronic analysis of borrowing trends, a quantitative diachronic analysis of translation strategies, and a quantitative diachronic analysis of adaptation strategies.

In relation to the theoretical goal, it is necessary to define the term *diachronic* and *diachrony*. Namely, the 24-year period between 1986 and 2010 that this research analyzes may not make it eligible for the attribute "diachronic", according to some definitions of the term. However, the research employs the quantitative methodology of corpus linguistics and the term *diachronic* has a specific meaning in corpus linguistics. As early as 1982, Sinclair referred to the future possibility of "vast, slowly changing stores of text," providing "detailed evidence of language evolution" (Sinclair 1982, cited in Renouf 2002). According to Renouf, there is also a delay in cross-disciplinary fertilization of this idea, as many linguists take diachrony for granted only in relation to earlier Englishes (Renouf 2002). Recently, historical corpus linguists have begun to differentiate between the traditional scope of their field, which covers more centuries and is referred to as long diachrony (Rissanen 2000: 9), and "the recent scholarly interest in 'short-term change in diachrony'" (Kytö, Rudanko, Smitterberg 2000: 85), covering the last century (Renouf 2002). For modern corpus linguists, diachronic linguistics is typically the study of change in one or more aspects of language use just within (or across) a time span of 10–30 years (Renouf 2002, Kehoe 2005). This relatively brief span of time has sometimes also been termed brachychrony (Mair 1997). In this research, the above definition of diachrony is used, although the term brachychrony could have been used as well.

Regarding previous research on the topic, in all probability there is none. To be exact, GoogleScholar, COBISS and EBSCO searches did not yield any relevant articles for the keywords specified in this paper. In other words, this research seems to be a step into *terra incognita*.

2. Methodology

The research employed the quantitative methodology of corpus linguistics paired with a theoretical analysis based on the frameworks of pragmatics and translation studies. The fact that there were, and still are, no readily available collections of short-term diachronic texts in Serbian presented a momentous problem. Actually, it was necessary to first create suitable Serbian language resources and then develop a methodology fitting to the resources.

Considering that the primary theoretical focus of the research was diachronic lexical variation in computer-related terminology in Serbian, the frequency of anglicisms and patterns of borrowing from English into Serbian, it was of utmost importance to find a reliable and representative data source. After searching COBISS, it became obvious that there was only one suitable choice: the magazine *Svet kompjutera* (literally translated into English as *Computer World*). The reasons

why *Svet kompjutera* presented itself as the only viable data source were representativeness and continuity. Namely, *Svet kompjutera* is the only Serbian computer magazine with a tradition longer than 10 years, since it was first published in 1985, which makes it the most representative sample of Serbian computer-related terminology. Additionally, many of the current (2011) contributors wrote articles in *Svet kompjutera* as early as 1992, which means that some articles in the magazine reflect changes, if any, in the journalists' idiolects and, thus, overall diachronic trends in borrowing from English in the domain of computer-related terminology.

Having in mind that this was a pilot research project, only a small dataset was chosen, i.e. the corpus for the research consisted of articles from 9 January issues of *Svet kompjutera* separated by a time period of 3 years. The exact issues of the magazine and the number of words (rounded to 500) contained in each issue are given in Table 1 below.

Issue of *Svet kompjutera* (year/month)	Number of words in the issue
Svet kompjutera 1986/01	50,000 words
Svet kompjutera 1989/01	63,000 words
Svet kompjutera 1992/01	63,500 words
Svet kompjutera 1995/01	44,000 words
Svet kompjutera 1998/01	29,000 words
Svet kompjutera 2001/01	32,000 words
Svet kompjutera 2004/01	41,000 words
Svet kompjutera 2007/01	62,000 words
Svet kompjutera 2010/01	65,000 words
TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS:	449,500 words

Table 1: Composition of the corpus used for the research, i.e. the issues of Svet kompjutera analyzed in the research and the number of words (rounded to 500) contained in each issue.

The decision to use January issues was one intended to increase the representativeness of the corpus, as January issues of *Svet kompjutera* feature articles that summarize new developments and emerging trends from the year before and, as such, usually contain all the terminology that emerged during that year.

The biggest obstacle in the initial stage of the research – corpus compilation – was the digitalization of text materials. To elaborate, although all issues of *Svet kompjutera* are available online as free downloads, almost half of them are not available in the format which is suitable for linguistic research. Namely, the issues from the period 1985–1997 are only available as scanned low-resolution JPG images via a Slovenian retro-gaming site[1], whereas the issues from the period 1998–2011 can be found on the official site of the magazine[2] in HTML format.

[1] http://pc.sux.org/indexSK.html
[2] http://www.sk.rs

Since it would have been methodologically erroneous to have left the 1986, 1989, 1992 and 1995 issues out of the corpus and since it would have rendered the corpus unrepresentative, it was decided that it was necessary to convert the relevant 1986–1995 issues into a linguistically usable text format. Initially it was attempted to conduct the image-to-text conversion using the Abbyy Finereader[3] optical-character recognition (OCR) program. However, because of the low resolution[4] of the JPG images, the results were unusable, as more than 50% of the words contained errors. Therefore, all the original JPG images were resized using a professional photo enlargement program Alienskin Blow Up 2[5], which uses special algorithms to increase the resolution of images without losing any details, without blurring sharp edges and without any noticeable pixelization. It was only after this image enlargement procedure that Abbyy Finereader produced relatively usable results. The text output still contained a number of errors, but the error rate was below 10%. The text output was then manually proofread and corrected in MS Word 2010 with the help of Serbian proofreading tools. The more recent issues from the 1998–2010 period were downloaded using a copy of MetaProducts Offline Explorer[6] after which each issue was manually converted to plain text format.

Once the corpus was compiled using the methodology outlined above, it was necessary to develop an automatic or semi-automatic method of extracting and/or identifying English borrowings and anglicisms in the corpus and analyzing them quantitatively. The initial idea for corpus analysis was manual excerption and annotation, however it was soon deemed extremely time-consuming and inefficient.

The next idea was to compile a list of anglicisms and compare it with the list of words for each of the analyzed issues of *Svet kompjutera* using programs AntConc[7] (to create respective wordlists) and UltraCompare[8] (to compare the wordlists). The list with approximately 1000 anglicisms was compiled on the basis of *Rečnik novijih anglicizama: Du yu speak anglosrpski?* (Vasić, Prćić, Nejgebauer 2001). However, since the list did not contain inflected forms and the dictionary on which it was based, because of its nature, did not include a number of computer terms, this approach was abandoned as many computer terms were skipped during comparison in Ultra Compare. Furthermore, which was equally important, this approach did not offer an easy way of comparing two different strategies in filling lexical gaps in Serbian computer-related terminology: borrowing and translation / creating new words via word-formation processes.

In order to facilitate both a relatively quick and easy quantification of English borrowings and anglicisms, on the one hand, and comparison of different strategies in filling lexical gaps, on the other, yet another methodological approach was

[3] http://finereader.abbyy.com/
[4] The resolution of scanned JPG images was usually 848 x 1167 pixels.
[5] http://www.alienskin.com/blowup/index.aspx
[6] http://www.metaproducts.com/mp/Offline_Explorer_Enterprise.htm
[7] http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html
[8] http://www.ultraedit.com/products/ultracompare.html

devised. The idea was to use the stop-word function in AntConc, as a means of finding only English borrowings and anglicisms and then to compare the results of the AntConc analysis with individual wordlists for each analyzed issue of *Svet kompjutera*. Naturally, for this approach to work as planned, it was necessary to create a stop-word list containing Serbian words that are neither English borrowings nor anglicisms: in other words, it was necessary to create an as exhaustive as possible Serbian wordlist that only lacked English borrowings and anglicisms. Having this end in mind, an appropriate Serbian wordlist was compiled on the basis of open-source Serbian dictionaries for GNU aspell and OpenOffice (hunspell) spell-checkers[9]: all words and word forms were extracted from the spelling dictionaries and combined into a large wordlist from which all recent anglicisms were then removed together with (rare) Serbian translations of computer terms (e.g. štampač (printer), datoteka (file) and računar (computer)). Serbian translations of computer terms were removed in order to compare diachronic trends regarding the predominant mechanism of filling computer-related lexical gaps by either borrowing terms or coining new terms using Serbian word-formation processes. The final version of the Serbian wordlist contained 337,268 word forms (i.e. tokens), which, according to aspell and OpenOffice online documentation, amounts to roughly 135,000 individual words, i.e. lexemes. This Serbian-only wordlist was then used, by comparing it with the wordlists from the analyzed issues of *Svet kompjutera*, to extract words from the corpus which represented either potential English borrowings or potential anglicisms. In the final methodological step, the results obtained by filtering out non-English words and non-anglicisms by using a Serbian-only stop-word list were then manually annotated with two sets of tags: tags for the type of anglicism and tags for the type of translation strategy used for a particular lexeme. The annotation scheme and the tags used in it are described in the theoretical section of the paper. From the purely methodological perspective, it is relevant to mention that the annotation was inserted in the UltraEdit program, since it supports XML files and provides syntax highlighting for all tagged file formats, including XML.

The flowchart of the methodology used in the research is given in Chart 1 below.

[9] The original GNU aspell Serbian dictionary was compiled and released by Goran Rakić. The original wordlist also includes 133,986 words from the Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language, built at the Faculty of Mathematics, University of Belgrade, with a total size of 25MW (mega words), created by Natural Language Processing Group, Faculty of Mathematics, University of Belgrade. The GNU aspell wordlist is given under the GNU LGPL license and is available at http://srpski.org/aspell/index-en.html. The OpenOffice spelling dictionary/wordlist is available at http://wiki.services.openoffice.org/wiki/Dictionaries#Serbian_.28Serbia.2C_Republic_Srpska.29.

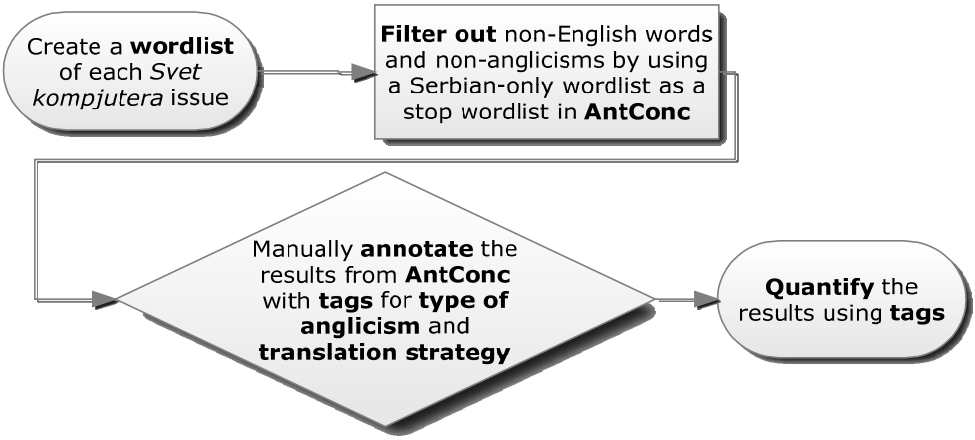


Chart 1: The flowchart showing the methodology used in the research.

3. Theoretical framework

As it has already been mentioned in the introduction, the goals of the research, from the theoretical point of view, were twofold: the primary goal being to determine general diachronic trends in translation and adaptation strategies within the lexical field of English computer-related terms employed by Serbian journalists in different temporal segments spanning from 1986 to 2010, and the secondary goal being to establish the chronology of borrowing. More specifically, the primary theoretical goal of the research focused on three separate theoretical analyses: a quantitative diachronic analysis of borrowing trends and influx of anglicisms, a quantitative diachronic analysis of translation strategies, and a quantitative diachronic analysis of adaptation strategies.

The theoretical foundation of the research, in that respect, is the definition of the term 'anglicism', as given by Prćić 2005, which identifies an anglicism as a lexeme or bound morpheme from English which is used in Serbian, with varying degrees of integration into its system (Prćić 2005).

The analysis included only monomorphemic and polymorphemic lexemes, not phrasal lexemes, phrases or clauses. The reason for this is purely methodological in its nature. Namely, main-stream concordancing and wordlisting programs (e.g. AntConc) and file-comparison programs (e.g. UltraCompare) operate on individual words, hence they are unsuitable for creating n-grams necessary for the analysis of phrases and clauses.

Having in mind that another goal of the theoretical analysis was to identify translation procedures used by journalists in order to fill computer-related lexical gaps in Serbian, it was also necessary to define the theoretical framework for designing the annotation scheme for types of translation procedures. The

classification of translation procedures was taken from Prćić 2005 and distinguishes three basic types of translation procedures: direct translation, structural translation (calque) and functional approximation (Prćić 2005: 178–180). According to Prćić, direct translation is a translation procedure which refers to the process of direct translation of literal or metaphorical meaning of monomorphemic or polymorphemic words from L1 into L2 and could be exemplified by the Serbian word 'miš', referring to a computer mouse. Structural translation (calque) is a translation procedure which refers to the process of literal translation of elements of polymorphemic words from L1 by using corresponding elements from L2, as exemplified by the Serbian words 'štampač' and 'računar' in the sense of a computer-attached printer and computer, respectively. Functional approximation is a translation procedure which refers to the process of translating the meaning of an expression from L1 by using the lexical means available in L2, in order to convey, as closely as possible, the function of the referent of the L1 expression, as can be exemplified by the Serbian word 'sabirnica' in the sense of the computer term FSB (Front-Side Bus).

Since translation is only one of the options that are at the journalist's disposal as a means of filling computer-related lexical gaps in Serbian, it was essential to include other options in the annotation scheme. A random excerption of Serbian computer-related terminology from the corpus showed that a considerable number of them were actually borrowings. The classification of borrowings used in the annotation scheme was taken from Prćić 2005 and is based on the criterion of their form in Serbian texts (Prćić 2005: 120–123). After detailed annotation of the corpus, it was discovered that borrowing yielded the following kinds of anglicisms: obvious anglicisms, hidden anglicisms and raw anglicisms. Obvious anglicisms are all lexical elements that have, to a greater or lesser extent, become integrated into the system of the Serbian language – at the levels of orthography, phonology, morphosyntax, semantics and pragmatics and are in the process of becoming, or are already felt to be, words belonging to the Serbian language (Prćić 2005: 121); examples from the corpus include: *modem* (modem), *skener* (scanner), *kompjuter* (computer), *atačment* (attachment), *DVD*, *USB*, *ulogovan* (logged-in), *daunloudovati* (download), *četovati* (chat) and *sajber-* (cyber-). Hidden anglicisms are lexical elements whose form is, on the surface, that of a Serbian lexeme, while reflecting the meaning and/or use typical of the corresponding form in English (Prćić 2005: 121–122); examples from the corpus include: *miš* (mouse, in the sense of a computer mouse), *meni* (menu, referring to a menu in a computer program), *platforma* (platform – computer components integrated into a working computer system), *izađi* (exit – quit a program), *prozor* (window – the central element of modern computer-user interfaces). Raw anglicisms are lexemes which were copied from English, without any adaptation to the system of the Serbian language at the level of orthography, partially adapted at the levels of morphosyntax and phonology and adapted only at the levels of semantics and pragmatics (Prćić 2005: 122–123); examples from the corpus include: *e-mail*, *attachment*, *rooter*, *screen* and *roleplay*.

In accordance with the theoretical framework outlined above, each wordlist was manually edited in order to delete non-anglicisms (Serbian words, numbers, common anglicisms, general acronyms, etc.) and then each anglicism was annotated with one of the tags described in Table 2 below.

TAG	MEANING OF THE TAG
!o	OBVIOUS ANGLICISM
!r	RAW ANGLICISM
!s	HIDDEN (“skriveni”) ANGLICISM
!p	TRANSLATED ENGLISH TERM (“prevod”)

Table 2: General annotation scheme for all anglicisms

Additionally, each hidden anglicism and each translated term were further annotated with one of the tags described in Table 3 below.

TAG	MEANING OF THE TAG
!d	DIRECT TRANSLATION
!f	FUNCTIONAL APPROXIMATION
!k	STRUCTURAL TRANSLATION / CALQUE (“kalk”)

Table 3: Specific annotation scheme for additional tagging of hidden anglicisms and translated terms

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the kind of annotation used in this research is often extremely complicated. For example, “PC” is a raw anglicism, because it is pronounced as /pi:si:/, however AI is an obvious anglicism, because it is pronounced as /a - i/. It is also important to note that personal names were not analyzed (Villenuve, Voigt, Balmer, etc.) and neither were common and non-computer-related anglicisms, e.g. *flight*, *free*, *low*, *design*, etc.

4. Research findings

Once the wordlists, i.e. the corpus, have been fully analyzed and annotated, and once the quantification of the data provided by the annotation has been looked at in MS Excel, it was possible to gain theoretical insights into the phenomena that were the focus of the research and to answer the fundamental question of diachronic linguistic patterns of filling computer-related lexical gaps in Serbian.

The basic assumption prior to the data analysis was that the number of anglicisms had increased steadily over a decade or more until it stabilized two or three years into the 21st century when, according to the subjective opinion of the researchers, the majority of computer-related terminology became an integral part of the Serbian computer jargon. A detailed analysis of the corpus has, however, shown that the initial assumption was not correct.

The data from the corpus show that a considerable number of anglicisms were present even at the very beginning of the time period being observed (1986– 2010). Namely, in the earliest of the analyzed issues (*Svet kompjutera* 1986/01), there are 3180 occurrences of anglicisms, which constitutes 6.36% of words in the entire issue, which is the figure that could be termed 'anglicism saturation'. In the next analyzed issues (*Svet kompjutera* 1989/01), contrary to the initial hypothesis, one can notice a decrease both in the absolute frequency of anglicism occurrence and anglicism saturation, as this issue contains 2943 occurrences of anglicisms, which amounts to a 3.96% anglicism saturation. The next issue (*Svet kompjutera* 1992/01) contains a slightly smaller number of anglicism occurrences (2541), but in relation to the total number of words in that issue, this frequency amounts to a 4.00% anglicism saturation, which is a meager 0.04% increase in comparison to the 1989/01 issue. The next issue in the chronological order, *Svet kompjutera* 1992/01, however, displays a considerably greater total number of anglicisms, 3630 occurrences, but, in relation to the total number of words in the issue, that amounts to a 8.25% anglicism saturation, which is more than a twofold increase in comparison with the previously analyzed issue from three years before. The 1998, 2001, 2004 and 2007 issues, on the other hand, follow a slow decreasing trend with anglicism saturation of 4.07%, 3.82%, 3.55% and 3.31%, respectively. It is only the 2010 issue where there is a slight increase in anglicism saturation, as anglicisms constitute 3.43% of all the words in this issue. However, that amounts to an extremely modest increase of only 0.12%; hence, it is safe to say that in the period between January 2001 and January 2010, the average anglicism saturation is 3.52% with a generally decreasing trend, with the exception of the 2010 issue, in which there is a slight increase in anglicism saturation.

These findings are in contradiction with the initial assumption, since there is no steady increase in anglicism saturation. On the contrary, one can notice two peaks: the 1986 issue and the 1995 issue, with a 6.36% and 8.25% anglicism saturation, respectively, which are followed by shorter or longer periods of steady decrease in anglicism saturation. These two peaks in anglicism saturation could be interpreted as periods of mass influx of anglicisms, whereas the periods of steady decrease probably correspond to the time when newly introduced anglicisms were either fully integrated into the Serbian computer jargon or rejected either because of linguistic or extralinguistic factors (e.g. a particular type of technology got out of use or was superseded with a new type of technology).

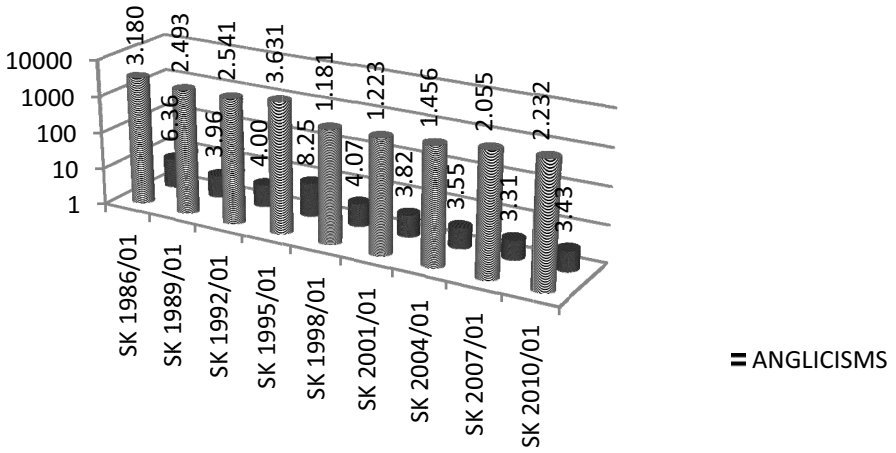


Chart 2: Diachronic absolute frequency of anglicism occurrence in the analyzed issues of 'Svet kompjutera' and the respective anglicism saturation (relative frequency). The chart uses a logarithmic scale

The findings presented in the previous paragraphs are visually represented in Chart 2 above, in the form of 3D bar charts. The first row of bars corresponds to the absolute frequency (i.e. the total number of occurrences) of anglicisms, whereas the second corresponds to the relative frequency of anglicisms, i.e. 'anglicism saturation'. Anglicism saturation is, actually, the relative frequency of anglicisms – the total number of anglicisms in an issue divided by the total number of words in that particular issue. The bar chart is drawn on a logarithmic scale, so that the differences in anglicism saturation are not particularly noticeable.

Since the logarithmic scale used in Chart 2 does not adequately show the two peaks of anglicism influx and the two periods of steady decline of anglicism occurrence (but it very well shows the overall trend), the 3D bar chart in Chart 3 uses a non-logarithmic, i.e. proportionate, scale, with the purpose of showing in the best possible manner the sharp increase in the frequency of anglicism occurrence (anglicism saturation), which occurred in 1986 and, again, in 1995. The non-logarithmic scale also clearly shows the slow decline in anglicism saturation over the ten year period between 1998 and 2007.

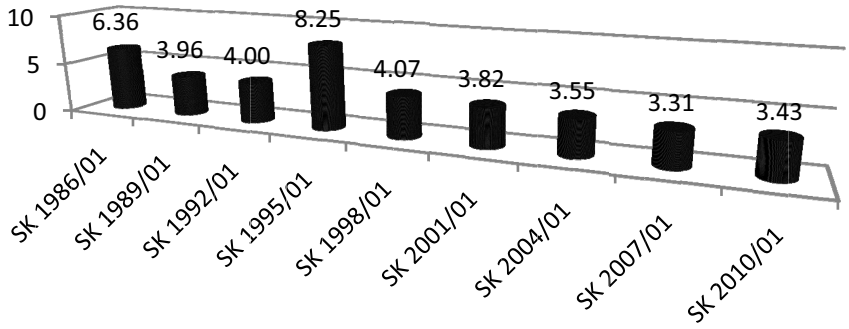


Chart 3: Diachronic anglicism saturation (relative frequency of anglicism occurrence) in the analyzed issues of 'Svet kompjutera'. The chart uses a non-logarithmic scale

At this point it is worth noting that the two peaks in anglicism saturation occur in the periods of important new developments in the computer market. 1985 was the year when two extremely influential consumer-oriented personal computers were introduced: Amiga 1000 and Atari ST, which also introduced users to a graphical user interface and all the new concepts that such a form of a user interface carried with it. The year of 1995 marks the official release of Microsoft Windows 95, which represented a quantum leap in technological capability and user-friendliness of PC systems. However, beta versions were available as early as September 1994, so the terminology of the new graphical user interface for PC computers was already available to Serbian journalists in January 1995, as was the beta version of the operating system itself (bearing in mind that the computer software market in Serbia was, at the time, virtually entirely based on pirated copies of software products).

However, since one of the primary aims of the research was to determine how journalists borrow terminology and what translation procedures they use in the process, all anglicisms in the corpus were annotated with tags that identified the type of anglicism and, in the case of translated terms and hidden anglicisms, also with tags that identified the translation procedure used in that particular word. Due to the time-consuming nature of the annotation process and the fact that the peaks of anglicism influx occurred in 1985 and 1995, it was decided not to annotate all issues in the corpus for patterns of borrowing and translation procedures, but only the following issues: *Svet kompjutera* 1986/01, *Svet kompjutera* 1998/01 and *Svet kompjutera* 2010/01. These issues span the whole time period under investigation at an equal interval of 12 years and also closely correspond to periods of mass anglicism influx.

As can be seen from Chart 4, initially, the vast majority of borrowings (56.63%) were raw anglicisms (e.g. *floppy disc*), with obvious anglicisms (e.g. *džojstik* (joystick)) being the second most frequent type of anglicisms (21.26%). However, over the course of time, as more and more computer-related terminology was being integrated into the Serbian computer jargon, this balance shifted in the

opposite direction, so that in 2010 the majority (41.12%) of anglicisms were obvious anglicisms, while raw anglicism were now the second most frequent type (33.64%). The frequency of hidden anglicisms (e.g. *meni* (menu)) increased from 15.37% in 1986 to 21.03% in 2010, albeit after a drop to 11.25% in 1998. This increase highlights the effort on the part of the journalists to assign new meanings to readily available Serbian lexemes. The fact that borrowing without any form of adaptation, i.e. introducing raw anglicisms, is slowly becoming less popular can be interpreted either as an effort on the part of the journalists to translate new terms or find corresponding Serbian terms, or, simply, as an indicator that most computer-related terminology has already been integrated into Serbian in the form of now predominant obvious anglicisms. The fact that the frequency of translated terms decreased from 6.74% in 1986 to 4.21% in 2010 seems to point to a conclusion that word-formation processes are seen as the last resort by Serbian computer journalists. In terms of translation procedures used in the forming of hidden anglicisms and translated terms, as can be seen in Chart 5, the predominant procedure is that of direct translation (e.g. *miš* (mouse)) and the second most frequent is functional approximation (e.g. *sabirnica* (frontside bus)), whereas structural translation (calquing) (e.g. *štampač* (printer)) completely vanished from use in 2010 as a means of introducing new terms, although the terms already introduced in that way continue to be used. This is rather unfortunate, since the analysis of the frequency of two pairs of competing lexemes in the corpus, where one lexeme in each pair is a calque (*računar* and *štampač*) and the other either an obvious anglicism (*kompjuter*) or a raw anglicism (*printer*), clearly shows that it is always the calque which ultimately becomes the predominant form (probably because its meaning is more transparent than that of an anglicism), as can be seen in Chart 6.

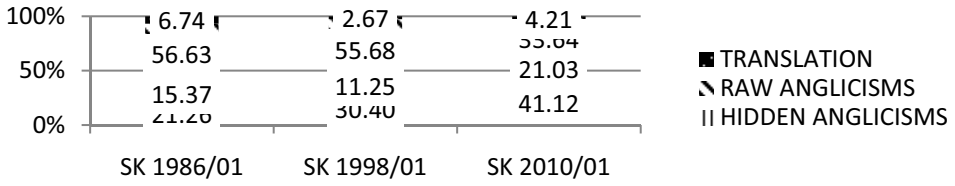


Chart 4: Patterns of borrowing in Serbian computer-related terminology

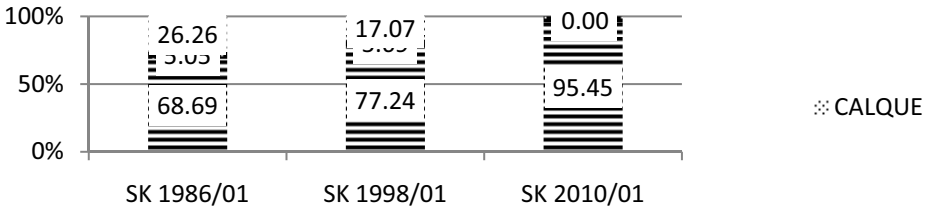
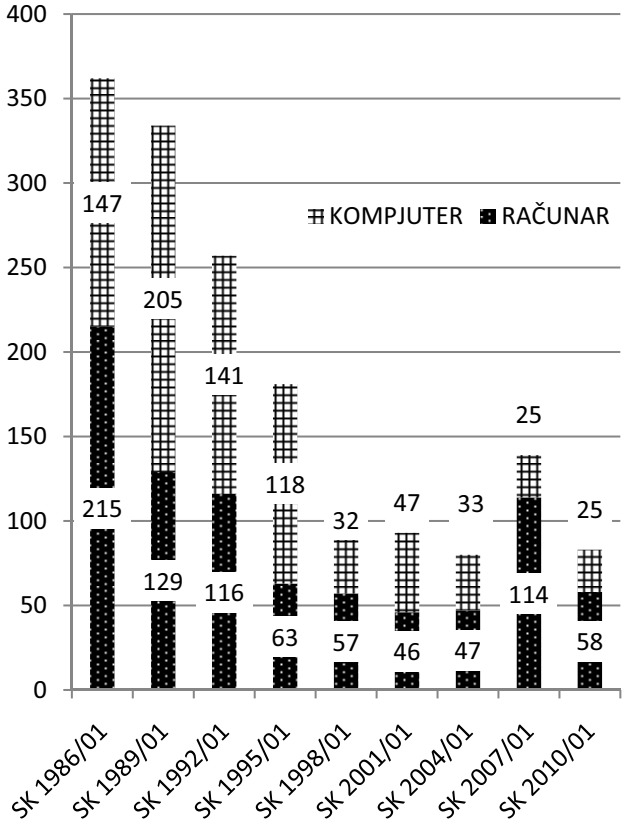


Chart 5: Translation procedures used in the forming of hidden anglicisms and translated terms


400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
KOMPJUTER
RAČUNAR
147
215
205
129
141
116
118
63
32
57
47
46
33
47
25
114
25
58
SK 1986/01
SK 1989/01
SK 1992/01
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SK 2004/01
SK 2007/01
SK 2010/01

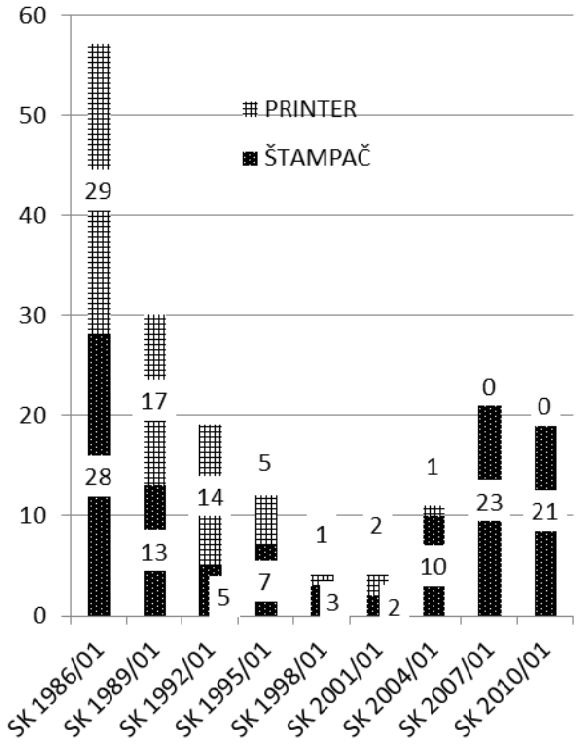

Chart 6: 'Kompjuter' vs. 'računar' (computer) and 'printer' vs. 'štampač' (printer): the preference towards translated lexemes in comparison with competing borrowed lexemes

5. Closing remarks

As it has already been mentioned in the introduction, this was a pilot research and as such it has fulfilled all its initial goals: it has been shown that a relatively simple methodology can be used to extract valuable data for the analysis of diachronic lexical variation; it has also been demonstrated that even a very small corpus can provide valuable insights into the underlying mechanisms of lexical borrowing; finally, the research has also revealed the predominant patterns of borrowing of English computer-related terminology into Serbian, as well as the two main periods of mass influx of anglicisms. However, this being a pilot research, there remains a lot to be done. One of the most important aspects for future research is going to be the expansion of the annotation scheme, as it has been noticed that some lexemes cannot be classified in a satisfactory manner according to the annotation scheme presented in this paper, as they seem to be products of what could be called 'secondary adaptation', for example: *dvoklik* (doubleclick), *četovanje* (chatting) and *doomolik* (resembling the computer game 'Doom').

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SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF ENGLISH AND SERBIAN COLOUR NAMING LEXEMES

Abstract This paper explores both the universal and culture–specific aspects of the meaning of
English and Serbian lexemes expressing basic colour terms (Berlin and Kay, 1969). Their semantics are explained in terms of the interaction of lexical meaning with lexical pragmatics. Pragmatic phenomena connected with the semantic under–specification of lexical items are illustrated by the pragmatics of colour naming adjectives, systematic polysemy, lexical blocking, etc. The universal human concepts are isolated by removing the culture–dependant analytical framework. These concepts are most obvious in *black* and *white*, stemming from the universal distinction between dark and light respectively, as well as *red* and *green*, based on the colour of human/animal blood and of nature respectively. The conclusion which arises is that from a cross–cultural perspective, pragmatics often fail to actually describe lexical meaning, since it is semantics which is the key to understanding cross–cultural pragmatics not the other way round.

Key words: semantics, pragmatics, basic colour terms, cross–cultural perspective.

1. Introduction

Differentiating between the semantic content (meaning) of colour naming lexemes,[1] and their use to communicate on particular occasions and in particular contexts (pragmatics) basically implies differentiating between the idea of what words mean, and the use speakers make of words (King & Stanley: 2005: 113). According to the lexical semantics' postulates, colour naming lexemes represent 'content', rather than 'form or grammatical' words. This paper is, therefore, an exploration into the semantic nature of colour vocabulary, as well as a window into the ruling pragmatic principles it is subject to.

[1] The paper deals with cognitive semantics approach where meaning is perceived as concepts, or 'things in the mind', rather than a limited number of semantic building blocks closely studied by componential semantics (Cruse, 2006: 3).

2. Colour terms are a domain of both lexis and culture

Since meaning is of no sense except in the context of communication involving a speaker and an addressee, ''the notion of communication herefore provides as good a place as any to start an exploration of meaning'' (Cruse, 2011: 5). What is more, if a language is recognized as a social practice, its use can no longer be separated from the creation and transmission of cultures, e.g. in Europe and America the colour of death and mourning is black but in China the colour of death and mourning is white. Therefore, MacLaury (1991), argues that colour is far from being a universal human concept as it is so strongly tied to cultural symbolism and values. In line with the universalistic views, however, first put forward by Berlin and Kay (1969), colour perception is universalistic, namely in a language with a fully developed colour term system the maximum number of basic colour terms (BCTs) is 11, embracing *black*, *white*, *red*, *green*, *yellow*, *blue*, *brown*, *grey*, *purple*, *pink* and *orange*.[2] Whether a language has/has not a name expressing one of the aforementioned hues depends solely on the fact whether speakers of the language have/have not had a personal experience of a particular colour, not whether there is/isn't a concept for it.[3] In other words, insisting on the idea that colour categories are not arbitrary products of human cognition, universalists speak in favour of the cross–cultural congruity between colour lexemes in different languages, e.g. English *red*, *blue*, *green* and Serbian CRVEN, PLAV, ZELEN. As always, the truth lies somewhere in between these two contradictory approaches (the relativistic and the universalistic), hence there is both the universal and culture–specific nature of the colour vocabulary. In short, in spite of the most probable universality of the underlying cognitive structures, languages do vary with respect to different encoding of similar meaning with different colours. For lack of space and time, however, our discussion on the basic colour terms will be narrowed down to merely four terms naming two achromatic and two chromatic hues, namely English *black* and *white*, and *red* and *green*, equivalent to Serbian CRN and BEO, and CRVEN and ZELEN, respectively.

3. Colour dichotomy

Without any doubt, the most frequent classification in the human category is based on *black* and *white*. It mirrors the eternal dichotomy of night and day,

[2] Interestingly though, Berlin and Kay do allow for the possibility that some languages can have more than 11 basic colour terms. As established by their followers, Russian has SINIY, dark blue, and GOLUBOĬ, light blue (Van Brakel, 1993: Wierzbicka, 1990), and in Hungarian there are PIROS, lighter shade of the red hue, and VÖRÖS, darker shade of the red hue (Moss, 1988, 1989; Wierzbicka, 1990), both pairs being two basic terms for blue and red respectively. Moreover, Roberson and Hanley (2010), come up with the amazing 22 BCTs.

[3] For details on Berlin and Kay's typology of the BCTs please refer to Krimer–Gaborović, 2008 (pp. 220–1).

darkness and light, evil and good, death and life. All humans in the world are familiar with the phenomena if not linguistically, than surely empirically. The negative connotation of English *black* and Serbian CRN stems from the following verbalized meanings, (1) misfortune, misery, malice, banishment, e.g. English *black Friday*, any Friday on which a public disaster has occurred, *black–hearted*, evil, *black sheep*, an odd or disreputable member of a group, especially within a family; and Serbian U CRNO ZAVITI, to make unhappy; lit. to wrap in black, CRNA GUJA, an evil person, lit. a black adder, CRNA LISTA, the list of unwanted/undesired individuals (cf. Englich *black list*); (2) negative psychological conditions (fear, anger, grief, anxiety, etc.), e.g. English *to black out*, to lose consciousness; and Serbian ZACRNELO MU SE PRED OČIMA, to become frantic, lit. to see black; (3) disease, e.g. English *black death*, plague; Serbian CRNI PRIŠT, anthrax, lit. a black boil, etc. In stark contrast to this, both English *white* and Serbian BEO imply a series of positive qualities such as (1) innocence, docility, chastity, e.g. *white lamb* and BELE MISLI, innocent thoughts, lit. white thoughts; (2) beauty, youth, good health. e.g. *clear, white skin*, and BELO DEVOJAČKO TELO, a young female's beautiful body, lit. a young female's white body; (3) wisdom, experience, e.g. *white/grey hair*, also available in Serbian as BELE/SEDE KOSE. The general negative attitude to BLACK and the positive one to WHITE is perhaps best condensed into Serbian idiomatic phrase ČUVATI BELE NOVCE ZA CRNE DANE, to save money for rainy days, lit. to save white money for black days.

Nevertheless, in spite of a certain correspondence across cultures, here Anglo-Saxon and Serbian, there are also considerable differences. Certain meanings common to Serbian basic colour terms are practically nonexistent in English, e.g. (OTIĆI U) BELI SVET, (to go) abroad, lit. (to go to the) white world,[4] and vice versa. In fact, in English *white world* is most commonly a colour metaphor for the supremacy of the white race. At the same time, English *white death* and *white plague*, both having the meaning 'tuberculosis', formally do, but semantically do not correspond to the Serbian metaphors BELA SMRT, death of freezing, and BELA KUGA, low birth rate, respectively. Serbian CRNI OBLAK, meaning (a) a cloud that brings rain; (b) a forthcoming misfortune/disaster, literally translates into English *black cloud*, which usually refers to 'the cloud of exhaust', or possibly 'the seasonal smog'. The English equivalent of Serbian CRNI OBLAK should be *dark cloud*, the adjective *dark* being recognized here to be a different shade of the achromatic *black*. Such occurrences of false cognates (words that appear to be cognates but have different meanings in two languages) have been known to cause major stumbling block to a quality translation. Furthermore, *black* can also have the positive and *white* negative meaning. Therefore, *a black limo* (equivalent to Serbian CRNA LIMUZINA) sends off the message of elegance and influence similarly to *a little black dress* (equivalent to Serbian MALA CRNA HALJINA); or a person can get described as

[4] Corresponds to the English phrasal expression *into the blue* (cf. also *out of the blue*, completely unexpected, out of nowhere).

dead white, if s/he is sick (seriously anemic or others), terrified or dead; whereas a defeat is commonly indicated by waving a *white flag* to the enemy. Moreover, in Serbian NEMATI NI BELOG DINARA, means 'to be penniless/broke', lit. not to have one penny/dime; and BITI NA BELOM HLEBU implies the idea of 'a life on death row', lit. to live/survive on white bread alone.

Taking into consideration all the difficulties with the semantic flexibility of basic colour terms, such as a relation of synonymy/antonymy, systematic polysemy, collocations, false cognates, lexical gaps, lexical blocking, etc., that need to be explained in terms of the interaction of lexical meaning with lexical pragmatics, Lipka (1992: 48) rightfully concludes that ''words are not simply names for pre–existing extralinguistic categories''. If this were true all translations would be natural, accurate and with maximum effectiveness, and they are certainly not such. As a result, colour terms must be studied in a context which implies that the colour words are not analysed in isolation but in conjuction with other words. In view of lexical pragmatics, pragmatic phenomena are studied in relation to the semantic–underspecification of lexical items. Pragmatics can account for the reasons that we can speak of 'the blacks' and 'the whites' even though the former are not really black, and the latter are not really white. Neither do the phrases *redskin* and *yellow people* which demonstrate a clearly pejorative attitude towards the two racial groups (American Indians and Asians) provide a true description of the actual colour of the peoples' skin. Moreover, 'the blacks' can be said to 'turn white' when grief/fear stricken and both blacks and whites as well as red and yellow people can be said to 'turn green with envy' or 'turn red' when angry and/or ashamed. Pragmatics is also useful when dealing with polysemy of the BCTs, the phenomenon most commonly being recognized as a property of single lexemes implying ''multiple meaning'' (Lyons, 1995: 58), or 'semantic ambiguity' (Prćić, 2008: 31). Therefore, depending on the context, English *blue*, can refer either to 'the colour of the sky without clouds on a bright day', e.g. *a blue shirt that matched his pale blue eyes*; 'feeling or showing sadness', e.g. *He's been feeling really blue since he failed his exams*; or 'showing or mentioning sexual activity in an offensive way', e.g. *a blue joke*, sexually explicit, pornographic joke. In the same manner, Serbian PLAV, can actually suggest both the 'blue colour' in PLAVA TORBA, a blue bag, and 'blond colour' in PLAVA KOSA, blond hair, its disambiguation always being context–dependant.

4. Basic terms and their shades: a pattern of domain preference

The semantic variations of the basic colour terms are even more evident in English *red* and *green* on one hand, and Serbian CRVEN and ZELEN on the other hand, where the difference between a prototypical realisation of the BCT, that is to say, between (1) the focal point of the spectrum at which the hue is claimed to be the 'best example' of the colour which is linguistically expressed by English and Serbian collocations *blood red* and *grass green*, and KRV–CRVENO and

TRAVA–ZELENO respectively; and (2) a variety of different basic colour shades and tones associated with afore mentioned terms, namely e.g. English *burgundy*, *carmine*, *crimson*, *scarlet*, *vermillion* (all different tones of the red hue), and *emerald*, *aquamarine*, *turquoise* (all different tones of the green hue); as well as Serbian RUMEN, RUJAN, RIĐ, RUS (all different tones of the red hue), and REZEDO, SMARAGDNI, TIRKIZAN (all different tones of the green hue).[5] When asked to use any of the adjectives from the lists to describe a collection of objects, native speakers of English will, for example use *crimson* in the field of plants, and *emerald*, also as *emerald–green*, to talk about eyes or water(s). Similarly to this Serbian informants will turn to RUS and RIĐ to speak of hair, and REZEDO to describe the interior colours (e.g. walls, fabrics, etc.). This suggests that with different shades of a particular hue, there is always a clear pattern of domain preference. Languages, furthermore supply numerous examples that indicate a clear stretching to the limit of the prototypical reference of a BCT. Thus, e.g. English *brown sugar*, is not really brown, nor is Serbian CRNO GROŽĐE, black grapes, really black in colour.

5. Conclusion

This paper sheds some light on English and Serbian basic colour categories providing insights into their similarities and/or differences. The examples discussed do not illustrate only the prototypical, but also the extended meanings of colour adjectives putting an emphasis on the importance of studying these words in context, namely in conjuction with other linguistic units.

Apparently, out of context, a BCT is anything but semantically precise.

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[5] These are no more but some shades of *red* and *green*, and CRVEN and ZELEN.

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THE STRUCTURE AND SEMANTICS OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

Abstract This paper aims to define the structure and the meaning of accomplishments in English and Romanian by comparing progressive achievements and accomplishments and analyzing the influence of resultative predication on activity verbs. The analysis of the corpus is expected to show that accomplishments are not progressive achievements since they have different internal structure; rather accomplishments include an activity event and a change of state indicating the terminal point of the situation.

Key words: Accomplishments, resultative predication, progressive achievements, activities, telicity.

Introduction

This paper studies the semantics of accomplishments. One of the aims of this research is to give a more detailed analysis of the meaning and internal structure of accomplishments in English and Romanian language.

The introduction of the paper offers an overview of English and Romanian verbal classes and their semantic characteristics. It also creates the basis for defining Romanian accomplishments since they have not yet been identified in Romanian language. The second part of the paper analyzes the internal structure and meaning of accomplishments in both languages. It also distinguishes the notion of telicity proving that the goal is an essential aspectual characteristic for distinguishing verb classes in both English and Romanian language. The semantics of accomplishments is dealt with in the final part of the paper which offers a new insight to lexical and derived accomplishments and makes a clear distinction between progressive achievements and progressive accomplishments in English and their translation equivalents in Romanian.

The basis for this study is Vendler's semantic classification of verbs and verb phrases into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments (Vendler 1967:97-121). This classification is based on semantic characteristics of verbs and the way the situation is realized.

In order to classify situations into verbs classes or verb types, it is important to determine whether the situation implies a process or development or not, whether

the situation can be divided into segments and whether they are of equal quality or there is a segment which denotes a culmination or goal after which the situation naturally ends and cannot be continued. As a result, verbs can be classified into verb classes based on their semantic characteristics or distinctive features.

Brinton (1988) and Novakov (2005) argue that the Vendlerian verb types can be defined according to general distinctive features which are considered a part of verbal semantics. The features in question are [+/- stativity], [+/- duration], [+/- telicity]. On the other hand, Rothstein (2004:6-35) distinguishes [+/- telicity] and [+/- phases] as two basic distinctive features which are crucial for the semantic classification of verbs. These distinctive features are also important in determining the internal structure of a situation.

In order to define accomplishments more accurately, the distinctive features relevant for semantic classification of verbs will be presented as follows. The distinctive feature [+ stativity] is a characteristic of situations which do not imply process and development, such situations simply last in time. Only states are described by the feature [+ stativity], whilst activities, achievements and accomplishments by the feature [- stativity]. The distinctive feature [+ duration] is attributed to situations which last shorter or longer period of time like activities, states and accomplishments. On the other hand, the feature [- duration] is a characteristic of momentary situations, i.e. achievements. The distinctive feature [+ telicity] is ascribed to situations which tend towards a goal or a terminal point after which the situation naturally ends like accomplishments and achievements. The situation itself determines the goal. In other words, the situation can denote a process consisting of different phases which lead up to a natural goal (Novakov 2009, Vendler 1967). Such situations are considered telic. Nevertheless, the analysis of the corpus has shown that the existence of a goal does not necessarily imply that the goal will be reached, since there are situations which tend towards a goal, but do not reached it.

Furthermore, Declerck's analysis (1979:761-793) revealed that telic situations always imply a goal, but can be bounded or unbounded depending on whether the goal is actually reached or not. Thus, bounded telic situations tend towards a goal and reach it, while unbounded telic situations tend towards a goal but do not reach it. There are atelic unbounded situations which do not imply a goal, thus the goal is not reached. Such situations are activities and states.

The distinctive feature [+/- phases] determines whether the situation consists of smaller segments and can be used in the progressive or not. The fact that activities and accomplishments have internal structure makes them divisible into phases and dynamic, thus they can be used in the progressive (Rothstein 2004:194).

Verbal classification (Aktionsart) and the semantic characteristics it is based on in English language can be presented as follows:

	Stativity	Duration	Telicity	Boundedness	Stages
Activities	-	+	-	-	+
States	+	+	-	-	-
Achievements	-	-	+	+/-	-
Accomplishments	-	+	+	+/-	+

Table 1: Verb classes and their distinctive features in English language

Therefore, it can be argued that English activities imply process and development and thus last in time. They have homogenous segments which means that any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole, in the sense that there is no terminal point or goal to be reached. Thus, activities are atelic and dynamic, they consist of different stages and can occur in the progressive. Activities are verbs such as: *run* (*a alerga*), *swim (a înota*), *walk (a se plimba*)...

States last in time, they cannot be divided into segments, they do not denote a process and development, and therefore they do not tend towards a goal. States simply indicate that a characteristic or a situation exists. They are stative and homogeneous, which means that all parts of a state are of equal quality. Thus, states have only one stage, and they do not imply any change. States are verbs such as: *know* (*a şti*), *believe* (*a crede*), *love* (*a iubi*)...

Achievements are punctual and telic. The whole situation expressed by an achievement verb happens in one moment. Achievements are verbs and phrases such as: *find* (*a afla*), *lose* (*a pierde*), *reach the summit* (*a se urca pe vârful muntelui*), *win a race* (*a învinge în cursă / alergare*)...

Based on their semantic characteristics, it can be argued that English accomplishments represent situations which last in time and tend towards a specified goal. They are not homogeneous since there is a final point which introduces a qualitative change or a natural end of the situation. The distinctive features of accomplishments are [- stativity, + duration, + telicity, +/- boundedness, + phases].

Accomplishments are verbs and phrases such as: *paint a picture* (*a picta o pictură*), *run a mile* (*a fugi o milă*), *draw a circle* (*a desena un cerc*), etc.

Accomplishments as such are not analyzed in Romanian linguistic literature. Namely, the contemporary semantic classification of Romanian verbs is based on two distinctive features [change] and [agentivity]. The distinctive feature [+ change] implies some sort of a change, i.e. a change of state due to achievement of a goal or simply a change of position. On the other hand, the distinctive feature [+ agentivity] implies a conscious agent. According to this criterion we can distinguish three verb classes: states (*stări*), events (*evenimente*) and activities (*activități*).

Verbal classification (Aktionsart) and the semantic characteristics it is based on in Romanian language can be presented as follows:

	Change	Agentivity
States	-	-
Events	+	-
Activities	+	+

Table 2: Verb classes and their distinctive features in Romanian language

For the purpose of this research, only Romanian events and activities were analyzed since they show similarities with English accomplishments.

Romanian events (*verbe de eveniment*) denote situations with distinctive features [+ change] and [- agentivity]. For example: *a săca* (*dry*)*, a creşte* (*grow*)*, a îmbătrâni* (*grow old*)*,* etc.

(1) a. Râul a secat.

b. The river dried.

Thus, events involve a change from one state to another, but they do not require a conscious agent. Thus, very often Romanian events involve an inanimate subject or a process which happens independently of the subject's volition:

(2) a. Ion îmbătrâneşte.

b. Ion is growing old.

Romanian events show similarities with English achievements (1) and accomplishments (2), but English achievements and accomplishments may also occur with a conscious agent.

Romanian activities (*verbe de acțiune*) have the following distinctive features: [+ change] and [+ agentivity]. For example: *a alerga* (*run*)*, a înota* (*swim*)*, a învăța* (*study*)*, a mânca* (*eat*), *a reapara* (*fix*), *strânge* (*collect*), *a tirmite* (*send*), etc. It can be argued that Romanian activities involve a change, which must not necessarily be a change of state, but a change of position as well. Conscious agent is the crucial element. Such verb classes are similar to Vendler's activities, achievements and accomplishments.

It must be pointed out that it is only in the grammar published by the Romanian Academy of Science (Brăescu et al. 2005:326) that we can find similar verb classes to those in English linguistic literature.

The analysis has shown that, based upon the relevant semantic characteristics, we can distinguish a verb class which denotes a process tending towards a goal in Romanian language as well. Consequently, some Romanian verbs do have identical characteristics as English accomplishments.

Therefore, the distinctive features stativity, duration, telicity, boundedness and stages can also represent characteristics of Romanian verbs, this leads to the conclusion that the mentioned distinctive features may be prototypical and can be applicable in other languages as well. Therefore, Romanian verbs can be described as follows:

	Stativity	Duration	Telicity	Boundedness	Stages
States	+	+	-	-	-
Events	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Activities	-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+

Table 3: Reinterpreted verb classes and their distinctive features in Romanian language

Syntactic tests (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979, Rothstein 2004, Novakov 2005) which are used to distinguish accomplishments from other verb classes are:

1. *How long did it take to V* (*cât timp a trebuit să V*) and *for how long did one V* (*în cât timp cineva a V*). This test implies the existence of a goal:

(3) a. How long did it take to make a chair?

b. Cât timp a trebuit să construiască un scaun?

2. The adverbial *in X time* (*în X timp*), also implies that a situation has a natural end:

(4) a. He made a chair in ten hours.

b. A construit un scaun în zece ore.

3. The syntactic test *if one stops Ving, one did not (dacă cineva încetează să V, el nu a V)*, is commonly used with accomplishments to denote that the goal must be reached in order to denote the quality of the whole situation. For example:

(5) a. If he stops making a chair, he did not make it.

b. Dacă încetează să construiască un scaun, ea nu la construit.

2. The structure of accomplishments

There are many different hypothesis and theories about the internal structure and meaning of accomplishments in the relevant linguistic literature. Namely, it is an indisputable fact that accomplishments are situations which consist of a preparatory activity and a goal. For example:

(6) a. John made a chair.

b. John a construit un scaun.

The whole situation consists of the activity of making the chair and the goal represented by the finished or made chair. The segments which constitute this situation are structurally different because the activity of making the chair is a process of putting the parts together, which implies successive progress towards the realization of the goal, i.e. the made chair. The activity and the goal create a semantic entity which defines the accomplishment.

Nevertheless, linguists disagree with respect to the correlation between the activity and the goal which constitute the accomplishment. Namely, some linguists (Rothstein 2004:59) consider accomplishments to be derived form activities which are made telic by resultative predicate. For example:

(7) a. Mary hammered the metal.

b. Mary a bătut metalul cu ciocanul.

(8) a. Mary hammered the metal flat.

b. *Mary a bătut metalul cu ciocanul până nu l-a făcut drept.*

In example (7) activity implies that the subject was hammering the metal, while the example (8) implies a qualitative change of the state of the metal in the sense that it became flat as a result of the activity. On contrast, example (7) does not involve such a change of the metal.

Other linguists (Verkuyl 1989, Mittwoch 1991) argue that accomplishments are in fact achievements preceded by a preparatory activity which is activated in the progressive:

(9) a. The train was arriving to the station.

b. Trenul sosea în gară.

Both achievements and accomplishments involve a change of state. The change is connected to the goal or the culmination of the situation, i.e. to telicity. Thus, telic situations have a goal which is lexically expressed. Direct object usually introduces the notion of telicity with accomplishments. It can be argued that the direct object plays an important role in determining the aspectual characteristics. For example:

*(10) a. Mary built the house *for a year / in a year.*

b. Mary a clădit casa ?un an / într-un an.

*(11) a. Mary built houses for a year / *in a year.*

*b. Mary a clădit case un an / *într-un an.*

*(12) a. John pushed the cart for an hour / *in an hour.*

*b. John a împins carul o oră / * într-o oră.*

*(13) a. John pushed carts for an hour / *in an hour.*

b. John a împins carele o oră / într-o oră.*

Namely, the examples show that accomplishments can show characteristics of activities if the direct object is a plural or mass noun (example 11), while with activities the structure of the direct object does not modify the aspectual characteristics (examples 12 and 13).

However, the examples (11a,b) can be considered accomplishments since they imply a goal which is clearly expressed and hypothetically can be reached. Thus, the examples (11a,b) can be defined as unbounded telic situation.

In Romanian language, accomplishments can occur with both adverbials which imply telicity and those which imply atelicity (example 10b), because telicity does not depend on the meaning of the verb and its correlation with the direct object, but on context.

It can be argued that the correlation between the verb and the direct object is very important, especially when the progression of phases of the direct object is concerned:

(14) a. Mary ate the apple.

b. Mary a mâncat mărul.

The examples (14a,b) show the progression of the situation of Mary eating an apple by observing the changes on the apple. This situation will last until Mary eats

the whole apple, i.e. until the situation reaches its culmination (the moment when the whole apple is eaten).

Such accomplishments can be contrasted to activities such as *run* (*a alerga, a fugi*) which can be telic if the length of running is determined by an adverbial, but not the direct object:

(15) a. John ran for an hour.
b. John a alergat o oră întreagă.
(16) a. John ran a mile in an hour.
b. John a alergat o milă intr-o oră.
(17) a. John ran to the store in ten minutes.
b. John a alergat până la prăvălie în zece minute.

The examples show that both English and Romanian accomplishment verbs can denote atelic situations like in examples (11), and the activity verbs can denote telic situations like in examples (16 and 17). It must be pointed out that, in both languages, the telicity of verb phrases containing accomplishment verbs depend on the characteristics of direct objects, while the direct object does not influence the telicity of verb phrases containing activity verbs. This is one of the basic differences between activities and accomplishments.

The semantic correlation between the activity and the goal is crucial. With accomplishment verbs, the verb implies that the goal will probably be reached. With activity verbs there is not such implication since activities do not involve a goal. For example, if somebody is building a house it is probable that he or she will build it and if somebody is running towards a store, he will arrive there, as oppose to the situation of running without a specified goal.

3. The goal

The terminology concerning telicity is very diverse. Some of the terms in relevant linguistic literature are: goal, final point, terminal point, culmination, natural end of the situation, telicity, boundedness, etc. Even though, the terminology may cause problems, all the mention terms are based on the idea of a goal as a final or end point which represents a qualitative change of a situation. After the goal has been reached the situation cannot continue, it can only be repeated.

The goal is a very important aspectual characteristic for distinguishing verb classes in both English and Romanian language.

The culmination or goal of a situation can be determined by the direct object in the sense that the culmination occurs when the direct object is “used up”.

Nevertheless, culmination can be a result state or the beginning of a result state. Namely, Rothstein (2004:103) argues that the core meaning of an accomplishment is that it implies a change of a situation or a state of a situation. With lexical accomplishments the result state of a situation is implied by the meaning of the verb. However, this is not always the case. For example, with accomplishments derived

from resultative activities, where the activity itself does not influence the change of the state of the situation:

(18) a. Every night the neighbour's dog barks me asleep.

b. În fiecare seară câinile lui vecinu mă adoarme lătrând.

Thus, accomplishments are not always causative.

On the other hand, some achievements can be causative (for example: *break the vase / a sparge vaza*). Thus, it can be argued that culmination is in fact achievement or a minimal change of state connected with the end point, not a state which is a result of a situation expressed by an activity verb. This means that an accomplishment consists of and activity and an achievement. Furthermore, the activity and achievement which create an accomplishment must be connected by an incremental process, which indicates that something became something else (*BECOME event*). The incremental process represents a qualitative change of a situation and implies that the situation can be divided into smaller elements which have a specified order (Rothstein 2004:103).

For that reason, culmination can be defined as the final minimal element in the incremental process.

Situations can be telic or atelic depending on the existence of a goal. Telic situations head towards a specified goal or final point after which the situation naturally ends. In other words, the situation expresses by a telic verb or verb phrase has a well defined end point which is a crucial part of the situation (Novakov 2008, Smith 1986). Telic situations are always dynamic, which means that a constant input of energy is needed in order to reach the goal.

In the Romanian linguistic literature, there is no such definition of telicity, only Avram et al. (2001:65-68) mention telic/atelic distinction. This aspectual opposition illustrates the way the situation is realized, but it is not analyzed nor discussed any further. Telicity can be connected to Romanian distinctive feature [change] which in some contexts denotes a change of the state of the situation, while in other a change of position.

Hence, telic situations head towards a specified goal and have a natural final point, while atelic do not. Since this aspectual distinction is considered one of fundamental semantic characteristics of verbs, it exists in Romanian language as well, but it has not yet been defined and analyzed in detail.

Telic and atelic situations can be illustrated by the following examples:

(19) a. John was singing.

b. John cânta.

(20) a. John made a chair.

b. John a construit un scaun.

The examples show that both telic and atelic situations can last in time, but their internal structure differs. Situations which tend towards a goal have a natural end point or terminal point, after which the situation cannot be continued. In other words, when the chair is made, the making of the chair cannot be continued. The subject can start making another chair. Telic situations represent a process which leads up to a goal, as oppose to atelic situations (example 19).

However, telicity only indicates the existence of a goal. It does not specify whether the goal is actually reached or not. Declerck (1979:761-793) offers some solutions to this problem. In his article: *Aspect and the Bounded/Unbounded (Telic/Atelic) Distinction*, he analyzes the semantic category of telicity and differentiates between bounded and unbounded situations.

Bounded situations tend towards a goal and reach it, while unbounded do not reach a goal, but may tend towards it. If an unbounded situation does not tend towards a goal, it is atelic, whereas if it does, it is telic, but the goal is never reached. Thus, bounded situations are always telic and always reach a goal. On the other hand, unbounded situations can be telic or atelic depending on whether the goal is reached or not. It can be argued that telic situations may be bounded or unbounded depending or whether the goal is reached or not. Given that bounded and unbounded situations are based upon basic semantic characteristics of verbs, it can be argued that such situations exist in Romanian language as well, but they have not yet been analyzed and defined in literature.

The difference between bounded and unbounded situations can be illustrated by the following examples:

(21) a. He drank beer.
b. El a băut bere.
(22) a. He drank three glasses of beer.
b. El a băut trei pahare de bere.

The activity in sentences (21) is unbounded since the goal is not reached, while the situations in (22) are bounded because the goal is reached (Declerck 1979:761).

Consequently, bounded and unbounded distinction, as well as telic and atelic one does not depend on the meaning of the verb itself, but may be dependent on other syntactic elements such as the direct object, subject, context, etc.

It can be argued that both telicity and boundedness can be connected to the goal. Boundedness involves a linear progression towards a specified goal and the attainment of that goal. Since there are telic situations where the goal in not actually reached, it can be argued that there are significant differences between telicity and boundedness: telic situations imply a goal, but do not specify whether the goal is actually reached, while bounded situations state that the goal is reached, while unbounded situations state that the goal is not attained. Therefore, telicity and boundedness should be treated as different semantic characteristics of verbs and verb phrases.

Should these definitions be implemented to different verb classes, it can be argued that accomplishments in English and Romanian represent telic situations which can be bounded or unbounded. Accomplishments which are bounded by a goal are situations which attain that goal (examples 22), while unbounded accomplishments are situations which imply a goal but do not reach it (examples 23). Unbounded accomplishments are often expressed by the progressive:

(23) a. He was drinking three glasses of beer.
b. El bea trei pahare de bere.

4. Lexical accomplishments

With lexical accomplishments the correlation between the activity and the goal is lexically determined. Accomplishments such as *build a house* (*a clădi o casă*) and *read the book* (*a citi cartea*) are lexical accomplishments since the very meaning of the verbs *build* (*a clădi*) and *read* (*a citi*) imply that the process involves progression of the direct object towards a specified goal, i.e. progress in building of the house and reading of the book.

Rothstein (2004:108) writes that accomplishments are generated when process and goal are imposed on activities. Accomplishment inherits the characteristics of an activity and involves a change (*BECOME event*) which affects the direct object during the course of the activity. The activity part of an accomplishment can be simple or complex. For example, the verb *build* (*a clădi*) is complex because the activity event consists of a multitude of different kind of activities which compose a building event. This situation is telic since it culminates in the moment the house is built. On the other hand, an event of *reading* involves a reading activity which consists of a string of appropriately defined "minimal reading activity events", where a minimal reading event is an event of associating a perceived symbol, be it a word or a morpheme, with a meaning. The activity is simple because it consists of identical minimal elements which are repeated over and over again and determined by the order of the given text. For instance, the situation *read the story of Rapunzel* consists of minimal segments, which have a specified order and result in the read story (Rothstein 2004:109).

On the other hand, in both languages, there are ambiguous verbs which can have characteristic of both activities and accomplishments. Such are verbs *wipe/polish*:

(24) a. John wiped/polished the table in five minutes.
b. John a şters masa în cinci minute.
(25) a. John wiped/polished the table for five minutes.
b. John a şters masa cinci minute.

Situations in (25) are considered activities consisting of a string of simple minimal activities, while situations in (24) are accomplishments consisting of an activity and a become event. These two meanings depend on whether a change of state can be observed on the direct object after the activity took place. If there is no change on the direct object the situation is considered an activity, if a change occurs it is an accomplishment. Nevertheless, only examples in (24) can have a resultative meaning:

(26) a. John wiped the table clean.
b. John a şters masa să fie curată.

To sum up, the structure of the situation is crucial in the semantics of accomplishments, not just the relation between the verb and the direct object.

5. Derived accomplishments

With derived accomplishments there is no lexical information which implies a change of state of the direct object. This paper will analyze two hypotheses concerning the structure of accomplishments. The first hypothesis is introduced by Rothstein (2004:108) who argues that accomplishments generate when development and culmination are imposed to activity verbs. According to the second hypothesis (Verkuyl 1989, Mittwoch 1991, Smith 1991) accomplishments are achievements preceded by a very short preparatory activity.

5.1. Accomplishments derived from activities

With derived accomplishments, the correlation between the activity and the goal is neither lexically nor semantically implied, as oppose to lexical accomplishments where the meaning of the verb implies telicity. In other words, *reading a book* or *building a house* implies the possibility that the house will be built and the book will be read, whereas there is no such implication with situations such as *hammer the metal*, since one can hammer the metal without causing any change to the metal. Thus, the activity verb (*hammer / bate*) and the direct object (*metal / metalul*) do not imply any change of state. Thus, there is no lexical implication concerning the change of the state of the metal in both languages. However:

(27) a. John hammered the metal flat.

b. John a bătut metalul cu ciocanul până nu l-a făcut drept.

In sentences (27) the resultative predicate (*flat*) in English or time clause (*până nu l-a făcut drept*) in Romanian introduce the goal and give information about the state of the direct object after the activity took place.

It can be concluded that the meaning of the accomplishment is not based on the relationship between the activity verb and the direct object, but on the change of state or the *BECOME event* which may be indicated by a resultative predicate in English or time clause in Romanian.

Some problems may occur with intransitive predicates since a direct object must be introduced:

(28) a. John sang the baby asleep.

b. John a cântat bebelușului până n-a adormit.

In this example, there is no lexical information about the semantic correlation between the direct object and the verb. The resultative predicate *asleep* and the time clause *până n-a adormit* denote the state the baby is in after the goal has been reached. Thus, the resultative predicate in English and the time clause in Romanian indicate the change of state (*BECOME event*) and their minimal elements represent the phases of the change. The very meaning of the activity verbs (*sing / a cânta*) does not imply any change of state or culmination. Thus, it can be argued that the direct object (*baby / bebelușul*) becomes involved in the situation of *singing* in the

sense that the activity verb can influence its change of state. Thus, the crucial characteristic of accomplishments is the fact that the activity verb can introduce a change of state of the direct object.

5.2. Accomplishments derived from achievements

Some linguists (Verkuyl 1989, Mittwoch 1991) argue that accomplishments are derived from progressive achievements. As it was pointed out earlier, the correlation between the direct object and the activity verb is very important with progressive accomplishments; however it is not the case with progressive achievements. For example:

(29) a. Mary was reaching the summit.
b. Mary ajungea pe vârful muntelui.
(30) a. Mary was climbing the mountain.
b. Mary se urca pe munte.

Examples (29a,b) show that the preparatory activity includes Mary, but not the summit. Furthermore, unlike in lexical accomplishments, the direct object of *reach / a ajunge* cannot be used directly in measuring the progress of the progressive achievement. Namely, with progressive accomplishments (30a,b) the direct object is "involved" in the situation in the sense that we can measure the progress of the situation by measuring the mountain and see how much the subject has climbed. On the other hand, the progressive achievement does not involve the *summit*, since we cannot measure the summit.

6. Progressive achievements and progressive accomplishments

Achievements are momentary situations which are finished a soon as they start and as such they should not occur in the progressive since the use of the progressive implies that the situation is in progress. However, achievement verbs do occur in the progressive (examples 31a,b). The analysis of progressive achievements can shed light on the structure of both progressive achievements and progressive accomplishments in both languages.

(31) a. Susan was arriving at the station when she saw John.
b. Susan ajungea la gară, când l-a văzut pe John.

It seems that the structure of progressive achievements is not much different from the structure of progressive accomplishments:

(32) a. Dafna was painting a picture.
b. Dafna picta o pictură.

Many linguists (Verkuyl 1989, Mittwoch 1991, Smith 1991) argue that accomplishments are in fact achievements preceded by a very short preparatory activity which is activated in the progressive and that achievements used in the

progressive modify into accomplishments, which means that progressive achievements and progressive accomplishments have the same characteristics. However, Rothstein (2004:36-58) claims quite the opposite. She argues that achievements interact with time adverbials in a different way than accomplishments. Namely, accomplishments can occur with adverbials such as *for X time* (*X timp*) and *spend X time* (*a petrece X timp*) and take over atelic meaning and consequently modify into activities. Achievements, however, are ungrammatical with such adverbials. For example:

*(33) a. *The guests arrived for ten minutes.*

*b. *Oaspeţii a sosit zece minute. / *timp de zece minute.*

(34) a. Dafna read a book for an hour.

*b. Dafna a citit cartea zece minute. / *timp de o oră.*

*(35) a. *The guests spent an hour arriving.*

*b. * Oaspeţii au petrecu o oră sosind.*

(36) a. Dafna spent an hour reading a book.

b. Dafna a petrecut o oră citind.

Thus, it can be concluded that, unlike accomplishments, achievements do not include a preparatory activity.

(37) a. John painted a picture in an hour ENTAILS *John was painting a picture during that hour.*

b. John a pictat o pictură într-o oră ENTAILS *John picta o pictură tot timpul în ora respectivă.*

(38) a. The helicopter landed in an hour DOES NOT ENTAIL *The helicopter was landing during that hour.*

b. Helicopterul a aterizat într-o oră DOES NOT ENTAIL *Helicopterul ateriza tot timpul în ora respectivă.*

With accomplishments the preparatory activity is lexically expressed, with achievements it is contextually implied and it is not a part of the meaning of the verb. Consequently, progressive achievements cannot be considered a part of a bigger situation. This is why the progressive achievements and activities which precede them can be easily separated and paraphrased. This is not the case with progressive accomplishments since they represent a semantic whole with the preparatory activity:

(39) a. It was very turbulent while the plane was landing, but we (actually) landed smoothly.

b. A fost foarte turbulent in timp ce avionul ateriza, dar noi (de fapt) am aterizat lin.

*(40) a. *Mary was writing a book slowly, but she actually wrote it quickly.*

b. Mary scria o carte incet, dar ea de fapt a scris-o repede.

On the other hand, in both languages, achievements but not accomplishments may occur with adverbials which denote a specified moment like *at X time* (*la X timp*):

(41) a. The guests arrived in an hour / at ten o'clock.

b. Oaspeții a ajuns într-o oră / la ora zece.

Both achievements and accomplishments are grammatical with adverbials such as *in X time* (*în X timp*) which denote the moment the goal is reached:

*(42) a. Dafna read a book in an hour / *at ten o'clock.*

*b. Dafna a citit cartea într-o oră / * la ora zece.*

Furthermore, as oppose to progressive accomplishments, progressive achievements can be used with adverbials which denote that the situation is in progress (*halfway through / la mijloc de*, *la jumătate de*):

(43) a. She is halfway through walking to the station.

b. ?Ea este la jumătate de drum (de mers) spre gară. / Ea este la mijloc de drum (de mers) spre gară

*(44) a. *She is halfway through arriving at the station.*

b. ?Ea este la jumătate de drum de sosire la gară. / Ea este la mijloc de drum de sosire la gară.

Also, achievements occur with adverbials denoting a situation about to happen:

(45) a. The vase is falling. → The vase is about to fall.

b. Vaza cade. → Vaza tocmai cade.

(46) a. The train is arriving at the station. → The train is about to arrive at the station.

b. Trenul sosește în gară. → Trenul tocmai sosește în gară.

But:

(44) a. Jane was building a house.

b. Jane clădea o casă.

is not the same as:

(45) a. Jane was about to build a house.

b. Jane tocmai a clădit o casă.

It can be concluded that there are differences in the meanings of accomplishments and achievements, as well as in their use with certain adverbials, and as a result accomplishments and achievements have different structures and aspectual meanings. Achievements denote a momentary change of state, while accomplishments last in time and include a preparatory activity. Thus, it can be argued that progressive accomplishments are not the same as progressive achievements.

7. Conclusion

This research is based on Vendler's classification of verbs into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments (Vendler 1967:97-121). The Romanian literature offers a different semantic classification of verbs into states (*verbe de stare*), events (*verbe de eveniment*) and activities (*verbe de acțiune*). The research included the analysis of Romanian events and activities since they show similarities with English accomplishments.

The analysis has proven that English accomplishments show similarities with Romanian events and activities since they share the distinctive feature [+ goal] or [+ change] which denote a change of state of the situation in both languages. Thus, the concept of a goal which determines a final point or natural end of a situation exists both in Romanian and in English.

The research has shown that a verb class denoting a process leading up to a goal can be distinguished in Romanian as well. Therefore, accomplishments as such exist in Romanian language since verbal classification is based on the meaning of verbs and verb phrases.

In can be concluded that accomplishments in both languages denote a process which lasts in time and tends towards a goal which represents a qualitative change of a situation i.e. its natural final point. The distinctive features of accomplishments are [- stativity, + duration, + telic, +/- bounded, + phases].

The analysis of the corpus has proven that the culmination or the goal can be specified by the direct object in the sense that the goal is reached once the direct object is "used up". Culmination can also denote a state or the beginning of a state which is the result of the situation expressed by the main verb.

The essential question considered in this paper was whether accomplishments are derived from activates modified by resultative predication or from achievements modified by preparatory activity.

A detailed analysis of the structure of accomplishments in English and Romanian has shown that accomplishments consist of a preparatory activity and a goal which represents a natural end of the situation after which the situation in question cannot continue.

Nevertheless, the correlation of the activity and the goal is of great importance in defining accomplishments especially when progression and phases of the direct object are considered. The analysis had shown that apart form the semantic correlation between the activity and the goal, the structure of the situation s very important. Namely, with derived accomplishments the correlation between the activity and the goal is not determined by the meaning of the verb, as oppose to lexical accomplishments where the notion of telicity is included in the verbal semantics. Thus, it can be pointed out that the meaning of accomplishments is not based on the correlation between the activity and the goal, but rather on the change of state (*BECOME event*) which can be expressed by resultative predicate in English or temporal clauses in Romanian. Therefore, accomplishments are derived from activities which can become telic when a resultative predicate is added. In other words, resultative predicates can appear with activity verbs and trigger a shift from an activity to an accomplishment reading.

The paper also analyzed the hypothesis of accomplishments being derived form achievements. Namely, some linguists argue that accomplishments are in fact achievements preceded by a very short preparatory activity which is activated in the progressive and that progressive achievements modify into progressive accomplishments. But, the research had proven that achievements do not include the

preparatory activity before reaching the goal like accomplishments do. With accomplishments the preparatory activity is lexically expressed, thus it is a part of the verbal semantics. On the other hand, with achievements the preparatory activity in contextually implied and it is not a part of the meaning of the verb. In addition, the achievement and the preparatory activity can easily be distinguished and separately paraphrased. This is not the case with accomplishments since the activity and the goal make a semantic whole. The corpus has also shown differences of adverbial use with achievements and accomplishments which implies that they have different aspectual meanings and structure. Achievements represent momentary changes of state, while accomplishments last and include the preparatory activity. Therefore it can be concluded that progressive achievements are not the same as progressive accomplishments.

Since accomplishments have not yet been analyzed nor defined in the Romanian literature, one of the major contributions of this paper is the fact that it detected the existence of this verb class in Romanian and defined it as well.

What is crucial, the paper defined the notion of telicity in Romanian language, which has so far been identified as a distinctive feature [+ change] and considered a distinction between the change of state of a situation and a change of position. Once these binary distinctions have been separated and defined as telic and atelic a clear distinction between Romanian activities and events was made which consequently resulted in distinction of accomplishments from other verb classes in Romanian language.

Since accomplishments are defined according to semantic features of verbs it was expected that Romanian accomplishments are very similar to English accomplishments. Nevertheless, differences do exist: the notion of telicity which is one of the crucial parts of the meaning of accomplishments in Romanian is not indicated by a resultative predicate, but via temporal clauses.

The fact that this paper proved the existence of accomplishments in Romanian language as well may lead to the assumption that such verb class is a universal language characteristic and may be considered a part of a universal grammar. The fact that Romanian accomplishments are very similar to English accomplishments further supports this claim.

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ACQUIRING SECOND LANGUAGE PROSODY: FUNDAMENTAL FREQUENCY[1]

Abstract The study investigates the differences between prosodic aspects of speech by native speakers of English and foreign learners whose native language is Serbian. The paper is primarily concerned with fundamental frequency (F0) in terms of pitch range, main stress and tunes. The study was carried out on the recorded material of 15 first year university students of English and a control native speaker of British English. The recorded material was acoustically analyzed, compared and presented statistically. The results indicate that (a) the non-native speakers' speech is characterized by a narrower pitch range, (b) the native speaker and the learners use different prosodic cues to indicate main stress and (c) the tunes of the native speaker's utterances significantly differ from those of the learners'.

Key words: intonation, Autosegmental-Metrical Phonology, typological differences, suprasegmenal features.

1. Introduction

Although a great amount of work in the field of intonation research has been done for various languages, comparative studies are rather scarce. Research on the acquisition of L2 intonation is mainly concerned with comparisons of the L2 learners' production to that of native speakers in the target language. The emergence of a new, phonological model of intonation in the 1980s, namely, the Autosegmental-Metrical model of intonational phonology, enabled a different approach to the study of prosody cross-linguistically. Within this framework, prosody is viewed in terms of structure and distinctive tonal categories (e.g. Pierrehumbert 1980; Gussenhoven 1984; Liberman and Pierrehumbert 1984; Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986; Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990; Ladd 1992, 1996). This approach has enabled to compare the prosody of languages in terms of categorical, or typological differences, and prepared the ground for establishing prosodic typology for most diversified languages.

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On the other hand, determining some of the differences between languages has remained 'notoriously' difficult (Mennen et al. 2007, 2008), especially when dealing with experimental study of prosody of actual utterances, their fundamental frequency and other suprasegmental features. What is more, pointing precisely to the features that indicate the influence of one's L1 prosody on acquiring L2 intonation has remained even more difficult.

Many of the comparative studies focused only on the comparison of native speakers' intonation and the imperfect achievements by non-native speakers (e.g. Klein and Perdue 1997: 306). From the standpoint of language teaching methodology, such an approach has certain relevance, because it helps overcome a 'foreign accent'. Yet, it fails to capture the learner's system, i.e. the principles governing the process of acquiring L2 prosody.

The research inevitably has to start from the real-life data produced by speakers/learners, but the findings should be generalized so as to reveal the principles behind the raw data, i.e. the categorical nature of the acquisition process.

2. Some theoretical notions

The term 'prosody' refers to two aspects of spoken language: the prosodic structure of an utterance and the prominence relations within the structure (Jun, Sun-Ah 2006, Beckman 1996; Ladd 1996; Shattuck-Hufnagel and Turk 1996). The prosodic structure is a hierarchical organization of prosodic units from the lowest (mora or syllable) to the highest (intonational phrase (IP) or utterance). The role of a unit in a prosodic structure determines the choice of a particular segment and the realization of segments (vowels and consonants).

Prominence relations refer to the fact that within the given structure some units are perceived as more prominent than others. Prominence is a perceptual phenomenon, which combines various acoustic and auditory cues, such as intensity (or loudness), duration (or length of a segment) and various events in the domain of fundamental frequency – usually in terms of pitch height and pitch movement.

Another important feature of prosody is that everything counts: the prosodic property of an utterance is a combination of prosody at the word level (lexical prosody) and prosody at higher levels: phonological phrase, intonational phrase and utterance. The prosodic properties of lower-level prosodic segments (syllables and moras) are language specific, and so are the ways they combine into higher-level units (phonological word, phonological phrase, intonational phrase and utterance).

The suprasegmental features listed above together provide the basis of a prosodic typology of languages. Languages may differ in the way they employ some of the features – whether the difference between low and high pitched syllables occurs at the lexical or postlexical level, whether the prominent syllable is associated with stress (in terms of intensity, i.e. loudness), whether there is a specific boundary tone on the lexical level, whether the temporal organization is created around the

syllable or foot, as well as in terms of distinct higher organizational prosodic units (*cf*. Jun, Sun-Ah 2006: 431-433).

A detailed list of typological features for 21 languages is proposed in Jun, Sun-Ah (2006), summarized in a table where the features are given as a matrix of more or less binary features, i.e. a language may or may not be marked for a specific feature. The matrix can be used as the basis of comparing and contrasting prosodic properties of different languages may. In addition, it provides an invaluable device for predicting the potential difficulties a foreign learner may encounter while mastering L2 prosody. In Table 1 below we give the matrices of prosodic features of English and Serbian.

Prosody	Prominence				Rhythmic/prosodic unit					
	Lexical			Postlexical	Lexical					Poslexical
Language	Tone	Stress	LPA	Head	Edge	Mora	Syll	foot	ip	IP
English		x		x				x	x	x
Serbian		x	x	x	x			x		x

Table 1: Typological prosodic features of English and Serbian. Symbol 'x' marks the presence of a feature. LPA stands for lexical pitch accent, 'ip' for intermediary phrase, IP for intonational phrase (on the basis of Jun, Sun-Ah 2006: 444)

By providing such an elegant account, the differences and similarities between the prosody of English and Serbian are rather obvious: the features shared by the two languages are: (a) stress, as a significant component of prominence; (b) in both languages the head of a unit bears prominence; (c) the rhythm of both languages is organized around phonological feet; (d) both languages have IP as a higher unit of prosodic organization.

Based on the features which are different between the two languages, we can predict the difficulties that the native speaker of Serbian may encounter while acquiring the prosody of English as a second language. The differences, which are expected to be the source of transfer in acquiring the other language, are the following:

(a) The existence of a lexical pitch accent in Serbian, which does not exist in English. Lexical pitch accents are the falling and rising tones at the word level, traditionally divided into four categories – short falling, long falling, short rising and short rising accents.[2]

(b) Serbian words are demarcated by a significant low tone at the beginning (marked %L), as was first proposed by Godjevac (2000, 2006). Godjevac (2006: 155) explains this tone on the basis of combining words into higher prosodic units. It shows as a dip between two accented words, while in English there is rather a straight pitch curve.

[2] In Standard Serbian the term 'rising' is somewhat misleading, because it does not indicate a rising tone, but rather the fact that the syllable following this accent has a higher pitch.

(c) In English, there is evidence for the existence of an intermediate prosodic constituent, i.e. phonological phrase (also called minor phrase, intermediate phrase – a prosodic unit containing more than one lexical word). According to Godjevac, the units above the foot are the phonological word, and then intonational phrase. This is reflected in the different organization of units in the two languages.

3. Analysis of raw data: Acoustic measurements

Quantification of concrete prosodic events, however, has to be based on precise acoustic measurements of utterances produced by speakers, and is therefore much less elegant. The prosodic features regarding fundamental frequency (F0) are realized along two dimensions: pitch range and pitch level. Pitch range is defined as the span between the highest and lowest frequencies of an utterance. Pitch level is used in two different ways, either as register, i.e. the median value of frequencies, or in the sense of pitch height and movement.

Pitch range is, more or less anecdotally, usually blamed for some of the perceived differences in the intonation of different languages, but the actual research data seem to persistently counter such claims (Mennen et al.2007, 2008). Pitch level, in the sense of typical pitch height or register, also seems to play an important role in the perception of intonation. Apparently, the predominance of higher or lower tones is to a great extent language specific.

In addition, seemingly identical prosodic structures may be demarcated by different pitch events in different languages.

The question that inevitably arises when one ventures to carry out laboratory research on prosody in different languages is where to draw a line between the so called 'phonetic differences', and the differences which are actually typological. One could argue that differences are generally 'phonetic', i.e., resulting merely from the differences in the habits of speakers of a language. However, the results of our research indicate that sometimes it is difficult to show precisely where phonetics ends and phonology takes over: the two are interrelated, and the differences in the phonetic realization in many cases stem from the typological, i.e. categorical differences between two languages.

4. Research: methods, subjects, material

4.1. The scope and goals of the research

The goal of the study presented here was to compare the prosodic features of English produced by native speakers of Serbian to those of native speakers. Bearing in mind that the two languages are typologically different, we set the following goals: (a) to find out which prosodic elements can be attributed to the transfer of

native language prosody; (b) to determine which of the features are due to the typological, i.e. phonological/categorical differences between the two languages, both in terms of the inventory of phonologically distinct intonational elements and in terms of their distribution; (c) to determine which of the features are not categorical, but simply arise from the differences in the phonetic realization.

According to Ladd (1996: 119) there are four areas where languages differ in intonation: 'semantic' differences – differences in the meaning of tunes; 'systemic' differences – differences in the inventory of phonologically distinct types; 'realizational' differences – differences of phonetic detail; and 'phonotactic' differences – differences in tune-text association and the permitted structure of tunes.

The problems of acquiring L2 intonation arise along the same lines. We have not taken into account the first dimension of Ladd's classification (semantic difference), because it is not relevant in terms of linguistic prosodic structure, but is rather extra-linguistic in its nature.

The choice of material is therefore a narrative text, which does not allow considerable variation in the semantic interpretation. At the same time, we chose to analyze intonation in read text, because it serves as the best basis of comparison.

4.2. Participants and material

The participants of the research were 15 first year female students of English at the University of Novi Sad. They are rather proficient in English, as the entrance exam requirement at the English Department is the B2 level in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. The average length of learning English for all participants is nine years. The subjects were chosen on the basis of their regional background, so that they speak the same variety of Standard Serbian.

The material analyzed consisted of six declarative sentences, the first part of a narrative text the subjects read aloud. The same material was read by two female speakers of British English, whose utterances were used as control values. For the sake of our analysis, the material was further broken into 8 intonational units.

4.3. Procedure

The participants were recorded in the sound-proof room at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad and the recordings were sampled at 44.1 Hz sampling rate. The tool used for the analysis of the acoustic values was *Praat* software for the analysis of speech (*Version 5.1.23*, Boersma and Weenink 2010).

In this analysis we used the option of speech resynthesis and pitch stylization, where the original pitch contour is approximated by resynthesized contour, based on pitch targets, changes in slope and interpolation between targets. Due to the great inconsistences between the native speakers' and learners' prosody, it was concluded

that the only relevant results could be obtained by comparing significant prosodic landmarks (boundary tones at word and IP level). All of the landmark frequencies were measured and compared in Hz and semitones (ST). The results of measurements were analyzed statistically and compared for each intonational unit.

5. Results and discussion

Table 2 summarizes the mean values of the following measurements: the median value of frequencies (abbr. Mean F0), the highest fundamental frequency (Max). the lowest fundamental frequency (Min) and pitch range, i.e. the span between the two, calculated as the difference between the maximum and minimum F0 (Max-Min). The table also contains the information on standard deviation in the F0 values. The values were analyzed for each intonational unit of the recorded text.

Value	Native speakers	Average for Serbian speakers
It seemed to take an age to get there		
MEAN F0	210.4	222.2
ST.DEV.	67.5	52.5
MAX	321.9	301.4
MIN	103.7	144.6
MAX-MIN (SPAN)	218.2	156.8
but eventually the bus stopped		
MEAN F0	189.7	210.5
ST.DEV.	75.7	36.8
MAX	289.5	272.4
MIN	91.9	171.3
MAX-MIN (SPAN)	197.6	101.1
We'd got to the terminus and everyone got out		
MEAN F0	210.8	213.8
ST.DEV.	60.9	50.8
MAX	323.9	271.7
MIN	116.3	117.8
MAX-MIN (SPAN)	207.6	153.9
We were somewhere in the commercial district		
MEAN F0	221.4	223.2
ST.DEV.	74.8	39.2
MAX	317.8	288.3
MIN	93.9	180.3
MAX-MIN (SPAN)	223.9	108.0
but I wasn't sure where		
MEAN F0	203.0	185.0

ST.DEV.	61.4	64.0
MAX	250.4	271.6
MIN	81.1	92.4
MAX-MIN (SPAN)	169.3	179.2
I couldn't recognize anything		
MEAN F0	200.3	214.5
ST.DEV.	69.7	46.9
MAX	281.0	275.2
MIN	90.6	147.8
MAX-MIN (SPAN)	190.4	127.4
The others hurried off		
MEAN F0	221.6	181.1
ST.DEV.	63.9	52.5
MAX	329.8	246.1
MIN	136.9	96.4
MAX-MIN (SPAN)	192.9	149.7
I hesitated wondering which way to start		
MEAN F0	218.0	222.5
ST.DEV.	71.0	41.8
MAX	324.0	285.3
MIN	83.2	154.8
MAX-MIN (SPAN)	240.8	130.6

Table 2: The results of F0 measurements – the median value of frequencies (Mean F0), the highest fundamental frequency (Max), the lowest fundamental frequency (Min) and the span (the difference between the maximum and minimum F0)

The results indicate consistent differences between the native speakers' prosody and that of the subjects of our research.

There is clear evidence for pitch range differences between SBE speaker and native speakers of Serbian. While the average value of the difference between the highest and lowest F0 values is 205 Hz in the production of the native speakers, it does not exceed 138 Hz in the learners' production. However, the measurements indicate that this difference is not conclusively a consequence of higher H* in English, but rather the consistently lower L* in Serbian, and also a greater variability between H* and L*. This is also obvious from the greater values of STDEV in the native speaker's pronuniation throughout the analyzed material.

However, the most significant difference between the subjects' and native speakers' prosody perceived seems to be the consequence of typological differences. As was noted in Table 1, one of the typological differences between Serbian and English prosody is the fact that Serbian is marked for a lexical boundary (or edge) tone, %L. In terms of Metrical-Autosegmental Phonology, it is a low tone occurring at the left edge (beginning) of each accented lexical item (cf. Godjevac 2006, in Jun,

Sun-Ah 2006). The presence of a low boundary tone at the left edge of words – clearly transferred from the subjects L1 into L2 – seems to correlate greatly with the perceived level of proficiency in L2 (although this correlation was not systematically dealt with in this study).

The low left edge boundary tone is a typological feature of Serbian, and it does not occur in English. This particular feature is responsible for the auditory impression of a kind of 'jagged' intonation in the production of English by L2 speakers of Serbian (and other South Slavic languages): while in English the prosody of words is 'computed' into the prosody of phrases, in Serbian, every lexical word is marked for the prosodic features at word level, including the L% tone at the left word edge. If this feature is transferred into English, there is a strong impression of foreign accent.

This difference can be seen in the pitch contours of the same recorded extracts of native English speakers and Serbian learners of English. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the intonational contour of the sentence 'It seemed to take an age to get there', produced by a native speaker of Serbian (Figure 1) and a native English speaker (Figure 2). While the native English speaker gives single intonational contours to the phrases [seemed to take] and [get there] (Fig. 1), the learner uses a single intonatonal slope for each of the lexical items [seemed], [take], [get] and [there] (Fig. 2).

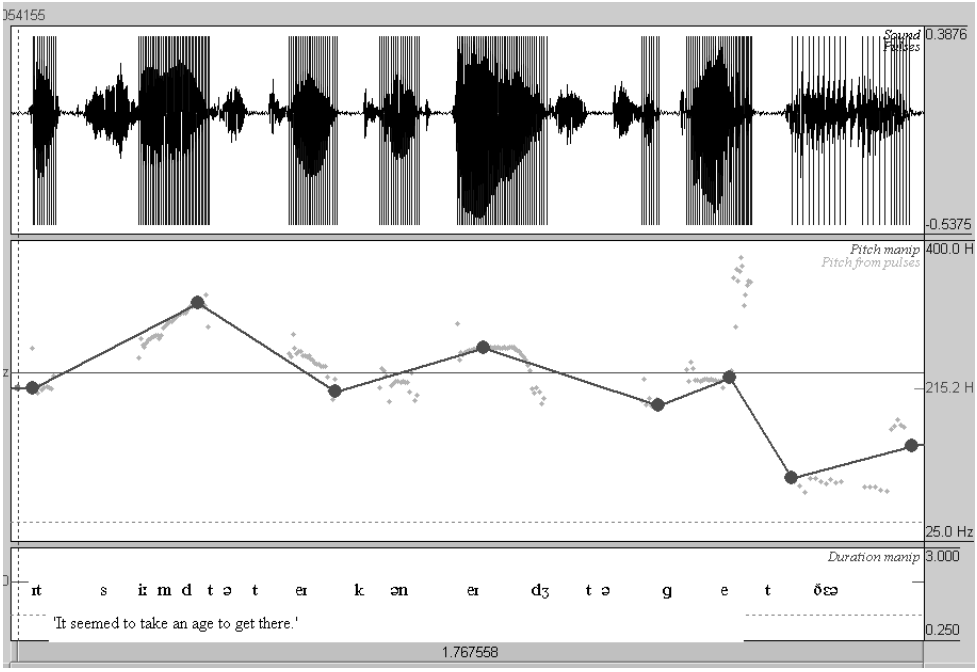

Figure 1: Intonational contour of the sentence 'It seemed to take an age to get there' produced by one of the native speakers

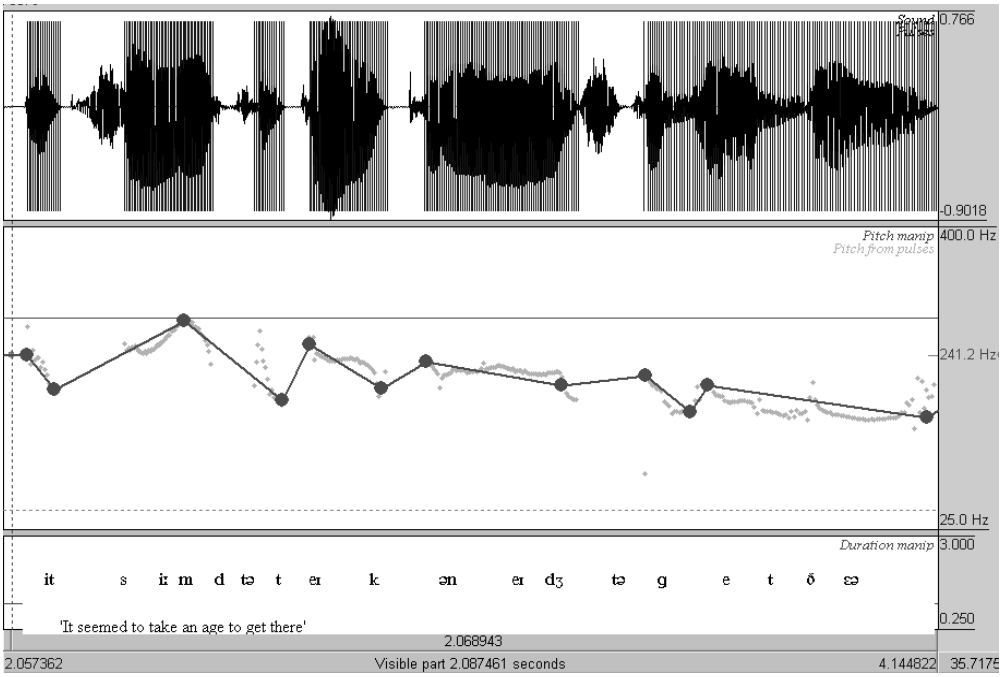

Figure 2: Intonational contour of the sentence 'It seemed to take an age to get there' produced by one of the subjects

Another difference present throughout the recorded material was found at the right boundaries of intonational phrases signalling incompleteness. The presence of a LH% tone at the right boundaries of sentence medial IP's, is transferred from L1, where this kind of tone is generally used to signal incompleteness, or continuation.

The native speaker uses either falling tone (HL%) or falling rising tone (HLH%) tone in the same context. This is illustrated by Figures 3 and 4, which show the pitch contour at the ending portion of the first clause of the sentence 'We were somewhere in the commercial district [but I wasn't sure where]'.

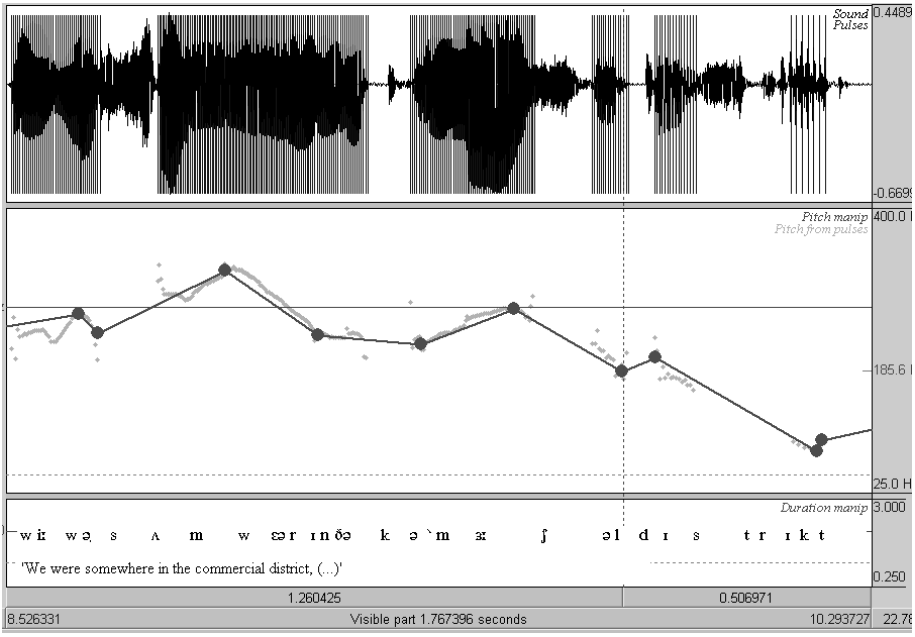

Figure 3: Intonational contour of the clause 'We were somewhere in the commercial district', produced by one of the subjects. The IP right boundary tone is a typical falling tone (HL%)

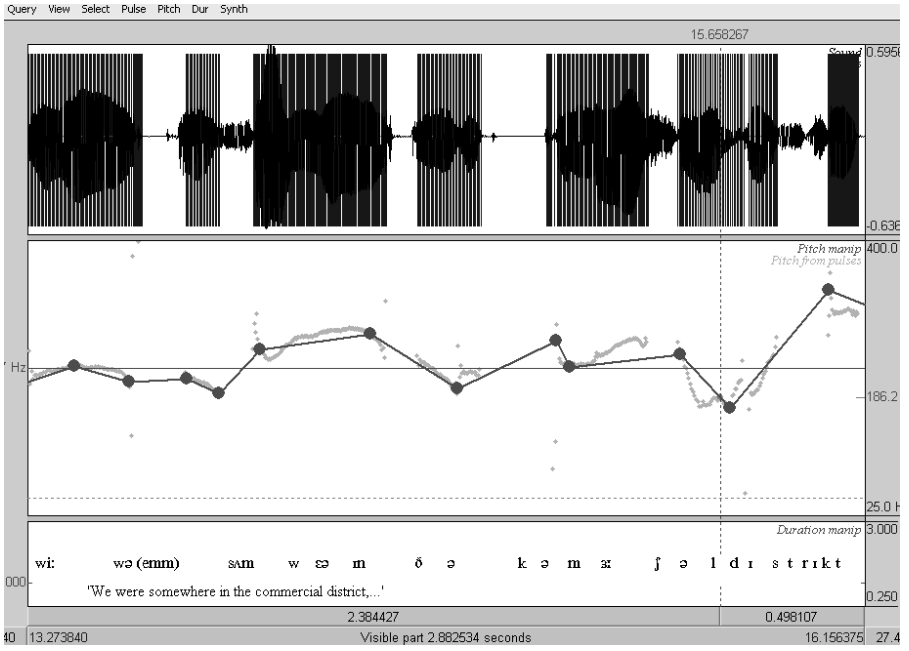

Figure 4: Intonational contour of the clause 'We were somewhere in the commercial district', produced by one of the subjects. The IP right boundary tone is transferred from Serbian, being a typical rising tone (LH%) used to signal continuation

Another difference perceived refers to the sentence stress. Native speakers of Serbian commonly fail to mark the most strongly stressed words in the same way as the native speakers do. These words tend to be less prominent and distinct than in the production of native speakers: they are lower pitched, they have a shorter duration and lower intensity in the foreign speakers' production. It can be seen in Figures 1 and 2 on the example of the word 'age', and in Figures 3 and 4 in the second syllable of the word 'commercial'.

6. Conclusions and further lines of research

It may be tempting to claim that among the differences observed, only the boundary tones and nuclear stress properties are phonological (categorical), whereas the other characteristics are 'phonetic', i.e. the matter of detail. However, things are obviously not so clear-cut, and they certainly require a much closer scrutiny.

Among the differences that can undoubtedly be classified as categorical are the word edge tone in Serbian and the difference in the IP boundary tone in the two languages. We believe that the analysis provides strong evidence for the existence of the word boundary %L tone at the left edge of stressed words in Serbian, which also correlates with the observed intonational transfer in L2. Being part of the systematic prosodic structure in Serbian, it is certainly not simply the matter of phonetic difference, but rather of phonological/categorical nature. The IP which consistently indicates transfer is the sentence internal IP tone indicating continuation – while the English speakers use either HL% or HLH% IP boundary tones, the speakers of Serbian tend to use LH%.

The research has also shown that the values of F0 *per se* seem not to be a relevant factor of intonational transfer: native speakers of Serbian seem to use a repertoire of low and high pitch on a par with the native speakers, regardless of the perceived transfer, i.e. a strong foreign accent.

The research presented here has opened up many new questions related to the acquisition of prosodic features, but also the questions of need for a more refined typological account of Serbian.

Further work is under way in order to investigate the reasons for perceived 'higher pitch' in English, especially BE, as well as to determine the correlation between the level of proficiency in English as L2, the perceived intonational 'imperfection' and the presence of the observed aspects of transfer.

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AN ERROR ANALYSIS OF SERBIAN ENGLISH MAJORS' WRITTEN PRODUCTIONS

Abstract This paper aims to provide a classification and analysis of errors found in the written production of three different generations of students at the English Department of Novi Sad University, as well as determine whether there is a significant variance in error count or type between different generations of students. The ratio of interlingual to intralingual errors in the students' interlanguages is determined through a quantitative and qualitative analysis of grammatical, lexical and orthographical errors. In addition to confirming the hypotheses that grammatical errors most often occur when there is a gap in the native language grammar (mainly determiners / articles) and that the students commit more intralingual than interlingual errors (as is expected of advanced EFL learners), the paper will try to shed some light on the factors that might be held responsible for the occurrence of some types of errors and propose ways to overcome them.

Key words: Error analysis, EFL / ESL, advanced learners, interlanguage, intralingual errors, interlingual errors.

1. Introduction

Ellis (1985) defines second language acquisition (SLA) as the subconscious or conscious process by which a non-native language is learnt in a natural or a tutored setting. Error analysis had been used by language teachers all over the world even before the advent of SLA literature. These informal studies were used to determine learner progress in acquiring a foreign language and to establish language areas to focus on. Drawing parallels and distinctions between L1 and L2 has also been a useful tool in a language teacher's arsenal.

Both of these intuitive concepts were formalized by Corder (1967), along with the notion of "transitional competence," which was used to denote each individual learner's independent system of language. Later, Selinker (1972) formulated the interlanguage theory, wherein interlanguage is defined as "the separateness of a second language learners' system, a system that has a structurally intermediate status between the native and target languages."

Nemser (1971) used the term "approximative systems" and Corder (1971) further refined the transitional competence concept into the term "idiosyncratic

dialect." All of these contain the notion that second language learners develop their own language system that is independent of, but contains features of both L1 and L2.

Brown (1994) states that there are four stages of interlanguage development: random errors, emergent, systematic stage, and the stabilization stage, each with a higher consistency of error-free production than the last, with the fourth stage being the first one where learner self-correction is evident. This, however, does not apply to the language system as a whole. Hence, a learner could be in the fourth stage of the passive voice, yet in the third stage of determiner use.

2. Error types

The first important distinction in error analysis made by Corder (1967) is the one between errors and mistakes. Mistakes are inadvertently caused by a lapse of concentration, lack of attention, fatigue, or similar factors, while errors represent gaps in the acquisition of the target language system. Thus, mistaking an error for a mistake would be an error.

The main processes that cause learner errors in their intermediate language systems are interlingual and intralingual transfer. The former refers to the inappropriate use of patterns from the mother tongue in the target language, or L1 interference. The latter is caused by over-generalizations or a partial or incomplete application of the rules of the target language system.

Brown (1994) categorizes errors as ones of addition, omission, substitution, and ordering at the word, sentence or discourse level. Further classification is achieved through considering different aspects of the language system such as lexicon, orthography, grammar, phonology, discourse, etc. Additionally, errors can be classified as global or local, according to whether they hinder communication or not, respectively. There are more proposed categories and classifications of errors in SLA literature; however, the aforementioned distinctions are the only ones that pertain to this study.

3. The present study

This article will present the results of a quantitative and qualitative error analysis of the written productions of three different generations of students at the English Department of Novi Sad University enrolled in consecutive years, namely 2007, 2008, and 2009. Most students accepted to the English Language and Literature program at Novi Sad University are advanced learners with a high English language competence. However, the test administered prior to their acceptance is in greater part designed for determining receptive language competence, with only intermittent productive competence components. Thus, written productions were

chosen as the target for error analysis, as producing an English text requires the amalgamation of various aspects of the language system.

The aims of the study are threefold. The first aim is to determine the types and frequency of errors the students commit in a productive task. The second goal is to discover how many of their errors stem from L1 interference. Finally, the third aim is to compare the error count and error types between the different generations of students in order to establish whether there are any differences and whether any trends can be noted.

The hypotheses are that grammatical errors will most often occur when there is a gap in the native language grammar, that the students will commit considerably more intralingual than interlingual errors, as is expected of advanced EFL learners, and that there will be no statistically significant differences in error count or type between the different generations of students.

4. Method

The subjects chosen for this study are 45 adult native speakers of the Serbian language and students at the English Department of Novi Sad University. At the time of producing the English texts analyzed in this study, they were all in their third semester of studies.

The instrument is a writing task that is a regular part of the Integrated Language Skills 3 course. The task selected was writing about a hobby in the form of an article. This topic was deemed suitable because it enabled the students to use vocabulary related to fields and matters with which they were already familiar. The expected word count was approximately 250 words and the suggested register neutral. The use of writing and editing aids, such as grammar books and dictionaries, was allowed, with the only restriction being a time limit of 75 minutes, which should have afforded them ample time for editing and revising their work.

Anything outside the boundaries of standard English use was marked as an error due to the availability of editing aids and for maintaining objectivity. Although some of the errors may well have been mistakes, ascertaining whether a deviation from accepted language use is an error or a mistake requires analyzing a particular subject's multiple productions and even then retains a component of subjectivity. There were very few irregularities where the likelihood of them being mistakes was high, but even those cases showed an even spread in the research sample, so they could not have had a measurable impact on the results.

The data collection process started with a random selection of 15 written productions from each generation of students (2007, 2008, and 2009). These 45 hand-written texts were converted into Microsoft Word documents with the help of speech recognition software. The written productions were not altered in any way, thus preserving all errors and deviations. Microsoft Word provided the readability statistics for each text.

Next, the errors were marked, categorized and counted. For the purposes of this study, discourse-level and stylistic errors were ignored, as students in their third semester of studies are not expected to have mastered these aspects, and some of these could be somewhat subjective in nature. The errors were categorized into grammatical (G), lexical (L), and orthographic (O) for the quantitative analysis, with a qualitative breakdown of each of these categories performed to find specific problems in language use and to establish the ratio of interlingual to intralingual errors.

Finally, analyses of variance (anovas) in the form of two-tailed student's t-tests were performed to ensure that the datasets were comparable and to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences between the datasets.

5. Results

	2007	2008	2009	Overall
Words	303.0	256.9	284.7	281.5
Characters	1377	1143	1270	1263
Paragraphs	4.60	4.27	4.40	4.42
Sentences	20.00	15.33	15.80	17.04
Sentences per Paragraph	4.54	3.83	3.75	4.04
Words per Sentence	15.54	17.14	18.91	17.20
Characters per Word	4.37	4.30	4.32	4.33
Passive Sentences	3.53%	2.60%	6.00%	4.04%
Flesch Reading Ease	68.11	69.60	67.81	68.51
Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level	7.55	7.79	8.42	7.92

Table 2: Readability statistics

Table 1 shows the readability statistics, as provided by Microsoft Word. Anovas indicated no significant differences between the datasets in most cases. Statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$) between datasets 2007 and 2008 were detected in word count, character count and the number of sentences; datasets 2007 and 2009 showed differences in the number of sentences and words per sentence, while a comparison of datasets 2008 and 2009 yielded no significant differences whatsoever.

Since the research sample was chosen randomly, it reflects a variety of marks. The articles were marked on a scale of 0 to 100, and the average marks were 86.73, 84.60, and 78.40 for datasets 2007, 2008, and 2009, respectively. While the gap between datasets 2007 and 2009 seems somewhat large, the anova showed no significant difference ($p > 0.1$).

The total number of errors in the study was 703. However, in order to minimize the impact of diverse word counts, all the error counts reported henceforth will be in a standardized measure of errors per 100 words. Table 2 shows the errors counts (grammatical, lexical, orthographic, and total) for each generation of students, as well as the averages for the entire research sample.

	G	L	O	Total
2007	2.07	1.43	1.30	4.80
2008	2.21	1.09	2.34	5.63
2009	2.15	1.05	3.07	6.27
Average	2.14	1.20	2.21	5.55

Table 3: Error counts

In the interest of establishing whether the types of errors were similar in all the datasets, a qualitative breakdown of the grammatical, lexical, and orthographic categories was performed. In the grammatical category, four main problem areas were noted: the use of determiners, prepositions, verbs, and problems with sentence structure. The lexical category was broken down into: inappropriate word sense, collocation, L1 interference, and word use. The category of orthographic errors was subdivided into punctuation and spelling errors. The ratio of these error sub-categories for each dataset is shown in Tables 3, 4, and 5. A further breakdown of these sub-categories with error examples is addressed in the next section of the article.

	2007	2008	2009
Determiners	54%	47%	49%
Prepositions	16%	12%	11%
Verbs	9%	16%	14%
Structure	21%	25%	26%

Table 4: Grammatical ratios

	2007	2008	2009
Sense	55%	62%	71%
Collocation	19%	10%	9%
L1 interference	20%	17%	18%
Word use	6%	11%	2%

Table 5: Lexical ratios

	2007	2008	2009
Punctuation	51%	54%	58%
Spelling	49%	46%	42%

Table 6: Orthographic ratios

Finally, a qualitative analysis was used to establish the amount of L1 interference in the written productions. This was not the result of labeling whole categories or sub-categories as interlingual or intralingual (with the exception of the one lexical error sub-category); each error was scrutinized individually and L1 interference determined on a case-by-case basis. The resulting interlingual to intralingual error ratio for each dataset and the research sample as a whole is shown in Table 6.

	2007	2008	2009	Total
Interlingual	28%	21%	20%	23%
Intralingual	72%	79%	80%	77%

Table 7: L1 interference ratios

6. Discussion

The goal for students at the English Department of Novi Sad University, as far as proficiency in the English language is concerned, is native-like competence. In a similar study featuring native English speakers as some of the subjects, Ehrensberger-Dow and Ricketts (2003) note that "3 or 4 errors per 100 words can be considered native-like for this type of text." That study, however, takes into account errors in style and coherence and cohesion in addition to grammatical, lexical and orthographic errors. By subtracting the error counts of errors not featured in this

study, a new baseline of 2 errors per 100 words (most of which are orthographic) can be established. The results of this study indicate room for improvement, with the only metric approaching the native-like baseline being the orthographic errors in dataset 2007. However, the subjects were only in their third semester of studies, and their results are comparable to the results of Italian and German speakers featured in the aforementioned study, all of whom were in their final semester of a translation program.

Only one somewhat disconcerting trend can be noted, namely the steady increase in orthographic errors in successive generations. The most probable reason for this is the influence of the media. In Serbia, adoption rates for cable TV and Internet use have been increasing yearly, allowing an ever-greater percent of the population to acquire parts of the English language exclusively through aural stimuli, which creates spelling problems for native English speakers as well. The Internet, due to its abundance of user-created and unscreened content, is not exactly a bastion of correct spelling, let alone punctuation, yet punctuation errors can also be attributed to disparate standards and simple carelessness.

The qualitative breakdown of the main error categories showed no significant differences in error types between the different generations of students. As hypothesized, errors in the use of determiners dominate the category of grammatical errors. The misuse of articles (e.g. *change the world from political standpoint*) accounts for nearly all determiner errors, with other irregularities involving determiners (e.g. *too much paper animals*) appearing only sporadically. Preposition errors (e.g. *go into incredible adventures*) did not feature prominently in the grammatical error category, which only reinforces the notion that the subject are advanced EFL learners. In the sub-category of errors in verb use, the most common were errors in tense (e.g. *Previously, type of games help us*), while errors concerning aspect (e.g. *Then, you may be feeling full and satisfied.*), voice (e.g. *Another reason to involve in this activity*), and form (e.g. *to lost some time in traffic*) had an even distribution. The wide-ranging sub-category of sentence structure consisted in equal parts of word order errors (e.g. *asks you where is the center*), various agreement errors (e.g. *you like writing songs, and you like to about its melody*), using the wrong word class (e.g. *help you think positive.*), errors where certain sentential or clausal elements were omitted entirely (e.g. *Your hobby is measured in centimeters, or smaller.*), and other errors too few in number to warrant categorization.

In the lexical category, errors involving the use of a word the sense of which is inappropriate to the context (e.g. *this article would pursue you to try*) constituted a majority, which is surprising given the level of the learners. However, the lines between the sub-categories of lexical errors are somewhat blurry as there is some overlap between them. Errors due to L1 interference (e.g. *learn us how to function*) were next in frequency. The interlingual nature of the error in the example is evident from the fact that, in Serbian, the verb "naučiti" means both "to teach" and "to learn" depending on the arguments it takes. Inappropriate collocations (e.g. *to practice exercise*) were not featured heavily in the research sample, while word use errors, such as attempting to use an uncountable noun as a countable one (e.g. *there*

are many researchs), were rarer still. The category of lexical errors consistently showed the lowest error counts, which could be explained by students writing about topics they were intimately familiar with and their vocabulary choices being "safe," and of limited range.

Spelling errors (e.g. *searching for bigger chalanges*) were the most numerous ones in the orthographic category, which is somewhat surprising as the students were allowed the use of dictionaries. The punctuation sub-category consisted mainly of errors in comma use (e.g. *If you accept this challenge you won't regret it*), the main source of which was a failure to mark off a main clause after a long initial sentence element, be it an adverbial or a dependent clause. While these cannot be considered grievous errors by most standards, the comma misuse that was next in frequency, namely the comma splice, can be a cause for concern. Run-on sentences were not an infrequent occurrence, indicating that some of the students still struggle with complex sentence structure. Other punctuation errors included comma use in lists and with relative clauses, irregularities in quotations, and omitted apostrophes. Orthographic error counts could be reduced by increasing student exposure to high-quality English texts, as well as adopting department-wide punctuation standards that would be strictly enforced.

The qualitative analysis pertaining to interlingual and intralingual transfer yielded a high ratio of intralingual to interlingual errors, confirming the initial hypothesis, which was predicated on the fact that interlingual errors abound only in the early stages of interlanguage development. Of interest in this study were the type, source, and frequency of interlingual errors in the students' interlanguages. Expectedly, the overwhelming majority of L1 interference errors (68%) appeared in the form of article misuse, as Serbian grammar lacks this category altogether. However, labeling the whole sub-category of article errors as interlingual in nature would be remiss, so only instances of article omission, where the transfer from Serbian is straightforward, were treated as such. Examples where a superfluous article was used were considered cases of learners over-generalizing L2 rules and, as such, moved to the intralingual category. The next most frequent source of interlingual errors (20%) were word choices influenced by the mother tongue, which came in various guises, but it seems that a more thorough introduction to "false friend" word pairings in Serbian and English could effect an improvement. The remainder of the interlingual category consisted of dependent prepositions, the use of the determiner "some" where the indefinite article would have been the preferred choice, punctuation within quotations, and even some L1-influenced spelling errors, along with other error types appearing too infrequently to be of importance.

A distinct lack of variety and range, both in syntax and lexis, was noted throughout the research sample, which could mean that the students were focused on accuracy rather than complexity. This is not necessarily detrimental early in their studies, as complexity can be added after accuracy has been achieved. However, if the tasks they are given contain varying complexity demands, accuracy will suffer as a result. One of the ways of adding complexity without sacrificing accuracy could be peer review, along with redrafting or rewriting their own work. Nunan (1991) states

that students are challenged to reassess what they are trying to achieve when they are asked to rewrite or redraft their written productions. Having their first draft judged by peers instead of teachers could allow them to test more freely their hypotheses about the target language, leading to increased complexity. During the rewriting phase, some of their hypotheses are rejected, while others are confirmed, and this gradual process leads to a better approximation of the target language in the learner's interlanguage.

7. Conclusion

The results of this analysis offer an overview of the students' L2 competence in their third semester of studies, highlighting areas that need further attention. Thus, the deficiencies in their L2 knowledge can be addressed by developing exercises and tasks that target the weaknesses noted. The only appreciable difference between the different generations of students was that younger generations seemingly place less emphasis on orthography, a trend that should not be exceedingly challenging to reverse. The rest of the results are comparable to their peers or seniors in another study, although the frequency of interlingual errors could stand to be reduced.

The limitations of this study are in the types of errors covered. The inclusion of supra-sentential and stylistic errors would have provided a more comprehensive insight into learner competence levels. Another problem is the students' focus on accuracy, as their avoidance of complex language use prevents the true state of their interlanguages from being ascertained. The peer review method proposed in this article could alleviate this issue for a future study.

Post-task follow up activities coupled with clear feedback could make the language acquisition process more efficient. Less insistence on grammatical rules, with more attention paid to the communicative purposes of the various language aspects, could also be helpful in achieving the goal of native-like competence.

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HINDSIGHT ANALYSIS OF A BILINGUAL DICTIONARY OF STANDARDISED SPORTS TERMS

Abstract The fact that lexicographic work is a reflection of lexicological thought and constantly changing requirements of the society imposes a need for repeated evaluation of dictionaries and improving them accordingly. Given that this is an open-ended issue, the aim of this paper is to do a hindsight analysis of an English-Serbian dictionary of sports terms *Englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina*, 2006. Upon a brief presentation of a terminographic model and goals governing its implementation, this paper highlights qualities that have stood the test of time, as well as potential upgrades complying with new technologies.

Key words: lexicology, lexicography, translation.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this analysis is to reevaluate the model of terminological standardisation applied in the bilingual dictionary of sports terms *Englesko-srpski rečnik sportskih termina* (Milić 2006), further referred to as ESRST. Aiming at elegance of expression, lexicographic codification of terms will be further referred to as terminography. In the light of the fact that ESRST includes only terms of five ball games (basketball, football, handball, volleyball, and water polo), this analysis will also show whether the proposed model is applicable to terminologies of other sports events, as well as whether new technologies impose additional requirements related to terminographic codification standard. Besides introductory section, the remaining presentation includes four sections. Section 2 deals with terminographic model of ESRST, including the principles of standardisation, all of which are both defined and exemplified. Sections 3 and 4 present ESRST's macrostructure and microstructure respectively. Section 5 deals with advantages and disadvantages of ESRST from the aspect of new technologies, and Section 6 summarises conclusions in terms of the model sustainability and actions to be taken in near future.

2. Terminographic model of standardised terms in ESRST

The process of terminological standardisation involves two essential requirements. These are matching various features of an entity (object, event, idea,

process, etc.) and normativeness of a set standard. The former implies creation of terms referring to particular concepts, and the latter are linguistic, technical and pragmatic characteristics of terms. Owing to the fact that the term is a linguistic sign it must be in accordance with linguistic standard of a given language, whereas the fact that it is a part of a particular thematic register sets a prerequisite of its preciseness and transparency. Eventually, pragmatic aspect of the term calls for its acceptability in terms of language economy and frequency of usage in written and oral communication. The process of standardisation is not easily accomplished, as it involves a number of interrelated stages to be implemented by linguistic and technical specialists on one side and by the community on the other. The former are expected to select a language variant, set a code, elaborate the code and compile a prescriptive grammar or a dictionary. The latter are supposed to take care of acceptance of the standard in public and its updating according to the new requirements of a language, thematic register, and the society in general.

In the light of the above, a terminographic standard has been proposed for sports terminology in Serbian, which includes a hierarchically ordered set of six principles, all of which are dealt with below. They are preciseness (2.1), transparency (2.2), systematicity (2. 3), productivity (2.4), concision (2.5) and frequency (2.6). Due to the fact that sports terms in Serbian are created by the process of borrowing and translation of English terms, application of the model resulted in reordering or modification of the existing translation equivalents, in such a manner that the standard term is always listed first with the designation (1) in front.

2.1. Preciseness

Preciseness of a term sets the requirement that the term should represent only one concept in a thematic register (Dubuc 1997: 156). This principle mostly applies to two issues: terminological variants referring to the same concept and translation equivalents of synonymous terms with minor differences in denotative meaning, which refer to different concepts. According to this principle one of the interchangeable terminological variants is marked as standard term with the designation (1), e.g. (1) *pivot-noga* 'pivot foot' (calque which involves literal translation into L_2 of L_1 elements of complex, compound and phrasal words (Prćić 2007: 418)) and (2) *stajna noga* 'pivot foot' (direct translation which involves direct translation of L_1 literal or transferred meaning into L_2 (Prćić (2005: 179). Synonyms which differ in denotative meaning are distinguished by expansion or modification of the existing single translation equivalents, each of which is allocated a proper gloss. For example, *polaganje u koš* 'layin' and *polaganje od table* 'layup' are standard terms versus the existing one *polaganje* that used to be the same translation equivalent for both English terms.

2.2. Transparency

This principle is defined as the requirement that the term should reflect characteristics of a concept which it represents (Šipka 1998: 129), which means that it should be motivated etymologically, semantically or morphologically (Dubuc 1997: 156). Analysis of sports terminology proves that sports terms are satisfactorily motivated at the level of etymology and morphology, but not at the level of semantics. This is due to several reasons: (i) loss of a diagnostic feature, (ii) shift of a functional or collocation feature, (iii) use of non-standard language variant or archaic word and (iv) use of acronyms or initialisms. Application of this principle resulted in the following changes: (i) extra or missing diagnostic features are omitted or added respectively, (ii) shifted functional or collocation features are adapted to the original term, (iii) archaic terms are replaced by non-archaic ones, and (iv) acronyms are kept unchanged but initialisms and abbreviations are replaced by full words. Accordingly, (i) *površina četverca* (length-width) '4-meter area' (length-width) is standard term versus the existing translation equivalent (*prostor četverca*) with extra diagnostic feature (length-width-height), (ii) *bacanje za loptom* 'diving' is standard term versus the former *suvanje* (archaic), (iii) *srednji bek* '*CB'* ('central backcourt player') is standard term versus the former abbreviation *SB* composed of initial letters of words making up a translation equivalent in Serbian, and (iv) *golmanova zamena* (modifier + noun) 'substitute goalkeeper' (modifier + noun) is standard term versus the existing one *zamena golmana* ($\text{noun}_{\text{nominative}}$ + $\text{noun}_{\text{accusative.}}$), which is ambiguous.

2.3. Systematicity

The term is systematic if it is adapted to the linguistic system of Serbian, which implies the levels of: (i) orthography, (ii) phonology, (iii) morpho-syntax, and (iv) terminography (Milić 2004: 75). The existing terminology of ball games shows the following deviations: (i) writing compounds, semi-compounds, anglicisms, numbers and mathematical signs, (ii) phonological adaptation of anglicisms, which is based on spelling or mixed spelling and pronunciation, (iii) hyphenated inflectional endings of anglicisms, and (iv) non-unified codification of lexical entries in dictionaries and glossaries. The following text deals with standardisation relative to deviations (i), (ii) and (iii), whereas (iv) is dealt with in Section 4 of this paper. Accordingly, compounds and semi-compounds are written either hyphenated or non-hyphenated as per *A Book of Orthographic Rules for Serbian, 1995*, item 41, except for anglicisms of this type which are in accordance with the standard of Vasić et al. (2001:11), e.g. (i) *aut-linija* 'out line' is standard term versus the former non-hyphenated form *aut linija* and *raspored igrača 5 prema 1* 'formation 5:1' is standard term versus the fomer *raspored 5 : 1*. Phonological adaptation of translation equivalents is applied to certain terms deviating from *A Book of*

Orthographic Rules for Serbian, 1995, item 76, e.g. (ii) *tobdžija* 'goalcapable player' standard term versus the fomer *topdžija*. Finally, morphosyntactic adaptation is applied to terms consisting of noninflectional noun modifiers, such as (iii) *pravila vaterpola Fine* (oblique case) 'FINA water polo rules' as standard term versus the former *Fina vaterpolo pravila* (noninflectional noun modifier).

2.4. Productivity

For the requirements of terminological standardisation, a modified Prćić's (1997: 5) general definition of productivity is used. Accordingly, productivity is defined as a characteristic of the language system which enables communicators (especially if it is their mother tongue) to encode and decode maximum number of higher-order terminological units, including those which they haven't come across earlier. At the level of single-word entries, productivity is explained in terms of derivation and composition, which is generally established in the ball game terminology. At the level of multiple-worded entries, this principle may partially be treated as derivation potential of the headword, but more likely in terms of a number of words of a phrase or collocation. Generally, phrases are productive if they contain fewer words in a collocational/phrasal lexeme. As per the term used by Lipka (1992: 74) and Lyons (1977: 23), phrasal lexeme implies hybrid lexical units which are syntagms according to their form, but according to their function, meaning and usage they are undoubtedly words (Prćić 1999: 16). Application of this principle resulted in the following changes: omission of extra words (e.g. *isključenje s pravom zamene* 'exclusion of a player with substitution' standard term versus the former *isključenje igrača s pravom zamene*), direct translation instead of a functional approximation, which according to Prćić (2007: 418), involves expression of L_1 content with L_2 lexical resources, so as to reflect as closely as possible the function of the referent, either by keeping or by changing the original conceptualisation. For example, *nošena lopta* 'held ball' is standard term versus the former *drugi kontakt s loptom* and *izvođač auta* 'thrower' is standard single-word term versus the former *igrač koji ubacuje loptu u igru*, which is a relative clause.

2.5. Concision

Concision of the term implies that it should not be too long, that it is preferably single-worded or with a fewer number of words (Šipka 1998: 129). Multi-wordedness is often the result of adding extra words in translation equivalents due to a lexical gap, insufficient understanding of the lexical meaning of a term, or the need to avoid associating the term with another thematic register. If resulting from a lexical gap, it is advisable to use another lexical resources based on analysis of the meaning of the term (e.g. *cikcak raspored* 'w-formation' standard term versus the fomer *igrač u cikcak formaciji*), apply derivation potential of the head word (e.g.

prekršilac ‘guilty player’ standard term versus the fomer *igrač koji je učinio prekršaj*) or, lastly, borrow the term (e.g. *dabl-futer* ‘double-footed player’ adapted borrowed term versus the former translation equivalent *igrač koji dobro igra obema nogama*).

2.6. Frequency

Frequency implies how often a particular term is used in the relevant documents and oral communication of professionals in a thematic register (Milić 2004: 85). This principle is applied to terminological doublets i.e. two terminologically marked lexemes sharing the same meaning and parallel usage (Gortan-Premk (2004: 122), created by direct translation of terminological doublets from English (i) or by double-adaptation of English terms, usually borrowing plus direct translation or calque plus direct translation (ii). This principle is also applied to synonymous terms for which there is only one translation equivalent (iii). As translation equivalents of terminological doublets have parallel usage, they can only be treated as double standard terms for a single concept. If resulting from translation of terminological doublets from English (i), standard term is the one whose translation equivalent matches the terminological entry and the gloss is given only for the term which comes first in alphabetical sequence (e.g. (1) *linija napada* ‘attack line’ (+ gloss) and (2) *linija smečiranja* ‘spike line’ (– gloss)). If resulting from double adaptation of an English term (ii), it is proposed to rearrange such units in the order of frequency, provided the most frequent and most adapted one is at the first place as the standard term with the designation (1), e.g. (1) *kapiten tima* ‘team captain’, (2) *kapiten ekipe* ‘team captain’. English terms with a minor difference in denotative meaning, both of which are originally matched by the same translation equivalent in Serbian (iii), are distinguished at lexical and gloss levels alike, which means that there are two translation equivalents and two glosses, e.g. *polaganje u koš* ‘layin’ versus *polaganje od table* ‘layup’ are standard terms for the former *polaganje* that used to be the same translation equivalent for both English terms. Due to the fact that electronic corpus does not exist in Serbian this principle is based on the personal judgement of the author of the dictionary.

3. Macrostructure of ESRST

ESRST includes terms of a limited number of sports events, i.e. five ball games being constituent parts of curricula of faculties of sport and physical education in Serbia. They are: basketball, football, handball, volleyball, and water polo. Limited number of sports events is justified by the fact that the goal of the initial research in the field of terminological standardisation was to set up a model to be applicable not only to the sports register but to non-sports registers too. Judging from its recognition by the research team of the project *Fizička aktivnost devojčica i dečaka*

predškolskog uzrasta 'Physical activity of girls and boys of preschool age*'* (Bala et al. 2006), the model has proved good enough for sports terminology in general. However, further standardisation work in sport is still due.

Even though entries of a terminological dictionary are best organised according to thematic fields, being the usual practice in thesaurus-like approach, ESRST entries are ordered alphabetically. However, conceptual aspect is preserved by introducing thematising signposts (symbols of specific thematic fields (as per Prćić 2005: 254), which stand for specific sports events. These labels have been applied consistently to headword English terms, translation equivalents and glosses throughout the dictionary. In addition, the conceptual level is also preserved at the level of definitions of meaning, the key words of which are hyperonyms referring to particular subconcepts of ball games, such as: field, officials, official's signals, penalty, and play.

In order to enhance ESRST's user-friendliness, the dictionary also includes standard descriptions of each ball game followed by field/court illustrations, given in *Dodatak* 'Apendix*'* at the end. Sequence of description details is kept the same for all ball games: history, field/court of play, goals of play, rules of play, scoring, penalties, and officials.

4. Microstructure of the ESRST

As shown in the Figure 1 below, typical lexical entry (Milić 2006: 115) consists of the following elements: English term (1), thematising signpost (2), grammatical word class (3), cross references for synonyms, antonyms and variants (4), translation equivalent/s (5) and gloss (6).

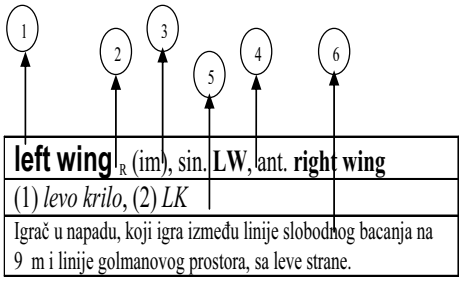

Figure 1

Terminographic entry in ESRST

Figure 1: Terminographic entry in ESRST

English term (1) being the headword is clearly marked using a different typographic convention from the remaining part of a lexical entry. If a term is polysemous, it is reentered and given additional subscripts in front of an entry, e.g.

‘$_{A}$***post***$_{F,R,V}$’ (*stativa*), ‘$_{B}$***post***$_{K}$’ (*centar*), and ‘$_{C}$***post***$_{O}$’ (*stub*), (Milić 2006: 146). The same code applies to terminological entries with multiple grammatical functions.

Thematising signpost (2), which is a symbol of a specific sports event, is introduced due to the complexity of a thematic register. This information is codified in ESRST in the form of subscripted initial letters of translation equivalents of five ball games (*F* ‘football’, *K*’basketball’, *R* ‘handball’, *O* ‘volleyball’ and *V* ‘water polo’).

Grammatical information (3) in this dictionary is abbreviation of a grammatical word class: *gl* ‘verb’, *im* ‘noun’, *prid* ‘adjective’) and *pril* ‘adverb’. Even though easily accomplished with single-worded terms, it required a pragmatic approach when dealing with phrasal terms. Assuming an author wishes to fulfil the criterion of user-friendliness, abbreviations such as *fr. im* ‘phrasal noun’ or *fr.gl* ‘phrasal verb’ might be unwelcome in the technical language. For this reason, it is recommended to disregard the phrasal character of multi-worded terms and use the same codes of grammatical word classes as those of single-worded terminographic entries. In case when the same entry performs double grammatical function, i.e. when it is both a noun and a verb, terminological entry is entered twice with subscripted codes ‘$_{A}$’ and ‘$_{B}$’ in front, e.g. ‘$_{A}$***play***’ and ‘$_{B}$***play***’ (ESRST: 141), the first of which is a verb and the second is a noun. The same code applies when an entry is a polysemous term, as illustrated in paragraph (1) dealing with codification of English terms.

Cross-references (4) for synonyms, antonyms and language variants are included in order to comply with the terminographic requirement of user-friendliness. Synonyms in ESRST are lexical units usually referred to in semantic theories as propositional synonyms (Cruse 1986: 267), which share the same central semantic traits but not necessarily the same peripheral ones. Synonymous terminological entries in this dictionary are mostly mutually interchangeable translation equivalents functioning as terminiological doublets (*kapiten tima* ‘captain team’ versus *kapiten ekipe* ‘captain team’), stylistically marked terms (*kuvanje* ‘dink’ (informal) versus *lopta gurnuta preko bloka* ‘dink’ (neutral)), and temporally marked terms (*suvanje* ‘*diving*’ (archaic) versus *bacanje za loptom* ‘diving’ (neutral). However, Serbian terms are not labelled accordingly due to the fact that standardised terminology according to this model implies ordered set of translation equivalents starting with the standard term which is followed by terms progressively deviating from the specified linguistic, technical, and pragmatic requirements. With regard to a high potential of terms for developing antonymous relations, ESRST includes antonyms too, which imply lexical units functioning as ‘opposites’ *par excellence* (Lyons 1968: 463), such as *mrtva lopta* ‘dead ball’ versus *živa lopta* ‘live ball’. Language variants are codified for British and American English, using the symbols £ and $ respectively.

Translation equivalents (5) are either single or multiple units. The former are entered without a designation (1), whereas the latter are coded using bracketed numbers (1), (2) etc., provided the standard term is always designated as (1). Sequence of translation equivalents designated with numbers other than (1) depends on the extent of compliance with the proposed standard.

Gloss (6) includes a concise definition of meaning which explains the main characteristics of a concept. The usual type of the definition applied in Serbian dictionaries fits the model which Atkins and Rundell (2008: 436) refer to as 'genus-and-differentia' defining model, according to which a word is described in terms of its superordinate or 'genus' expression and its additional features or 'differentiae', which distinguish the particular meaning from other category members. Accordingly, the definition of meaning in ESRST is based on previously analysed hyponymic relations within a given thematic register. This means that each thematic register is divided into a number of hyperoyms according to which the remaining terminographic entries i.e. hyponyms are arranged. Thus the wording of a definition consists of a hyperonym followed by additional features which distinguish a particular meaning from other category members. As an example, an individual ball game register consists of the following hyperonyms: *field/court*, *equipment*, *play*, *players*, *scoring*, *penalty*, *officials*, *official's signals*, *violations* etc. Accordingly, the terminographic entry *live-time foul* (hyponym) in water polo has the following definition: *Prekršaj koji se napravi dok je lopta u igri* 'A violation made while the ball is in play.' (Milić 2006: 117). Examples of usage are not given as complementary parts of the gloss even though lexicographers (cf. Atkins and Rundell 2008: 453) claim that they have important functions: to prove the existence of words, to serve as complements to definitions, as well as to illustrate contextual features such as syntax, collocation, and register. Their exclusion is justified by the fact that the ESRST is based on official rules of ball games in English and Serbian as the only reference source of terms.

5. Advantages and disadvantages of ESRST terminographic model

According to Radovanović (1979: 86), standard language is the result of ten operations. They are: (1) selection, (2) description, (3) codification, (4) elaboration, (5) acceptance, (6) implementation, (7) expansion, (8) cultivation, (9) evaluation and (10) recapitulation. The first four operations are performed by linguists and technical specialists, operations (5), (6), (7), and (8) require efforts of a wider social community, whereas the last two operations can be viewed as new requirements feedback for linguists and technical specialists. Using these operations as a checklist, ESRST has passed operations (1) through (8). This paper proves that terminological standardisation has reached the final stages of evaluation and improvement of the set standard according to the current requirements of the society. Recognition of the standard in sports world and its encouragement by linguists prove its sustainability after five years. However, new technologies put certain requirements to be dealt with in future terminographic work.

Easy access to online English-Serbian and Serbian-English dictionaries turns hard-copy dictionaries to second-hand reference sources. With this being the case, the final stage of standardisation is unfulfilled, as the standard fails to be disseminated and accepted by a wider language community. Given that the proposed

model of standardisation includes contact and contrastive aspects of English and Serbian, its wider acceptance is highly desired due to repeated warnings by language specialists (Prćić 2007: 66) about the phenomenon of superficialism in English-Serbian translation, which results in mechanical transference into Serbian of forms from English in their basic literal sense. This is also pointed out by Riđanović (2006: 1) who says that most English-Serbian translation failures are due to unconscious word-for-word translations. Certain level of overcoming these problems can smoothly be realised by means of a computer accessible standardised dictionary, which allows an instant retrieval of the required information.

In the light of the conclusion reached by DiMarco and Hirst (1995: 1), that the construction f a set of 'computational usage notes' adequate for text generation is a major task of future lexicographic work, a terminological dictionary is bound to be a computer-readable one. As a denotational differentiation in terminology is at the language-independent conceptual level, electronic data base would enable an easy retrieval of lexicographic information in the target language. According to these authors, this can be achieved by codification of existing lexicographic information in the form of computational usage notes. Due to the fact that machine-readable dictionaries are based on electronic corpora, they offer an extra advantage of allowing an exact judgement of frequency of usage, which happens to be impossible in the classical procedure relaying on a personal judgement of an author.

In the light of the aforementioned, the proposed terminological standard might be further coded in the form of a machine-readable database, while future terminographic codification should be based on electronic corpora or largely machine-readable ones.

6. Conclusions

Terminographic model of ESRST has reached the desired goals of terminological standardisation in the field of sport, owing to the fact that linguistic and technical standards have not changed substantially so far. However, new technologies have put additional requirements implying electronic codification of the set standard, which essentially means that this is an issue of form of the proposed standard rather than its content. New form of the proposed standard will result not only in time saving but also in more precise application of proposed principles of terminological standardisation and more effective dissemination of the implemented standard.

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LINGUISTIC AND EXTRALINGUISTIC COMPONENT IN TRANSLATION: ENGLISH–SERBIAN EXAMPLES[1]

Abstract *As a complex multi-layered process, translation includes both linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge and skills. Namely, a successful translation should reflect both translator's linguistic competence (in at least two languages) and familiarity with the broadly understood cultural component of the text translated. The latter component could be also further subdivided into general knowledge acquired during regular education and insights into one or more specific professional fields (like history, biology etc). Neglect of this component, necessary for a successful translation, almost always leads to mistranslations or inadequate translations; having that in mind, the paper discusses extralinguistic and linguistic components when the language of the original text is English and the language into which this text is translated is Serbian and vice versa.*

Key words: English, extralinguistic component, Serbian, translation.

1. Introduction

As a complex multi-layered process, translation requires both talent and learnt skills, both linguistic and extralinguistic components. Namely, a successful translation should reflect both translator's linguistic competence (in at least two languages) and familiarity with the broadly understood cultural component of the text translated. The latter component could be also further subdivided into general knowledge acquired during regular education and insights into one or more specific professional fields (like history, biology etc). Neglect of this component, necessary for a successful translation, almost always leads to mistranslations or inadequate translations; having that in mind, the paper discusses extralinguistic and linguistic components when the language of the original text is English and the language into which this text is translated is Serbian and vice versa.

As far as the compositionality of the translator's competence is concerned, this paper would concentrate on the two basic components – the linguistic and

[1] Rad je napisan u okviru naučnog projekta *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru* koji finansira Ministarstvo za nauku i tehnološki razvoj Republike Srbije (broj projekta 178002, period 2011-2014. godine), a zasniva se na neobjavljenom saopštenju sa međunarodne konferencije *English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today* održane u Novom Sadu 19. marta 2011. godine.

extralinguistic one (leaving aside, for example, the psychological features included in the translator's psychological competence). These two basic components are themselves complex and imply sub-components, that is subcompetences. Moreover, they can be also studied at the level of general, theoretical competence and actual performance (Pym 2003: 484). As far the linguistic competence is concerned, it is sometimes viewed as a specific kind of bilingualism (Pym 2003: 481), that is the knowledge and skill to use two language codes more or less with the same familiarity; this competence thus includes grammatical morpho-syntactic knowledge, lexical sets and structural features related to lexemes (for example, valency, irregularities) and semantic distinctive features of lexemes, as well as a sub-component related to the contextual use of linguistic units (pragmatics). Another significant sub-component is the textual component (Hlebec 2009: 19) – the translator's competence to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the text to be translated before fully understanding the text and starting actual translation.

Extralinguistic or broadly understood cultural component, generally speaking, is also complex and has sub-components. For example, such components include general extralinguistic or encyclopedic knowledge, particular professional knowledge (for a given field), literature-genre competence, that is competence to interpret the works of art when translating novels, poetry etc. (Hlebec 2009: 19), familiarity with the extralinguistic context significant for the translation and other components.

Both of these components are relevant if one wants to avoid over-translation, under-translation or simplification. However, on the one hand a certain level of subjectivity in translator's decisions is always present, and on the other the linguistic and extralinguistic components are often mixed and are difficult to separate. The examples in this paper would point to some of these cases, starting from the assumption in the relevant literature (cf. Hlebec 2009) that the translating process is a multicomponent process consisting of several stages in which specific skills and knowledge are required and implemented. Thus, for example, these stages include interpretation of the text in the source language by the translator, translator's precoding of the source text (creating the first versions of translation, coding of the translator's intentions during translation, cf. Hlebec 2009: 25), contrasting the source text with the precoded target text, final recoding of the source text.

2. Examples and comments

To illustrate at the very beginning numerous layers and traps related to translation, one can, among other things, refer to the novel which won the prize for the best novel in 2010 in Serbia - *Ono što oduvek želiš* (2010) by Gordana Ćirjanić. Ćirjanić, herself an accomplished translator from Spanish and English, included in the novel a brilliant brief section about translation: hearing a short sentence in Spanish, the main character in the novel thinks about its possible translation into Serbian (pages 215-216); he first translates it literally, but he is not satisfied with

this translation, saying that it is not colloquial enough; then he analyzes Spanish words and phrases, finding their idiomatic meanings, takes into account the pragmatic value of the sentence and translates it again correctly. He was so absorbed in trying to find the best solution that he forgot to have lunch at his usual time. This is a great summary of a translating process, revealing both the effort and satisfaction with the right solution. However, only about 10 pages after these passages one of the characters says the following sentence in English, which is followed by the main character's comment:

(1) *Wow*!!! *– rekao je saznavši da je došla. – Tell her I am her* ***fun****. .... Prvo je morao da mi objasni šta znači* ***fun****, pa tako saznah da je Rouz idol klincima...* (Ćirjanić 2010: 224)

(Translation in the footnote: *Kaži joj da sam njen* ***obožavalac****. (engl.)*)

The novel which itself in some sections illustrates certain aspects of translation provides an example of a rather significant mistake: *fun* instead of *fan*; *fan*, as pronounced in contemporary informal Serbian, sounds like the English word *fun*, making them almost a false pair – that could be the reason for this mistake.

However, generally speaking, it seems that the awareness about different components necessary for successful translation is much higher in our environment, at least in the media with the highest number of readers/viewers/listeners. About 15 to 20 years ago (Novakov 2008), it was possible to find examples like:

(2) a) *...jednu godinu na nekom* ***crvenocigljarskom univerzitetu****.* (Fauls 1988: 166)

b) *...od tada je ona bila moja* ***srećna magija****.* (Kazan 1998: 9)

c) *...neki doktori ...prepisali mu silne* ***droge****...* (Kazan 1998: 314)

These mistakes are so rudely obvious that they do not require a specific comment; let us just add that in (2a) the English phrase is *a red-brick university*, which is only metaphorically related to red bricks and this should be taken into account in the translation. In (2b) *lucky charm* was translated literally, even though it does not make much sense in this context. Finally, in (2c) *drugs* actually means medicine, because the context implies a hospitalized patient and doctors.

That the awareness has at least slightly improved could be seen from the fact that some journalists (at least in the major Serbian newspapers) are more sensitive to the use of Anglicisms, for example:

(3) *...a čiji autori već godinama od sebe prave takozvani „****brend****'', koliko god se taj izraz već raspada od preterane upotrebe.* (*Politika*, March 4, 2011, TV revija, page 6)

The author of this text used quotation marks for a relatively recent Anglicism and added a comment about its very frequent use.

However, some mistranslations still occur in the journalist register; for example:

(4) *Požar u postrojenju za preradu* ***ulja****.* (TV station B92, March 10, 2011, about 11 p.m.)

This TV comment related to recent news from Libya was certainly not meant to refer to cooking oil, but to petrol.

Extralinguistic component is particularly pronounced in professional texts requiring specific terminology, which again forces the translator to make decisions about equivalents, particularly when one bears in mind internationalisms, for example borrowing Anglicisms, or trying to find the domestic equivalent. The following examples from a business journal would illustrate some of these issues:

(5) a) *...transformišući ih u vrlo* ***propulzivnu*** *naučnu disciplinu...* (IS 69)
b) *...science of production systems made very* ***propulsive****...*

(6) a) *...uslovi za* ***implementaciju*** *koncepata...* (IS 69)
b) *...conditions for* ***implementation*** *of production systems...*

(7) a) *...organizovanja* ***fraktalnih*** *kompanija ...* ((IS 71)
b) *...approach of* ***fractal*** *companies...*

The above examples are taken from the journal *Industrijski sistemi* vol 1, No 3, December 1999, published in Novi Sad (abbreviated here as IS); articles in this journal are published both in English and in Serbian, so they offer a possibility to compare these two languages. If we start from the five-point scale based on the degree of justification proposed by Prćić (2005: 130-133) which includes completely unjustified, unjustified, conditionally justified, justified and completely justified Anglicisms, we may state that *propulzivan* in (5a) is a completely unjustified Anglicism, even though it cannot be translated literally into Serbian as *pogonski, pokretan* and requires a creative approach in translating. The Anglicism in (6a) is also completely unjustified, because there is a domestic word with the same general meaning (*primena*); however, if one bears in mind an extralinguistic level, one may add that this Anglicism has been used so often that it almost acquired the status of a professional business term, which would make its use in this register justified. Finally, the example in (7a) presents a recent Anglicism, denoting a decentralized organization of business (central service and decentralized production units); it may be justified as a specific, new term in the business register or a posssible Serbian translation should be sought (for example, *fragmentirana kompanija*).

The following examples are excerpted from the same journal:

(8) a) *pouzdane* ***klijent/server usluge*** (IS 83)
b) *reliable* ***client/server services***

(9) a) ***kontinualno*** *učenje* (IS 93)
b) ***continuous*** *education*

(10) a) *...moderni* ***računarski-zasnovani*** *sistemi su ...*(IS 113)
b) *...advanced* ***computer-based*** *systems are...*

The quoted examples also indicate some of the problems in professional texts. In (8a) the nouns in premodification should follow the head noun (*usluge klijent/server*) and the noun *server* is difficult to translate except descriptively (with a rather long structure meaning 'those who offer services'); still, the noun *server* is unjustified in this context even though it may fill a lexical gap and be accepted in frequent use. The adjective in (9a) illustrates another problem: an incorrect

morphological adaptation of an English adjective, because there is an adjective *kontinuiran*. Finally, (10a) contains a literally translated English phrase *computer-based*, which should have been translated with a relative clause *sistemi zasnovani na kompjuterima/računarima*.

The last group of examples relevant for the discussion about linguistic and extralinguistic components in translation is the one related to religion and religious art. When it comes to the Serbian and English tradition, this field represents a particular challenge for the translator, who has to make difficult decisions and often try to offer best solutions. The following examples are taken from the book *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo* (abbreviated as SZS) by Leposava Šelmić which was published in Serbian and English. This Serbian text was translated into English by the author of this paper, so the following examples would point to personal translation experience and dilemmas:

(11) a) *...delatnosti istaknutog vizantijskog umetnika* ***Manojla Panselina*** *...* (SZS 53)
b) *...outstanding Byzantine artist* ***Manuel Panselinos****...*

(12) a) *... Bogorodice* ***Kukuzelise*** *u manastiru Lavri...* (SZS 53)
b) *...the Virgin* ***Koukouzeles*** *...in the Lavra Monastery...*

(13) a) *...slovenskh svetitelja tzv.* ***Sedmočislenika*** *...* (SZS 61)
b) *...Slavic saints, the so-called* ***Seven****...*

These examples illustrate several problems. Thus a small research on the Internet was necessary to find the English equivalent and spelling for the name of the artist in (11a); in (12a) the translator should familiarize with the story to be able to translate the attribute *Kukuzelisa* – namely, that the Byzantine chanter Ioannis (John) Koukouzeles once fell asleep in front of the icon of the Virgin and had a vision of the Virgin in his sleep; upon waking up, he found a golden coin in his hand, so this miraculous icon is called the Virgin Koukouzeles (*Sveta Gora – čudotvorne ikone*, www.atlantserbs.com/earnmore/library/cudotvorne-ikone.html). Finally, the name *Sedmočislenici* refers to Slavic saints Cyril, Methodius and their five disciples, which one should know before translating the term (*Enciklopedija pravoslavlja* 2002: 1725).

The following examples are also excerpted from Šelmić 2004 (abbreviated as SZS):

(14) a) ...monumentalno slikanim ***Priugotovljenim prestolom*** ... (SZS 039)
b) ...with the monumentally painted ***Prepared Empty Throne (Hetoimasia)***... (SZS 038)

(15) a) ...u **Srpskom Kovinu** i **Stonom Beogradu**... (SZS 063)
b) ...in **Srpski Kovin** and **Stoni Beograd**... (SZS 062)

(16) a) ...kao poreznik u **Jegri.** (SZS 065)
b) ...as a tax-collector in **Eger (Jergra)**. (SZS 064)

(17)a) ...**Biblija Ektipa Kristofa Vajgla** ... (SZS 081)
b) ...**Christoph Weigel's Biblia Ectypa**... (SZS 080)

(18) a) **Nedremano oko** (SZS 170)
b) **The Unsleeping Eye** (SZS 170)

These examples point to the need to search for extralinguistic data, first in order to clarify the expression in the source language to be translated into English, and then to find the correct translation. The name of one part of the fresco painting mentioned in (14a), *priugotovljeni presto,* indicates a notion from eastern, Orthodox Christianity: actually, the reference book *Enciklopedija pravoslavlja* (2002: 2010) has the entry *hetimasija* (Greek: *hetoimasia*) which indicates *ugotovljeni presto*, the empty throne on which the signs of Christ's passion are placed. Thus the English translation in (14b) includes a description which should help the readers from the English-speaking world to grasp it, and then adds the original Greek term (Novakov 2008:123). Translational problem or dilemma in (15a) and (16a) relates to the names of geographical places in Hungary. In (15a), these are the names of two places in which the Serbs were settled: *Srpski Kovin* and *Stoni Beograd*. The names could be left as they stand in the translation (15b), but it could be also useful to add the Hungarian names in brackets – *Ráckeve* for the first, and *Székesfehérvár* for the second name (*Wikipedia*, Novakov 2008:125, *Enciklopedija pravoslavlja* 2002). *Jegra* in (16a) refers to the town of Eger; in this case, it is not necessary to mention both the Serbian and the Hungarian name in the translation, because the Serbian name is just a morpho-phonological adaptation of the original Hungarian name, but the Serbian name can be optionally mentioned in brackets. The example (17a) contains a personal name and the name of a particular edition of the Bible; the translator has to find the original spelling of the personal name and the original title of the edition, which requires a search for extralinguistic information; so it is *Biblia Ectypa* designed by Christoph Weigel, the Bible with engravings as illustrations (Novakov 2008: 125). Finally, in (18a) the phrase *nedremano oko* was to be translated into English; clarification of the phrase can be found in *Enciklopedija pravoslavlja* (2002: 1295) – it indicates protective vigilance of Christ and its translation is *the unsleeping eye* (18b), not *the all-seeing eye* (*svevideće oko*) which is a similar, but not equal concept (eye of god watching over humankind, cf. *Wikipedia*).

Finally, one of the translational challenges to be mentioned in this paper is the attribute of the saints in the Serbian Orthodox tradition, which is particularly pronounced when translating the names of icons and saints depicted in these icons. The following examples and their translations are taken from *Rečnik pravoslavlja* (Vukičević 2004, abbreviated as RP):

(19) a) *Jovan* ***Močalnik****/Jovan* ***Ćutljivi***
b) *John* ***the Silent*** (RP)
(20) a) *Jovan* ***Lestvičnik***
b) *John* ***Climacus*** (RP)
(21) a) *Teodor* ***Lektor***
b) *Theodore* ***the Reader*** (RP)
(22) a) *Ilija* ***Gromovnik***
b) *Elijah* ***the Thunderer*** (RP)
(23) a) *Teodor* ***Osvećeni***
b) *Theodore* ***the Sanctified*** (RP)

The translation problems with these attributes may stem from the archaic expressions not transparent to the contemporary reader or from the necessity to find the English word typically used in this register. For example, *Ćutljivi* in (19a) is transparent, but its older version *Močalnik* is not; one should know some Russian to be able to understand it. The attribute in (20a) is a real translation problem, because one should know the story about *Jovan Lestvičnik,* which belongs to the common Christian tradition (for example, it can be found in *Enciklopedija pravoslavlja* 2002), to be able to understand the meaning of the attribute; moreover, the translator has to find the term used in the English tradition. So the Internet search (for example, *Wikipedia*) shows that this saint is also known as *John of the Ladder* because of his work *Ladder of Divine Ascent* (*Wikipedia*); however, his attribute is typically not translated with this English word, but with a Latinized original Greek attribute (Vukičević 2004, *Wikipedia*). The examples in (21a), (22a) and (23a) are easier to grasp and translate, but one still has to choose the attribute actually used by the Church, not just invent the possible translation equivalent (even though it may be correct).

3. Conclusion

Starting from the assumption that translation is a multicomponent process, this paper tried to underline the role of extralinguistic component for a successful translation (English–Serbian and vice versa). To that end, the paper presented groups of examples which illustrated several typical contexts with the interaction of linguistic and extralinguistic insights. Thus the paper pointed to literal translations related to the lack of extralinguistic knowledge (example 2a) and possibly insufficient linguistic knowledge (examples 2b, 2c and 4). The second group of examples discussed some relatively recent Anglicisms in the business register, stating that some of them are unjustified and some could develop into fully accepted professional terms which cover a lexical gap or offer a shorter expression for a given concept. The third group of examples was related to the terms and names belonging to religious art (wall painting and icons); to find the best translation equivalents in these cases it was often necessary to conduct a small research and find out the story behind a name or a phrase.

Therefore, this discussion underlined the complexity of translation and the usual phases and procedures the translator goes through in order to find the best solutions, as well as the decisions he or she has to make while evaluating pragmatic and stylistic components in the original text. Among other difficult choices, it seems that the decisions related to using Anglicisms (internationally recognized, but still not completely adopted in the Serbian language) or to trying to find the best domestic equivalent cause some of the most difficult choices: the translators have to weigh nuances applying sometimes subjective assessments according to their linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge.

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FUNCTION OF NON-HEADS IN ENGLISH ADJECTIVAL COMPOUNDS WITH DEVERBATIVE HEAD WORDS

Abstract Adjectival synthetic compounds consist of a deverbative head word (HW) and the non-head which is linked to the verb argument structure, as the non-head functions as the internal argument of the verb (complement): *time-consuming (job) > consuming > to consume > to consume time > time-consuming*. However, the presence of a deverbative HW is not necessarily an indicator of a synthetic compound, as the non-head may also be a projection of an adjunct, cf. *winter-flowering (plant) > *to flower winter > to flower in the winter (in the winter > adjunct)*. Therefore, the main goal of this paper is to provide a new classification of adjectival compounds in light of synthetic-deverbative distinction. The primary source of data is the British National Corpus (BNC), from which 200 endocentric adjectival compounds with deverbative HWs were collected and analysed.

Key words: synthetic compound, complement, adjunct, function, head, non-head.

1. Introduction

Compounding is acknowledged to be a very productive word-formation process in English. In addition, compounds are words with a precisely-defined internal structure, based on the relationship between the head word (HW) and the dependent (the non-head). Based on the morphological profile of the HW, compounds can be divided into root (or primary) and synthetic compounds. Root compounds have non-deverbative HWs, e.g. *house* in *doghouse*, or *yellow* in *lemon-yellow (coat)*, while the HWs of synthetic compounds are deverbative words, such as *maker* in *money-maker* and *consuming* in *time-consuming (job)* etc. In the linguistic literature, the term synthetic is usually linked to the verb argument structure (Roeper and Siegel 1978, Selkirk 1982, Di Sciullo and Williams 1987), as the non-head is the internal argument of the verb, i.e. it fulfils the function of the complement of the verb, cf. *truck driver > to drive a truck*. Bearing in mind the high level of productivity of nominal compounds, it is not surprising at all that synthetic compounds of this type are frequently the focus of various linguistic studies (Selkirk 1982, Lieber 2004, Plag 2003, Radford 1997, Haspelmath 2002, Katamba 1993, Spencer 1991). On the other hand, it is quite surprising that the linguistic literature often neglects other types of synthetic compound, and does not say much about the distinction between synthetic vs. deverbative compounds. This may be misleading,

as the term synthetic might be understood as a synonym for a deverbative compound, which is certainly not the case. In other words, the presence of a deverbative HW in either nominal or adjectival synthetic compounds is not necessarily a guarantee that the non-head is a projection of the complement, cf. *hand-writing > to write by hand*, cf. * *to write hand* or *winter-flowering > to flower in the winter*, cf. * *to flower winter*.

2. Corpus, goal and criteria

In this paper, we analyse the group of adjectival compounds with deverbative HWs. The primary source of data is the British National Corpus (hereinafter BNC), from which 200 endocentric adjectival compounds have been collected and analysed. In this paper, we present selected examples which represent a summary of our findings and final conclusions. The main goal of this analysis is to produce a new classification of adjectival compounds in light of a synthetic-deverbative distinction. The following criteria were employed:

1. An adjectival -ing/-ed/-en compound is considered to be synthetic if and only if:

a) the non-head functions as a complement of the verb (following X-bar rules), cf. *time-consuming > to consume time > time* = complement;

b) the HW (-ing or -ed/-en participial adjective) cannot be found as a single pre-modifier of a noun in the BNC, cf. **killed (people) > brutally-killed (people)*; **a looking (man) > a good-looking (man)*. In such cases, the status of the non-head is considered 'obligatory'.

2. An adjectival -ing or -ed/-en compound is considered non-synthetic if and only if:

a) the non-head does not function as a complement of the verb (following X-bar rules): cf. *winter-flowering (plant) > to flower in the winter > in the winter* = adjunct. Bearing in mind that adjuncts are usually optional elements, cf. *They have found a suitcase (recently) > a recently-found (suitcase)*, but also the fact that sometimes, as in *A child behaves well > a well-behaved (child)*, an adverb may be required by the verb, in such cases, adjuncts are considered to be *obligatory adjuncts* (Hasselgård 2010: 124);

b) the HW (-ing or -ed/-en participial adjective) can be found as a single pre-modifier of a noun in the BNC, cf. *a computer-controlled system > a controlled system.* In such cases, the status of the non-head is considered to be 'optional'.

3. Synthetic compounds

According to the criteria defined in the previous section, typical examples of synthetic adjectival compounds are given in (2):

(2) Noun + -ing participial adjective

(a) *time-consuming (job) > to consume time*

(b) *guitar-playing (singer) > to play a guitar*

(c) *wine-producing (country) > to produce wine*

The non-heads in (2), as they are usually non-derived nouns (*time*, *guitar* and *wine*), function as a complement of a transitive verb, as illustrated by the example of *time-consuming (job)* and the tree diagram in Figure 1:

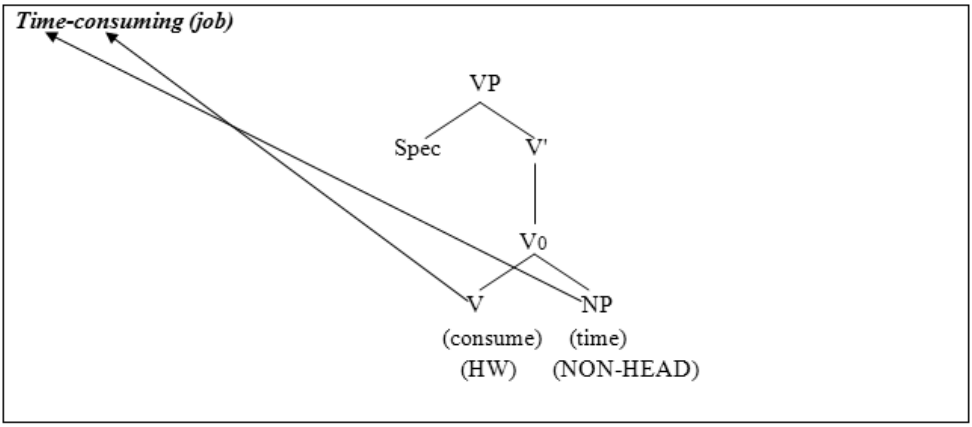

Figure 1

In addition to the examples given in (2), the examples shown in (4) may also be considered synthetic, due to the complement-oriented function of the non-head:

(4) Adjective + -ing participial adjective

(a) *good-looking (man) > to look good*

(b) *foul-smelling (shirt) > to smell foul*

(c) *lovely-sounding (song) > to sound lovely*

Namely, if we look at the examples in (4), we can see that the -ing participial adjectives *looking*, *smelling* and *sounding* are derived from linking verbs (*to look*, *to smell*, *to sound*). In addition, as the linking verbs are not transitive but verbs of incomplete predication, which require either a noun phrase (NP) or an adjective phrase (AdjP) to realise their respective meanings, this group of compounds may be considered synthetic due to the fact that in (4), the non-head functions as a (predicative) complement which is realised by the AdjP.

As the examples in (2) and (4) are, on the one hand, different due to their use of different types of complementation (copular vs. transitive), but also, on the other hand, similar because the non-head is a projection of the complement, this group of compounds may be further divided into two sub-groups: (a) a group of typical synthetic adjectival compounds, in which the HW is derived from a transitive verb; and (b) a group of atypical synthetic adjectival compounds, in which the HW is derived from a linking verb.

The non-heads in (2) and (4) have an obligatory status, as no examples of **a consuming job*, **a producing country*, **a playing singer*, **a looking man*, **a smelling shirt* or **a sounding song*[1] were found in the BNC.

4. Non-synthetic compounds

As previously mentioned, the presence of a deverbative adjective is not automatically an indicator of a synthetic compound. In other words, if the non-head within a compound does not function as a complement, such compounds are called non-synthetic.

Typical examples of non-synthetic compounds are given in (5) and (6):

(5) Noun/adverb + -ing participial adjective

(a) *winter-flowering (plant) > *to flower winter > to flower in the winter*

(b) *floor-standing (lamp) > *to stand floor > to stand on the floor*

(c) *hard-working (mother) > to work hard*

(d) *gradually-weakening (economy) > to weaken gradually*

(e) *rapidly-rising employment (rate) > to rise rapidly*

(f) *fast-moving (train) > to move fast*

(6) Noun/adverb + -ed/-en participial adjective

(a) *computer-controlled (system) > to control X*[2] *by computer*

(b) *malaria-infected (man) > to infect X with malaria*

(c) *now retired (schoolmaster) > to retire X now*

(d) *barely deserved (victory) > to deserve X barely*

The non-heads in (5) and (6) function as adjuncts, as illustrated by the example of *winter-flowering (plant)* and the tree diagram (Figure 2):

[1] Not to be confused with highly lexicalised expressions such as *looking glass*, *sounding board*, etc. According to the BNC, *looking* is rarely combined with word classes other than nouns (only one example of a noun + *-ing* (*looking*) participial adjective was found in the BNC: *evil-looking bloke* – BNC/J1J 1222).

[2] X stands for an NP.

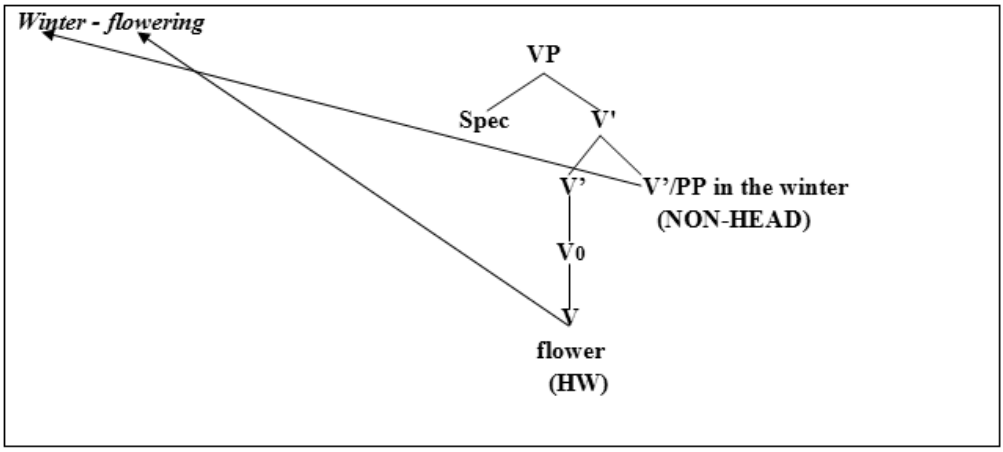

Figure 2

Morphologically speaking, the non-heads in (5) and (6) are usually non-derived nouns, e.g. *winter*, *floor*, *computer* or *malaria*, or *-ly* adverbs, e.g. *rapidly*, *barely* or *gradually*. In terms of their status, the non-heads are considered to be optional because, as confirmed by the BNC, the participial adjectives in (5) and (6) can be used as single pre-modifiers of nouns, as given in Tables (8) - (11):

-ing participial adjective with a noun modifier (optional pre-modification)	-ing participial adjective as a single pre-modifier of a noun (BNC)
winter-flowering (plant)	*a flowering plant* (BNC/B06 1894)
floor-standing (lamp)	*a standing lamp C60103-13* (BNC/BMT 985)

(8) -ing participial adjectives with/without a noun modifier

-ing participial adjective with an adverb modifier (optional pre-modification)	-ing participial adjective as a single pre-modifier of a noun (BNC)
hard-working mother	*a working mother* (BNC/AKU 670)
gradually weakening economy	*a weakening economy* (BNC/HL7 4655)
rapidly rising employment	*rising employment* (BNC/HLR 1771)
fast moving train	*a moving train* (BNC/AHP 45)

(9) -ing participial adjectives with/without an adverb modifier

-ed/-en participial adjective with a noun modifier (optional pre-modification)	-ed/-en participial adjective as a single pre-modifier of a noun (BNC)
computer-controlled system	*a controlled system* (BNC/J53 101)
malaria-infected man	*an infected person* (BNC/A0J 801)

(10) -ed/-en participial adjectives with/without a noun modifier

-ed/-en participial adjective with an adverb modifier (optional pre-modification)	-ed/-en participial adjective as a single pre-modifier of a noun (BNC)
now retired schoolmaster	*a retired schoolmaster* (BNC/A1U 97)
barely deserved victory	*a deserved victory* (BNC/KS7 1123)

(11) -ed/-en participial adjectives with/without an adverb modifier

In addition, the examples in (12) and (13) may also be considered to be non-synthetic, as the non-heads in all of the examples apart from (12c) function as an adjunct at the phrase level, while the non-head in (12c) is a projection of an external argument of the verb, i.e. the subject:

(12) Noun + -ed/-en participial adjective

(a) *London-based (company)* > to base X in London > * X based.

(b) *job-oriented (person)* > to orient X towards a job > * X oriented.

(c) *state-owned (company)* > the state[3] owns X > * X owns a state[4].

(13) Adverb + -ed/-en participial adjective

(a) *recently-found (suitcase)* > to find X recently > * X has/have found recently.

(b) *mistakenly-killed (secretary)* > to kill X mistakenly > * X has killed mistakenly.

(c) *recently-obtained (permission)* > to obtain X recently > * X has obtained recently.

(d) *well-behaved (child)* > to behave well > *X behaves.

(e) *well-spoken (woman)* > to speak well > *X speaks.

However, it is interesting that the non-heads in (12) and (13) actually have an obligatory status because the participial adjectives in (12) and (13) were not found as single pre-modifiers of nouns in the BNC, as illustrated in Tables (14) and (15):

-ed/-en participial adjective with a noun modifier	-ed/-en participial adjective as a single pre-modifier of a noun (BNC)
state-owned company	**a/the/Ø owned (NP[5]) (not found)*
London-based company	**a/the/Ø based (NP) (not found)*
job-oriented person	**a/the/Ø oriented (NP) (not found)*

(14) -ed/-en participial adjectives with a noun modifier (obligatory pre-modification)

[3] For more information, see Plag (2003).

[4] As the verb *to own* is a transitive verb, and therefore it is possible to say *to own a house* or *to own a car* (in some specific contexts, *to own a state* might be acceptable). However, in the case of compounds with HWs derived from the verb *to own*, the non-head functions as the external argument, and not the complement, cf. *to own a car* > * *a car-owned (person)* vs. *the state owns a car* > *a state-owned car*.

[5] (NP) - Noun Phrase

-ed/-en participial adjective with an adverb modifier	-ed/-en participial adjective as a single pre-modifier of a noun (BNC)
recently-found (suitcase)	**a/the/Ø found (NP) (not found)*
mistakenly-killed (secretary)	**a/the/Ø killed (NP) (not found)*
recently-obtained (permission)	**a/the/Ø made (NP) (not found)*
well-behaved (child)	**a/the/Ø behaved (NP) (not found)*
well-spoken (woman)	**a/the/Ø spoken (NP) (not found)*

(15) -ed/-en participial adjectives with an adverb modifier (obligatory pre-modification)

Although these examples have been recognised in contemporary grammar books as participial adjectives which 'become acceptable when modified by adverbs,' such as: *a sold car > a recently sold car and *a built house > a well-built house (Quirk et al. 1985: 1328), the obligatory status of the non-head in (13) is fairly surprising, especially if we take into consideration the completely optional status of an adjunct at the phrase/sentence level: *They have found a suitcase (recently) > a recently-found suitcase > *a found-suitcase > *a suitcase-found (person)*. However, as pointed out by Quirk et al. (1985: 1328), 'exceptions to the general rule suggest that the semantic and aspectual factors are more complicated than we have indicated,' meaning that the key issue is not the unacceptability of examples such as **a sold car* or **a found suitcase*, but their linguistic interpretation. In line with this theory, it is worth mentioning that this group of participial adjectives has been discussed in detail in *A Contrastive Study of Passive Participle in English and Bosnian* (Arnaut-Karović 2008), in which this group of participial adjectives is considered to constitute a passive participial phrase in which the specifier of the maximal projection must be occupied by a certain pre-modifier in order to allow participles such as *killed* or *lost* to be used attributively. However, as the main purpose of this paper is not to analyse the compound groups in (14) and (15), but to produce a classification of all adjectival compounds with a deverbative HW, we will close this discussion by summarising the newly-proposed classification groups in accordance with our findings and conclusions, as follows:

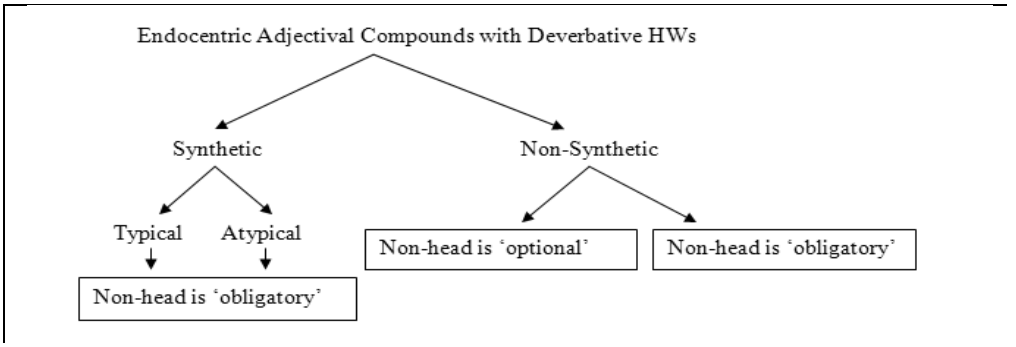

Figure 3

5. Conclusions

In line with the results of our analysis, we conclude that English endocentric adjectival compounds with deverbative HWs (-ing or -ed/-en participial adjectives) may be divided into two large groups: synthetic and non-synthetic adjectival compounds.

Synthetic adjectival compounds are those in which:

a) the HW is derived from either transitive or linking verbs (typical vs. atypical synthetic compounds),

b) the non-head functions as the complement at the phrase level (copulative vs. transitive complementation), and

c) the non-head has an obligatory status within a compound, meaning that the participial adjectives acting as the HW of such compounds cannot be used attributively as single pre-modifiers of nouns.

Examples of such compounds include *time-consuming (job)*, cf. **consuming (job)* and *good-looking (man)*, cf. **a looking (man)*, etc.

In contrast to synthetic compounds, non-synthetic compounds are those in which:

a) the HW is derived from either transitive or intransitive verbs (but not linking verbs),

b) the non-head does not function as a complement but rather as an adjunct, or occasionally as an agent argument of the verb (as in *state-owned (company)*), and

c) the non-head may have either an optional or an obligatory status, depending on whether or not the participial adjective acting as the HW of the compound may be used as a single pre-modifier of a noun, cf. *a winter-flowering (plant) > a flowering plant*; vs. *a London-based (company) > *a based company*.

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NEGATION AS A MEANS OF CONTRASTING OR CHALLENGING ELEMENTS OF INTERTEXTUAL CONTEXT

Abstract The aim of this paper is to analyse negation in intertextual context. We adopt the view that negation is inherently marked and that it is used in more complex presuppositional contexts in which corresponding affirmatives have already been discussed or in which the speaker/writer assumes the hearer's/reader's belief in and familiarity with corresponding affirmative. In order to show this, we must take into account both explicit and implicit negation. The methodology used in this research is corpus analysis. The corpus consists of reports sent by the High Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Secretary General of the United Nations. These documents will be analysed as part of a wider extra-linguistic context set in the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. This study is expected to show that negation in natural language does not operate according to the rules of logic, but has rather distinct discoursal functions such as denying presuppositions, beliefs, and expectations.

Key Words: negation, discourse, genre, intertextuality, presupposition, context, post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.

1. Introduction

According to Larry Horn, who has dealt with different aspects of negation throughout his linguistic career and who successfully continues to do so, producing some of the most illuminating insights when semantic and pragmatic theory in general is concerned, negation is "to the linguist and linguistic philosopher as fruit to Tantalus: waving seductively, alluringly palpable, yet just out of reach, within the grasp only to escape once more". (Horn 1989: xiv) With this, Horn manages to capture the true nature of negation, which has been seducing both philosophers and linguists ever since the earliest beginnings of logic and philosophy, both East and West. However, in spite of this complexity and elusiveness, we will try to pinpoint one aspect of negation and concentrate on it, rather than on the whole of negation, which would be an almost impossible task. Thus, the aim of this paper is to focus on the function of negation in discourse, more precisely on one of the numerous functions that negation can have in discourse, and that is the function of denying

presuppositions, beliefs, and expectations in intertextual context.[1] In order to do this, we had to take into consideration both explicit and implicit negation, as well as linguistic and extra-linguistic context in which it appears. Assuming that meaning is not a constant but that it is generated in the context, we take the context to be one of the variables that have to be taken into consideration when determining the function and meaning of negation in natural languages. Before we go any further in the analysis, we would like to define in somewhat general terms the subject matter of this paper and that is negation, then a theoretical framework within which the analysis will be undertaken, and finally the corpus and the context in which negation has been analysed.

2. Definition of negation and its relationship with presupposition

There is a dramatic contrast between the superficial simplicity of logical negation (reversing the truth value of a proposition, i.e. not-p is true if and only if p is false) and the complexity of the form and function of negative sentences in actual use.[2] (Horn, Kato 2000:1) In natural language, negation has, in addition to its strictly logical aspect, a huge pragmatic component that cannot be predicted from logic. (Givón 1978, 2002) Many authors agree that negation is inherently more marked in terms of pragmatic-discoursal presuppositions, in addition to its being morphologically, syntactically and semantically marked (languages apply different syntactic devices to express negation, and in terms of semantics, negatives are generally less informative than their positive counterparts). (Israel 2004). This means that negatives are uttered in a context where corresponding affirmatives have been discussed or where the speaker assumes the hearer's belief in and familiarity with the corresponding affirmative. (Givón 1978, 2002; Horn 1978a, 1978b) Psycholinguistic and combined pragmatic, discourse and psycholinguistic research

[1] Giora (2006) mentions a number of discourse roles or functions of negation. Apart from the denial of propositions asserted in the text and denial of presuppositions, beliefs, and expectations, there are also rejection, implicating the opposite of what is said, eliminating concepts within the scope of negation so that their accessibility is reduced, producing metalinguistic negation, effecting mitigation rather than elimination of concepts, intensifying, suggesting comparisons, etc. (Giora 2006: 982) Tottie (1991) mentions, besides denial and rejection, also the use of negatives as supports in conversation, use of negatives in direct questions to express speaker's opinion, self-correction or repair as causes for repetition, repetition for emphasis, etc. (Tottie 1991: 35-36)

[2] Logical negation (in terms of classical logic) can be presented in the truth table:

A	~A
T	F
F	T
#	#

which reads: if A is true ~A (~ is a symbol for a negative operator) is false, and if A is false ~A is true; if A is neither true nor false (symbolized by #) then ~A is neither true nor false. (McCawley 1993: 327) See also Allwood *et al*. 1977; Horn 1989.

has successfully demonstrated that the processing of negation depends on the context and on the fact whether true or false propositions have been affirmed or negated respectively. As Fraenkel and Schul say, the context may be the most potent factor in explaining the function and meaning of negation, with the least amount of research to uncover its effect.[3] (Fraenkel, Schul 2008: 537) There have been, however, studies other than psycholinguistic experiments, in which negation has been analysed in context and in which very interesting results have been obtained, most notably Giora 1994, Pagano 1994, Jordan 1998, Hidalgo-Downing 2000 and Nahajec 2009.

Giora (1994) analysed negation in mainly political contexts (e.g. Menachem Begin's speech in Israel in 1981, Anwar Sadat's peace speech before the Israeli Knesset in 1977, etc.), and she concluded that negation, among other things, can be used as a means to imply without asserting and that is why it is often employed in political discourse. Thus, saying "it isn't the case that X" may pragmatically imply "it's the case that Y". (Giora 1994: 111) As Giora says, messages are politically advantageous if they are easy for the speaker to deny or difficult for the addressee to reject, and this is what sometimes can be achieved by the use of negation. (Giora 1994: 104)

Hidalgo-Downing (2000) and Nahajec (2009) analyse negation in the context of fiction (Heller's *Catch-22*) and poetry respectively. Hidalgo-Downing (2000) studies negation within the framework of text world theory, and concludes that, in terms of cognitive organization of the discourse, negation projects a non-factual domain triggered by a negative word which contrasts with the states of affairs described in the text world. From the point of view of its function as a discourse element, negation contributes to the general function of updating information, and thus it determines the direction of the ongoing discourse. (Hidalgo-Downing 2000: 222)

Nahajec (2009) agrees with Giora when she observes that, viewed as a pragmatic phenomenon, negation operates to activate implied rather than explicit meaning. Furthermore, she claims that negation is essentially context-dependent. Namely, in order to understand a negated proposition, a reader or hearer must cognitively process both the semantic content of the proposition, and also its context of use, both the local context of the preceding text and the larger context of the text's production including the social and cultural knowledge shared by writer or speaker on the one hand and reader and hearer on the other. (Nahajec 2009: 109-110)

Pagano (1994) uses Tottie's (1991) terminology when it comes to two types of negation in natural languages, and these are rejection and denial. According to Tottie

[3] But see Beltrán *et al*. 2008 for context effects on negation, where one of the main conclusions of their experiments is that when people are prompted to describe a state of affairs and it is not accessible in an affirmative way, they are most likely to produce negative utterances even though there is no expected presupposition do deny. Thus, besides rejecting presuppositions, negations may also be triggered by other contexts, such as the context that involves some degree of uncertainty or low informativeness. (Beltrán *et al*. 2008: 418)

(1991), rejection includes refusals as well, and it is used to reject explicit suggestions. Denial, on the other hand, can be divided into explicit and implicit denial, depending on whether what is denied has been explicitly asserted or not in the preceding text. (Tottie 1991: 16) Implicit denial is thus not a denial that is implicit in a particular context, but a denial that denies what has been implied in that context. Pagano (1994) raises interesting questions as regards implicit denials as to what the producer has in mind to cause him to produce a denial, why a particular assertion should be implicit in a particular situation and why a denial fits the context in which it appears. (Pagano 1994: 253) She classifies the reasons why writers make implicit denials in 4 categories: denials of background information, denials of text-processed information, unfulfilled expectations, and contrasts. (Pagano 1994: 258)

Jordan (1998) also claims that many denials are involved with the negation of a presupposition in the mind of readers and listeners at the moment the communication is made (what Tottie and Pagano call implicit denials), and that pragmatic understanding of negation must not be restricted to an assumption that the readers' presupposition has been created earlier in the text. (Jordan 1998: 711-712) What all these authors have in common is the recognition of the importance of context in understanding negation and the fact that one of the most common functions of negation in context is to deny presupposition.

In this place it would be appropriate to briefly comment on the difference between semantic and pragmatic presupposition in order not to stir up confusion as to what is meant when presupposition is mentioned in this paper. According to McCawley (1993), semantic presupposition is a relationship between two propositions, whereas pragmatic presupposition is a relationship between an utterance and a proposition. (McCawley 1993: 328-329) According to most accounts of presupposition, presuppositions cannot be cancelled, i.e. they are not vulnerable to negation. Thus the negation of the verb *regret* does not cancel the presupposition that such a verb triggers. I will borrow an example from McCawley:

(1) Bush regrets that he named Noriega attorney general.

(2) Bush does not regret that he named Noriega attorney general.

(McCawley 1993: 329)

Both (1) and (2) presuppose that Bush named Noriega attorney general. However, Leech (1981) claims that despite the oddity of the following example, it must be acknowledged to make sense:

(3) I don't regret leaving London – actually I have never left it.

(Leech 1981: 287)

Leech says that according to the negation test sentences like (3) ought to be nonsensical, and yet, at least when uttered with the special contrastive stress, they are not.[4] (Leech 1981: 286) As presupposition triggers many authors mention the

[4] Cf. in this sense the concept of metalinguistic negation as discussed in Horn 1985; 1989: 362-444; van der Sandt 1991; Foolen 1991; Carston 1996; 2002; Chapman 1996; Geurts 1998; Burton-

relation of possession, premodification by participles, pseudo-cleft and cleft sentences, adverbial clauses, comparative clauses, factive verbs, implicative verbs, nominalisations.[5] Leech (1981) argues for a set of conditions for a presupposition. These conditions are in part semantic in that they derive from a semantic representation X the potential presuppositions of X. But the set of conditions also includes pragmatic conditions. In a pragmatic view of presupposition, a distinction is made between presupposition and assertion, where presupposition is that part of the content of an utterance which is treated as if it is familiar, and assertion is that part which is treated as if unfamiliar, new, or informative, and this is exactly the position that will be taken in this paper.[6] (Leech 1981: 286-287) Leech (1981) also claims that pragmatic presupposition can be thought of as basic to the progress of communicative discourse. When two people engage in communication they share all kinds of background knowledge, and as the conversation progresses, its context progresses, in the sense that new elements are added to the pool of knowledge that can be taken for granted. Any utterance belonging to a discourse will tend to contain elements of meaning which are presupposed in that they are already part of the context or pragmatic universe of discourse, and elements that are asserted, i.e. they are not part of that context. (Leech 1981: 288) In addition to this, Leech states something that is also widely discussed in both discourse and critical discourse analysis, and that is the fact that the common ground between speaker and hearer is not what is actually shared by the minds of speaker and hearer, but what the speaker, for the purpose of the discourse, assumes that they share. Hence a speaker may (either by mistake, or by design – which is what critical discourse analysts claim) inappropriately presuppose something of which the hearer may be ignorant. (Leech 1981: 289) In this way, a speaker may actually create presuppositions, even if they do not really correspond to the actual state of affairs, in order to manipulate the hearer or reader into taking something for granted. According to Fairclough (1989), presuppositions are not properties of texts but an aspect of text producers' interpretations of intertextual context. (Fairclough 1989: 152) He says that presuppositions can be sincere or manipulative. They can also have ideological functions, when what they assume has the character of "common sense in the service of power". Fairclough (1989) illustrates his point with expressions like *the Soviet*

Roberts 1999. For more recent discussions about metalinguistic negation see Davis 2011 and Pitts 2011.

[5] Cf. Karttunen 1973; Leech 1981: 283-284; Levinson 1983: 167-225; McCawley 1993: 330-346. Cf. also Karttunen and Peters 1976, who treat all these syntactic structures not as presupposition-triggers but as triggers of conventional implicature. (Karttunen, Peters 1976: 11)

[6] Note that Levinson (1983) says that general pragmatic effects of foregrounding and backgrounding information within a sentence can be achieved in many ways that are not presuppositional in a narrow sense (i.e. philosophical and linguistic treatments of presupposition deal with a much narrower range of phenomena than are included within the ordinary language sense of the term), e.g. by changing word order, utilizing syntactic subordination, prosodic emphasis or the emphatic particles. There is considerable overlap, but no equivalence, between presuppositional accounts and accounts in terms of the topic / comment distinction. (Levinson 1983: 225)

threat, which become frequently repeated formulae in newspaper reports, and can help to naturalize highly contentious propositions which are presupposed, in this case that there is a threat (to "the West") from the Soviet Union. Such presuppositions do not evoke specific texts or textual series, but are rather attributed to readers' textual experience in a vague way – they make a general appeal to "background knowledge". (Fairclough 1989: 154)

3. Theoretical framework

The complex nature of negation in natural language demands that it be analysed within a very broad theoretical framework, which would comprise semantics, pragmatics and (critical) discourse analysis. Starting from Bolinger's (1980) claim that it is necessary, in describing any part of language, to take it on its own terms, we adopted an eclectic approach towards negation in this paper, trying to take negation on its own terms and trying not to ignore its huge pragmatic component in order for it to fit in a selected theoretical framework. As Bolinger says, a theory can get in the way of explanation, (Bolinger 1980: 53) so we would not like to reduce the multi-faceted richness of negation for the sake of theoretical clarity. This is why it is very important to combine the results as regards negation that have been obtained within a general semantic and pragmatic theory with the results of discourse analysis concerning the importance of contextual effects in generating meaning. According to Bhatia *et al*. (2008), discourse analysis is the analysis of linguistic behavior, written and spoken, beyond the limits of individual sentences, focusing primarily on the meaning constructed and interpreted as language is used in a particular social context. (Bhatia *et al*. 2008: 1) Van Dijk's (2006b) sociocognitive account of context defines contexts not as objective and deterministic constraints of society and culture, but as subjective participant interpretations, constructions or definitions of such aspects of the social environment. Contexts are thus understood as mental constructs, which function as the interface between situational and societal structure on the one hand and discourse structure on the other. (van Dijk 2006b: 163) Contextual control over discourse production and understanding affects all levels and dimensions of text and talk: deictic pronouns, politeness formulas, conditions of speech acts, the selection of appropriate topics or the change of topics, levels of semantic description (i.e. general vs. specific), the distribution of knowledge in assertions and presuppositions, lexicalisation, syntactic structure and intonation. (van Dijk 2006b: 171) Van Dijk (2001) divides context into global and local context. Global contexts are defined by the social, political, cultural and historical structures in which a communicative event takes place, while local contexts are defined in terms of properties of the immediate, interactional situation in which a communicative event takes place. Properties of a local context are its overall domain (i.e. politics, business, etc.), an overall action (legislation, propaganda, etc.), participants in

various communicative and social roles and their intentions, goals, knowledge, norms and other beliefs. (van Dijk 2001: 108) What is important for the present paper is van Dijk's definition of local contexts as a form of mental model of a communicative situation, i.e. as a context model. Such a formulation of a local context allows subjective interpretations of social situations and differences between language users in the same situation, strategically incomplete models, and in general a flexible adaptation of discourse to the social situation, in other words, not the various properties of the local situation that control and constrain text and talk, but the ways language users interpret or define these properties in their mental context models. (van Dijk 2001: 108-109) Context models are crucial in discourse analysis because they represent the interface between mental information (knowledge, beliefs, etc.) about an event and actual meaning being constructed in discourse. (van Dijk 2001: 110) Van Dijk claims that understanding a discourse basically means being able to construct a model for it, and in production it is the mental model of events and situation that forms the starting point of all text and talk. What we usually remember of a discourse is not so much its meaning, as the mental model we construct during comprehension. (van Dijk 2001: 112)

4. Data

The corpus on which the present analysis has been made consists of twenty reports (approximately 100, 000 words) that the High Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the period between 14 March 1996 and 13 September 2001. The global context in which this discourse is situated is the post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina in which, at least for the period immediately after the war in BiH, the High Representative, according to the UN Resolution from 15 December 1995, has been "the final authority in theatre regarding interpretation of Annex 10 on the civilian implementation of the Peace Agreement", and the person who has enjoyed "such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of his functions, including the capacity to contract and to acquire and dispose of real and personal property" (Acts 27, 28, UN Resolution S/RES/1031 (1995). The reports he sends to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and as of 2002 to the European Parliament (as an EU Special Representative for BiH), belong to the institutional genre, except that they are accessible to the general public on the OHR web page (www.ohr.int), unlike many other types of institutional genre, e.g. different contracts, government documents, international treaties, etc.[7] Also, these reports can be said to be part of the political

[7] "Genres are conventionalized discursive actions, in which participating individuals or institutions have shared perceptions of communicative purposes as well as those of constraints operating on their construction, interpretation and conditions of use. In this sense, genres are socially constructed, interpreted and used in specific academic, social, institutional and professional contexts, and have their own individual identity." (Bhatia 2004: 87)

discourse, although the real addressee is not the public in general but the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the European Parliament. In sending the reports and thus describing the situation in BiH, the High Representative is creating a mental model or a representation of the reality for his superiors, upon which they make their decisions regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to Chilton (2004), political discourse involves, among other things, the promotion of representations. It involves the use of language oriented to the communication of conceptualisations of "the world". People communicate among themselves partly in order to coordinate their world conceptions. (Chilton 2004: 201) The local context of the reports that the High Representative sends to his superiors looks like this: its overall domain is politics, its overall action is reporting about HR's work and the work of his Office in Bosnia-Herzegovina during a certain period of time, and its immediate participants are the High Representative and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, while indirect participants are other members of the International Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, politicians and political parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, of course, its citizens. The High Representatives in the said period were Carl Bildt (1996-1997), a Swedish diplomat, Carlos Westendorp (1997-1999), a Spanish diplomat, and Wolfgang Petritsch (1999-2002), an Austrian UN representative and diplomat.[8] All the HR's reports have identical wording in their title, except for the number of the report and the period of time which the report covers, as illustrated below:

11th Report of the High Representative for Implementation of the Peace Agreement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations

Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1031 of 15 December 1995, which requested the Secretary General to submit reports from the High Representative in accordance with Annex 10 of the Peace Agreement and the Conclusions of the London Peace Implementation Conference of 8-9 December 1995, 1 herewith present the eleventh report to the Council

The Report covers the activities of the Office of the High Representative and developments in the areas listed below during the period from the beginning of July 1998 to the end of September 1998

As Bilbija (2005) says, the presence of this preamble is very important because it marks the entire body of text as legitimised discourse. (Bilbija 2005: 53) As far as the format of the reports is concerned, it changed slightly during the said period of time, but in general the reports contain sections on the developments in different areas, such as law, return of displaced persons and refugees, elections, media, human rights, mine clearance, etc. in both the Federation and the Republic of Srpska, as well as in Brčko District.

[8] See also Majstorović 2007 for an overview of the High Representative's discourse in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

5. Negation as a means of challenging or contrasting elements from intertextual context – some examples from the data

In order to illustrate how negation functions as a means of challenging or contrasting elements of intertextual context by denying expectations, beliefs, and presuppositions, we need to look at both explicit and implicit negation. In explicit negation a negative marker *not* or some other overt negative device is used (*no, nothing, never, none, nowhere, nobody, no one, neither, nor*, negative affixes), alongside with adverbs that are negative in meaning but not in form (*barely, hardly, scarcely; rarely, seldom*), and quantifiers (*few, little*). The latter are called approximate negators by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) because they denote imprecise quantification, which is close to zero or approximate to zero in contrast to absolute negators (*never*, *no*, etc.) and verbal negation expressed by *not*, which denote the zero point.[9] (Huddleston, Pullum 2002: 815-816). Implicit negation includes covertly negative lexical items that trigger entailments or implicatures involving negation of the subordinate clause (*avoid, fail, forget, lack; ban, hinder, prevent; deny, reject; doubt, be skeptical; amaze, shock, surprise; absurd, ridiculous*); prepositions *against, before, without*; adverb *only*; degree adverb *too*; comparative and superlative constructions; overt and covert conditionals (Huddleston, Pullum, 2002: 835). In the group of covertly negative lexical items Seuren (2009) differentiates between those where the negation incorporated into predicates actually follows the main verb and thus has scope over the subordinate complement clause (*deny*, *dissuade,* etc.), and those where the negation takes scope over the main verb (*lose sth*, *forge*t, etc.). (Seuren, 2009: 321). In the following two examples we can see the scopal difference between these two groups of lexical items that are covertly negative:

(4) *86. On 15 November, I issued a Decision annulling the RSNA Conclusion from November 10, which suspended evictions of certain categories of persons between 1 November 1999 and 1 April 2000. If allowed to take effect, this RSNA Conclusion would have <u>denied</u> refugees and displaced persons their right to return to their homes during winter. Other than Kiseljak and Kakanj however, where major improvements resulted from my removal of the respective Mayors in November, there has been little progress in Croat-majority areas.*

(16th Report, 3 May 2000)

(5) *Certain key conditions for elections must be improved during the weeks and months ahead. I am particularly concerned with the <u>lack</u> of objectivity of existing media, and my office in cooperation with the OSCE and key countries is trying to facilitate the development of independent media networks across the country in order to improve the climate for the elections.*

[9] *Barely*, *hardly*, *few*, *little*, etc. are called approximate negatives by Jespersen (1917) as well.

(2nd Report, 10 July 1996)

In example (4) the negation incorporated into the predicate *deny* has scope over the complement noun phrase *their right to return to their homes during winter*. If we take Seuren's (2009) analysis of the verb *deny* (deny = assert that not) to be correct, we could paraphrase the sentence from example (4) as follows: "The RSNA Conclusion would have asserted that refugees and displaced persons do not have the right to return to their homes during winter". As opposed to that, the negation incorporated into the nominalisation *lack* (lack = not have) in example (5) has scope over the noun itself, and this sentence could be paraphrased in the following way: "I am particularly concerned with existing media not being objective", or "Existing media do not have objectivity and that concerns me".

In our corpus, we have observed additional examples of implicit negation, e.g. the construction of the type *is/has yet/still to do sth/to be done,* idiomatic expressions like *go down the road of partition*, *pay lip service to*, certain uses of the modal and lexical verb *need,* as well as the noun *need*, the modal verbs *should*, *ought to*, and constructions such as *rather than*, *far from*, *instead of*, etc. To have a clearer view of how these structures and constructions can have inherent negative meaning, let us look at the following two examples:

(6) *32. With the gradual transfer of authority now underway, it is a cause of great concern to me that a large number of Serbs have chosen to leave Sarajevo. The reasons for this are many. The wounds left by 42 months of bitter and brutal war cannot be healed in two or three months. It is also my view that stronger political measures should have been taken by the Bosnian authorities to win Serb confidence in their commitment to a multi-ethnic Sarajevo and Bosnia, and encourage the Serbs to stay. There has also been irresponsible propaganda by key Republika Srpska personalities advocating the ethnic division of the country. Events during the weeks preceding and at the beginning of the transition also fuelled Serb fears and accelerated the exodus.*

(1st Report, 14 March 1996)

(7) *78. A lack of response from the international community in funding of the Department of Civil Aviation as a joint institution has slowed further progress. This will hinder economic recovery in the aviation sector. International efforts centred on the physical development of Sarajevo airfield, minor passenger terminal improvements in Mostar and limited Sarajevo terminal air traffic systems, but have largely ignored safety and support activities that are central to operating the aviation system to International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) standards. In addition, the Department's field staff requirement of approximately 160 persons has yet to be implemented.*

(8th Report, 16 January 1998)

The underlined verb phrase in example (6) implies that Bosnian authorities did not take political measures that would be strong enough to win Serb confidence in

their commitment to a multi-ethnic Sarajevo and Bosnia. The underlined construction in example (7) implies that the Department's field staff requirement has not been implemented.

Out of 2960 examples excerpted from the corpus, more than half of them belong to implicit negation (1967 examples), while there are only 892 examples of explicit negation. Such a low percentage of explicit negation (30.1%) is due to the fact that negation is used much less frequently in written than in spoken discourse. Biber *et al*. (1999) mention different factors that contribute to the very high frequency of negatives in spoken discourse, and one of the most prominent factors among them is the fact that conversation is interactive and invites both agreement and disagreement, while writing generally presents the perspective of a single author. (Biber *et al*. 1999: 159) Tottie (1991) conducted a quantitative corpus analysis of negation in both speech and writing, and her findings show that the frequency of negative expressions was more than twice as high in the spoken texts as in the written texts.[10] (Tottie 1991: 17) She too attributes such high frequency of negatives in spoken discourse to the fact that spoken communication is highly interactive, i.e. there is a constant reversal of roles, whereas written communication is characterized by its low degree of direct interaction between sender and receiver and no role-shifting. (Tottie 1999: 18-19) However, as Tottie herself admits, a receiver is normally present in the mind of the sender, and the absence of "mutual monitoring possibilities" does not preclude cooperation on the part of the sender. (Tottie 1991: 19) What is more, research in discourse analysis demonstrates that the flow of discourse in written texts is basically interactive, and that what is denied by the use of negation does not necessarily have to be explicitly asserted in the text but can also be presupposed.

In the analysed corpus there are also 101 examples of double negation, where two negatives occur cancelling each other and thus expressing an array of meanings.[11] The following example from the corpus contains two instances of double negation:

(8) *6. But almost all progress has required continued and intensive efforts from the international community and in several cases I have had to resort to making interim binding decisions in accordance with my authority under Annex 10 of the Peace Agreement. A crucial moment in the peace implementation process has now been reached. As we approach the end of the consolidation period, the progress made thus far, although substantial, is still <u>not irreversible</u>. Civilian peace implementation in BiH <u>cannot</u> yet proceed <u>without</u> continued international military support.*

(10th Report, 14 July 1998)

[10] She analysed only explicit negatives because it is difficult to list all inherent negatives, spot them in texts, and make a computerized lexical search for them. (Tottie 1991: 6)

[11] For one of the earlier pragmatic treatments of double negation see Horn (1991).

On the surface, the first instance of double negation in example (8), *not irreversible*, yields the following reading "the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not stable yet, and BiH can still return to the condition in which it was during the war and immediately after it". The implicature that can be discerned here is that the presence of the International Community in BiH is still very much needed if we do not want this country to return to war-like circumstances. At the same time, the progress made in implementing the peace process is explicitly mentioned in the sentence, because the HR has to justify all the financial resources that were spent in the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. The implicature that the International Community should stay in BiH in spite of the substantial progress it had made until then is reinforced by the double negation in the next sentence, *cannot yet proceed without*, which, according to the law of double negation, would be interpreted as "can only proceed with". However, when we take both the textual and extra-linguistic context into consideration, we see that this double negation implicates the necessity of the presence of military forces in BiH. Both instances of double negation in example (8) are used to mitigate the fact that both civilian and military segments of the International Community should remain in BiH, and to create the presupposition that without the International Community BiH would return to the previous war-like condition. This presupposition is created with the intention to keep the citizens of BiH in constant fear of war and its consequences, and for the International Community to remain in BiH as long as possible.

The present analysis has further shown that for the purpose of challenging or contrasting elements of intertextual context mainly explicit negation is used (out of 619 examples that illustrate this function of negation in discourse, 453 of them belong to explicit, which is approximately 73%, and only 166 to implicit negation). These findings correspond to claims of many authors that negation is mainly used in more complex presuppositional contexts, i.e. in those contexts in which it is felicitous to deny, challenge, or contrast elements either of textual or intertextual discourse. Fairclough (1989) argues that participants in any discourse operate on the basis of assumptions about which previous discourses the current one is connected to, and their assumptions determine what can be taken as given in the sense of part of common experience, what can be alluded to, disagreed with, challenged, denied, etc. (Fairclough 1989: 145)

With this in mind, let us consider the following example. In it, Carlos Westendorp does not deny the fact that his intention was to introduce superficial changes (which, he admits, is true), but he denies what people might have thought his sole intentions were when he took up the position of HR. In addition to that intention, he intended to do other things as well. In this way, he challenges something which is taken for granted in the present discourse, and not the truth of the fact.

(9) *When I arrived in Sarajevo in the early summer of 1997, my intention was not merely to introduce superficial changes by tackling the minutiae of outstanding small-scale problems. Instead I pledged to identify the*

structures that underpinned radical nationalism, and to transform those structures into the neutral equivalents that exist in Western-style democracies.

(14th Report, 16 July 1999, Annex 1: Assessment of Developments During My Tenure)[12]

Example (9) also illustrates what many linguists call metalinguistic negation, which is, in short, a special or marked use of negation. It is irreducible to the ordinary truth-functional operator, and is presupposition-cancelling. (Horn 1985: 132) It has been usually assumed that metalinguistic negation is used to deny or object to any aspect of a previous utterance – from the conventional or conversational implicata that may be associated with it, to its syntactic, morphological, or phonetic form. (Horn 1985: 144) However, we see here that it can also be used to challenge or object to elements of intertextual context, i.e. to elements that are not present in the text in which negation is used.

In example (10), negation is used to state the fact that expectations regarding paying compensation and complying with different orders had not been met. What relates this example to the previous one is the fact that these expectations are not raised or explicitly mentioned in the text (the RS was expected to pay compensation in the three cases because it was required to do so; the RS was expected to comply with the order of the Human Rights Chamber to provide information on the Father Matanovic case, because it is common knowledge that one should comply with orders since complying with orders is part of felicity conditions of the speech act of ordering; the RS was expected to comply with the order in the Islamic Community case of the Human Rights Chamber for the same reason as in the previous instance). The participants in the discourse are nonetheless familiar with what is being denied, since all these events are part of participants' background or common knowledge and they are therefore taken for granted by the writer of the report.

(10) *70. Continued difficulties are expected, however, in the implementation of the Institutions' recent decisions which require the eviction of current occupants of previously abandoned accommodation. In six of the eight Chamber decisions requiring the payment of compensation from the Federation, relatively large amounts of compensation have been paid. Orders for payment have been given by the Prime Minister to the Minister of Finance in the remaining cases. I remain deeply concerned, however, that the RS has not yet paid compensation in the three cases in which payment has been required. In addition, the RS has not complied with the order of the Human Rights Chamber to provide all available information on the Father Matanovic case involving the disappearance of a priest and his family near the end of the war. In addition, the RS has not complied with the order in the Islamic community case of the Human Rights Chamber in which it must*

[12] The 14th Report contains an annex, which is not a usual part of HR's reports, and which in this case is written by the HR Carlos Westendorp in his last report as HR.

allow for the construction of enclosures and issue permits for the building of mosques in the RS. The deadline for compliance in this case has expired.

(15th Report, 1 November 1999)

In this example, negation is used to express unfulfilled expectations, and these expectations are not explicitly expressed in the text, but are taken for granted. Example (10) is thus another illustration of the fact that explicit negation is for the most part used in more complex presuppositional contexts.[13]

Although implicit negation has not to my knowledge been dealt with regarding its functions in the context, the present analysis shows that it can, though rarely, function as a denial of intertextual elements. Let us look at the following example:

(11) 50. Some practical steps in this direction have been achieved, including the participation of Serbs in the Ilidza Municipal Council and the resumption of the educational program for Serb children in that municipality. However, many of the other arrangements agreed to in the JCC for Sarajevo have yet to be fulfilled by the local authorities; the result is that there has not been a substantial return of Serbs to the Sarajevo area. Federation authorities are not doing enough to regulate the occupation of empty houses by refugees or displaced persons from other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor are they taking sufficient steps to protect Serbs who have chosen to remain in Sarajevo from threats and occasional violent incidents.

(2nd Report, 10 July 1996)

The underlined phrase in example (11) implies that many of the arrangements agreed to in the JCC for Sarajevo have not been fulfilled, thus denying the expectation that they would be. It is to be noted that most examples of implicit negation from the corpus used in this function interact with concessive constructions, and so confirm Jordan's (1998) claim that in concession there are semantic given-new concepts involved, but also deduction and denial. The main clause in a concessive relation is a denial and/or correction of the expected deduction based on the information presented in the subordinate clause. (Jordan 1998: 727) In example (11), we have a concessive conjunct *however* introducing the sentence in which implicit negation has been used. The first two sentences from example (11) can be paraphrased as "Although some practical steps in this direction have been achieved, many of the other arrangements agreed to in the JCC for Sarajevo have not been fulfilled", which means that based on practical steps in this direction that have been achieved it could have been expected that the arrangements

[13] Cf. now famous example by Givón (1978, 1979). He remarks on the oddness of a discourse-initial utterance *Oh, my wife is not pregnant*, when the hearer cannot be expected to assume "that there was some likelihood that my wife was pregnant, that the subject has been under discussion, that it had been considered as a probability, etc." If the hearer cannot make this assumption, Givón notes that he is likely to respond accordingly*, Wait a minute – was she supposed to be pregnant?* The affirmative counterpart (*My wife is pregnant*) is not comparably restricted. (Givón 1978: 79-81; 1979: 103-104)

agreed to would be fulfilled. This expectation is nevertheless denied by the use of implicit negation in the text.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that the intuitive hypothesis about the presupposition-cancelling function of explicit negation has been fully confirmed by the present analysis of political discourse, with implicit negation also taking part in this function, albeit to a much lesser degree. The main function of implicit negation seems to be more of a descriptive nature, being used very often as a strategy of what van Dijk (2006a) calls positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in discourse. (van Dijk 2006a: 370-374) Negation in general seems to require a more complex presuppositional context in order to be used felicitously, with the concepts being denied, challenged or contrasted by the use of negation present as part of the background knowledge of all discourse participants, both direct and indirect. This presence makes it possible for the speaker to use negation to challenge these elements, and for the hearer to understand what the speaker is actually referring to. There is a whole network of different texts and discourses which participants can refer to without having mentioned them explicitly, exactly because of presupposition. Presupposition can also be created by the speaker by using certain syntactic constructions that are called presupposition-triggers, such as participles in premodifying position, cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences, nominalisations, to mention just a few of them. Negation is also a very useful tool for creating presuppositions, because of the general assumption that one would not deny something that has not been either mentioned explicitly in the discourse or assumed to be part of the general background knowledge of discourse participants. The aim of the paper was to single out one specific function of negation in a specific political discourse – and that function is to challenge elements of intertextual discourse. We have been able to show that besides explicit negation, implicit negation can also have this function in discourse, and that what is being denied has either to be asserted or presupposed in order for negation to be used felicitously.

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ANIMAL METAPHORS IN EFL VOCABULARY ACQUISITION[1]

Abstract Leaning on the theory of applied cognitive linguistics, the paper investigates how a group of EFL university students understand metaphorically used animal names in sentential contexts and how they apply the knowledge of stereotypes connected with various animals to solve problems at the level of vocabulary. Using the qualitative research paradigm, the author relies on classroom observation and interaction with students to closely examine their processes of reasoning, which reveals a variety of language learning strategies. Two different types of exercises, one unguided and another one teacher-guided, are in fact examples of the approach that gives the best results in EFL metaphor-based vocabulary acquisition.

Key words: applied cognitive linguistics, animal metaphors, figurative thinking, inductive approach, qualitative research, observation.

1. Introduction

Metaphor has proven to be a useful tool in the field of foreign language learning. Its potential was first elaborated by Lazar (1996), who claims that figurative meaning is inevitable in the lexicon of native speakers, enabling them to understand and produce metaphorical expressions. Furthermore, she concludes that this ability is also a skill of great importance for foreign language learners, who should be able to handle metaphoricity as their knowledge of the foreign language grows. In a similar vein, Littlemore (2001) asserts that metaphorical input in the foreign language classroom improves the linguistic production of foreign learners, whose communicative competence increases in tandem with their understanding of metaphorical expressions in the foreign language.

Because they lack native competence, learners are not always able to process figurative meanings in the same way as native speakers. Nevertheless, they benefit from the analytical, 'enquiring' approach called figurative thinking (Littlemore and Low 2006). This is defined as "the use of a query routine which assumes that an unknown expression might be figurative, or which asks what the implications of

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using a figurative expression might be" (Littlemore and Low 2006: 6). In other words, when non-native speakers encounter words or phrases that they do not understand, they must slow down if reading, or engage in extensive online analysis if listening, and ask themselves a series of questions to decipher the unknown segments of a sentence.

In order for non-native speakers to understand figurative meaning, they must connect two different elements, and draw several inferences, as they decode the connections between source and target domains. This is a challenging task that requires help from the teacher. The consensus is that foreign language teaching should focus on raising metaphor awareness by demonstrating that metaphor is not merely a poetic form, but a pervasive linguistic and conceptual mechanism. As with any theoretical linguistic construct introduced in foreign language teaching, the question arises: how much exposure to theory will benefit the students? Littlemore (2004) shows that the theory-based approach clutters the teaching process with unnecessary information, especially when learners lack specialized linguistic knowledge; and that the practice-based inductive approach is more appealing to foreign language students, who correspondingly achieve a deeper understanding of metaphors.

In their detailed account of the inductive approach, Littlemore and Low (2006: 24-25) show that basic questions regarding the appearance, function or position of an entity can greatly help students to grasp the metaphorical meanings of words and phrases in the foreign language, especially in simple transfers of meaning. Other expressions, however, will remain unknown, often because students do not know the basic meaning of the word, or because the word itself is archaic or obsolete. The query routine includes simple, direct questions concerning the basic meaning of the words, and can point the students in the right direction. In addition, such questions can also trigger deeper understanding and information processing, during which students actively tackle the given topic, ask questions and make meaningful connections with other topics. This approach has proven to be necessary for students to integrate new meanings with existing knowledge. Furthermore, it enhances the learning process and aids the retention of new information, with the ultimate result of greater learner autonomy. To conclude, this method of vocabulary acquisition does not aim to replace other methods as a separate, special programme. Instead, it is meant to be integrated with other approaches in foreign language teaching so that both students and teachers can achieve better results (Boers 2000).

2. Research methodology

The research investigates how a group of EFL university students understand metaphors. Because the human conceptual system cannot be observed externally, testing and statistical analysis of test results would not yield useful data. Rather, the research employs the naturalistic paradigm, focusing on the behaviour of people in their natural surroundings (Tullis Owen 2008). One of the main tenets of this

paradigm is that reality is subjective and socially conditioned (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 24-32), and that human communication should therefore be observed in its natural setting. Context is essential, with genuine knowledge about human interaction or mental processes best acquired not in controlled laboratory conditions, but in everyday settings, (Eisner 1991: 32-33).

Data collection in naturalistic research implies face-to-face interaction between researcher and informants. The researcher is considered to be the most important instrument in data collection, which can be conducted by observation (in which researchers make notes about what they see) or by questionnaires and interviews (in which researchers make notes about what informants tell them).

Because context is vital for understanding human behaviour, it is imperative to observe human interaction on a daily basis (Eisner 1991: 32-33), which emphasizes the role of the observer as a research instrument. Observation is one of the oldest research methods which relies on collecting impressions about the world that surrounds the researcher/observer. In qualitative research observation is used to describe the experiences of research participants, because it relies on the presupposition that human behaviour is purposeful and reflects deeper values and convictions (Richards 2003: 106). Observation is usually noted in a journal (or sometimes recorded by camera or tape recorder) and comprises detailed descriptions of external events in which the informants participated, the reactions of both informants and observer, and the observer's reflections, which later serve as a framework for the interpretation of research results (Patton 2002: 302-304).

The research presented in this article is part of a larger project which lasted for one academic year, and was organized as follows: during the 2007/08 academic year, first-year students of English language and literature at the Department of English, University of Novi Sad, were divided into two groups. One group was designated as the experimental group, the other as the control group. Both groups attended the same English language classes at the B2 level of the Common European Framework of Reference, using the same coursebook with the same teacher. The only difference was that the experimental group was given structured metaphorical input during the whole year, while the control group was not. The metaphorical input followed all the tenets of the inductive approach, which means that the teacher/observer presented various metaphors through tasks which enabled the students to make inferences and use query routines. During the two semesters of classes the teacher/observer kept a detailed class journal noting all activities and student answers and reactions to various tasks. This is the source of the material analysed in this paper. A small selection of material was chosen in order to demonstrate the efficiency both of the metaphorical input and the inductive approach.

3. Animal metaphors

Throughout the entire course the teacher/observer attempted to incorporate metaphorical input into the coursebook material, seeking metaphors to match the topics and vocabulary of individual units. One illustration used in this paper is a group of metaphorical expressions stemming from the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, which was covered in Unit 11, whose focus was on the natural environment.

This metaphor has been researched by a number of linguists (Wierzbicka 1985, Barcelona 1998, Martsa 1999, Halupka and Radić 2003, Prodanović-Stankić 2008), who have established that a basis for the transfer of meaning is the fact that some characteristics of animals (aggressive behaviour, living place, etc.) are mapped onto human characteristics (anger, meeting point, etc.). Some examples are shown below:

source domain		target domain	example
size	→	human size	*Oprah Winfrey feels like a fat cow.*
appearance	→	human appearance	*Kathy had a date with a fox last night.*
behaviour	→	human behaviour	*Sometimes, she can be a complete and utter bitch.*
relation to people	→	relation to other people	*Full of courage, he is as faithful as a dog to his officers.*

In the first example the transfer of meaning relies primarily on the size of the cow, which is normally a big, bulky animal, regardless of whether it is fat or skinny. The meaning is emphasized by the use of the adjective *fat*, the result being a description of the weight of popular television host Oprah Winfrey. The second example is based on the appearance of the fox, an animal with reddish brown fur and a bushy tail, which is perceived as beautiful and whose fur is often used for human garments. Foxes are also perceived as sly and cunning, traits which provide the basis for another transfer of meaning (also found in the simile *as cunning as a fox*). The third example rests on the behaviour of female dogs, bitches, especially their territorial conduct when protecting offspring. The final example is a clear demonstration of how dogs relate to people, as the first tamed and domesticated animals, whose nature is generally very friendly, protective and faithful.

It is fairly obvious that most of the metaphorical meanings exemplified in this section are common knowledge, usually stemming either from folk etymology (foxes are sly) or some objective animal characteristics. That is why in the research the teacher presupposed that metaphors with animal names would pose few major problems for the students. This proved to be only partly true.

4. Animal metaphors – unguided practice

The tasks selected for this paper were covered at the end of the course, when the effects of the inductive approach and metaphorical input were noticeable. The unit focused on the natural environment, which was an adequate introduction for animal metaphors that would be covered over the next few classes.

The material that was brought to the first class is given in Box 1. Students read all sentences individually and tried to complete them with the animal names they thought were correct.

You might have noticed that animals are very frequently present in metaphors to describe people's characteristics as well as actions. In some cases, animal names can be used as verbs to describe actions, making the language much more vivid.

Example.
He was so hungry that as soon as the food was put on the dinner table, he ***wolfed*** *everything down.*

Now you try to finish the exercises below by writing the correct animal names in the boxes.

1. Two boys seemed to be fighting. A man went to stop them. One of the boys said, "Do not worry. We are just _____ (1) around. Nobody is going to get hurt".
2. According to the newspapers, the demonstrators were _____ (2) by the armed police and did not reach the government headquarters.
3. He was simply caught in a sea of people. He had no choice but to _____ (3) his way through to get away from the crowds.
4. Jimmy is curious about machines and has taken apart everything he can lay his hands on at home. Only yesterday he was _____ (4) around with my new clock and ended up breaking it.
5. I agreed to go hiking with my friends, but when we arrived at the foot of the mountain I _____ (5) out and ended up waiting there for six hours for my friends to come back.
6. Mrs. Dursley is always craning her long neck over the garden fence to spy on her neighbours. Whenever somebody new moves to the neighbourhood, she always manages to _____ (6) out the new person's background.

Box 1: Sentences with animal names

Although students gave many incorrect answers, it is still interesting to analyse why they chose certain animal names to fill in the blanks. The majority said the answer for the first gap was *monkeying around* because they had heard that phrase before, and because they considered monkeys playful creatures. Some students opted for *bulled* in the second sentence, describing the police as big and strong like bulls, forcing demonstrators to step back. The answer proposed for the third sentence was *beaver his way*, explained by the beaver traits of dexterity and skill. The fourth and fifth sentences posed no problem for the students, whereas the sixth

was highly problematic. Most of the students could provide no answer, until one student suggested *giraffe* – explaining that Mrs. Dursley was like a giraffe with a long neck, craning over the fence.

Although it is clear that most student answers were incorrect collocations, the query routines were in most cases appropriate. In essence, they either relied on the physical appearance of animals (e.g. bull, giraffe) or their behaviour (e.g. monkey, beaver), which are steps in the right direction, thereby indicating that the students had internalized the basic tenets of figurative language comprehension and applied them to the best of their knowledge.

In a follow-up activity the teacher explained the correct answers, sparking a discussion of different animals and the possible metaphors that could stem from their names.

5. Animal metaphors – guided practice

Over the following week, the students completed another exercise with metaphorical input consisting of animal names, this time guided by their teacher. She wrote the following adjectives on the board: *catty, cocky, mousy, mulish, owlish, sheepish*, and asked them what human characteristics or types of behaviour they described. Most of the students gave similar answers, explaining that they had relied on the most prominent characteristics of the animals in question as well as on familiar stereotypes:

- *catty* – seductive or secretive woman
- *cocky* – over-confident man
- *mousy* – easily scared person
- *mulish* – stubborn person
- *owlish* – someone who likes to read and study
- *sheepish* – stupid, timid or meek person

After a short discussion the students were given the task in Box 2, in which they had to connect these adjectives with the given sentences.

a. My brother's one of those people who simply refuses to change his plans or his attitude for anyone else. Stubborn? Yes. Unreasonable? Definitely. _____
b. He had a faintly professorial look to him with his round, intelligent face, horn-rimmed glasses and serious expression. _____
c. He annoys all the staff, because for a trainee he's too confident about his own abilities, and as result frequently unpleasant and rude. _____
d. I've no time for her because she often makes spiteful remarks to other people, which are intended to hurt them. _____
e. I must have looked a bit uncomfortable, because I felt rather foolish after doing something as silly as that! _____
f. She was a shy, quiet and attractive woman who was dominated by her elderly mother. _____

Box 2: Sentences with adjectives derived from animal names

This exercise was very easy for the students. They explained that all of their expectations regarding the meanings of adjectives were realized, which again can be explained by the fact that they used appropriate query routines.

The follow-up activity, meant to reinforce the material covered, consisted of short dialogues which the students acted out. They were supposed to use the adjectives from the exercise to describe or characterize someone they knew. The underlying assumption was that the personalization and humour achieved in this task would make this activity funny and entertaining, ultimately working on the affective level and increasing student receptivity to new information, words and meanings.

6. Conclusion

The exercises presented in this paper, with the accompanying student reactions and answers, illustrate the success of the inductive approach and discovery learning. The students from the experimental group relied on their own previous world knowledge and experience with animals, their behaviour, appearance and relation to people; and they also employed a variety of query routines which they had been implicitly taught throughout one academic year. This resulted in an increased level of vocabulary knowledge and their ability to tackle metaphorical meanings in English as a foreign lanugage. The students in the control group, on the other hand, did not show any significant progress in terms of the comprehension of metaphorical vocabulary.

Although such an approach requires greater effort from both teacher and students, it proves more successful in the long term, with the effort invested ensuring longer retention of the learned material and aiding vocabulary acquisition, comprehension and, ultimately, production. Furthermore, it can be applied not just to the field of vocabulary acquisiton *per se*, but also to other areas in foreign language teaching, such as the use of prepositions, articles, tenses, modal verbs, etc. All of these areas present potential for further research of how applied cognitive linguistics may enhance the learning process and shed new light on some of the greatest problems that EFL students face in the classroom today.

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CLIMBING THE CORPORATE LADDER OR BEING STUCK ON THE MOMMY TRACK – CAREER METAPHORS IN ENGLISH[1]

Abstract The paper is set within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and later modified to better accommodate metaphors that occur in authentic discourse, as well as that of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004), whose main tenet is that discourse constructs the world from a particular perspective and that it is closely linked to cognition. The main aim of the paper is to offer insight into the metaphors used for the conceptualisation of CAREER in English. We classify and exemplify the CAREER metaphors, also dealing with the differences between the ways male and female careers are conceptualised in the culture determined by the English language. Finally, we point out that metaphors, due to their ability to be used as powerful persuasive devices, may have an important role in constraining women's career thinking to potentially damaging stereotypes.

Key words: Conceptual metaphor, CAREER metaphors, Critical Metaphor Analysis, gendered metaphors.

1. Introduction

Careers are abstract and complex phenomena and their conceptualisation frequently requires framing in vivid and more familiar metaphorical terms, which on the one hand, may assist in the cognitive structuring of this important concept in our lives, while, on the other hand, may also constrain our career thinking. Our aim in this paper is to classify and exemplify the CAREER metaphors in English, particularly emphasising the differences between the ways male and female careers are conceptualised in the culture determined by the English language, and pointing out that metaphors, due to their ability to be used as powerful persuasive devices, may have an important role in the structuring of the women's perceived place in today's society and in constraining women's career thinking to potentially damaging stereotypes. We believe that the mere fact that there are special metaphors for

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women's careers, as opposed to those of men, may reveal ideologies subtly hidden behind the metaphorical veil.

In the paper we combine two theoretical frameworks – Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) but later modified to better accommodate metaphors that occur in authentic discourse (e.g. Semino 2008; Deignan 2005), and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004), a version of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which draws heavily not only on the main insights of CDA but also on the cognitive theory of metaphor. According to the proponents of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, conceptual metaphor refers to the understanding of one, usually abstract and less structured, concept, expressed by the *target* conceptual domain, in terms of another, more physical and more easily comprehensible concept, expressed by the *source* conceptual domain. In their seminal work *Metaphors we live by*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest that metaphors are much more than a mere rhetorical or poetic device used for decorative purposes, but that they are pervasive throughout everyday language. They structure the way we think and act, not only the way we talk – therefore, metaphor is a matter of mind, not only and not predominantly that of language. This claim is a radical shift from previous traditional approaches to metaphor, which stated that the main role metaphor plays in a text is ornamental.

This main tenet of Conceptual Metaphor Theory – that metaphors shape the way we not only talk but think and even act as well – provides the basis for a view according to which metaphors play a vital role in cultivating and reinforcing ideologies. As Deignan (2005: 23) claims, "[t]he case for metaphor as ideological is developed from the observation that the interpretation of situations and events presented by any metaphor is only partial, and therefore flawed", which stems from the principle of *metaphorical highlighting* (Kövecses 2002), according to which the metaphorical source domain focuses on a single aspect of the concept, while at the same time hides some other aspects of the concept. This allows for metaphor to serve as a potentially ideological tool, presenting "a particular interpretation of situations and events" (Deignan 2005: 23), desired by their creators. Moreover, metaphors often distort "because they are over-simplifications" (Deignan 2005: 23), since target domains are much more complex than they are presented by means of source domains, thus suggesting "an artificially simple understanding" (Deignan 2005: 23) of concepts. Being "among our principal vehicles of understanding", metaphors "play a central role in the construction of social and political reality" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 159). Charteris-Black (2004: 21), the originator of Critical Metaphor Analysis, argues that metaphor, viewed as a blend of semantic, cognitive and pragmatic dimensions, serves the purpose "of influencing opinions and judgements by persuasion" (Charteris-Black 2004: 21). Since most metaphors are rarely void of any evaluative stance, they are charged with an ideological component, "which reflects a bias on the part of a speech community towards other groups of peoples, mores, situations and events" (López Rodríguez 2007: 18). This is why metaphors are regarded in this paper as, among other things, carriers of

ideology, when they serve as powerful tools of either presenting the reality in the desired manner or of distorting the picture of the reality we live in.

2. Data collection and methodology

The data collection for our analysis has been gathered by means of an Internet search. Namely, we collected a number of texts in English published on web sites giving advice on the most appropriate ways of choosing and managing someone's career, in order to establish how these texts make sense of and conceptualise the abstract concept of career. The texts obtained in this way were extracted and compiled in one Word file, totalling around 85,000 words. The research then proceeded in the following way: the texts were read carefully in order to manually search for and identify those metaphorical expressions which we intuitively felt provided instantiations of CAREER metaphors. We then applied the *metaphor identification procedure* (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) in order to check the metaphoricity of the lexical units relating to various CAREER metaphors as well as to establish their contextual and basic meaning. MIP is claimed to be a reliable method as it eliminates any subjective criteria for metaphor identification.

Having established the presence of metaphoricity, we then extracted the parts (sentences, parts of sentences or titles of texts) containing those expressions which we judged to be metaphorical. Some of these sentences will be used to illustrate our points in the analysis that follows. Finally, we classified the data according to the source domains found to structure the target domain CAREER, which will be discussed in the text which follows. This paper may hopefully offer a deeper understanding of career discourse as well as some critical observations which may help to metaphorically better structure women's careers.

3. Conceptualisations of career

According to Kövecses (2002: 127), career as an abstract and intangible concept is a target domain in the process of metaphorisation which fits nicely into the concept of (ABSTRACT) COMPLEX SYSTEMS, whose major properties include the function, stability, development, and condition of the system. This in turn causes the use of source domains which best metaphorically structure these properties. In the following sections we focus on three main ways careers, understood as abstract complex system, are conceptualised in our data collection.[2]

[2] In addition to those which will be discussed here, careers have been found in our data collection to be structured by a number of other source domains (e.g. as a race, a dream, a sports competition, a valuable possession, etc.). Due to a space constraint, however, only the most frequent source domains will be the focus of the paper.

3.1. Career as a plant

According to Kövecses (2002: 98), complex abstract systems, among which this author also sorts out career, are frequently structured in terms of a plant, giving rise to the COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS metaphor, based on a small number of constituent mappings, such as TO START OR CREATE A COMPLEX SYSTEM IS TO SOW A SEED, THE QUICK DEVELOPMENT OF A LARGE NUMBER OF THINGS IS THE QUICK GROWTH OF A LARGE NUMBER OF SHOOTS OR LEAVES, THE INITIAL STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT ARE THE BEGINNINGS OF GROWTH, TO MAINTAIN OR TAKE CARE OF A COMPLEX SYSTEM IS TO CULTIVATE A PLANT, THE BENEFICIAL CONSEQUENCES OF A PROCESS ARE THE FRUITS OR THE CROP OF A PLANT, etc. (Kövecses (2002: 100-101). The CAREER IS A PLANT metaphor highlights the development of our careers, i.e. the natural growth of a plant, stemming from the overarching ABSTRACT DEVELOPMENT OR PROGRESS IS NATURAL PHYSICAL GROWTH metaphor. Thus, in the career perceived of as a plant, a plant lends itself well to describing a career's life cycle as going through a plant's life cycle. This metaphor rests on "everyday knowledge that we as ordinary people (as opposed to experts such as biologists) have about plants" (Kövecses (2002: 101), which is mapped onto the target domain career. Here are some examples of metaphorical expressions which illustrate the CAREER IS A PLANT metaphor:

1. If you want to build a strong, integrated network of contacts and friends, you must begin *planting the seeds* of your career now.
2. Efficiency with high quality results is a great combination to add more seeds to *sprout* your career.
3. For any plant to grow, it needs water. In the same way, your talents and skills need to be *nourished*.
4. If you want a job tomorrow, **cultivate** your ***career*** today.
5. Pregnancy may put a *budding* career at risk.
6. Remember that more than one promising career has been *nipped in the bud*.
7. What are the main *branches* of careers you can choose from?
8. A gardener will prune a tree to produce a strong, healthy, attractive plant. Here are a few tips (...) to help *grow* your career.
9. You'll find plenty of tips, techniques, tools, and resources that will help you to build a *fruitful* career.
10. Follow these guidelines and *reap the fruits* of a well-managed career.

Career as a target domain is characterised by "an inherent structure that includes an element of development" (Deignan 2005: 175). Consequently, the most important mapping present in the CAREER IS A PLANT metaphor is the one which refers to the best stage in the progress or development of someone's career, the *flowering* of a plant, as illustrated by the following examples from our data collection:

11. Make a lucrative and *flourishing* career for yourself by helping others choose a successful and productive professional life.

12. So if you want you career to *blossom*, you may have to just take a deep breath and go for it.

Thus, the flowering of a plant, when mapped onto career, connotes the best stage in its progress or development, connoting professional success and achievement, whereas the general CAREER IS A PLANT metaphor highlights the development of someone's career, highlighting the stages in the process. At the same time, this metaphor emphasises "the controlling and disciplining capacities of the 'gardener' or manager" (El-Sawad 2005: 29), who takes an active role in and is able to control the growth and cultivate the plant, making it grow, blossom and flourish by means of their own efforts, skills and achievements. Moreover, some negative career images may be conjured by the CAREER IS A PLANT metaphor, such as *pruning* or *cutting back*, which serve to metaphorically structure the stunting of a career-as-a-plant growth. Also, a plant may whither despite the care and nourishment (e.g. due to bad weather or some other external factors beyond human control). Similarly, the CAREER IS A PLANT metaphor downplays the importance of other factors (attitudinal or organisational) which may hinder the growth of someone's career, such as the working environment, gender bias and stereotyping, etc.

3.2. Career as a building

At a lower level of conceptualisation (a higher one being realised via the ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS metaphor) careers turn out to be frequently conceptualised by means of the BUILDING metaphor, which emphasises the stability of the system. In the CAREER IS A BUILDING metaphor, as Kövecses (2002: 131) claims, "[t]he main theme, or meaning focus, [...] seems to be the creation of a well-structured and stable or lasting complex system, whereas three interrelated aspects of buildings this metaphor highlights are its construction, structure and strength."

The mapping which characterises the CAREER IS A BUILDING metaphor is CREATING A WELL-STRUCTURED AND LASTING CAREER IS MAKING A WELL-STRUCTURED, STRONG BUILDING, which consists of several conceptual mappings, such as CREATING A CAREER IS BUILDING, THE STRUCTURE OF A CAREER IS THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF A BUILDING, and A LASTING CAREER IS A STRONG BUILDING. We shall illustrate these mappings with several examples from our data collection:

13. Like a house, in order to *build* your future career, you need the right *foundation*.
14. Remember that your qualification is the absolute *bedrock* of your career.
15. A career *structure* is an important part of a satisfying career so set some goals and plan ahead.
16. Not only are these moves a great way to expand your experience, but also *lay the foundation* for incredible career growth.

17. To build a *strong* career *foundation* you may have to accept a first job with heavy travel or other features that people sometimes find unpleasant.
18. How to *build a strong* career in HR
19. I felt my career was *in ruins*.

According to Inkson (2004: 101), the CAREER IS A BUILDING metaphor "emphasize[s] the role of the individual in creating his or her own career" as well as the role of career planning, which is likened to a well-thought out process of building a house, with a number of preconditions which must be fulfilled (such as information gathering, goal setting, logical and rational choices, etc.) before the actual structure is built. In using the CAREER IS A BUILDING metaphor, we stress the process of designing, planning, and building, conceptualising ourselves as ingenious, apt and hard-working architects and masons, able to lay the foundation, design and build the structure of our careers. What this metaphor seems to hide, in line with the principle of *metaphorical highlighting and hiding* (Kövecses 2002), is the role of external factors which may seriously constrain and even block the building of our imagined career structure.

3.3. Career as a journey

"Building and travelling are conceptually related[3], as they are both activities in which progress takes place in stages towards a predetermined goal." (Charteris-Black 2004: 95). As Deignan claims (2005: 17), "[m]ajor life events are talked about as landmarks along a journey, and developments in someone's career or personal life are talked about as physical progress towards a destination." Since it has become "an essentially unquestioned assumption that career is a valuable possession and its pursuit a worthwhile activity" (El-Sawad 2005: 35), it should come as no surprise that the JOURNEY source domain fits well into the metaphorical structuring of a career. The CAREER IS A JOURNEY[4] metaphor rests on the conceptually higher PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS metaphor, inheriting its basic structure of the even higher-order JOURNEY metaphor, which in turn is embedded in the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. Lakoff (1993) claims that the CAREER IS A JOURNEY metaphor rests on the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, in which purposes are destinations and purposeful action is self-propelled motion toward a destination. As

[3] This is clearly made manifest in several metaphorical expressions which tend to co-occur in the same sentence, drawing from the source domains of BUILDING and JOURNEY, e.g. *building* the *foundations* of *fast tracking*; smart moves can open new, *fast-track* career *doors*; *building* your career *path*; etc. Other source domains may also be combined in the same sentence, e.g. How career training helps in *building* a *flourishing* career; etc.

[4] Interestingly, the word *career* is derived from the Latin word *carraria* meaning a road or carriageway (Online Etymology Dictionary), conceptually and semantically related to the concept of journey, which may partly explain the widespread use of the JOURNEY metaphor in career conceptualisations.

"purposes are conventionally constructed as destinations to be reached [...] actions and strategies aimed at the achievement of goals are conventionally constructed in terms of movement forwards or travel" (Semino 2008: 109). Arguing that because STATUS IS UP, a career is actually a journey upward and career goals are special cases of life goals, Lakoff proceeds to say that in the CAREER IS A JOURNEY metaphor, a careerist is conceptualised as a traveller who strives towards the achievement of career goals, aiming to go as high, far and fast as possible, as illustrated by the following examples: He clawed his way to the top; He's over the hill; She's on the fast track; He's climbing the corporate ladder; She's moving up in the ranks quickly. (Lakoff 1992).

The CAREER IS A JOURNEY metaphor, therefore, is based on "the assumption that we want to attain a predetermined end." (Charteris-Black 2004: 93). It is replete with metaphorical expressions linguistically realising it, among which the most obvious is *career path*, which highlights a planned, logical progression through a career and charts a course of someone's professional life. However, this may not and frequently is not a straight line from point A to point B. Career paths may be of several types (implying vertical, horizontal, sideways, zigzag, or even backwards movement[5]). As Inkson (2008: 5) claims, "[a] journey can be a drive along a fixed route to a predetermined destination, or a wander in the jungle by a traveller who has no idea where she is." As far as the speed of travelling is concerned, a career journey "can be a slow, sure walk or a swift erratic flight. It can be physical and therefore observable to others – the objective career – or a projection of imagination known only of the traveller – the subjective career." (Inkson 2008: 5). IThe CAREER IS A JOURNEY metaphor gives rise to a number of conceptual mappings, linguistically instantiated by various metaphorical expressions. Let us illustrate only several from our data collection:

20. Every career *path*, at some stage or another, reaches a *crossroads*. If the decision and timing is under your control, your new *direction* is clear or can be made so by talking to friends or colleagues.
21. These items are your *road ma*p to finding the career *path* that's right for you
22. Defining your career *goals* will help you make necessary *steps* toward a satisfying work life.
23. As you *move on* in your career you need to build leadership skills at every opportunity you can get.
24. One final thing to consider is that your career *goals* should evolve as you *move through* your career.
25. The point is, the clear *route* is not always the most productive one.
26. Still, making a decision and following a set *pathway* leading to the *outcome* is not as easy as you might think.

[5] As instantiated by the following metaphorical expressions: a *rollercoaster* career, career *lattice*, a career *plateau*, career *shifters*, a *boundaryless* career, a *protean* career, *backtrackers*, *plateauers*, etc.

27. Is your career *heading* in the right *direction*?
28. Most people don't think about another ***career*** until they **reach the end *of their career* path**.

In the CAREER IS A JOURNEY METAPHOR, people (careerists) are perceived of as travellers along the path, who strive to hopefully reach a defined and predetermined destination. However, particularly important in the conceptualisation of a career as a journey are notions of vertical mobility. Thus, the metaphor A CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY is cognitively intertwined with spatial metaphors MORE IS UP and STATUS IS UP (or ACHIEVEMENT/SUCCESS IS HIGH [Goatley 2006: 26]), since "to acquire a socially higher position is comprehended as upward physical movement in the course of a journey." (Kövecses (2002: 214). The CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY metaphor may be illustrated by the following examples from our data collection:

29. How to work your way *up the corporate ladder*
30. Getting to the *peak* of your career
31. 12 Steps for *Climbing* to the **Top** of ***Your Career***
32. Whether you are job searching or you are **at the height *of your career***, here are five ways to electrify your personal brand.
33. On the other hand, if your vision is to *rise through the ranks* with your current employer...
34. Personal Principles: What It Takes to *Rise to The Top*
35. The career plan is designed to easily *move up in the ranks*, making it easy to achieve success
36. Career planning is for core people as well as *high flyers*.
37. Career is a wider phrase than *shifting upwards in the hierarchy* of positions in an organization.

Therefore, despite the fact that career paths may not be linear and may purposefully be chosen in such a way as to suit the needs of a particular person, as well as the fact that some people deliberately choose not to climb the career ladder (the so-called *backtrackers* or *plateauers*), the upward journey still most frequently structures a successful career, because STATUS IS UP.

4. Gendered CAREER metaphors

One of the mappings of the CAREER IS A JOURNEY metaphor is that the difficulties one comes across trying to reach the desired career goal, which block one's upward journey towards the desired metaphorical destination, are understood as impediments to travel (see Lakoff 1993: 224). This mapping may be linguistically instantiated by the following examples:

38. To be successful in changing career *paths*, you need to learn to overcome *obstacles* you will encounter *along the way*.
39. The IT Career *Path*: A *Dead End* Or An *Avenue* To The Exec Suite?
40. Avoiding *Dead End* Career *Paths*

The obstacles that people come across on their career paths, however, seem to be much more serious when it comes to women than to their male colleagues. Thus a number of gendered metaphorical expressions belonging to the CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY metaphor suggest that the female career journey is much more burdened with obstacles and barriers compared to that of men. For example, the *glass ceiling* metaphor, depicting "the invisible barrier that women experience in their upward career mobility which prevents them from reaching the top of an organization" (Draulans 2003: 66), is subtly intertwined with the *corporate ladder* metaphor. Women, similarly to men, climb the corporate ladder in order to reach a desired destination, but in ascending the hierarchy of an organisation or company, they are frequently confronted with often extremely stringent requirements for promotion, which prevents them from being appointed to senior positions. The metaphor of the glass ceiling[6] conveys the idea that although women *can* see the opportunities and positions at the higher levels of the organisational hierarchy, there is a barrier denying them access to these positions. Therefore, while trying to ascend the corporate ladder, women face a transparent yet real limit which prescribes how far they can climb, as implied by the word 'ceiling', the metaphorical end of their upward career journey.[7]

Similarly, ***right from the start of their metaphorical upward journey, which begins from the lowest corporate levels, women are often faced with*** **a sticky floor,** ***a metaphor which depicts unglamorous, low-paid and low upward mobility clerical jobs with limited opportunities for advancement, where women experience career stagnation and where their ability to perform well at senior positions is questioned, which particularly refers to those women*** with children or caring responsibilities. ***The sticky floor even prevents the beginning of a female career journey, hindering women's attempts to move out of certain low-level positions.***

Even if they do try to reach the top-management positions, i.e. the top of the corporate ladder, ***women often get stuck*** on the middle rungs of the ladder due to a *sticky ladder*. The sticky ladder metaphor again refers to latent barriers originating from deep-seated gender bias and stereotypical assumptions that "men are leaders and women are followers", still persisting in many English-speaking countries.

Gender-based discrimination at work place is further linguistically (and conceptually) instantiated by the *glass elevator* (alternatively called *glass escalator*) metaphor, which captures the view according to which there is an invisible vehicle (escalator or elevator) which transports men working in traditionally female professions up through the ranks of corporate power at the expense of women. This metaphor highlights the view that it should be embarrassing for men to do female, low-level low-paid jobs, so that they are encouraged (and pressurised) to quickly move up to managerial positions.

[6] The corresponding expressions metaphorically depicting career barriers for minorities in English-speaking countries are e.g. *bamboo ceiling, concrete ceiling*, and *ivory ceiling*.

[7] *Glass walls* is another gendered metaphor used to describe the situation in which a woman is prevented from moving *laterally* within an organisation.

Another extension of the glass ceiling metaphor is *glass cliff*. This metaphor, grounded in the conceptually higher CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY metaphor, refers to a situation which some women who dare to break through the glass ceiling and take on positions of leadership encounter – they are promoted into risky, precarious and insecure positions, where a risk of failure, leading to a professional disaster, is much higher. Cliffs are high (metaphorically implying that women *are* allowed to reach the top management positions) but very steep and slippery (metaphorically implying that they are put in a position of constant teetering on the edge, where any wrong, inattentive or imprudent move may result in a catastrophic and fatal fall).

The expression *fast track* in the physical world was used to refer to a railroad track reserved for express trains or a track in horse racing. If they travel the fast track, it takes passengers (or horses) much less time to reach their destination. Metaphorically speaking, however, and when applied to the concept of career, a fast track now refers to the quickest and most direct route to the achievement of a career or a life goal, as exemplified by the following examples:

41. What can you do to get on the **fast track** of ***career advancement***?
42. Take every opportunity to improve yourself, increase your skills and knowledge, and demonstrate your work ethic and ambition and you will be on the *fast track* to success.
43. Nine ***tips*** to get on the career **fast track**

Its antipode, however, is applied only to women – only female employees may take the *mommy track*, which is supposed to be a career route determined by work arrangements offering mothers certain benefits such as flexible hours, but may seriously reduce their chances of career advancement. Women frequently get stuck on the slower moving mommy track, characterised by low pay and low career prospects, which implies that the apparently advantageous treatment of women who must juggle work and family and parental responsibilities turns out to be an impediment on female career path, reducing women's pay after giving birth so that it never recovers after the mommy track stage in their career development has passed. Here are some examples:

44. Subtle ways to help avoid the *mommy track*
45. In the end, whether the **mommy track** is a positive or negative *path* depends on you
46. Avoiding the *Mommy Track*: Returning to a Career After Maternity Leave
47. Many part time mothers complain about being *stuck on the* "*mummy track*" and overlooked for promotions

These metaphors may suggest that the career journey is much more difficult for women compared to that of men, as well as that the travel along the chosen path "may not be the result of a deliberate decision" (Semino 2008: 112), but an activity which is imposed by power elites in organisations and companies. The existence of the above metaphors, characterised by deeply ingrained gender stereotypes, may

serve as evidence that a certain stigma is placed on women after they give birth to a child, when they are perceived of as lacking commitment necessary to maintain their competitive edge in the workplace, which in turn may seriously hamper their career progression.

5. Conclusion

Our analysis has shown that the abstract concept career is mainly conceptualised via three most common source domains: BUILDING and PLANT, which are mainly gender-neutral, and JOURNEY, which lends itself to a number of gendered metaphors, implying that women are not allowed to reach the top, or that their upward career journey may be hampered by factors beyond their control. Since the proponents of Conceptual Metaphor Theory claim that metaphor structures our everyday knowledge, "it follows that frequently-used conceptual metaphors will help to organize the everyday knowledge of large numbers of people" (Deignan 2005: 24). Eventually, as we are thus forced "to focus *only* on those aspects of our experience that [metaphor] highlights, [it] leads us to view the entailments of the metaphor as being *true*." (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 157). The main issue, however, "is not the truth or falsity of a metaphor but the perceptions and inferences that follow from it and the actions that are sanctioned by it", since "we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphors." (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 158).

Therefore, if female careers are perceived of as different from those of men, through metaphors which reinforce the view according to which women are incapable of committing themselves to serious and demanding managerial positions due to their family commitments and the need for combining careers and motherhood, which in turn may reduce their chances of career opportunities and advancement, then this may not only disrupt women's perceptions and thoughts about themselves, but also detrimentally affect their career progression, thus perpetuating ingrained stereotypes and gender inferiority. The existence of special metaphors for women's careers may reinforce and perpetuate socially and culturally imposed thinking that women are forced to choose such working arrangements which will not conflict with their primary responsibility to their children, while at the same time, these metaphors may function, to quote Lakoff and Johnson, as "self-fulfilling prophecies" (1980: 156).

Namely, metaphors "may create realities for us" and "serve as a guide for future action" (1980: 156). The creation of a new reality happens "when we start to comprehend our experience in terms of a metaphor, and it becomes a deeper reality when we begin to act in terms of it" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 145). This means, in line with Lakoff and Johnson's main idea, that metaphors artificially impose the way we think about women's careers. Of course, "words alone don't change reality. But changes in our conceptual system do change what is real for us and affect how we perceive the world and act upon those perceptions." (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:145-

146). According to such a constructivist view of metaphor, metaphor builds our conceptual system, shapes our everyday experience and structures our world view. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to introduce new metaphors which will help remove any bias, prejudice and stereotypical thinking about men's and women's careers alike and eliminate any unacceptable and distortive cognitive framing. We argue that the discrimination that still exists against women in the workplace will be hard to remove if, among other things, discriminatory metaphors still persevere and constrain career thinking.

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http://www.ptilearningandperformance.com/personal/
http://www.careercrossroads.net
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http://www.your-career-change.com/help.html
http://www.careeroutlook.in/
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http://www.howtostartabusiness.ws/career-counseling-business.php
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http://career-advice.careerone.com.au
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www.careertrees.org
www.career-success-for-newbies.com

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VERBS AND PROTOTYPE THEORY: STATE OF THE ART AND POSSIBILITIES[1]

Abstract This paper investigates some of the possibilities of applying Prototype Theory to the categorization of English verbs. Throughout its development, Prototype Theory has been mainly focused on nouns, adjectives and prepositions with very few excursions into the realms of the other parts of speech. The paper will include a short summary of the existing attempts to approach verbs from a prototypical perspective. Using verb frequency tests, it will try to find those semantic features of verbs that might be relevant to the process of categorization. This will be done by means of analysing two classes of verbs and finding their appropriate semantic features. The result of this analysis will be presented in two columns and graphs, showing how the verbs in question are graded within their categories.

Key words: prototype, verb, categorization, semantic features, word frequency.

1. Introduction – Aims and Methodology

The paper has two main aims – firstly, it should offer an overview of the attempts to approach verbs from the perspective of Prototype Theory and, secondly, it will try to present at least some possibilities for future studies of verbs in regard to this perspective. Prototype Theory has so far been mostly concerned with nouns, adjectives and prepositions, but there have also been attempts to apply Prototype Theory to a number of verb analyses and the paper will try to present some of them. The focus will be on the lexical aspects of verbs, whereas other verb-related features will be mentioned only if necessary. Verbs will be viewed in relation to their categories, two groups of verbs serving as a basis of semantic features which can be considered responsible for a higher or a lower degree of their prototypicality.

After a short historical overview of the development of Prototype Theory, the paper will present two major attempts to approach verbs using Prototype Theory.

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Verbs related to motion around an axis and verbs of desire, selected in accordance with Levin's *English Verb Classes and Alternations* (1993), will serve as two exemplar groups. They will both undergo a word frequency test based on the data from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies, 2011) and this may serve as a significant (though not very sensitive nor precise) indicator for verbs' prototypicality. According to the results obtained from the data, the verbs will be classified from the most to the least prototypical one within their categories, after which we will try to find a number of reasons for the achieved order.

2. Theoretical background

The problem of categorization seems to be central to both the old (objectivist) and the new (experiential) view. In fact, we may isolate at least three groups of approaches to categories: atomistic, probabilistic and exemplar (Smith and Medin, 1981; Medin and Rips, 2005). The atomistic approach largely corresponds to the objectivist view, in which things belong to the same category in case they have certain (objective) properties in common – categories are thus verifiable and they correspond to the real world. Concepts within objective categories are compositional – they can be broken down into smaller components of meaning. The probabilistic approach is based on binary features, which can be either present or absent within a concept and configurations of these features determine whether a concept can be classified within a particular category or not. Properties within these two approaches are called necessary and sufficient conditions for defining a category. Categories based on necessary and sufficient conditions and/or binary features are usually clearly bounded and their members have equal status (Taylor, 1989: 23–24). In the exemplar approach, the best representatives of a category serve as 'role models' in the process of categorization and this view seems to be very close to what we call Prototype Theory (the dominant approach to categorization in the experiential view).

Although we may track the precursors of the 'new' type of categories in Kant's claims that concepts cannot be empirically delineated and that the synthesis of our knowledge is not arbitrary, but related to our experience (Kant, 1791: Einleitung, III, IV, according to Antović, 2009: 90), most contemporary semanticists designate Wittgenstein as being the forefather of Prototype Theory. While trying to define the term 'game', Wittgenstein (1953: 31–3) witnessed the fact that the boundaries of the category are fuzzy and that this does not make this category less valid than some which are less fuzzy. According to Wittgenstein, the category of games is not based on shared defining features, as there are no attributes common to all the games in the world, but on a "criss-crossing network of similarities" (Taylor, 1989: 38). In order to illustrate this network of similarities, Wittgenstein uses the famous metaphor of 'family resemblances' – the notion that entities thought to be connected by one essential common feature may actually be connected by a series of overlapping similarities, with no feature common to all of them. Wittgenstein's views on categories certainly influenced Zadeh's (1965) fuzzy set theory and Lakoff's (1972)

early claims that category membership is not a yes-or-no question, but rather a matter of degree. Early experiments, which confirmed these assumptions on categories and started making differences between prototypical, less prototypical and marginal concepts, were performed by William Labov, Willett Kempton, Eleanor Rosch, Brent Berlin, Paul Kay, and Chad McDaniel among others.

Labov's experiments (1973) were based on line drawings of various household receptacles, such as mugs, cups and bowls. The subjects in this experiment were to classify the presented drawing as one of these, with a constant shift of the ratio of width and depth. Another important aspect of their judgements were contents of various receptacles (and thus with their functions, which can be culture-dependent). Among other conclusions, the experiment proved that there was no clear dividing line between cups and bowls. In his analysis of this experiment, Taylor (1989: 41) stresses the fact that the attributes used in the study are not binary, as width and depth can be perceived as continuous variables. Also, he notes that no single attribute was "essential for distinguishing the one category from the other." Eleanor Rosch's frequently quoted experiments (1973, 1975a, 1975b) on categorization represent a real challenge for the classical view of categories, as she tackled very many apparently delineated categories and proved that they are far from being discrete in relation to reality. Her respondents were to grade memberships of concepts within certain categories, including birds, furniture, tools, sports, fruits, vegetables, toys, etc. Her experiments predominantly included 7-point membership scales or response time measurement. These experiments proved that neither natural categories (such as birds, fruits and vegetables) nor nominal kind terms (furniture, sports or toys) have clear boundaries. Moreover, the experiments showed that we can also talk about the degree of membership, including the notions of the centre and the periphery of a category (although we shall not question the fact that all the included entities had the status of being members of a certain category, be they more or less prototypical). This method introduced the notion of prototypicality in the sense in which it is used nowadays – prototypes or exemplars are those concepts which take central places within a category. However, it is very possible that Rosch, Labov, Berlin and others borrowed the very term of prototypicality from Wittgenstein's *Brown Book II* (Vidanović, forthcoming: 13). Nevertheless, we may not doubt that Rosch's work motivated other researchers to apply the study of prototypes to more abstract nouns, adjectives, prepositions, verbs and other parts of speech.

Using experimental data, as well as various previous attempts to weaken the position of the classical view of categories, George Lakoff, in *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (1987), framed a comprehensive overview of the new view on categories and provided the philosophical background and possible implications of the experientialist view. When we come to prototypicality, we encounter a number of topics including family resemblances, centrality, polysemy as categorization, generativity as a prototype phenomenon, membership and centrality gradience, conceptual and functional embodiment, basic-level categorization and primacy, reference-point, or "metonymic," reasoning and other phenomena. Another broad

summary of the experientialist view of categories can be found in John Taylor's *Linguistic Categorization* (1989) – besides providing an overview, Taylor applied Prototype Theory to various aspects of language including polysemy, grammatical categories, syntactic structures, phonology and language acquisition. Among other things, this book includes one of the most important applications of this theory to the analysis of verbs.

3. Verbs and prototypes

Before we analyse Taylor's approach to verbs, we shall mention an earlier attempt to view verbs as prototypical categories. Namely, in *Word Meaning and Belief*, S.G. Pulman (1983: 107–136) performed a very comprehensive 'test' so as to prove that there are aspects of verbal meaning that can be studied by means of prototypes. He found graded membership, or more precisely prototypicality in the categories denoted by verbs such as *kill, walk, speak, look*. Before doing so, he tried to examine whether prototypical studies of verbs can fully mirror those of nouns. Pulman set out proposing a taxonomy starting with a unique beginner and ending with a specific verb:

Level 1 – Unique beginners – DO/MAKE

Level 2 – Life form – CAUSE/MAKE/BECOME/ACT/MOVE/SAY/…

Level 3 – Generic – KILL/LOOK/SPEAK/WALK/DECEIVE/HOLD/ BURN/RUB…

Level 4 – Specific – (for KILL) MURDER/ASSASSINATE/EXECUTE/ MASSACRE…

(based on Pulman 1983: 108)

He, however, realized that difficulties beset the unique beginners, as well as the life form level. For instance, it is quite difficult to decided whether DO or BE can be considered to be hypernyms of 'close' in *"John closed the door"* and *"The door was closed."* Therefore, he focused his study on the generic and the specific level, investigating only those verbs which seemed to be organized in "hyponymy sets reminiscent of the distinction between basic and subordinate level categories" (Pulman, 1983: 109). Firstly, Pulman wanted to check whether the prototype effect can be obtained for verbs and in order to do so he replicated Rosch's original work – Pulman's subjects were asked to decide which members of a given category were more representative of the category in question, using a 7-point scale. He selected eight hyponymy sets: *kill, speak, look, walk, deceive, rub, hold* and *burn* and, for each of them, he selected a range of six hyponyms to cover the largest part of the generic verbs' meanings. Some of the results that emerged from this experiment were the following (the lower the figure, the more prototypical the verb):

kill: murder (1.10), assassinate (2.05), execute (2.82), massacre (3.28), sacrifice (5.22), commit suicide (5.33)

speak: recite (2.57), mumble (3.46), shout (3.51), whisper (3.64), drone (3.98), stutter (5.35)

walk: stride (1.86), pace (2.05), saunter (2.41), march (3.01), stumble (5.31), limp (5.37)

(based on Pulman 1983: 113)

The respondents were asked to compare the hyponyms to the hyperordinate term rather than to each other. Secondly, Pulman wanted to obtain more data related to the prototype effect by performing a test which would give him some sort of a 'family resemblance' measure. He wanted to rate the hyponyms of the selected sets in accordance with the number of features they share (or do not share) with other hyponyms, i.e. other category members. The results he received were very difficult to assess, because the responses could be classified into roughly five quite diverse categories – when asked to provide features of certain verbs, people tended to list their synonyms (or near synonyms), attempted to give definitions, gave the category name itself, provided connotations and, finally, offered a number of attributes which were parallel to what Rosch used in her studies. Thirdly, Pulman edited some of the data so as to reach better consistency in the analysis, i.e. he deleted a number of attributes which seemed to be totally unrelated to certain verbs and added those which seemed to be almost synonymous with the verbs in question, in the same way Rosch removed or added a small number of unrelated features in her experiments. The results were analysed in both their edited and unedited form and summarized in the following way:

kill	murder	assassinate	execute	massacre	sacrifice	commit suicide
Ranked by:						
1 Prototypicality	1	2	3	4	5	6
2 All attributes	1	4	6	2	5	3
3 Shared attributes	2	3	5	4	6	1
4 Edited attributes	2	1	5	4	6	3

Table 1: Pulman's result survey for 'kill' (based on Pulman 1983: 119)

Pulman concludes that family resemblance is not positively correlated with prototypicality, which might lead one toward thinking that family resemblance is not a causal factor in the formation of prototypes when it comes to verbs. However, Pulman resists such a conclusion on several grounds: he explains that the number of selected category members in his study was too low, which led the statistical methods he used to unreliable results. Moreover, the number of subjects was much lower than in Rosch's experiments (20 as compared to 400) and, lastly, verbs proved to be quite delicate when it comes to listing attributes and required a more comprehensive experimental design. On the whole, Pulman arrives at the conclusion that verbs, just like nouns, can be regarded as more or less prominent, prototypical or representative members of their semantic categories, but we cannot claim that 'to murder' belongs to the category of 'killing' more than 'to execute' does (which

seems to be the case when we analyse colour adjectives). Pulman's experiments, though mainly aimed to be pilot studies or 'probes', showed us that there are aspects of verb meaning that can be approached by means of Prototype Theory. Besides this, we may assume that improved experimental procedures may provide more relevant data in the future, meaning that Pulman opened a whole range of possibilities, which seem to have not been properly explored since 1989.

The year 1989 saw another of the rare prototypical approaches to verbs. Taylor (1989: 105–109) studied prototypicality as related to the polysemy of the verb *climb* in order to explain the contrast between the family resemblance approach and the core meaning approach. The main problem of the core meaning approach stems from the fact that it is close to the classical approach to categories, as it implicitly demands that there is a set of necessary and sufficient conditions which govern the existence or stability of a category. Various senses of climb prove that there is no possibility to subsume them all under a general core sense. Taylor follows Fillmore's (1982) characterization of the process in terms of the attributes 'ascend' (as in 'The plane climbed to 30,000 feet)' and 'clamber' (as in 'The boy climbed down the tree and over the wall'). The clambering sense of this verb cannot be applied to entities without limbs. Therefore, although some of the uses of the clambering sense may seem to be close to 'the core meaning' there are some others connected to the ascending sense (to some of which the former sense cannot be applied), which depart from this kind of centre. Taylor notes that these "different senses cannot be unified on the basis of a common semantic denominator […] the different meanings are related through 'meaning chains'" (Taylor, 1989: 108). In this way any "node in a meaning chain can be the source of any number of meaning extensions" (Taylor, 1989: 109). In both Pulman's and Taylor's studies we may say that we are encountering an 'internal' approach to verb prototypicality. They both isolate specific verbs and discuss their polysemy in relation to their senses, hyponyms or troponyms, with regard to various features of both generic 'parent' verbs and their specific 'subtypes'. We may say that this approach can be basically linked to semasiology. However, one can also approach these verbs onomasiologically as well, providing the answer to the question "how do you express *X*?", *X* being any sort of meaning that verbs can denote, so it may include vision, auditory perception, emotions, motion, various actions, etc. This approach may be named external, as we look at the category (denoted by *X*) from the outside, which sheds another sort of light onto the issue of verb categorization.

4. An analysis based on verb frequency

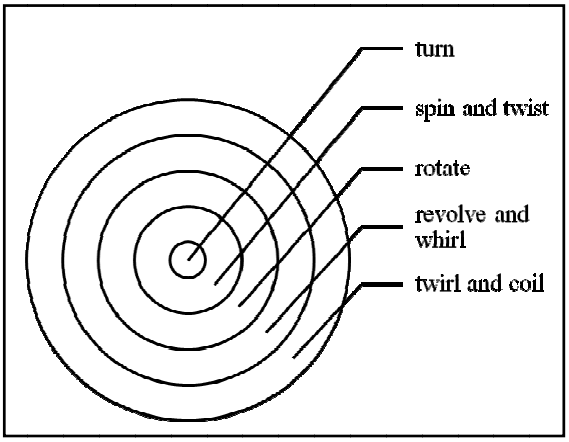
This part of the paper will try to examine whether we can discuss prototypical features based on the external, onomasiological approach, using verb frequency. Expression *X* is going to be represented by one of the verb classes or subclasses, as categorized by Beth Levin in *English Verb Classes and Alternations* (1993). It is quite obvious that word frequency is unlikely to serve as the only parameter in the

process of exploring prototypicality – there are various problems stemming from homonymy, homography, polysemy, phrasal verbs, idiomatic expressions, different registers, word economy and etymology. In a corpus study it may be very difficult to isolate idioms, homonyms and homographs, and prevent them from interfering with word frequency results. On the other hand, the problems that might be related to polysemy, different registers, phrasal verbs, the same etymological background and word economy are partly mitigated by the fact that more 'prototypical' verbs have greater chances of being transferred into other domains. The very fact that the study is based on word frequency partially limits us to 'the core meaning approach', but it is very important to stress that a study based on 'the meaning chains approach' is more than necessary. For instance, a study of polysemy in verbs might prove that polysemy (linked with the fact that they get transferred into another category) can sometimes make certain verbs move towards the periphery of a category, as they are no longer 'felt' as firmly belonging to their original class by the subjects. When we come to verbs, their transitive and intransitive uses may sometimes allow us to isolate different meanings of certain verbs, but this seems to be restricted to a number of verbs. From this, we may conclude that in any study of prototypes, additional experiments involving respondents are highly required in order to support any claims drawn from a corpus.

We may take a look at two classes in order to explore the ranges and capabilities of a corpus-based study. They will be selected against the criterion of size and in accordance with Beth Levin's classification. The first group will be the one dubbed 'Verbs of motion around an axis' (a subtype of 'Verbs of motion'). This group includes the following verbs: *to coil*, *to revolve*, *to rotate*, *to spin*, *to turn*, *to twirl*, *to twist*, *to whirl* and *to wind* (Levin, 1993: 264–5). The used corpus and data frequency list made no difference between homographs, homonyms and polysemous verbs and for that reason *to wind /waɪnd/* will be excluded from the grading procedure due to the fact that there is no way to isolate it from *to wind /wɪnd/*. As for the remaining eight verbs of motion around an axis, the word frequency statistics based on "Word frequency data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)" (Davies, 2011) shows the following results:

Rank	*Verb*	*Frequency*	*Share (%)*
1	to turn	230,916	88.70
2	to spin	9,399	3.61
3	to twist	8,198	3.15
4	to rotate	4,412	1.69
5	to revolve	2,560	0.98
6	to whirl	2,444	0.94
7	to twirl	1,430	0.55
8	to coil	964	0.37
	Total	260,323	100.00

Table 2: Verbs of motion around an axis stats



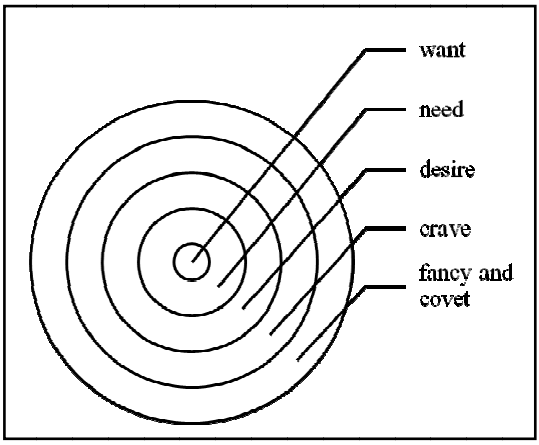
Graph 1: Verbs of motion around an axis (A Possible Prototypicality chart)

Even this scale, which represents a result achieved by what we may call a 'temporary' method, shows some tendencies which links verbs' frequencies and meaning components. Although extracting meaning components or semantic features may seem to be atomistic to some degree, it is nevertheless interesting to see how features change from the centre to the periphery of a verb class or category. If frequencies reflect at least some aspects of prototypicality, then we may conclude that moving in this direction: *to turn* → *to twist* → *to rotate* → *to revolve* → *to twirl*, may cause a very likely increase in both degree and intensity of rotation towards the periphery of the category of verbs of motion around an axis. Another tendency is that the inherent length and/or complexity of action denoted by these verbs seem to act in the same way – they increase on the way from *to turn* towards *to twirl*.

The second verb class to be analysed shows similar tendencies. Verbs of desire, more precisely the subclass named 'want verbs' (Levin, 1993: 194), include the following verbs: *to covet*, *to crave*, *to desire*, *to fancy*, *to need* and *to want*. The data extracted from the Corpus of Contemporary American English lead us towards the following conclusion in regard to prototypicality 'levels':

Rank	*Verb*	*Frequency*	*Share (%)*
1	to want	538,882	64.29
2	to need	286,620	34.20
3	to desire	7,851	0.94
4	to crave	2,631	0.31
5	to fancy	1,214	0.14
6	to covet	983	0.12
	Total	838,181	100.00

Table 3: Verbs of desire



Graph 2: Verbs of desire (A Possible Prototypicality chart)

Once again, there are some conclusions that might be drawn from the progression based on verb distribution. If we take a look at the following sequence: *to want*/*to need* → *to desire* → *to crave*/*to covet*, we may once again say that both intensity and complexity of emotions seem to increase as we move towards the periphery. One may say that the number of semantic features added to 'the core meaning' increases on the way from the centre to the periphery. On the whole, both verb classes seem to show the same meaning shifts when we move from the more frequently used verbs towards those with scarcer distribution. Verbs seem to act in a way similar to those of nouns and adjectives – unmarked terms seem to have a higher frequency of usage than the marked ones and this pattern reflects itself onto the potential prototypicality of verbs. This paper is far from being able to predict the universality of these claims related to prototypes or to match Greenberg's (1966) idea that frequency may be considered to be the primary determining factor of markedness or that this phenomenon has cross-linguistic implications. This is just one small step towards studying verb prototypicality and we need much more evidence in order to make new assumptions.

5. Conclusions

All things considered, we may conclude that there are meaning and prototypicality-related patterns that can be tracked in the distribution-based classification of various classes of verbs and that this study may be carried further on. The most general idea is that 'generic verbs' are closer to the centre, whereas specific verbs tend to move towards the periphery – this is accompanied by an increasing number of distinctive features as we move away from the centre. Verbs limited in terms of use in specific contexts are on the periphery. This is probably due to the fact that their 'specificity' actually limits them to certain contexts, but we may

also claim that it makes them less prototypical. When we look at some other verb classes, we may also see that obsolete or derogatory or insulting verbs are always on the periphery, once again due to their usage limitations. Another reason for the results we achieved might be found in the notion that the distribution of synonymous or partly synonymous verbs tends to be dispersed. Once again, this might not be the consequence of their being less prototypical, but the reason for their 'loss' of prototypicality. If all this can be replicated in other languages as well, then this study may bring us to more important conclusions. Furthermore, the study showed that verb frequency is an insufficient factor in studying verb prototypicality, which means that contrastive experimental procedures involving subjects should be performed in order to provide more details on the connection between semantic features of verbs and their prototypicality across languages.

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CONTRASTIVE VIEW OF SERBIAN AND ENGLISH COLLOCATIONS

Abstract Taking into consideration the principles of collocability within the lexical system of a language, in the paper we propose the idea that a contrastive analysis of collocational correspondents may be of significance in demonstrating systematic relations between two languages in lexical patterning, not only through one-to-one correspondence, but also through cases of contrast and difference. We have researched into congruent and equivalent standard collocations of Serbian (L1) and English (L2), and a sample based on dictionary data has demonstrated a twofold contrast relation, i.e. divergent and convergent. Furthermore, some examples have indicated that there are collocations in L1 for which no correspondent can be authenticated in L2, thus suggesting a difference between the languages through a collocation gap. The implications of the findings may be reconsidered within foreign language teaching, translation and lexicography.

Key words: collocation, contrastive analysis, convergent relation, divergent relation, collocational gap.

1. Contrastive analysis and lexical co-occurrences

The issues of contrastive lexicology have been predominantly concerned with foreign language teaching and translation. Within language teaching, the most frequently discussed topic is the problem of false friends, i.e. the difficulties that arise from the superficial similarity between lexical counterparts such as *Gymnasium*/*gymnasium*, *eventuell* / *eventually* or *starten* / *start* from German and English (Hartmann 1973: 30). Semantically based contrastive lexicology has been especially important in an attempt to clarify the equivalence between lexemes of the languages contrasted, which is in Hartmann's (1973: 32) opinion a "skewed" equivalence, and ranges from straightforward counterparts, like *grill* (En.) / *grillen* (Ger.), to complete lack of equivalents, as in the case of English *simmer*, which has to be rephrased in German.

A systematic description of similarities and differences between collocations of two languages with theoretical objectives has rarely been attempted. The most extensively explored collocational subjects are pertinent to foreign language teaching and translation, while the focus has been on problematic cases of correspondence or equivalence. The pedagogical research into collocations has been carried out to aid vocabulary teaching methodology and to substantiate suppositions

that differences in lexical patterning between the native and foreign language may suggest hindrances in acquiring the collocations of the latter. Nesselhauf (2003: 238-239) states that in language teaching non-congruent collocations should receive particular attention, because the points of differences should be clearly demarcated in teaching. Howarth (1993: 42) notices that it is misleading to treat collocation largely as arbitrary co-occurrences that must be learned as wholes. From what he concludes, it seems that the quantitative approach to collocations is not dispensable, but cannot be relied on in foreign language teaching, where the nature of the phenomenon of collocability should be scrutinized to raise awareness of potential problems in learners.

The objectives of contrastive studies of collocations mostly relate to the development of collocational competence in foreign language learners. Bahns's (1993) account of differences between German and English collocations concerns the difficulties German learners of English may have when searching for the English equivalent of the verbal collocate in German collocations, in instances such as Ger. *Falle stehlen* – Eng. **put a trap*, Ger. *Opfer bringen* – Eng. **bring sacrifice*, Ger. *Versprechen halten* – Eng. **hold a promise*, in whose translation the application of word-for-word technique is not appropriate. He also contrasts German ('Ausgangssprache', L1) noun + verb collocations with syntactically correspondent English ('Zielsprache', L2) verb + noun collocations, with regard to total and partial equivalence. Total equivalence can be summarized as $N_A = N_Z$ / $V_A = V_Z$; it holds between both nominal and verbal collocates of German and English collocations, as in *Geduld verlieren / lose patience*, *Gesetz brechen / break the law*, *Kontrolle ausüben / exercise control*, *Schluß ziehen / draw a conclusion*, *Versprechen brechen / break a promise*. Partial equivalence is best expressed as $N_A = N_Z$ / $V_A \neq V_Z$, when only nominal collocates are equivalent, as in *Eid brechen / violate an oath*, *Kompliment machen / pay a compliment*, *Rede halten / make a speech*.

As for Contrastive Analysis in general, Đorđević (1994: 56-57) stresses the importance of deciding on the criterion on which to found the analysis, which is the problem of comparability. The comparability criterion may rest on formal correspondence or equivalence. We hold that the standard of equivalence is a crucial translation concept, which, however, cannot be the ultimate comparability norm in contrastive matters. Equivalence is not absolute or system-based, as it constitutes a relation between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT) in a given translation act with regard to variable translation strategies and objectives. On the other hand, Contrastive Analysis is concerned with similarities and differences between languages in their systems, i.e. in the abstract sense of linguistic competence. In translation, as a manifestation of linguistic performance, in addition to systemic facet of languages contrasted, the effect of other factors is appreciable, such as the function of the ST and TT, or the social and cultural ambience of the translation act, etc. The equivalence in translation may depend entirely on the content of the message as a whole, not on the form or content of individual units. Furthermore, translation equivalence does not always imply congruence in form, with translation

shifts often employed as a translation technique. Translation equivalents can be compared on semantic grounds, but do not necessarily indicate features which demonstrate fundamental similarities or dissimilarities in the systems.

Furthermore, in translation, dissimilarities in the systems of two languages should be resolved to accomplish the primary objective of translation to transfer the content or the message of the ST. In lexical terms, for example, this means that lexical gaps, which indicate differences in the lexical systems of the two languages, are not insuperable, since "gaps" are not to be incorporated into the TT. The English neologism *naked street* [A STREET WITHOUT ANY CONVENTIONAL METHOD OF CONTROLLING TRAFFIC] has no correspondent in the lexicon of Serbian. However, in the process of translation, it would be essential to provide an adequate equivalent, not necessarily of the same formal features, at least by employing a translation shift from a lexical unit to a noun phrase, as in the following instance:

(1)*The concept of the naked street was spearheaded by the Netherlands, where traffic lights have been stripped from several junctions in recent years*. ("Denver Post", 2005)

(2)*Koncept ulice bez signalizacije* / *ulice bez saobraćnih znakova* / *ulice bez obeležavanja osmišljen je u Holandiji, gde su poslednjih godina sa nekoliko raskrsnica uklonjeni semafori.*

The relations which hold between the English lexeme *naked street* and the Serbian lexical gap is system-based; the relation between the English lexeme *naked street* and the Serbian noun phrase(s) *ulica bez signalizacije* / *ulica bez saobraćnih znakova* / *ulica bez obeležavanja* in the two utterances is translation-based. The former pair indicates differences between the two lexical systems, while the latter pair demonstrates translational parallelism. Hence, the parameters of comparison in translation and contrastive analysis do not seem identical. In translation, comparability criterion involves meaning relations, i.e. equality in content (equivalence), which may incidentally be accompanied by the equality of form (congruence), whereas in the contrastive framework, it pertains to correspondence which incorporates both equivalence and congruence.

Ivir (1981: 51-59) has methodically dealt with formal correspondence and translation equivalence regarding ST and TT relations. He holds that there is a noteworthy difference between language-based (system-based) and text-based (equivalence-based) formal correspondents, since the former stand in a one-to-one relationship, whereas the latter stand in a one-to-many relationship. We may add that, unlike in system-based comparison, translation-based equivalents are not necessarily formally correlated, as one and the same content may be realized through various forms – a unit in the ST may have several equivalents of distinct forms in the TL. This is also argued by Ivir (1982: 51-59), in whose opinion formal correspondents in translationally paralleled texts are never matched in totality, as they are when contrasted as parts of the systems of the two languages.

2. Contrasting collocations of Serbian and English

In addressing the issue of comparability of collocations of L1 and L2, we wish to suggest that contrastive lexicology may also assess lexical patterns of the languages contrasted, not only isolated lexical units. In theory, the differences in collocations of two languages have been predominantly researched through error analysis in language teaching and within corpora of aligned parallel sentences in translation. We believe that they may be explored contrastively to reveal not only the (non)existence of one-to-one correspondents, but also the overall contrastive relation between two languages in the collocational domain of their lexical systems. Berndt (1969: 31-36) recommends that systematic contrastive analysis of a lexical kind should not only be concerned with difficulties in establishing correspondences or equivalence, but should work out networks of interconnections between two language systems, which will assist developing effective methods of selection and presentation of the lexical material in foreign language teaching, as well as improve bilingual dictionaries. Such an approach to collocations may reveal similarities and dissimilarities in lexical patterning and collocational restrictions at work in the two lexicons, for descriptive purposes. Even though we are aware that the analysis cannot be all encompassing, as it cannot cover all of the established or possible collocations in two languages, we believe that it may give insight into universal contrastive relations of two collocational systems, by not being restricted to one-to-one correspondence or problematic cases of correspondence.

Collocation is a binary lexical pattern whose structure is determined by the morphological classes of the lexemes in the pattern. Collocations are not arbitrarily patterned chunks, since lexical patterning is regulated and conditioned by the morpho-syntactic and semantic features of lexemes. Collocability potential is delimited by collocation-specific constraints, i.e. collocational restrictions of an explicit syntactic kind pertaining to the structuring of morphological classes, and of an implicit semantic kind, deriving from the meaning of lexemes. Hence, lexical combinatorial procedures should be viewed as standardized rather than routine.

In a sample of Serbian and English lexical collocations we have examined the relations of contrast and difference between the languages (cf. Kurteš 2006). The study is system-based, conducted with reference to the lexical systems. The collocational data was collected from available standard Serbian (Serbocroatian)-English dictionaries, i.e. *Hrvatsko ili srpsko-engleski enciklopedijski rečnik / Croatoserbian-English Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Ž. Bujas, 1983, Grafički zavod Hrvatske, Zagreb) and *Hrvatsko ili srpsko engleski rječnik / Croatian or Serbian-English Dictionary* (M. Drvodelić, 1970, Školska knjiga, Zagreb). The sample studied does not involve specialized registers of language use, since collocational patterns within terminological systems are highly restricted due to the monosemy of established terms.

In the analysis, both formal and semantic criteria of comparability have been involved. We have selected L1 and L2 collocations of identical structure, all binary

and analogous as to sequential ordering of morphological classes. As for the content of the collocations studied, it is transparent in all instances, transparency being an inherent semantic feature of collocations. The contrasted L1 and L2 collocations are of equivalent content, regardless of a probable non-equivalence between individual L1 and L2 lexemes in the sequence, as their content is built compositionally, through the interaction of the lexemes combined. This implies that equivalent lexemes in the two languages can have incomparable collocational ranges, which may indicate that particular collocational content in L1 cannot be realized through the choice of direct (dictionary) equivalents in L2, e.g. (Ser. *dati* – Eng. *give*) Ser. *dati* (*loš/dobar*) *primer* – Eng. *set an example*; (Ser. *namestiti* – Eng. *set*) Ser. *namestiti krevet* – Eng. *make the bed*; (Ser. *gust* – Eng. *dense*) Ser. *gust saobraćaj* – Eng. *heavy traffic*.

We shall here attempt to illuminate the cross linguistic relations of contrast and difference through examples of common collocations from Serbian and English. The contrast implies disparity in the number of collocations of equivalent content, so it can be a) divergent, when one collocation in L1 can be correlated with two or more congruent and equivalent collocations in L2, or b) convergent, when two or more collocations in L1 can be correlated with only one congruent and equivalent collocation in L2. On the other hand, we have observed the relation of difference in the collocation gap, i.e. the absence of a collocation in L2 which would formally and semantically correspond to the given collocation in L1.

The divergent relation of contrast holds between a single Serbian collocation and two or more English collocations congruent with and equivalent to it. The content realized in L1 by a single collocation is realized in L2 through multiple collocations, as in the following:

dokazati alibi (V N) – *establish an alibi* / *prove an alibi* (V N)

izlečeni alkoholičar (Adj N) – *recovered alcoholic* / *reformed alcoholic* (Adj N)

jesti s apetitom (V Prep N) – *eat with relish* / *eat with zest* (V Prep N)

mirne demonstracije (Adj N) – *peaceful demonstrations* / *non-violent demonstrations* (Adj N)

mladunče vuka (N N) – *wolf cub* / *wolf whelp* / *wolf offspring* (N N)

održavati mašine (V N) – *maintain machinery* / *keep up machinery* / *service machinery* (V N)

oduzeti pasoš (V N) – *revoke passport* / *withdraw passport* (V N)

platiti odštetu (V N) – *pay indemnity* / *pay compensation* / *pay damages* (V N)

proglasiti amnestiju (V N) – *proclaim amnesty* / *issue amnesty* / *declare amnesty* (V N)

pružiti podršku (V N) – *give support* / *lend support* (V N)

srdačna atmosfera (Adj N) – *cordial atmosphere* / *congenial atmosphere* / *warm atmosphere* (Adj N)

sumnjivo lice (Adj N) – *dubious character* / *suspicious character* / *shady character* (Adj N)

ugrabiti priliku (V N) – *grasp an opportunity* / *seize an opportunity* / *take up an opportunity* (V N)

voditi bitku (V N) – *wage a battle* / *fight a battle* (V N).

A convergent relation holds between two or more Serbian collocations and a single English collocation congruent with and equivalent to them, as in the following:

iskazati naklonost / *ispoljiti naklonost* / *pokazati naklonost* (V N) – *show favor* (V N)

nadati se žarko / *nadati se živo* (V Adv) – *hope fervently*

najbolja namera / *poštena namera* / *iskrena namera* (Adj N) – *good intentions* (Adj N)

oblačiti se ozbiljno / *oblačiti se svečano* (V Adv) – *dress formally* (V Adv)

prazna fraza / *šuplja fraza* (Adj N) – *empty phrase* (Adj N)

zapodenuti svađu / *zametnuti* / *započeti svađu* (V N) – *pick a quarrel* (V N).

The case of difference between Serbian and English in collocational domain is evident in instances in which particular content in L1 is not encoded by a collocation in L2, but mmay be encoded by a segment of different formal features. For example, the Serbian collocation *moriti glađu* has its equivalent in the English lexeme *starve*, but not in a formally and semantically corresponding collocation. We have noted collocation gaps in English in searching for the correspondents of the following Serbian collocations:

a) *sneg se beli* – the L2 collocation gap is due to a lack of a verb in L2 meaning [PRESENT ONESELF / EXIST IN WHITE COLOR];

b) *krojiti sudbinu* [CONTROL ONE'S DESTINY] – the English verb *tailor* [MAKE SUITABLE FOR A PERSON OR PURPOSE BY CHANGING THE DETAILS (*tailor a program* / *arrangement* / *production*)] would not be an equivalent to Serbian *krojiti*, as it does not have the meaning [TAKE CONTROL OVER]; also, *shape one's destiny* is only a near equivalent [INFLUENCE ONE'S LIFE TO A CERTAIN EXTENT];

c) *zahvatiti vodu* [FILL A VESSEL WITH WATER FROM AN UNREFINED SOURCE] – the given action has not been conceptualized through a collocation in English;

d) *sjaj sunca* – the nominal collocate is related to the verb *sijati* (Eng. *shine*; *the sun shines*), and conveys neutral reference to the intensity of the light emitted; therefore, we have ruled out the near equivalents in English, i.e. *brightness of the sun*, *gleam of the sun*, *luminosity of the sun*, as in the first *brightness* refers to strong, dazzling light, in the second *gleam* refers to faint light, whereas in the third *luminosity* is technical.

The examination of the sample has indicated that systematic relations between the languages contrasted can be searched within the area of lexical patterns. Although the rules of lexical patterning are not as explicit as those of grammar, their observance will result in combinations of lexemes compatible on syntactic, semantic or stylistic grounds and thus acceptable in a language. The collocations examined above are examples of patterns established in the lexical systems of the two

languages, so that a contrastive analysis may be effective when applied to collocations as units of those systems.

Additionally, convergent and divergent collocational relations between the two languages point to some semantic issues within the languages themselves. Specifically, in quantitative terms, the number of L1 collocations converging into one L2 collocation and the number of L2 collocations diverging from one L1 collocation is up to three, so that absolutely synonymous collocations within one language are rare. This phenomenon supports the idea that substitutability in collocations is minimal. In some instances, the equivalent and congruent collocations in the divergent or convergent relation differ in stylistic variations, as some of the lexemes are formal, e.g. *cordial* (formal) / *warm* (neutral) *atmosphere*, *revoke* (formal) / *withdraw* (neutral) *a passport*, or old-fashioned, e.g. *zametnuti svađu*. This finding can be helpful in lexicographic endeavors to specify differences in usage between the collocations of two languages, whose content is identical, and yet one of them is stylistically marked.

3. Conclusion

The exploration of the sample of Serbian and English collocations has confirmed that a contrastively oriented inquiry into institutionalized lexical patterns requires that the lexical systems of the languages be examined thoroughly, with the recognition of collocational restrictions and ranges of individual lexemes. Collocations established in the languages contrasted comply with unwavering constraints on lexical patterning, both syntactic and semantic. Collocations lend themselves to contrastive examination, because they are not produced arbitrarily. Contrastive investigation into collocational data may reveal relations between the collocations institutionalized in the languages contrasted, which may be one-to many, many-to-one and one-to-zero. This may have further implications for vocabulary teaching methodology, translation and lexicography.

As for vocabulary teaching, collocations should be taught by referring to collocational ranges and collocational restrictions at work in the lexical system of a language, in a manner similar to teaching explicit rules of grammar. Still, since collocations are so numerous that they cannot be exemplified by every single instance, laying stress on the non-arbitrariness of lexical patterning would be an advisable method of instruction. In translation, since collocational ranges of equivalent L1 and L2 lexemes do not necessarily match in their totality, equivalent collocations should be searched for within the system of the TL lexicon, as intuitively established equivalents or tentatively replicated SL lexical patterns may be unnatural or even meaningless in the TL/TT. Accordingly, collocation gaps should be carefully reconsidered, since TL gaps cannot be filled by observing the standards of SL lexical patterning or by word-for-word translation strategy.

Lastly, the explorations in corpus linguistics have dealt systematically with the procedures of identifying collocations by means of calculating the frequency of

word co-occurrences in electronic corpora. Computer-based research into collocations has also aided the development of software used in collocation extraction and concordance. In some cases the research has been far-reaching, and guided towards the advances in the design of corpus query tools, bilingual corpora and dictionaries. However, no parallel bilingual or multilingual corpora for Serbian have been devised, the investigation of which may increase our knowledge of comparability of Serbian collocations with collocations of other languages. A Serbian-English or English-Serbian parallel corpus can assist in compiling a bilingual collocation dictionary, as it can enlighten the contrastive relations between the lexical patterns of the languages and systematic cases of contrast and difference, which can facilitate the interpretation of collocational data for lexicographic purposes. Owing to the speed of electronic sample browsing, a machine-readable format of such a corpus would have many applications in translation, lexicography and the cross language comparability in contrastive lexicology.

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EFFECTS OF STRATEGIC READING INSTRUCTION ON EFL STUDENTS' READING PERFORMANCE

Abstract The aim of the research reported in this paper is to investigate the effects of a strategic reading instruction framework based on the theoretical concepts put forth by Klingner and Vaughn (1996; 1998) on learners' performance on reading assessment. The research was conducted with two parallel groups of EFL learners at B2 level studying at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad (1 – experimental, 2 – control) over the course of two months. The students in the experimental group had reading instruction following a structured strategic framework, whereas the control group had a more traditional, teacher-led reading instruction. This research adopts a mixed method design and types of data collected include a reading measure (pre-test and post-test) and researcher in-class observation. It is hypothesized that the experimental group will significantly outperform the control group on the post-test reading measure.

Key words: Reading, reading comprehension, strategies, EFL, CSR.

1. Introduction

Having been for almost half a century under the influence of dominant behaviourist models, over the last three decades the theory on reading in an EFL context has recognized the influence of cognitive psychology, which views reading as an active event. Generally, reading is today seen as a "purposeful, and creative mental process in which the reader engages in the construction of meaning from a text, partly on the basis of new information provided by that text but also partly on the basis of whatever relevant prior knowledge, feelings, and opinions that reader brings to the task of making sense of the words on the page" (Eskey, 2005: 564). In this view, processing of information and general cognitive abilities are treated as crucial elements in the interpretation of an individual's ability to build representation of the meaning of a text that is accurate and coherent. Reading strategies, commonly defined as "processes that are consciously controlled by readers to solve reading problems" (Grabe, 2009: 221), bridge the gap between cognitive psychology and reading pedagogy – when confronted with a reading task, learners use their minds and cognitive abilities in active ways to help them understand it (Williams and Burden, 1997).

2. Research on strategic readers

Effective reading instruction is based on the insights into how proficient readers achieve comprehension and tackle obstacles to understanding. From reading research on strategic readers, it has been concluded that successful readers use various reading strategies in order to understand the text and that they are metacognitively aware of the process of their reading (Anderson, 1999; Grabe, 1991; 2009; Koda, 2004; Palincsar, 2003; Pressley, 2006). In his summary of some of the most important findings from research on reading strategy use Grabe (2009) states that all readers, regardless of the rate of their success in reading comprehension, use many strategies. Furthermore, he asserts that good readers and poor readers use the same type of strategies, but that good readers use strategies more effectively than do poor readers. Most importantly in the light of the present study, in his summary of research findings, Grabe concludes that reading strategies can be taught effectively.

Another very important conclusion from a large number of research studies indicates that strategic readers often apply strategies in combination, rather than overusing single strategies and that they automatize certain combinations of strategies as routine effective responses to reading comprehension needs, as they have been successful numerous times in the reader's past experiences. Reading instruction that utilizes multiple reading strategies has been found to be particularly successful in facilitating the process of becoming a strategic reader (Baker, 2002; Block and Pressley, 2007; Klingner and Vaughn, 1998; Pressley, 2006).

In the present study, CSR (Collaborative Strategic Reading), a strategic framework proposed by Klingner and Vaughn (1996; 1998), was put to test with the aim of providing an answer to the following research question:

C) Is the structured strategic reading instruction more effective in improving the EFL learners' reading comprehension than the traditional teacher-led reading approach?

Corresponding to this research question, a set of null hypotheses are as follows:

There is no statistically significant difference between the pre-test and the post-test scores in the experimental group.

There is no statistically significant difference between the control and experimental groups on the post-test scores.

3. Research Methodology

The study reported in this paper adopts a mixed-method design, the aim of which is to first arrive at possible generalizations regarding the matter in question with the use of quantitative methods, and then to provide a deeper insight using qualitative methods. Quantitative data included a reading measure, administered before and after the strategic input. The qualitative method included inquiry by observation, purpose of which is to "describe the setting that was observed, the activities that took place in that setting, the people who participated in those

activities, and the meanings of what was observed from the perspectives of those observed" (Patton, 2002: 262). The aim of this investigation is not to confirm the qualitative data using the quantitative data, and vice versa, but to form a clearer picture of the matter at hand.

3.1. Participants

The investigation included a total of one hundred and fifty-eight students (N = 158) at B2 level, studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad, who took a course in English as a faculty requirement. Students at B2 level of CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference) are particularly appropriate for the study of strategies used in reading L2 texts, because this is the first level of knowledge at which students can understand the main ideas of complex texts on both concrete and abstract topics. Furthermore, since many researchers believe that L2 readers are more attentive to the surface structure of the text as opposed to L1 readers (e.g. Carrell, 1983; Muchisky, 1983), B2 is the first level at which the learners are equipped with the level of language skill development needed for the strategy use to become internalized and automatized.

The investigation included two parallel groups of participants, namely the experimental group with eighty students (N1 = 80) and the control group with seventy-eight students (N2 = 78).

3.2. Classroom Intervention

The intervention lasted for ten weeks (more specifically, forty classes) during the spring of 2010. Following the CSR framework, four reading strategies were taught in the experimental group – a) preview, b) click and clunk, c) get the gist, and d) wrap-up[1].

The first strategy taught in CSR is "preview". As Klingner and Vaughn (1998) state, its main goal is for students to predict what they will read and to activate their background knowledge. Making predictions will help generate hypotheses about the content of the text, set up goals and objectives for reading and identify its purpose and possible benefits (Carrell, 1988; Oxford, 1990; Pressley, 2006). According to Rosenblatt (1978), background knowledge is what the reader brings to the reading event and it includes his or her life and educational experiences, feelings, personality. This knowledge is organized into schemata, or mental structures "in

[1] It should be noted that this study attempts to investigate the effect of the proposed strategic framework on learners' comprehension scores, without testing the effects of the individual/collaborative dichotomy of the reading event on the development of reading strategies and reading proficiency.

which we store all the information we know about people, places, objects, or activities" (McGee and Richgels, 1996: 5). Activating appropriate schemata facilitates comprehension and it is particularly important for less proficient EFL readers who usually fail to adopt a holistic approach to the text (Anderson, 1999).

During the reading, "click and clunk" is the reading strategy implemented to help students monitor their reading comprehension and identify when they have breakdowns in understanding. Many researchers state that lack of adequate vocabulary knowledge represents one of the crucial obstacles to text comprehension (Anderson, 1999; Levine and Reves, 1990; Pressley, 2006). One of the ways that this issue has successfully been dealt with is explicit teaching of vocabulary strategies. In CSR, students are taught several vocabulary strategies which help them overcome comprehension blockages. They include strategies such as looking for contextual clues in the sentence which contains the unknown word (i.e. the clunk), widening the context with sentences that precede and follow the clunk sentence and looking for clues there, identifying word parts and looking for prefixes and suffixes.

Another reading strategy used is "get the gist", which helps students to identify and focus on the most important idea in a section of a text, excluding non-essential information. Main-idea comprehension, or getting the gist, represents a complex mental activity which involves attentional responses, metacognitive awareness and strategic support (Grabe, 2009) and, as such, is not an easy task. It is, therefore, suggested that particular emphasis be placed on effective instructional environment (Palincsar, 2003; Pressley, 2006).

After reading, students in CSR use the "wrap-up" strategy to formulate questions and answers about what they read and review key ideas, with the aim of checking understanding of the whole reading passage. According to Moreillon (2007), readers cannot and should not try to integrate every bit of information they read into their schemata – "main ideas give learners the opportunity to pass judgement on the value of information and use it effectively" (Moreillon, 2007: 98). Students must understand what they read so that they could use accessed information effectively. In CSR, students can generate "five W's and one H" (who, what, when, where, why and how) questions about the most important information in the text in order to facilitate comprehension checking.

The manner in which this strategic input was used and practised with the experimental group was modified as classes progressed, from a general discussion about strategies, over teacher modelling, to students' application in reading, first with scaffolded assistance and then, finally, without it (Janzen, 2002).

On the other hand, the control group followed the reading instruction based on traditional, teacher-led classes – following cues from the teacher, the students would first read the text, then they would check the meaning of any unknown words or phrases with the teacher, or using a dictionary, the teacher would then ask comprehension questions to check that students understood what they had read, which would be followed by a short discussion about the text.

3.3. Materials

Materials used in the present study consisted of the texts from the course book *New Cutting Edge – Upper-Intermediate* (Cunningham and Moor, 2005). The number of texts covered during the ten weeks of intervention was twelve. These included a wide range of topics from concrete (for example *How to become a celebrity*) to more abstract ones (for example, *Medical ethics and medical science*).

3.4. Instruments

Instruments used in the study included parallel forms of a reading comprehension test, administered before and after the strategic input. They consisted of two texts with the approximate length of three hundred and fifty words, with ten multiple-choice questions for each text. Each test consisted of four different types of reading questions. Among these, two types of questions tested basic comprehension, namely "getting the main idea" items and "factual information" items. The test also included vocabulary items and inferencing items.

3.5. Data analysis

In order to investigate the research question and the null hypotheses stated previously, quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted on the gathered data. Firstly, a planned analysis using the paired-samples t-test was performed on pre-test and post-test scores of the experimental and the control group respectively, as well as the independent-samples t-test testing the difference between the experimental and the control group before and after the strategic input. The tests were performed using SPSS Statistics 17 software.

The variables investigated in the quantitative part of the research are as follows:

T1 – the average score of the participants on the pre-test measure (reading comprehension test 1),

T2 – the average score of the participants on the post-test measure (reading comprehension test 2).

Both variables have numeric values and represent average students' scores on a scale of 0 to 30.

Following the quantitative analysis, a qualitative analysis was performed using the methods of interpretation and categorization of the data gathered through in-class observations.

4. Quantitative analysis and discussion

A previous inspection of the gathered data determined that no data were missing and that the analysis could include all participants.

In order to allow for the comparison of the results of the two groups involved in the study, an initial analysis was performed with the aim of establishing that the experimental and the control group do not differ significantly. The results of the initial independent samples t-test can be seen in Table 1.

	Experimental group T1	Control group T1
N	80	78
Mean	21.130	20.037
Std. Dev.	8.722	9.799
Mean Diff.	1.093	
SE of Diff.	1.608	
t	.680	
p	.499	
$t_{0.05} = 1.99$ $t_{0.01} = 2.65$		
N – number of participants; Std. Dev. – standard deviation; Mean Diff. – mean difference; SE of Diff. – standard error of mean difference; *t* – *t*-value; *p* – *p*-value.		

Table 1: Independent samples t-test for pre-test measure scores

On average, the participants from the two groups scored similarly on the initial reading comprehension test, with the result of the data analysis indicating that there is no statistically significant difference between the groups ($t(77) = 0.680$, $p > 0.05$). Based on this analysis, it was concluded that it was possible to begin the structured strategic input in the experimental group.

Following the strategic input and the post-test measure, the difference in the scores of the experimental and the control group on reading comprehension test 1 and reading comprehension test 2 was tested with a paired-samples t-test. Results are shown in Table 2.

	Experimental group	Control group
N	80	78
95% CI	2.34, 6.47	-1.62, 3.92
Mean T1	21.29	20.21
Mean T2	25.7	21.36
Mean Diff.	4.41	1.14
Std. Dev.	12.62	9.39
SE of Diff.	1.39	1.03
t	4.245	0.822

p	.001	.413
$t_{0.05}$ = 1.99		
$t_{0.01}$ = 2.65		
N – number of participants; 95% CI - 95% confidence interval; Mean T1 – mean score on pre-test measure; Mean T2 – mean score on post-test measure; Std. Dev. – standard deviation; SE of Diff. – standard error of mean difference; *t* – *t*-value; *p* – *p*-value.		

Table 2: Paired samples t-test for scores on the pre-test and the post-test measure

Results show that the difference between scores of the control group on two tests is negligible and the effect of teacher-led instruction is non-statistical ($t(77) = 0.822$, $p > 0.05$), whereas the difference between scores on the two tests of the experimental group is statistically significant and the effect is noticeable ($t(79) = 4.245$, $p < 0.001$). The null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference between the pre-test and the post-test scores in the experimental group can be rejected.

Finally, another independent-samples t-test was conducted in order to see whether the experimental group outperformed the control group on the post-test, and whether these results are statistically significant. Results can be seen in Table 3.

	Experimental group T2	Control group T2
N	80	78
Mean	24.728	21.2
Std. Dev.	6.31	10.2
Mean Diff.	3.52	
SE of Diff.	1.49	
t	2.355	
p	0.021	
$t_{0.05}$ = 1.99		
$t_{0.01}$ = 2.65		
N – number of participants; Std. Dev. – standard deviation; Mean Diff. – mean difference; SE of Diff. – standard error of mean difference; *t* – *t*-value; *p* – *p*-value.		

Table 3: Independent samples t-test for post-test measure scores

Results show that the difference is statistical ($t(77) = 2.355$, $p < 0.05$). Thus, the null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference between the control and experimental groups on the post-test scores can be rejected.

From the results presented, it can be concluded with statistical certainty that the effect of structured strategic input is noticeable and that it leads to better results in students' reading comprehension scores. The students from the experimental group outperformed the students from the control group on the post-test measure. They also showed progress with respect to the pre-test measure – although both groups on

average scored better on the second test, which is to be expected since both groups had reading instruction, the results of the experimental group are statistically significant and, therefore, subject to unbiased interpretation.

5. Qualitative analysis and discussion

The teacher kept an account of the activities in class and the students' responses to these activities during the two months of the duration of the strategic input. The observations and conclusions that follow indicate that there was an observable effect of the structured strategic input on the behaviours of the students in the experimental group, whereas students in the control group showed very little progress.

Namely, students from the control group, who were exposed to traditional teacher-led instruction exhibited high dependence on the teacher and the course-book. They answered questions only when they were prompted. On several occasions, students from the control group did not use additional contextual information provided by the pictures, diagrams and subheadings in the course book in order to facilitate their understanding of the text, but noticed the connection between this additional information and the text only after the teacher pointed it out. They also showed high dependence on the syntactic, surface structure of the text, which was evident in the large amount of words they did not know and the inability to move forward with the text unless all the words are explained. On the whole, they failed to self-regulate comprehension processes as they read.

On the other hand, students from the experimental group showed greater autonomy during reading tasks. They more freely offered answers and solutions, providing their own interpretations and engaging in discussions with other students. They also showed greater tolerance of unknown words and phrases in the text, adopting the attitude that it is not necessary to understand every word in order to get the gist of the passage (the teacher made this discovery when, after a successful 'wrap up' stage, she asked students to explain the meaning of certain words and phrases and realized that, even though students have a general idea, they were still unsure of their meaning). Students from the experimental group also used a wide range of strategies during the reading stage (they were using contextual clues, connecting the topic with their background knowledge, breaking up unknown words and looking for prefixes or suffixes, etc.) and were able to put in words the process that led them to a certain conclusion or a comprehension of a certain word or phrase showing greater metacognitive awareness (for instance, while reading about natural disasters, students came across the adjective 'impending'; this was an unknown word for the entire class, until one student volunteered his interpretation, saying that he 'figured out' what the word means because he linked it with what he sometimes sees on his mobile phone – namely, 'message pending'). Furthermore, they often used text structure to make sense of the text, which can be interpreted as a sign of a

holistic approach to reading. On the whole, it can be concluded that as the course progressed so did the students' autonomy in dealing with the reading tasks.

6. Conclusion and implications for further research

The instructional treatment assessed in this study directly addresses the need for explicit instruction of reading strategies, which would provide learners with a wide range of tools in dealing with complex texts and subject matters. The findings of the study demonstrate several benefits of the analysed strategic framework. First of all, the students exposed to the structured input achieved significantly better results in the reading comprehension test as opposed to the students who participated in teacher-led classes. Furthermore, the research findings testify to the value of explicit instruction of multiple strategies in facilitating learner autonomy and confidence.

One limitation of the present study is related to the limited period of time allotted for the structured strategic intervention. As many researchers believe, instruction in strategies is a long and time-consuming process (Fan, 2010; Farrell, 2001; Grabe, 1991; Pressley, 2006). In light of this, more time is needed for the development of automaticity and internalization of strategies, the final goal of which is a self-regulated L2 learner.

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'WOULD YOU CARE FOR A DRINK?' – POLITE QUESTIONS AND REQUESTS IN THE CROSS-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF TOURISM INDUSTRY

Abstract In addition to the main function of communication (information exchange), its social function is often emphasized, especially in a cross-cultural context such as tourism industry. Within this line of thought, it has also been shown that any type of communication includes certain degrees of politeness. The main focus of this paper is to establish key expressions regarding polite questions and requests in the tourism industry context and to determine students' awareness of those expressions, as well as their attitudes towards degrees of politeness in English and Serbian. The study will present the results of a knowledge test and a questionnaire completed by university students of tourism and hospitality management, followed by the discussion of the results and their implications for the English for Tourism and Hospitality classes at university level.

Key words: politeness, language of tourism, pragmatics, EAP, ESP.

1. Introduction

Exploring foreign language competence and performance in the context of the language of tourism, requires an insight into communicative skills and pragmatics, and their implications for language for specific purposes. The language of tourism is packed with numerous social and professional interactions where the roles of speakers and listeners are clearly defined and need to be complied with. This type of specific language is also clearly situationally structured. One of the key goals in English for tourism and hospitality is to equip the learners with an array of functional and situationally appropriate language.

The concept of tourism as language or the so-called 'rhetoric of tourism' (Dann, 2001) comprises the relationship between the speaker and the listener and the influence the speaker has over the listener. Thus, we can see that the communication in the context of tourism can be very powerful, which calls for the implementation of the concept of politeness, which creates smoother and more harmonious communication (Cruse, 2011).

Pragmatics is concerned with the study of communication and contextual meaning and relative distance of participants in a conversation (Yule, 1996). It involves the investigation of the speaker's language and what is behind the speaker's

words and how a particular conversation sequence defines the relationship between the speaker and the listener. If we put this theory in the context of tourism, which is mainly a service industry, we can easily conclude that the success of this business is partially dependent on the successful communicative exchange between the speaker and the listener, i.e. a successful interaction between tourism professionals and their clients and customers. In the context of teaching and learning English for tourism and hospitality, tourism professionals need to acquire an inventory of expressions and also become aware of other aspects that are communicated through them. Our specific area of interest in this paper deals with the expressions of politeness in English and students' awareness and usage of these expressions.

Sometimes it is extremely difficult to maintain an appropriate level of politeness in your native language, thus we can assume that it would be more difficult to be polite in a foreign language. There are many psychological and sociological reasons causing this difficulty, many of which go outside the scope of this paper. We assume that one of the main causes, in addition to level of foreign language proficiency, could be lack of cross-cultural awareness. If we are in a familiar social setting, we know the rules of the interaction, including the level of politeness needed (Yule, 1996). But when in a different or unknown social setting, e.g. when speaking in a foreign language, we consciously or subconsciously struggle to define our role and the role of our conversational partner in a new conversational context.

2. The concept of politeness

Politeness is a universal communication concept that may be expressed differently in different cultures and languages (Bergelson, 2003). To put it in a broader context, the study of politeness comes under the study of utterances called speech acts and events, which are studied by pragmatics. Speech acts are utterances which require a performance or certain actions and are given specific labels: a complaint, a compliment, a promise, and apology, a request and so on (Yule, 1996, p 47). Many of these utterances are of interest for the language of tourism. They can be classified in different ways, and in terms of politeness the most important distinctions are whether we are dealing with direct or indirect speech acts and whether we are employing negative or positive politeness strategy.

First of all, we need to give a possible definition of politeness. Lakoff (Lakoff, 1990) defines politeness as 'a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange'. We can see that this definition takes into account the participants of the conversation and their intention to accomplish something in the best and the most fruitful way. If we put this into the context of learning English for tourism, there is a new aspect involved – taking into account a different culture and its politeness strategies.

In English, the most common forms of politeness are expressed through indirect speech acts and negative politeness strategies. This has been observed by other authors interested in the concept of workplace politeness strategies. Thus Bergelson (Bergelson, 2003) when comparing Russian and American social communication strategies notices that there is a positive correlation between politeness and indirectness in American language patterns. The key to this type of strategies is that they give or grant independence to the hearer. It is also called deference politeness. For example, a receptionist might say using an indirect speech act:

a) Could you give me your passport, please?

Or a tourist may ask a passer-by using an indirect speech act with a negative politeness strategy:

b) I am sorry, but could I ask where Central Station is?

In these expressions, we usually have an apology followed by an indirect question with a modal verb, most typically:

Can/Could I ask… May/Might I ask…

For the purposes of this paper, we have investigated students' attitudes toward politeness in general, if they are aware of certain politeness expressions in the context of tourism industry, if they are able to produce these expressions and finally which expressions they have most typically used. The expressions that were expected are given in Table 1:

FUNCTION	EXPRESSIONS
Asking for (further) information/explanation	*Can/ Could you tell me if/ wh-word…* *I would like to know if/wh-word…*
Asking for permission	*Can/May/Could/Might I ask if /wh-word…* *Do you mind if I (open the window)?*
Politely requesting an action from someone else/ politely ordering	*Can/ Could you …(e.g. put out a cigarette), please?* *Would you mind (e.g. putting out a cigarette), please?*
Offering your help or action	*Would you like me to…?* *Shall/ Should I…* *Do you mind if I…?*
Addressing the customer/ client	*Sir / Madam*
Other expressions	*Please,….* *Excuse me….* *I am sorry….*

Table 1: The expressions that were expected

3. Research aims and methodology

The empirical part of the paper comprises a questionnaire about students' attitudes towards politeness in the context of tourism industry and a two-partite test

on their awareness of certain politeness expressions in English and their ability to use them independently. The research was performed in two phases. Research sample includes 40 first-year students of Hotel Management and 56 students of Tourism Management at the Faculty of Science.

The questionnaire consisted of a total of 12 questions, six of them being demographic questions. Students were also asked to give a general assessment of their level of English and to state how often they used English outside the classroom.

The test about students' ability of independently producing polite expressions was given in the form of contextual situations. The students were given a description of nine situations in their mother tongue and asked to produce a sentence(s) in English which would be most appropriate in the given situation. For example:

Situation 5: Tražite od svog kolege da proveri neke cene za vas. Šta kažete u toj situaciji?[1]

_____

Expected answer: more formal: Could you check those prices for me, please?or less formal: Will you check those prices for me , please?/ Please check those prices for me, will you?

The students' answers relating to their choice of polite expression in English were assessed according to the following scale:

3-appropriate (if the expression completely corresponds to one of the common polite expressions in English)

2-partially appropriate (if part of the expression was wrong in terms of word choice or order)

1-inappropriate (if the expression content was wrong for the given context, the wording of the expression is wrong or the expression does not exist).

0-unanswered.

Spelling mistakes and grammar errors after the polite expression in the sentence were not assessed.

The test about students' awareness of polite expressions in English was given in the form of 10 situations in Serbian each followed by two possible sentences in English. Students were asked to circle the best responses for the given situations. For example,

Situation 5: Radite na aerodromu na prijemnom šalteru. Šta kažete putnicima?[2]

a) Give me your passports and tickets.
b) Can I see your tickets and passports, please?

Expected answer is b.

[1] *You are asking from your colleague to check some prices for you? What do you say?*
[2] *You work at the check-in desk at the airport. What do you say to the passengers?*

4. Discussion of questionnaires

As it has already been mentioned, research sample comprised 40 students of Hotel Management (HM group) and 56 students of Tourism Management (TM group). These two groups have different courses in English which are focused on the specific language of their future professions. Both courses cover broader context of the English for tourism and hospitality, but they also focus on subject-specific topics and situations. Topics and situations covered with Hotel Management students are related to customer relationships, hotel facilities, staffing and internal organization and marketing within the hotel industry context. Topics and situations covered with Tourism Management students involve tourism policy planning, designing itineraries, tour planning, exploring relationship between geography and tourism, as well as customer relationships in a travel agency or passenger transport companies. When analyzing the questionnaires, we also searched for differences in responses between the two groups.

We will briefly look into the demographic questions. Most of the students in both groups were female (67% in HM group and 79% in TM group) and they learned English for more than eight years prior to the faculty enrollment. This is in accordance with our school system where students are introduced to English in the fifth grade of primary school and then continue learning until the fourth year of secondary school. It is interesting to mention that one student from TM group had never learned English before. Only six students obtained Cambridge First Certificate in English. The analysis of the results showed no significant difference in the responses of the students of different gender.

The main purpose of the questionnaire was to assess students' awareness of cross-cultural elements related to politeness in the language of tourism. A majority of the total 96 students from both groups are aware of the significance of politeness with the context of tourism industry (96%), only one student did not have any opinion on the question and one student said that he/she did not agree with the statement. They also see politeness as a competitive advantage in a tourism industry company (89%) and agree that they need to learn polite expressions in a foreign language (90%). Yet they need to learn more about cross-cultural discrepancies in different languages and cultures. When asked if they would adjust their politeness strategy to guests of different cultures they gave mixed answers. Most of the students in HM group agreed with the statement (57.5%) and 17.5% said that they completely agree. However, 12.5% of the students in HM group said that they had no opinion on the topic and 12.5% said that they did not agree with the statement. When TM group is concerned, 18.8% of the students said that they completely agree with the statement, 40.8% of students said that they agree with the statement, 20.4% did not have an opinion on the issue while 20% of the respondents did not agree with the statement.

5. Discussion of test results

The aim of the first part of the test was to establish students' awareness of different polite expressions in English. The results show that both HM and TM students are well-aware of the level of politeness they need in the relationship to their customers or clients, the level of distance they need to keep between them and their clients. Most questions were answered with almost 100% correct answer choices. Students were aware that answers such as *'What is that you want?', 'Hang on a minute, I'll ask Sandra.',* and *'Sit and wait in the lounge for few minutes'* were not the right ones to choose in tourism and hospitality related context. Situation 8 where the appropriate phrase included the expression *'We look forward to welcoming you again in the future'* was the most difficult one to choose. There were 75% of students in HM group and 63% of students in TM group who chose this answer, while 25% in HM group and 37% in TM group chose the wrong answer. In question 6 where they were expected to choose the sentence *'One moment please, madam. I'll work out the total'*, 87% in HM group chose the correct answer, 10% chose the wrong answer and one student did not answer. Three students in TM group chose the wrong answer to question 9 where they circled *'Can you come at 7 o'clock'* instead of '*I wonder if it is possible for you to come at 7 o'clock?'* One student in TM group did not answer either one question.

It is clearly noticeable that students from HM group showed slightly better results in terms of the level of politeness needed for handling customers successfully. These results can be justified by the difference between hotel management and tourism management professions. Unlike tourism management profession, which is more involved in tourism planning and policy instead of clients and customers services, hotel management or hospitality profession is of slightly stronger customer-oriented nature.

All this shows that students are highly aware of these expressions, but when their productive skills were tested students showed an average performance especially when we talk about their choice of polite expressions. Students used a rather limited set of expressions in their answers. This proves that there is some degree of distortion and loss in the process of transfer. An insight into some of their answers will illustrate students' performance. Question 1 (asking for someone's name and contact details) and question 8 (asking someone to close the window) were asked in the appropriate and partially appropriate way by most of the students - 85% and 87.5 % in HM group and 82% and 81.5% in TM group respectively. This is followed by answers to question 5 (asking your colleague to help you) and question 6 (offering a drink in a restaurant) which were given appropriately or partially appropriately by 72.5% and 75% of the students in HM group and 71.5% and 76% of the students in TM group (e.g. *'What do you want to drink?'* or *'Do you want something to drink?'* instead of '*What would you like to drink?'*). Question 7 was also formed appropriately by most of the students with 46% in HM group and 56% in TM group being partially appropriate, meaning they are acceptable but not

totally acceptable. These answers were expected because most of them could also be related to general situations in a foreign language and not only to tourism context.

In strict tourism-related contexts (questions 2, 3, 4, 7 and 9) HM and TM students made more mistakes in asking questions appropriately or they left the questions unanswered. This could be explained by the lack of vocabulary needed to confidently ask the question.

When looking into specific polite expressions and vocabulary that students used in their questions, we can see in Table 2 that they used a rather limited set:

Asking for information/ permission/ action to be taken	*Can/ Could I have/ get/ ask/…?* *Can/ Could you check/ close/ shut…?*
Offering something to someone/ help	*Would you like…?*

Table 2: Expressions that were most often used by the students

Only two students in HM group as well as two students in TM group used the expression *May I (ask)…?* to ask for permission. In question 7 where students should offer to call the doctor, only three students in HM group and 6 students in TM group started their question with *Should I…?* and four students in HM group and five students in TM group started their question with *Shall I…?*. In the same question, only eight of students in HM group and eight students in TM group used expression *Would you like me to…?* In question 5 where they needed to ask their colleague for help, only one student in HM group and one student in TM group used the expression *Would you mind (checking) …?*. It can also be noted that students do not address the customer appropriately. Only five out of 40 students from HM group began their sentence in question 2 with *I am sorry, sir/madam…,* ten used inappropriate ways of addressing the customer *I am sorry Mr./Mrs.…,* and the others did not address the customer at all, most likely because they could not think of an appropriate expression. When TM group is concerned, the results resemble those obtained in HM group. Most of the students have problems with appropriate ways of addressing the customers. Seven students began their replies with *I am sorry Mr./Mrs.* while four students began with *Hey/Hello.* In question 2 where they needed to ask a customer to stop smoking, seven students in TM group used the expression *Stop smoking.* Eleven students in TM group and ten students in HM group never used *please* in any of their replies. The student from TM group who is a true beginner answered all the questions either appropriately or partially appropriately. In question 6, when both groups were asked to offer guest a drink, zero out of a total of 96 students from both groups used the formal politeness form *Would you care for a drink?*

6. Implications and conclusion

In the empirical part of the paper aimed at testing students' awareness of certain politeness expressions in English and their ability to use them independently,

the majority of participants demonstrated that they are well-aware of the level of politeness and the level of distance they need to maintain with their clients and guests. However, when their productive skills were tested by choosing specific forms of polite expressions, students displayed an average performance. Moreover, students were incapable of recognizing politeness strategies in strictly tourism-related contexts. Students in HM group showed somewhat better results than students in TM group in terms of the level of politeness needed for handling customers successfully. This can be justified by the nature of hotel management or hospitality profession which is slightly more customer-oriented than tourism management, which could involve tourism planning and policy instead of dealing directly with clients and customers.

Students did not show a satisfying level of empathy towards cross-cultural discrepancies in different languages and cultures. When asked if they would adjust their politeness strategy to guests from different cultural backgrounds, a significant number of students said that they would not. The results of this paper clearly suggest that there is a need for the students to acknowledge the differences between cultures. Knowing these differences may reduce the intercultural miscommunication or communication breakdown.

The major sources of miscommunication in intercultural contexts lie in the differences in patterns of the way people speak and act. The acquisition of sociolinguistic rules can be greatly facilitated by teachers who have the necessary information at their command. Teachers are those who have the sensitivity to use their knowledge in order to guide students and help them interpret values and patterns they would otherwise have difficulty in interpreting.

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EFFECTIVE COURSE RELATED ASSESSMENT TECHNIQUES

Abstract The aim of this paper is to address the issue of adequate assessment of students' knowledge with respect to the various levels of cognitive functions involved in language learning. The need for improving learning, teaching and assessment strategies is evident from this perspective, since the assessment and grading are mostly performed based on declarative knowledge and lower level cognitive functions, such as recognition and recall. The selected assessment techniques will be presented both from theoretical and practical aspects. The techniques presented in the paper are used to assess some of the following: prior knowledge, analytical skills and critical thinking, synthesis skills and creative thinking, problem solving skills and application and performance. The application, construction, advantages and disadvantages, and cognitive demand on the students of some of these techniques are also illustrated.

Key words: assessment, prior knowledge, analytical skills, critical thinking, synthesis skills, creative thinking, problem solving skills, application, performance.

1. Introduction

The ongoing battle to improve students' learning boomerangs directly into the hands of teachers. In the complexity of the teaching job, there is not one single issue that is said to be the most important. The field of assessment, however, is where most fine tuning should happen once we cast a glance at common assessment practices in language classrooms.

One of the crucial aspects of teaching is monitoring students' progress. This monitoring is most often referred to as continual evaluation, and although it is carried out, it rarely provides information on how well students have mastered what has been taught, what topics might be problematic, why they might be problematic or how students could make better progress. In fact, most of these evaluations are summative and only provide numerical, quantitative information – grades or points – as relevant in the norm-referenced evaluation. The failure to provide feedback to students is also failure to provide valuable information for teachers, the flow of which enables meaningful learning and a positive environment for further progress of both teachers and students.

The maintenance of this classroom "feedback loop" (Angelo and Cross, 1993) is not the only reason to work at employing informative assessment techniques. There are instances when what is being taught is not what is being learned. When these gaps are uncovered, it is usually too late in the course to reverse the damages. Timely and accurate diagnostics therefore must be applied, so that the gained insight may be used to re-direct teaching or otherwise enhance student learning.

2. Grading, evaluation, assessment

So far three closely related synonyms have already been used in this paper – '*assessment', 'evaluation'* and '*grading'*, the usage of which may need some clarification, since proper treatment of their meanings represents key aspects of this paper.

Grading is a process which almost invariably results in a numerical or alphabetical symbol for either specific tasks or a whole course (Speck and Jones, 1998). The final grade assigned corresponds to a specific quantitative measurement against pre-set norms. Grading is necessary practice and a result of norm-referencing, where it is important to establish the standing of an individual within a group or relative to a certain level of achievement required to obtain a 'pass' (Cohen, 1994). This may include many different activities, such as completing a course, course of studies, passing entrance exams, standardized tests, etc. (CEFR, 2001). Its primary usage is related to institutional usage. Although grading is an unavoidable and necessary process, it speaks very little of the actual knowledge or applicability of the knowledge of individuals in question.

Similarly, much like the grading process, *evaluation* is concerned with giving a judgment on the quality of what is being measured. Most often, however, it is understood as a process of large-scale measurements of quality of series of individuals or institutions. As such, it hardly represents a factor of confusion when speaking of progress monitoring of individuals in specific contexts of course-related development.

Finally, *assessment* is a term greatly varied in usage and interpretation. Speck and Jones (1998) use it to cover the notion of evaluation, as described above. However, most authors (e.g. Cohen, 1994; Bachman, 1990; Elbow, 1993; CEFR, 2001) use this term to denote the process of establishing the quality of contents (task, gained knowledge, essay, etc.) for diagnostic purposes. In this respect, assessment is a valuable tool providing accurate feedback to teachers and students. Often, it is interchangeably used with the term *testing* (Brown, 1994; Cohen, 1994), although this may not at all times be fully justified. Assessment is also used to denote activities such as specifying criteria by which to ascertain someone's knowledge or language performance (Rivers, 1983). Also, assessment denotes the process of specifying contents and format of tests and examinations, as well as describing the gained course-related knowledge relative to the specifications mentioned above (CFER, 2001). As such, assessment is formative and suitable for

small-scale measurements of individuals' output in context specific situations (Angelo and Cross, 1993). Its primary goal is to provide feedback and information of the state of affairs and not to assign grades or compare individuals within a group.

Since the aim of this paper is to present techniques which can be used to ascertain the gained knowledge or performance of students in order to diagnose potential problems and enhance learning, and hopefully teaching, the choice of the term 'assessment' seems to be the most adequate one.

3. Achieving effectiveness

As was previously discussed, in order to be effective as a diagnostic tool, assessment must be formative in nature. Moreover, it must also be learner-centered (Angelo and Cross, 1993), since the primary goal is to observe and improve the process of learning. Final objective is not to achieve short-term successes, but to develop metacognitive skills and in that manner empower students to become more independent, self-monitoring and fully responsible for their learning. By cooperating in the assessment process students may discover that their study habits must change to improve learning. Providing students with the tools that give them insights into their context-specific knowledge progress will by the transfer of knowledge become the tools readily used in other activities and life-long learning, thus achieving long-term successes.

To gain full benefits from assessment, techniques employed should be context-specific (Angelo and Cross, 1993): closely related to the teaching goals, subject matter, applicability of the knowledge gained, as well as other context specific factors (micro-culture developed within a class, etc.). If this requirement is met when constructing assessment tools, a great level of validity is achieved (Hamp-Lyons, 1991). The concept of test reliability, however, might be construed as problematic, since such context-specific assessment tools cannot give the same results applied to a different group of test-takers. As was pointed out earlier in the text, the aim is to diagnose and not rank or grade, so the lack of reliability does not represent a problem when aiming at establishing the acquired knowledge.

To be fully effective, assessment tools must reflect course goals, objectives, and expected learning outcomes, which, in turn, must be explicitly given to the students. Finally, assessment should be followed by detailed, straightforward and prompt feedback to be beneficial to the students.

One of the rare common goals of all teachers at all levels is promoting cognitive growth of their students. Assessment techniques (henceforth ATs) should therefore reflect various levels of cognitive functions, enabling both students and teachers to gain information on how much progress has been made and how further learning and teaching should be modified and directed.

Cognitive psychologists have devised different models of cognitive structure and there is constant development and research conducted in this area. The most

influential taxonomies are Bloom's taxonomy (Bloom et al., 1956; Bloom, Hastings and Madaus, 1971) and McKeachie's (McKeachie et al., 1986). However, since the aim of this paper is not to provide a discussion on the different cognitive models but to illustrate assessment that would enhance students' cognitive growth, it will suffice to adopt Bloom's taxonomy and adapt it to the context of language classroom and its users. The diagram below illustrates the continuum of cognition ranging from the lower-level functions (knowledge, understanding and application) to higher level functions (application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation)[1]:

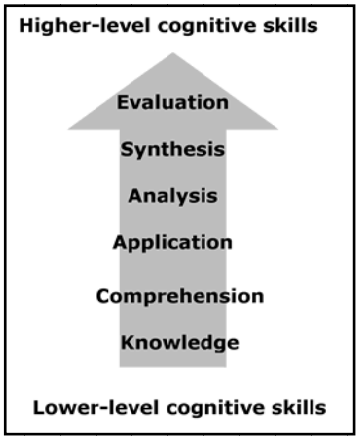

Figure 1

Mostly, tests that are administered measure only low-level cognitive functions, such as recognition and ability to remember, while higher-order cognitive abilities, such as application, analysis, synthesis, creative thinking and problem solving remain untested, and most likely, underdeveloped. Higher-order functions might present teachers with greater difficulty when designing tests and providing feedback to the students. However, gained knowledge that remains within the low-level thinking domain is insufficient and purposeless, and dedication to promote higher-order functions should be primary to all responsible teachers.

Lonergan's theory of cognition consists of three steps: experience, understanding and judgment (Lonergan, 1957). Indeed, cognitivists agree that the only meaningful learning occurs when new data is linked to the already existing schemata. Prior knowledge is one of the strongest and consistent individual difference predictors of achievement (Ausubel, 1968; Angelo and Cross, 1993; Jonassen and Grabowski, 1993). From this perspective, establishing a base-line knowledge is extremely important, as is constant monitoring of its progress and

[1] Since cognitive functions are measured along a continuum from simple to complex, skills of application are often considered to be the overlapping level.

finally, the redefinition of learning goals and decisions involved in the learning process.

In accordance with this, ATs shown in the paper range from those used to establish base-line knowledge to those measuring progression of knowledge at different cognitive skills.

4. Assessment techniques

This subsection of the paper will provide explicit examples of ATs, adopted from Angelo and Cross (1993) and adapted for the purpose of assessing students of the English language at the Faculty of Legal and Business Studies, Novi Sad, in various linguistic courses.

Based on what they are assessing, the ATs can be classified as assessing:

- prior knowledge, recall and understanding
- skills in analysis and critical thinking
- skills in synthesis and creative thinking
- skills in problem solving
- skills in application and performance

Due to space constraints, only techniques belonging to the first three groups will be presented in the subsequent text. Their cognitive demand on the students, skills being tested, and demand on the teachers will be shown, followed by actual samples, given in the appendix.

4.1. Assessing prior knowledge

It has already been mentioned that determining the base-line knowledge is extremely important at any point at which new topics or a new course are to commence. There are several reasons for this, but the main purposes are to "awaken" the already existing schemata, to direct and focus students' attention to key problems to follow and, in cases where that is possible, to re-adjust the course if needed.

When assessing prior knowledge, it is declarative learning that is being looked into: content of the particular subject, recall and, to a small degree, understanding of the investigated topic. These are, as was shown earlier, lower order cognitive functions, and this is the most often assessed knowledge in classrooms. The reason for this is, among others, the fact that these techniques are generic and applicable in most disciplines. Some ATs that can be used at this cognitive level are:

- Background Knowledge Probe
- Focused Listing
- Empty Outlines
- Minute Paper

- Muddiest Point[2]

Background Knowledge Probe is an AT that can be used when it is necessary to check an inventory of closely related knowledge before beginning a course, unit, topic, or new, important concept. It can be useful to determine the most effective starting point, if there is flexibility to do this, an appropriate level at which to begin instruction, as well as to determine the new terminology load, etc. To be effective, it should be focused and not generalized. Generally, this AT works well with a class of any size and proficiency levels. Table 1 shows the main features and tips for constructing such a tool, and comments on positive and negative aspects of the AT. An example used for assessment when starting a course in English morphology is given in the appendix (Sample 1).

How to construct the AT?	• in the form of a handout, overhead projections, or written on the whiteboard • possible items: short answers, open-ended questions, multiple-choice items • important to give at least one question to which all students will have a correct answer • use less technical and more generic vocabulary • stress that this will not be graded (could even be anonymous), give feedback as soon as possible
Positive sides	• suitable for class of any size • allows general or focused approach • suitable for beginnings of courses or new topics / concepts • determines base-line knowledge • awakens pre-existing schemata
Negative sides	• may cause negative first impressions (sometimes hard to change) • may disrupt teaching plans • may cause frustration to students with lacking knowledge

Table 1: Background knowledge probe features

4.2. Assessing skill in analysis and critical thinking

In the progression of knowledge acquisition it is of critical importance to assess analytical skills. They can be observed as results of procedural thinking: analysing information, questions or problems in order to understand them fully and solve them more effectively – it is the learning of "how" and "why". Actions usually associated with analytical skills and critical thinking are: classify, describe, discuss, explain, identify, locate, recognize, report, select, translate, paraphrase, appraise, compare, contrast, criticize, differentiate, discriminate, distinguish, examine, experiment,

[2] Capitalization is used intentionally to emphasize Angelo and Cross' original names for the chosen ATs.

question, test. Obviously, tests construed to assess this level of cognition will use some of the listed actions.

Quite obviously, these ATs will put a greater cognitive demand on the students. Some of the ATs suitable for this level of cognition are:

- Categorizing Grid
- Defining Features Matrix
- Pro and Con Grid
- Content, Form and Function Outlines
- Analytic Memos

Categorizing Grid is an AT which tests students' ability to sort objects and the information gained speaks of students' sorting rules, which are basic analytic and organizing skills, upon which more elaborate and demanding analysis skills can be developed. This AT prompts students to make explicit and implicit rules they use to categorize information in their memories. This type of exercise allows students an opportunity to rethink and revise and, in turn, gain more control over what is remembered, how it is remembered and how well it can be recalled when needed. Reinforcement of effective categorization and recall is beneficial since it is a transferable skill that can be used for other subjects and disciplines. Table 2 summarizes tips for constructing such tools and their advantages and disadvantages, while an actual AT used in the course of Introduction to English Phonetics and Phonology is given in the appendix (Sample 2).

How to construct the AT?	• In the form of a grid or table • Select two or three related super-ordinate categories that are particularly useful for organizing information gained in the class • Give a scrambled list of items belonging to the categories, making sure each item belongs to only one category • Look for patterns of miscategorization FOLLOW UP: • Ask students to verbalize why certain items were placed in given categories as a higher order follow-up activity ALTERNATIVE: • provide sorted items, ask students to provide superordinate categories • provide categories, have students provide lists of members
Positive sides	• Quick and simple • Flexible: move from general to more specific categories • Reinforces effective organization
Negative sides	• If not challenging (categories or items), may prove to be testing only memory

Table 2: Categorizing grid features

4.3. Assessing skill in synthesis and creative thinking

In literature there is much discussion and speculation when defining creative thinking, and most teachers, theorists and researchers agree that it is "interweaving the familiar with the new in unexpected and stimulating ways" (Angelo and Cross, 1993: 181). In the sense of course-related creativity, it could be argued that students demonstrate creative thinking by synthesizing prior knowledge and acquired course content. Assessing creativity may be one of the least tangible tasks, especially when defining criteria for assessment and grading. However, these ATs will stimulate students to create and allow teachers to "assess students' original intellectual products that result from the synthesis of the course content and the students' intelligence, judgment, knowledge and skills" (Angelo and Cross, 1993: 181). The following ATs are concerned with synthesis and creative thinking:

- One-Sentence Summary
- Word Journal
- Approximate Analogies
- Concept maps
- Inverted Dialogues
- Annotated Portfolio

Word Journal comprises of a two-part response, where the first task is to use one word to summarize what has been read, while the second task is to explain why the specific word has been chosen in the length of a paragraph or two. This is an AT which focuses on students' enhancing reading skills, and more specifically, on careful and deep reading for full comprehension. Also, it develops skills of creativity at summarizing what has been read, which are transferable skills used in all academic and real-life situations. Further, this AT sharpens the skills of explaining and defending by argumentation. It reinforces ability to write highly condensed abstracts and to partition large amounts of information for more effective storage and access in long-term memory. This AT presents a high cognitive demand on the students, while it is relatively easy for teachers to prepare and evaluate. Table 3 contains tips for construction of the tool, advantages and disadvantages of using it, while the example of usage of this assessment tool is given in the appendix.

How to construct the AT?	• choose a short text relevant to the topic / problem / course • possible to give a direction to a certain problem, but this is not mandatory • must be thought-provoking to be effective • choice of the word is not as important as is the explanation of the choice that follows ALTERNATIVE: • give a list of appropriate words for a given text, allow students to choose one and justify the choice • could be done as pair work, either the task itself, or the assessment of finished paragraphs

Positive sides	• promotes active learning, deep understanding • personal connection and experience with the text created. • choice and its defence promotes accepting the responsibility for the process of thinking and learning • important academic and professional skills
Negative sides	• should be used only if reading of the texts and their analysis is of crucial importance • unless being given the chance to share their work, students will benefit very little • anonymity is not possible due to the need to argument and communicate about the choices made

Table 3: Word journal

5. Conclusion

The main aim of this paper was to address the issue of adequate assessment of students' knowledge with respect to the various levels of cognitive functions involved in language learning. Various assessment techniques, whose primary goal is to address the issue of efficient learning, have been presented. These assessment techniques are learner-centered and focus on observing and improving learning, and at the same time they are teacher-directed: autonomy, academic freedom and professional judgment of teachers are respected.

These techniques have been proven to enhance the cognitive and metacognitive growth of students, and have also been found very useful in giving teachers accurate feedback on the effectiveness of the teaching process. They are a tool enabling a mutually beneficial process of assessment, with both short and long term effects. Students reinforce their knowledge and strengthen their skills whereas teachers sharpen their teaching focus and skills, thus gaining new insights.

Apart from the actual insight into the progress of knowledge acquisition, the extra effort expended by the teaching staff and relevant information gained through such assessment result in enhanced student motivation and the minimization of the negative affective filters, such as stage fright or fear of mistakes. These techniques provide a tool for the development of in-depth thinking and higher order cognitive functions, thus making gained knowledge applicable and more readily accessible in the long term memory. Overall benefits of such assessment techniques by far outweigh the extra amount of work done by teachers, ensuring boost in their motivation as well.

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Appendix

Samples of ATs used in some linguistic courses at the English Department of the Faculty of Legal and Business Studies in Novi Sad.

How many questions can you answer? You don't have to sign your paper, this is just a little exploration into your previous knowledge in morphology!

1. What is the science that studies language called? _____
2. Morphology is a _____ of linguistics.
3. Morphology studies the structure of

a) sentences b) words c) text d) communication

4. Morphology studies the creation of new words. For example:

a) word *happiness* is made out of building blocks of *happy* and *–ness* .
b) word *politely* is made out of building blocks of _____ and _____ .
c) word *impolite* is made out of building blocks of _____ and _____ .
d) word *cats* is made out of building blocks of _____ and _____ .

5. How many building blocks does the word *impolitely* consist of? _____ .
6. Building blocks of words, such as *happy* and *-ness* have meaning. True or false?
7. All building blocks from which words are created are called:

a) morphemes b) phonemes c) lexemes d) affixes

Sample 1: Background knowledge probe - Introduction to English Morphology

1. In the given table, provide information that is missing and answer the question below. (cells with a line indicate which information should be provided).

	labio-dental	_____	alveolar	palato-alveolar	glottal
_____	f	θ	_____	ʃ	_____
lenis	_____	ð	z	ʒ	

The table systematically shows main features of English _____ .

2. Sort these phonemes / f, m, θ, t, d, p, b, ð, v, l, w, s, z, n / in the table provided:

	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolr
fortis				
lenis				

Which phoneme does not belong to the table? _____

Sample 2: Categorizing grid – Introduction to English Phonetics and Phonology

Read the following text carefully, then choose one word that best summarizes the text. Justify the choice of the word in a short paragraph, using up to 60 words.

The most fully elaborated work on linguistic politeness is Brown and Levinson's *Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena* (1978), re-issued with a new introduction and revised bibliography as *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (1987). Working with data gathered from Tamil speakers in southern India, Tzeltal speakers in Mexico and speakers of American and British English, they provide a systematic description of cross-linguistic politeness phenomena which is used to support an explanatory model capable of accounting for any instance of politeness. Their claim is that broadly comparable linguistic strategies are available in each language but that there are local cultural differences in what triggers their use.

Brown and Levinson work with Goffman's notion of 'face', a property that all human beings have and that is broadly comparable to self-esteem. In most encounters, our face is put at risk. Asking someone for a sheet of paper, or telling them they have to wait to see the doctor, or asking them if they have glasses, or complaining about the quality of their work on one's car, or asking them the time, these all threaten the face of the person to whom they are directed. So when we perform such actions, they are typically accompanied with redressive language designed to compensate the threat to face and thus to satisfy the face wants of our interlocutors. So we may ask someone just to 'lend' us 'a tiny bit' of paper, or apologize for the inconvenience caused by having to wait to see the doctor, or treat glasses as a garment, or make a joke of our complaint, or ask the time in a way that either stresses our solidarity with the addressee or acknowledges the trouble we are causing. These are all examples of politeness, the use of redressive language designed to compensate for face-threatening behaviour.

Word that sums up the text is:

_____

Why I chose this word?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Sample 3. Word journal – Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis

PART TWO:
LITERATURE

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"THE INTERNATIONAL THEME" IN CONTEMPORARY SERBIAN LITERATURE

Abstract The civil wars in Yugoslavia at the end of the twentieth century − which caused ethnic cleansing and migrations − provided new ground for the treatment of the "international theme". This is reflected in three "Canadian novels" by David Albahari (*The Snow Man*, 1995; *Bait*, 1996; *Globetrotter*, 2001) and in Vladimir Tasić's *A Farewell Gift* (2001) in which the dissolution of ex-Yugoslavia is set against the Canadian background. Milovan Danojlić tells his largely autobiographical story as a Serbian émigré in France in his novel *My Adventure* (2002). At the same time several other writers of historical novels − Eliezer Papo, Ranko Risojević, Maksimilijan Ostojić-Erenrajh and Ivan Ivanji − also touch on the theme of different cultures and ideologies in close contacts.

Key words: "the international theme", cultures, clashes, conflicts misunderstandings, decency, solidarity, communication.

1. Springs of bewilderment

Various kinds of national prejudice have often been shaped in the history of European literature as the ridicule of everything foreign, strange, and therefore incomprehensible. French good manners and pronunciation are immortalized as affectation in Chaucer's Madame Eglantine. The French pretentious cult of high literacy is mirrored in Shakespeare's Prince Dauphin who writes a sonnet to his horse; and French erotic games figure as sexual perversities in Tolstoy's Monsieur Rambale. What some typical Italian features looked like in English eyes is reflected in Iago and many other characters from Volpone to Al Capone. Finally, Shakespeare and his contemporaries were seen as barbarians by Voltaire and Tolstoy. However, among the pioneering treacheries of this literary tradition were the works of Henry James with their new multicultural approach to what has been called "the international theme,"[1] the inevitable cultural misunderstandings of people in close personal contact. This marked the beginning of a different "great tradition" pursued

[1]See Richard P. Blackmur, "Introduction" to Henry James, *The Art of the Novel – Critical Prefaces*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York – London, 1950, p. XIX.

later in very different social, cultural and historical contexts, by Joseph Conrad, E. M. Forster, Jorge Luis Borges, Salman Rushdie, and others.

In Serbian literature the treatment of "the international theme" in terms of comic misunderstandings was first exploited in Jovan Sterija Popović's comedies *Lying and Paralying* (*Laža i paralaža*, 1830) and *An Upstart* (*Pokondirena tikva*, 1838) – mainly as a pretentious affectation of the language and manners of a "high" foreign culture. Later it was developed in different directions by Miloš Crnjanski and Ivo Andrić. Both volumes of Crnjanski's novel *Migrations* (I – 1929, II – 1962) deal with Serbian migrations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which large Serbian communities left their homeland and settled in different cultural environments in Habsburg Monarchy or Russia. Crnjanski's *Novel of London* (1971) is also inspired by various aspects of "the international theme," but it is mainly based on his own personal experience of living in England during World War II. Ivo Andrić exploited "the international theme" in his two major historical novels (*The Bridge on the Drina* – 1945; *The Bosnian Story* – 1945) and in many of his short stories ("The Letter from 1920" – 1948; "The Vizier's Elephant" – 1948; and others). In his fiction "the international theme" is shaped in the personal relations of the people living together but belonging to different cultures in Bosnia. Unlike H. James, J. Conrad, E. M. Forster and S. Rushdie, he did not have to cross the Atlantic Ocean, go to South America or India in search of his "international theme." He could just sit in the down town of Sarajevo and listen to the different church clocks ominously striking different hours, days and years according to Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic time-reckoning and make his own calculations about the Jewish calendar, as he did in his short story "The Letter from 1920".

The recent historical turmoil – civil wars, foreign peace-keeping missions (combined with bombing), ethnic cleansing and huge migrations of the civilian population at the end of the twentieth century – provided new arenas and vistas for the treatment of "the international theme" in Serbian literature. Some writers – like David Albahari and Vladimir Tasić – left for Canada and their new émigré environment is reflected in their fiction. The first of Albahari's "Canadian" novels – *The Snow Man* (1995) – was written while the author lived in Calgary on a grant of *Markin-Flanagen Program for Distinguished Writers*. The narrator, a Serbian writer and the bewildered, unheroic hero of the novel, comes as a visiting lecturer to a Canadian university after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. He feels that "his own life is falling apart together with the history of his country, his *ex*-country" (Albahari 1995: 34).[2] He is in a panic, suspecting that he himself is "no longer one man, one human being, but many people and many human beings", so that he is "looking at everything from several angles in the infinity of multiplied moments," "each of his thoughts becoming immediately many thoughts," "sufficiently different to stop" him

[2]The page references for the following quotations from this novel are given in brackets in the text.

from “accepting any one of them” and, leaving him in the end “hollow, tortured, an empty shell, like wreckage” (34).

At the same time he is bewildered by everything in his new environment: his Canadian colleagues are so kind that he is worried that he “won’t be able to live” in that country, because he could never be sincere and “tell anyone how much he hates him” (16). And when he asks his colleague, a professor of political science, whether “people have to go mad” if “the state goes mad,” he is deeply hurt by the cruel, if inevitable answer that “people have to go mad first, before the state does” (34). His colleague also points out that no institution can survive the downfall of a state, that “the parts of its body cannot hold together” while “the state is falling apart” (20–21), that the state which depends on the heart is bound to fall apart, because “the heart has been superseded” (21); and, of course, he takes this proposition as a personal insult.

And when the Dean of the Faculty supports this view by adding that “the heart is an anarchist,” he begins to feel that he may have been wrong the previous evening when he came to the conclusion that he “could never tell anyone that he hates him” in Canada (21)! However, a little later he consoles himself by the idea that if his country has gone mad, so has Canada: “Some people are driven mad by chaos, and some by geometry” (44). The implied parallel between “chaos” and “geometry” (as petrified order) illustrates a typical difference, and perhaps a misunderstanding, between the two cultures and their points of view. Moreover, when the professor of political science begins to explain the dissolution of the narrator’s ex-country by telling him that his country was “an unsuccessful experiment” (36) in the laboratory of history, the narrator feels like “striking him over the head with a wine bottle” (37), and this idea – perhaps not surprisingly – helps him to calm down!

The Serbian visiting lecturer is also irritated by many other phenomena – such as “the merciless time-table of his duties”: he is expected to “give a lecture” at ten, participate in an informal meeting with the representatives of various ethnic groups at two, attend a lecture on federalism at half past four, and comment on a film about his country at six o’clock (60). Is his irritation an ironic comment on the easy-going academic life in ex-Yugoslavia where a professor’s only duty used to be to teach four classes a week? The narrator − used to highly emotional relations with other people at home − is also repeatedly worried that he would “grow old” in Canada (47, 54, 67, 74, 109, 123), in a country in which – as one of his Canadian neighbours put it – “we are all strangers” (69). Finally, why are all his students so indifferent to whatever he has to tell them in his lecture? Is it because they live in a world in which there is no history and the present moment seems to be the only thing which matters?

The second of Albahari’s “Canadian” novels – *Bait* (1996) – takes the form of the narrator’s listening – in Canada – to the tape-recorded confessions of his mother’s life story. The narrator is again a Serbian writer of Jewish origin, driven out of his mind by the dissolution of his ex-country, and his mother – the victim of many horrors of Balkan (and not only Balkan) twentieth-century history – is in his

eyes an ideal, firm and resolute person in the prevailing chaos of her environment. Born as a Serbian girl in a village near Derventa in Bosnia, she decided to marry a Jew, to give up her name of Mara and become Miriam at the time when German "cannons were roaring" and "Hitler was biting at the little bits of Europe" (23). At this time she happened to live in Zagreb, "doubly alien" (Albahari 1996: 55)[3] (of Serbian origin, and a recently converted Jew) among Croats. But she was always ready to face whatever may befall her, always grateful for whatever little joys life had to offer − even if she knew that one "cannot live on dreams" (47), and that "hope was not happiness" (95).

The narrator discusses various issues of his mother's life story with his Canadian fellow-writer Donald who, as a Canadian, "had no idea of history," but was very "keen" on "explaining it" (72). When the narrator tells Donald that his mother claimed that Hitler's soldiers were welcomed with "flowers and chocolate" (18) in Zagreb, Donald, obsessed by facts rather than by meaning, insists on verifying if there was really any "chocolate" (19) and not just flowers on this occasion. Be that as it may, during the German occupation, in Hitler's Croatian puppet state, ironically enough, the narrator's mother had to become "a Serb again" (56) and persuade her children that they were not Jews. This was how she managed to escape with her husband and children to Belgrade, but her husband was soon shot in a German concentration camp and their children were killed in a railway accident (29).

All these fragments of Balkan history seem to explain the dissolution of the country, but the explanation is strongly coloured by the foreign environment in which it is given. To begin with, living abroad the narrator discovers − as he did in his previous novel − that he is personally falling to pieces and begins to "exist simultaneously in many places, in different times" (44). At the same time he begins to suspect that nothing "can delude a man as much as his belief that he is the master of his language" (45). On the contrary, "a new language" has become his master, which makes him "adapt himself to its own requirements" (45). As he himself puts it: "I am becoming another personality" (45). He also feels that he is "getting smaller and smaller ever since he stopped speaking his own language" (36).

In *Globetrotter* (2001) − the last of his "Canadian" novels – Albahari revives the theme of the dissolution of his ex-homeland in long discussions and ruminations of a Canadian painter, a Serbian writer (of Jewish origin), and a grandson of a Croatian Nazi ("ustaša"). But this time it is the Canadian painter who is the narrator of the story which takes place in a conventional Canadian art centre where the Serbian writer, named Daniel Atijas, comes as a visitor. Daniel is a "treble alien": as a Serb of Jewish origin, and as a man who has no homeland to look backward to. He consoles himself, however, by the idea that "everyone has his own hell," (Albahari

[3]The page references for the following quotations from this novel are given in brackets in the text.

2001: 10)[4] when his Canadian friend tells him how much he was worried by the referendum for the session of Quebec (10).

However, the novel centres on the personal dramas of the Canadian painter, the Serbian writer Daniel Atijas and a Croatian émigré that Daniel comes across almost, but not quite, by chance. When Daniel's Canadian friend and erotic admirer − keen on spending "almost the whole day" with him "visiting museums, galleries, bookshops and historical monuments" (32) − takes him to the local Animal Museum, Daniel notes that in the visitor's book someone called Ivan Matelić wrote down his name on June 2, 1924, adding that he was a globetrotter who came from Croatia. For Daniel this is a shock because the visitor did not put down the name of the country he came from, but the name of "one of its regions," which suggests to Daniel that his country began "to fall apart before it was properly put together" (30). At this moment Daniel remembers that "in the beginning was the Word" (The Gospel according to John 1: 3) and wonders if the visitor's "Word" may have already marked the end of his homeland.

The Canadian painter notes Daniel's curiosity and excitement, but he can hardly be expected to suppose that Daniel would not like further contacts which might enable him to find out more about his Croatian countryman. So he takes Daniel − in spite of his "initial opposition to his intention" (35) − to the museum's office, convinced that this would be appreciated, even though Daniel gives clear signs of his desire to avoid it. The result of this misunderstanding is that an acquaintance of the Canadian painter, eager to oblige, finds the address of Ivan Matelić's grandson who lives in the vicinity and who soon appears to meet his ex-countryman. It turns out, however, that the grandson has a personal story which partly explains how the disintegration of Yugoslavia started and what it was all about.

The grandson's story is full of misunderstandings: it was only at the beginning of the civil war in ex-Yugoslavia that he "began to follow the news," to remember "the Croatian words which, he was convinced, he had forgotten a long time ago" (105). His father was delighted that his son asked him "to speak only Croatian to him at least for an hour a day" (107) and that he began "to collect humanitarian aid for Croatian refugees" (107). Admittedly, when he saw several of his countrymen beating two young Serbs in Canada, he could not stop vomiting (107), so that his decision to go to Croatia during the war was modified. He realized he could not fight on the front line, and decided to join a humanitarian organisation to help the country of his origin. His experience of the war, of its cruelty and lies, was disappointing, and after research into family history he discovered that his grandfather was a Croatian Nazi ("ustaša"), who took part in the massacre of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies during the World War II. He even found the bones of a human finger in his grandfather's fountain pen case (118). This made him realize the nature of his

[4]The page references for the following quotations from this novel are given in brackets in the text.

national commitment and he was fully prepared to face it and tell his shameful story to Daniel Atijas. Daniel appreciates his confessions, he and the grandson of Ivan Matelić become close friends − and the Canadian painter is driven mad with jealousy when he gets a glimpse of the two walking in front of him, with Daniel's hand on the grandson's shoulder. This particular scene may be also an example of an international and personal misunderstanding, considering that putting your hand on your friend's shoulder − and in many Balkan social circles even kissing − may not mean anything more than a handshake in the West.

2. History as farce

Vladimir Tasić − born in Novi Sad in 1965 − took his Ph. D. in mathematics in Canada where he teaches at New Brunswick University. In his novel *A Farewell Gift* history is not, like in Albahari's fiction, a spring of bewilderment − it is a farce. The narrator's escape from Serbia is not a blind plunge from one hell to another, but a perplexing displacement from a joke about "chaos" to a joke about "geometry" (order). The joke about "chaos" is reflected in the narrator's historical associations − such as his explanation of the assassination of Prince Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914. Ferdinand is described as a stupid Prince-apparent, who is denied by even more stupid Austrian laws the right to present his wife on official occasions because she is just a countess (despised as an unworthy companion by the Austrian court). However, as the supreme commander of the Austrian army Prince Ferdinand takes advantage of a loophole in military regulations and, following the voice of his silly heart, he decides to share with his wife some of the honours due to him and takes her on a very dangerous journey to Sarajevo. Both will be shot by extremely inept Serbian patriotic idiots − "the first *pistolero* will not draw out his pistol in time" (Tasić 2001: 83)[5], "the second one will take pity on the Prince's wife and go to eat a meat-stuffed pie" (popular "burek" − 83), the third one will throw his bomb but miss the target of the Prince's big car, and even the assassin would not have completed his job if the driver had not tried to reverse the car at a dangerous corner. Prince Ferdinand, denied the royal grave, will be buried "in a damned provincial hole called Arschteten" (83), but owing to the clash of financial interests between the powerful Hungarian and Serbian butchers who exported pork, his assassination will be turned into an excuse for World War I.

When the story moves from the contemporary and historical traps of the jokes of the Balkan "chaos," it has to face the farce of the Canadian jokes of "geometry" (order). To begin with, Canada is a place .where "winter reigns forever," where "coldness is felt at first like menthol freshness which turns quickly into pain, dull in

[5]The page references for the following quotations from this novel are given in brackets in the text.

the teeth and cheeks, sharp in the throat; the shrinking of capillaries" starts "as a tickling in the nose and eyes; hoar frost is deposited on the eye-lashes; a breath of wind is enough for the freezing of your ears and the tips of your fingers" (47). But, of course, if you are driving through a town everything will look idyllic. You observe "landscapes from the world of Christmas cards" – "the little wooden houses built in pseudo-colonial style, the silver tunnels of branches overlaid by ice, the bright flowers of frost on window-panes; a skating rink on the lake in the park" (47). Within this idyllic framework "a yellow bus" stops to pick up a schoolgirl who embraces "her dog, a chocolate-coloured Labrador retriever" (48) as if they were parting for life.

Finally, the story of *A Farewell Gift* opens and ends with scenes which provide the intellectual framework for the narrator's descriptions of his experience with a foreign culture. A postman delivers a packet at the threshold of his house, the narrator signs the form, but he is surprised that it is addressed to his name. He often gets bills, but his wife, who is a potter, is the only receiver of packets in their Canadian home – the packets containing the stuff for glazing pottery, named "Evening Shadow," "Burnt Sugar," "Indian Summer," "Old Copper" (7), and so on. However, this packet is a box within a box, and the inner box contains the ashes of the narrator's late brother, who never contacted him in Canada, even if he obviously had his address. The letter in the packet is written by a humanitarian organization which legally collects the organs of the diseased. In its bureaucratic wording – which upsets the narrator very much – it expresses condolences to the "Honourable Closest Relative of the Diseased" and tells him that he can get in touch with their service for "contact with the customers" seven days a week, 24 hours a day, if he has "any questions" (12) to ask. The narrator removes the letter from the packet and puts it into the pocket of his shirt. When he tries later to make inquiries about his brother's death, he is told that they are talking to "other customers at the moment" (87), then he is exposed to listening to the advertising of their services in the transplantation of human organs, and is finally informed that his brother's death was caused by "cardiomyopathy of unknown origin" (86).

When he comes back home in the evening, he finds that the box with his brother's ashes is empty. His wife thanks him enthusiastically for "the most wonderful gift which she has ever been given" (131), and he realizes that she has already used his brother's ashes for glazing her pottery with marvellous effect. He feels that he has to tell her the truth. He remembers how important human ashes were in the history of glazing and tries to convince her that his late brother would have appreciated the opportunity of giving her such a marvellous and such a disinterested farewell gift – in fact an ideal gift from his brother's point of view because he himself had written a long article on the distinction between real gifts for which nothing is expected and the more frequent ones which verge on blackmail. The wife is not "overenthusiastic" about this story, which partly illustrates characteristic personal misunderstandings. But it also embodies the general intellectual framework of the novel because it assumes at every step that history is a

farce, that coincidences and misunderstandings embody the major aspects of human condition and destiny. Does this suggest that the Canadian idyll was for the narrator an ironic blessing?

3. The end of the world?

In his largely autobiographical novel *My Adventure − A Confession in Two Different Voices* (2002) − Milovan Danojlić tells the story of why he decided to leave his native country and settle in France, the story of his disappointment in his own idealization of the West and his discovery that "no one can turn one's own back on himself" (Danojlić 2002: 27).[6] At the beginning the hero of the story is worried by the fact that he himself is "a literate descendent of the illiterate nameless ancestors, shepherds, outlaws and peddlers" who had never seen anything but "the showers of rain" and "the waving of tree-tops in the woods," who had never heard anything but "their monotonous decasyllabic songs which did not change for centuries" (18). But when he began reading foreign newspapers, he realized their limitations in their reporting on Serbia, but consoled himself with a smile or with the afterthought that one could hardly expect intelligent and perceptive reporting on such a "cursed, lawless country" (20).

However, when he settled in Paris it turned out that many of his assessments of the advantages of life in the West were "rash and mistaken" (28), and his ability to "digest the horrors and stupidities" of Western press, life, culture and politics was weakened. So "the international theme" began to emerge not only in the foreground but also in many details of the story and the ideals of multiculturalism which it implied at the beginning. The trouble began in innocent personal relations: in Paris "a smile could be offered to anyone, particularly in shops, but one kept one's thoughts to oneself" (85); "cordiality and sincerity (...) were looked upon as the features of lower spiritual and intellectual development" (85). Of course, such misunderstandings were partly due to the hero's idealized vision of distant lands and cultures: "The grass is greener on the other side." But the barrier to his communication with other people grew also because of this commitment to his crucified homeland when the Western media began to spread appalling lies about the civil wars in ex-Yugoslavia. "Friends and acquaintances were fewer and fewer, and he himself drove away those who failed to retreat in order to spare them their hypocritical mumbling and their miserable excuses" (441). Finally, he felt that people could stand him only if he did not "take off the mask" of guilt which they put on his face (506).

When the bombing of Serbia started in 1999, he began to wonder why he was surprised − considering that it was done "in 1941, and in 1944, and in 1995, why not

[6]The page references for the following quotations from this novel are given in brackets in the text.

in 1999" (425)? But he was surprised, in spite of everything he knew "about the selfishness and arrogance of those in power", because he believed that "the hypocrites were unwilling to undertake the steps which would unmask them to the end" (424). However, it was not only the executors but also the reporters on what and why this was done in Serbia who reached the culmination of hypocrisy: the military operation under the title of Merciful Angel (474) was undertaken in order to establish several strategically important Western "military bases" in Kosovo (472), but it was played as a peace-keeping mission and a journalistic farce in which the killed innocent civilians were referred to as "collateral damage." It is in this context that the hero of the story was faced with the dilemma of whether to betray his country, or to show his ingratitude to France which offered him hospitality at a time of a great historical crisis.

In this situation his earlier escape from his country appeared in a new light: he began to see himself as "one of the first, most intelligent rats" (426) which had left the sinking ship in the mid-eighties. He remembered that at the beginning of Tito's reign "hundreds of thousands of his (Tito's) political opponents, real and potential, were killed" (456), that "eighty thousand peasants were imprisoned," that "thirty thousand" of Tito's own followers were exposed to tortures on the island of Goli Otok (456), but no one in the West seemed to notice this: no one used such "words as *dictatorship* and *totalitarianism* in describing the life-long President of the Republic" (456). Moreover Tito was buried with highest international honours as "a hero of the twentieth century" (448) – for "stabbing the Russian bear in the back" (448) and always indicating that he was "to turn left whenever he was turning right" (456), particularly while starting the non-aligned movement. "Fuck the century in which he was a hero" (448) is the narrator's comment. However, the Serbian leader at the time of the civil wars – "a student in the Faculty in which professors spent their entire professional life trying to justify revolutionary lawlessness" (449) – was fatal for the Serbian people. He supported and cherished the foolishness of his countrymen who believed that "bare hands and crazy perseverance were sufficient" for "the defence of national dignity" (10) against the most powerful military forces in the world.

Finally, the hero of *My Adventure* comes to the conclusion that "blessed is the man who knows how to suffer the limitations assigned to him by his family, environment, governmental set-up, and social framework" (29). After all, it is nobody's birthright "to ask for conditions which his environment should fulfil" for his arrival (29). Such a breakdown in personal and international communication, due to historical and political turmoil, results in the hero's lasting puzzlement and, finally leads him to the suspicion that he can hardly communicate with himself. This is how a historical drama finds its expression in Danojlić's novel in terms of a personal tragedy with international and cosmic implications, suggesting that perhaps God should try his next experiment with a blade of "grass," "an ant," "a worm" (499), but certainly not with a specimen of the human race. This seems to be the final personal, historical and cosmic farewell of Danojlić's fiction to "the international theme".

4. Is multiculturalism dead?

In Albahari's, Tasić's and Danojlić's novels the interplay of the Babylonian mutual misunderstandings of "natives" and foreigners is in the foreground as the backbone of their largely, or partly, autobiographical stories. But in some Serbian historical novels written at this time the question of the possibilities of communication between people belonging to different nations and cultures also appears from time to time, frequently within a political and/or warlike framework. So, for instance, in his historical novel Eliezer Papo writes about the life of Sephardic Jews in Bosnia (*The Sarajevo Tombstone*, 2001) from the times when they were expelled from Spain in the fifteenth century to the time when they left Sarajevo in convoys during the civil war in Bosnia at the end of the twentieth century. Sometimes "the international theme" appears in this novel in nostalgic and sometime in humorous terms, but it is, like in several other contemporary Serbian novels, rich in the depth of Jewish historical experience. In one of the opening scenes in which a Jew with his wife hurries up to get from Dubrovnik to Sarajevo, they are met by a dozen armed outlaws, who threaten their guide that he will be punished for bringing Turks into Bosnia! After being told that they were not Turks, the outlaws are puzzled: they must be Turks if they were expelled from Spain which is a Christian country! Besides, two different crosses and a crescent make enough confusion in Bosnia, so there is certainly no need for one more holy emblem. This is followed by the outlaw voice of reconciliation: everybody tries to escape from his own Turks; aren't the Jews doing the same as we outlaws? But the Jewish couple should be told that they have entered the house with many masters: "They will find it difficult until they get used to it − and even more difficult then!" (Papo 2001: 13)[7]

It turns out later that one of the Jewish refugees seems both happy and unhappy about their exile: "We have managed to leave Spain − but Spain will be unwilling to leave us for a long time" (49). And in the closing scene of this story some Jews remember with nostalgia the richness of their Spanish historical heritage: while they are paying "head-tax" (236) to those who let them get out of the local Bosnian horrors in 1992, one of the prospective Jewish refugees reminds his fellow-travellers that they would not have known a single Spanish "romance" (236) if they had not spent so much time in Spain! And owing to the fact that they stayed in the Balkans for four or five centuries, they will remember some wonderful love songs (*sevdalinke*). At this moment two old men begin to sing the well-known popular hymn to ex-Yugoslavia: "Jugoslavijo, Jugoslavijo" (237). "Partly with conviction. Partly with nostalgia. Partly in defiance. And perhaps just as it came, somehow humanly − without deep wisdom or reason" (237).

In Ranko Risojević's novel *The Bosnian Hangman* (2004) we also get occasional echoes of the Bosnian version of "the international theme." At the

[7]The page references for the following quotations from this novel are given in brackets in the text.

beginning of the Austrian occupation many people − administrators, soldiers, policemen, tradesmen, craftsmen and others − came to Bosnia from all over the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and they got a collective nickname: "kuferaši" ("suitcase people"). Among the newcomers was Alois Seifrid, the official state-employed hangman, not perhaps a typical Austrian by his craft, but he yodelled popular Austrian songs, brought his typical Austrian musical instrument (zithra) with him, and remembered his father's advice to master perfectly the technique of whatever he was going to do in his life. So he approached the art of hanging people with Austrian pedantry, including the study of anatomy in order to spare the victim unnecessary suffering. His discussion with his colleague, his Turkish predecessor Mustafa, offers an interesting example of mutual "international" misunderstanding. Seifrid argues that hanging should be as quick and as painless as possible, "far from the madding crowd", but Mustafa argues that it should be made as painful and and last as long as possible, because there are crimes for which the death sentence is not an adequate punishment. Besides, it would be a pity to deprive the public of such wonderful entertainment: just look how much children enjoy their cruel games torturing cats! Of course, they can never agree: for Seifrid Mustafa stands for "Oriental cruelty" and "Europe" is, of course, different! (Risojević 2004: 63) In the light of its twentieth-century experience Europe is, of course, different, if only in Seifrid's technical sense − no knives and ropes were extensively used.

In Maksimilijan Erenrajh-Ostojić's novel *Confidential Report* (1999) "the international theme" turns up in his descriptions of the effects of foreign occupation on the personal dilemmas and moral failures of a very ordinary human being. The narrator, largely the author's self-portrait, a young man of "half Jewish origin" (Erenrajh-Ostojić 1999: 58),[8] appears in the opening scene during the German bombing of Belgrade on April 6 1941, running away together with his mother and sister, from the centre of the city which was the main target of the air-attack. On their way, in a crater caused by an explosion, the hero spots several moving fingers just above the surface of a heap of debris, but he instinctively fails to stop and try to help the dying victim − maddened by bombs, by pieces of human bodies hanging on the trees, by the chirping of invisible birds, by the impulse to run for his own life, by a delicate feeling that he cannot stop his family in its flight. And several similar incidents follow in the story, the most moving is perhaps his failure to help Veljko, his lame best friend from his early boyhood, in his need. As a communist Veljko collaborates with the resistance movement, and after one of his "comrades" is arrested, Veljko is worried that he may have, under the pressure of torture, betrayed him to the police. When he comes to ask the narrator to let him spend the night in his office in the storehouse, the narrator feels that he could not "risk it", because he had "his mother and sister", and, moreover, was "half Jewish by origin" (58). At the same time he was fully aware that he was "denying to such a close friend the help

[8] The page references for the following quotations from this novel are given in brackets in the text.

which he must have offered him at all cost" (59). And it is with such awareness that he secretly follows his friend − but not in order to tell him that he "had changed his mind," but "to make sure that he would not come back" (59). However, the novel ends on a note of the triumph of ordinary human solidarity over ideological commitments. Petar, a truck-driver, who never concealed his admiration of Russia and Stalin, helps Ernest, an electrician who bragged with Hakenkreuz and other Nazi decorations during the occupation, in his great misfortune. Ernest's wife is mortally ill, the last train for German civilians is to leave Belgrade on the next day, and Ernest tries to console himself that he never did any harm to anyone, so that he could perhaps stay with his wife and his two daughters in Belgrade. But Petar reminds him of his Nazi decorations and attitudes during the war and persuades him to leave and so save his own life and secure the future for his daughters. Moreover, Petar offers his home as a shelter for Ernest's wife and tries to get medical help for her. All this seems to show that ordinary, uneducated people are sufficiently humane to care more for one another than for their political illusions. Does this seem to suggest that multiculturalism in its elementary human form may not be impossible, particularly if you do not take your own political attitudes more seriously than they deserve?

Ivan Ivanji, born in 1929 in Zrenjanin (Vojvodina), of Jewish origin, had first-hand experience of the German concentration camps (Auschwitz, Buchenwald). He was a student of German, a teacher, a journalist, a dramaturge, Assistant Director of the National Theatre in Belgrade, a diplomat and Tito's interpreter for German. His novel *The Governess* (2002) reflects some major aspects of European history such as the unemployment in the early thirties, Hitler's successful beginning of war operations, the massacre of Jews, the work of German Secret Police, German invasion of Russia, the victory of the Soviet army and its consequences in Eastern Europe. *The Governess* opens with a sketch of what seems to be a multicultural idyll in the author's native region of Vojvodina before World War II, and then describes its breakdown under the pressure of both Nazi and communist ideologies and massacres. The horrors of history make dramatic impacts on the personal lives of major characters who strive to preserve the remnants of their instinctive human decency and solidarity in spite of the prevailing hatred and intolerance.

Ilse, a young and educated Austrian girl of aristocratic origin, has to provide for herself after her father's death in the early thirties. She cannot find any kind of work in Austria, and after living for some time in a state of shabby gentility, she accepts the offer of a job made by Morits Keleti, a rich Jewish owner of a sugar factory in a town in Vojvodina on the river Begej. When she begins to work as his son's governess, she seems pleased, but an ominous afterthought echoes in her head: "If only they were not Jews!" (Ivanji 2002: 16) She consoles herself by a highly ambivalent kind of forgiveness: "they often ate pork, they did not pray before meals, they never went to the synagogue" (16).

Immediately after the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, as a distinguished member of the German local community in the town − her aristocratic origin and the way she spoke German were impressive − she was offered to work as

a secretary of a German lieutenant colonel who was the head of the local Gestapo. She accepted the offer because it was the only way in which she could possibly help the Jewish family she was attached to and she asked her superior to spare their lives. As a high-ranking German officer, he was above local personal hidden hatreds, and he told her that Morits Keleti had already been hanged, but that he would make it possible for his wife Goldi and their son Victor to get away and take their valuables without the interference of the customs officers. And so Ilse escorts Victor and his mother to the border with Banat, but Victor, her pupil, at the age of about twelve, tells her when they part that she has betrayed them by deciding to stay with the Nazis.

Ilse survived the horrors of the partisan camp in which rats ate the toes of sleeping people, and she later obtained an administrative job in a partisan hospital. But she lost it when no foreigner could get a permit to be employed in Yugoslavia and went back to Austria, found some sort of administrative work, at first in a hospital for German refugees, and later in a Viennese clinic. When she retired about forty years later her life came full circle: she lived in a modest way, finally with enough time to read her favourite books, especially poetry. But one day she discovered a billboard announcing a great exhibition of the internationally famous architect Victor Keleti, her ex-pupil. When she turned up at the exhibition − impeccably dressed for the great occasion − Victor gave her cold shoulder. But when he learned that she was not a traitor but the saviour of his and his mother's life, he embraced her as an old friend. Professionally successful, but an emotional wreck after his two broken marriages, he asked her to come and take care of his household, so that the story really came full circle for Ilse.

In short, an ex-clerk of the Gestapo and one of the Jewish survivors of Hitler's racial hatred, come to live together in mutual understanding and deep attachment to their common memories. What was it that kept them together? Ilse's fundamental human decency in spite of her acceptance of handling papers in a Gestapo office? Victor's realization of how unjust he was when he believed that Ilse was a traitor of his family? His failures in personal life in spite of his professional success? The horrors of their respective concentration camp experience? Or simply their old-age loneliness, their human need to share the remnants of what they might have been with each other? And what are the implications of their belated union? Ironic − and pathetic − as the "international theme" appears within this framework, it suggests that the multiethnic and multicultural instinct to help another human being in distress may sometimes cross the borders of political conflicts, even if it has to be reduced to a fairly rudimentary form of solidarity in defying the horror of historical realities. In this sense *The Governess* is distantly analogous to Erenrajh-Ostojić's novel *Confidential Report* − both suggest a breakthrough of ideological frontiers and even personal convictions. And they are both marked by a thirst for communication which is also a major feature of Albahari's and Tasić's fiction, in which the heroes at least attempt to cross the barriers dividing "chaos" and "geometry".

Finally, some of the contemporary Serbian historical novels like Papo's *Sarajevo Tombstone* or Risojević's *Bosnian Hangman* suggest that the tragic historical aspects of "the international theme" foreshadow the horrors of more recent

times. The expulsion of the Jewish population from Spain in the fifteenth century, the way the Jewish refugees find a common language with Bosnian outlaws in Papo's novel, the way the Austrian hangman advocated the idea of progress in the technical advancement in hanging people in Risojević's novel − also have contemporary resonance. And what about the argument of the Turkish hangman that some culprits should be tortured because the death sentence is rather a reward than an adequate punishment for some crimes? Is the death sentence, for instance, sufficient punishment for someone who presses a button and kills thousands of people? And is the man pressing the button really responsible for what he is doing?

And what about the question posed in Danojlić's *My Adventure*: can one expect a special arrangement for one's arrival in this world, or should one look for happiness in his immediate environment (such as it is) rather than try to escape to an unknown, never-never land which is always easier to idealize? And, finally, should one pray that God may try his next cosmic experiment on blades of grass and birds rather than on a human being? But in the meantime, before God makes a more promising experiment, we have to realize that multiculturalism is still alive and kicking, in spite of what a few weeks ago some major European political leaders had the misfortune to announce in public. And it has been alive and kicking for several thousand years: − for instance, in the bequest of antiquity, of old Greece and Rome, indeed of the whole Mediterranean basin, to the contemporary culture of Western Europe, And what about the Western European bequest to the cultures of America? What about pizza as popular fast food in Korea? Multiculturalism is, in short, alive, sychronically and diachronically, because it is the inevitable destiny of humanity, due to tolerance and intolerance, to wars and arts, to education and manipulation, and to the deepest human physical and spiritual instincts. And if multiculturalism is not taken up as a challenge of human destiny, it can easily end up, as it has often ended up, as human fate.

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CONSERVATISM AND OPPORTUNISM IN THE AMERICAN COUNTRY MUSIC TEXTS

Abstract The American country music texts represent the stratification of the American society, especially the working class. They can influence the forming of some language attitudes of that class. The aim of this paper is to show the most common topics of the lyrics which show what problems, attitudes and believes of its followers are illustrated in the most popular texts, then to demonstrate how those texts picture the American working class.
Using qualitative-quantitative method and about thirty most popular lyrics, we will, first, show the topics in the texts which the followers are willing to listen to, such as: family life, poverty, hard work, country-town lyrics. Then we will illustrate the conservative and opportunistic working class society which those texts picture.

Key words: American country music, sociolinguistics, opportunism, conservatism, working class

1. Introduction

Any kind of music can be easily compared with the human communication process. The human communication process is a system that involves an interrelated, interdependent group of elements working together as a whole to achieve a desired outcome, which is to send a message. It could be said that there are five elements in achieving a desired outcome and these are: a source, which sends a message, through channel(s), to a receiver, who responds via feedback to the message. As compared to the country music lyrics we can say the following.

1.1 The source of the message: the authors/performers of the American country music texts

In any kind of music and in the American country music as well, the sources of the message are their performers/authors. At the beginning of the American country music, its performers were the working class people whose hobby was country music (Malone 2002: 3). Later, by becoming professionals most of the country music performers originated from the working class families and before becoming famous most of them worked as: carpenters, farmers, woodcutters, factory workers.

Mentioning the performers' origin and their background is important because many popular lyrics are about work described by those who are familiar with social, economic and, we can say, historical factors of the working class because once they were part of it, so it can help us to understand the lyrics message better.

1.2 The message: the lyrics

Since the performers' wish is to send a massage which will be accepted by a receiver, in this case the audience, they must have an interesting story to tell, then they must consider the age of the audience and their interests. American country audience mostly consists of adult working class white males and females (Rogers 1989: 42) and therefore the topics of the lyrics usually meet the interests of such an audience and are about: love, home and family, work, hard life and patriotism. Dignity and integrity of the poor who struggle for survival is often presented in a positive light, sentimentally and romantically. In addition to the topics that describe a difficult and poor life, there are those describing spending time in bars, and living in the countryside versus living in the city.

1.3 The audience

The audience, through different media channels, receives a message sent by the performers. As we have already said, American country music audience mostly consists of adult working class white males and females, who identify with the lyrics because, on one hand, the message usually supports their attitudes, believes and behavior, on the other hand, the lyrics themselves picture part of the society that likes and listens to country music.

In this paper, by using about thirty most popular lyrics as examples, we will first show topics of the songs which country music audience likes to listen to and then we will show what kind of society the lyrics/texts picture, which is in our opinion conservative and opportunistic without highly developed class consciousness.

2. Topics in the American country music texts

Most songs that achieve the greatest acceptance are those that deal with relationships between adult men and women. Approximately three of every four popular country songs relate to some facet of love (Rogers 1989: 47) but one of the most interesting characteristics of the music, however, is the attention given to experiences of everyday life. In this part of the paper we will point out the most common topics of the songs picturing, to use the vernacular, 'livin' songs, which are about home and family, hard work, patriotism and spending time in bars.

2.1 Songs about home and family

By analyzing songs about home and family, we can say that the main topic is about working class life associated with memories that include descriptions of difficult and uncertain economic times, as can be seen from the following examples:

The bills are all due and the babies need shoes but I'm busted,
the food that we canned last summer is gone and we're busted (Howard, "Busted")

It's a big job just gettin' by with nine kids and a wife.
Sometimes I think about leaving,
I wanna throw my bills out the window catch a train to another town
but I go back working, I gotta buy my kids a brand new pair of shoes (Haggard, "Workin' Man Blues")

There was ten of us livin' in a two room shack
My daddy was a farmer but all he ever raised was us (Anderson, "Po' Folks")

Although they work hard and are usually poor the characters in the songs are also portrayed as very religious people, as can be seen from the following examples:

We were poor but we had love
We didn't have shoes to wear (Lynn, "Coal Miner's Daughter")

We had no money (Crowell, "Our Town")

Dad would read to us all from the old family Bible
And we'd count our many blessings one by one (Gray, "Family Bible")

We can say that a lot of attention is also paid to the characters' parents who are portrayed as caring and loving. Father is usually portrayed as a wage-earner: "He shoveled coal". "My daddy worked all night in the coal mines", and mother as a housewife who takes care about the whole family and whose activities can be seen from the following: "Mommy scrubbed our clothes on a washboard everyday". "Mommy rocked the babies". "She worked all day long in a field of corn"; Momma sewed the rags together. There are a lot of noun phrases in the text such as *all day, all night,* and adverbial phrases *all day long* to emphasize hard and never stopping work.

As seen from these examples, we can say that the family type described in the country texts is nuclear one that is a family of two adult people who live in one household and take care about their minor children. In this family type there is a division of roles: one adult member, usually the father, works outside the home, and

another adult member, usually the mother, looks after the house and children. The father, therefore, has an instrumental role, while the mother has an emotional role in the family.

2.2 Patriotic songs

Another common topic in the American country music is patriotism. Weather the performers are men or women the songs portray them as great patriots. Men are presented as patriotic soldiers, fearless and brave who support the idea of participating in wars, they never doubt in their superiors' decisions even if their life is in danger:

Our fightin' men have fought and died to keep.
If you don't love it, leave it:
Let this song I'm singin' be a warnin'. (Haggard, "Fightin Side of Me")

The captain just gave us the orders
And Mom, I'll carry them through (Haggard, "Soldier's Last Letter")

Women are portrayed as mothers and wives who suffer for their sons and husbands but think their beloved did not die in vain:

She prayed to the Lord: Hear my plea
Protect all the sons who are fighting tonight
And Dear God keep America free (Haggard, "Soldier's Last Letter")

My darling answered when he got that call from you
You said you really need him but you don't need him like I do
Don't misunderstand I know he's fighting for our land
I really love my country but I also love my man (Lynn, "Dear Uncle Sam")

2.3 Bar songs

Traditional workers portrayed in the texts, who work hard and are great patriots, spend their free time in bars. They are usually portrayed as direct, sometimes more honest than necessary, and out for little except a good time:

Good ol' boys we're all the same
Ain't no way we'll ever change
Mean no harm by the things we do
We can't help it it's just our style

And good ol' boys is all we'll ever be (Jennings, "Mammas Don't Let Your Babies
Grow Up to Be Cowboys")

They also fiercely defend spending their free time in bars, and do not allow anyone or anything to criticize them:

Hello Mrs. Johnson, you self-righteous woman
Sunday School teacher, what brings you out
Well, yes, that's my bottle and yes, that's my glass
And I see you're eye- ballin', this pretty young lass
It ain't none of your bus'ness, but yes, she's with me
And we don't need no sermon, you self-righteous woman,
Just let us be. (Smith, "The Lord Knows I am Drinkin' ")

Texts about bars are part of a subculture of the American population, that is, through such texts the emphasis is on group loyalty and solidarity. There is a close relationship between the individual at work and in his leisure activities. The traditional worker and farmer often socialize with friends from work and the people from their surroundings in a bar.

3. Conservatism in the American country music

By analyzing popular texts we have found out that those who are sung about, as can be seen from the previous examples, are aware of their class. They belong to the working class and in the lyrics they are portrayed as common people who drive pick-up trucks, are around forty years old, usually wear faded jeans and whether living in the cities or the countryside they prefer the country, as can be seen from the following examples:

I'm just a common man, Drive a common van, My dog ain't got a pedigree (Conlee, "Common Man")
I'm just a country boy, Country boy at heart (Skaggs, "Country Boy")
I'm about as old fashioned as I can be, 'Cause country is all I am (Lynn, "You're
Looking at a Country")
I don't own a suit (Hall, "Ballad of Forty Dollars")
cowboys like old faded levis (Jennings, "The Door is Always Open)
Well I finally made forty, still wearing jeans (McDill, "Amanda")

However, the texts usually do not express the resistance towards the hard life the workers have. It is mostly only ascertained through the verses such as:

Well It's time to rise and start another hard work day (Crowell, "Our Town")
I' ve been working everyday since I was twenty,
Too much work and never enough play (Haggard, "Big City")
I work hard every day (Haggard, "Workin' Man Blues")
My dad was a poor hard working Saginaw fisherman (Frizzell, "Saginaw")
My daddy was a farmer, Salvation Army give us clothes to wear, we sure was a hungry bunch (Anderson, "Po' Folks")
Heaven knows I been workin' hard (Haggard, "If we make it through December")
The bills are all due and the babies need shoes (Howard, "Busted")

Although the followers of this music are aware of their class it seems that they do not have, at least in the most popular texts, highly developed class consciousness. There are a lot of definitions of the class consciousness, but for this paper the definition of the working class consciousness is important and it usually includes two elements (Haralambos 1995: 64). The first one is the recognition of being a part of a certain group which usually has an inferior position in the society as compared to other groups, and the second element would include the commitment to change the inferiority by certain activities. There are a few methods that can be used to change the inferior status of the working class which is usually demonstrated through hard economic situation. Some of the methods include political or labor union involvement. According to the most popular American country music texts the activities with the wish to change a hard economic situation are not expressed in neither of these ways. In political terms, the followers of this music are shown as patriots defending their country without thinking too much about the cause of their involvement especially in wars, such as the Vietnam War.

On the other hand, any activity through labour unions protecting the working class rights is very rarely mentioned and if it is mentioned it usually has the negative context and it is in no connection with the main topic of the song, as for example in Haggard's song "Big City": "Big City, keep your retirement and your so called social security". The subject of this verse is the big city which is responsible for the performer's hard life who sees his salvation from the hard life in going to the countryside: "Big City turn me loose and set me free somewhere in the middle of Montana".

Since the previously mentioned examples mostly describe hard working conditions of the working class who mostly work as farmers, coal miners, truck drivers and factory workers and since there are no verses in the songs pointing out any kind of resistance or protest against that kind of life and work, one might ask why is it is, that is, why the lyrics do not picture a highly developed class consciousness?

Many historians (Arnowitz 1992: 52) argue that the American workers, aware of their difficult economic position in society, have chosen unions as a means of achieving their goal, which is reflected in the improving of their economic situation,

however, unions have never been able to strengthen to the point to fight successfully to protect workers' rights. While the situation in the northern states of the United States was slightly better, in the south, the union activity was very low (Marshall 1967: 52). Some of the reasons for the poor organization of trade unions was class hatred of the white race against the inhabitants of African origin, highly developed proprietary class consciousness and frequent population migration from southern countries to the north.

If we take into account the fact that the unions, especially in the southern United States, are poorly organized, and that the workers are largely unprotected, it could be said that this is one of the reasons why the texts of the American country music reflect weak class consciousness. On the other hand, if we take into account the fact that the texts reflect the conservative nature of the supporters of country music, then we could say that this is another of the reasons.

For example, texts about bars portray people who love the bar way of life, but they also point to the conservative nature of the supporters of country music. Those who prefer bars, in the songs, constantly defend themselves against those who deprecate their lifestyles. For example, in Smith's text "Lord knows I am drinking", narrator has a need to justify to their conservative environment:

> Hello Mrs Johnson, you self-righteous woman
> Sunday School teacher, what brings you out
> And we don't need no sermon, you self-righteous woman,
> Just let us be.

In the songs about patriotism, too, we find significantly expressed conservatism. Neither men nor women doubt decisions on the American involvement in wars. No personal pain or loss of loved ones affects their unwavering patriotism.

Conservatism is also manifested in the texts that describe the existence of another group of people who has different point of view to those who listen to country music. For example, Haggard's text "Okie From Muskogee", describes the attitudes and behavior of people who live in a small town in northeastern Oklahoma. This song represents the conservative nature of country music and its audience, and therefore part of the American society that supports the old conservative values. In the text, this group of people has a negative attitude towards the hippie movement and its representatives who wear sandals and have long hair:

> We don't let our hair grow long and shaggy,
> Like the hippies out in San Francisco do.
> Leather boots are still in style for manly footwear;
> Roman sandals won't be seen. (Haggard, "Okie From Muskogee")

They are opposed to expressing love in public:

We don't make a party out of lovin';
We like holdin' hands and pitchin' woo; (Haggard, "Okie From Muskogee")

And drug use:

We don't smoke marijuana in Muskogee;
We don't take our trips on LSD (Haggard, "Okie From Muskogee")

So, the song "Okie from Muskogee" glorifies behavior and attitudes of a group of conservatives in the American society, and strongly condemns the attitudes and behavior of those who have a different way of life. We notice that people in the song are portrayed as insensitive provincials who are satisfied with their attitudes and behavior and have no intention of changing anything.

4. Opportunism in the American country music

Since the verses in the songs usually do not express any form of protest, or desire to change anyone or anything, we can say that some of the texts reflect several opportunistic ways to overcome the difficult economic situation of the workers, and they are: realizing and accepting the situation by emphasizing religious faith as a consolation for the hard life, recognizing the difference between the poor and the rich by pointing out some advantages of the poor as compared to the rich and if mentioning dissatisfaction with the present life than giving the solution for it which is usually in leaving the city and going to the countryside.

Accepting the situation is a common topic in country music. In such songs one can usually learn about a hard life of the individual. From this perspective, an individual, usually a man does not do anything to change his situation. He accepts the life as it is. Examples are found in several songs. In them, a narrator, usually a male, states that he has and supports a large family by working hard almost all his life:

It's a big job just gettin' by with nine kids and a wife
I've been a workin' man near all my life (Haggard, "Workin' Man Blues")

Heaven knows I've been workin' hard (Haggard, "If We Make It Through December")

The bills are all due and the babies need shoes
The food that we canned last summer is gone (Howard, "Busted")

Long-term planning of the future life is not mentioned, perhaps even discarded in favour of orientation to the present. There is a tendency to live from hand to mouth:

> after I draw my pay, I'll drink a little beer that evening (Haggard, "Workin' Man Blues")

Planning, if mentioned, is limited to near future:

> Might get a little tired on the weekend
> But I'll go back workin
> come Monday morning, I'm right back with the crew (Haggard, "Workin' Man Blues")

But in some songs, after confirming difficult situation, God and faith are mentioned, as a consolation for the hard life:

> At the end of day when work was over
> And when the evening meal was done
> Dad would read to us all from the old family Bible (Gray, "Family Bible")

Usually in these songs, the existence of another class of people is not mentioned.

Recognizing the gap between the rich and the poor. There are some texts in which, after confirming difficult situation, the existence of the upper class is mentioned. For example in Anderson's song "Po' Folks":

> We was po' folks livin' in a rich folks world

In these songs, protests or culprits for the poverty are not mentioned. Very often the songs point out the advantage of the poor compared to the rich through the emphasis on love between family members:

> But we had something in our house money can't buy
> Kept us warm in the winter, cool when the sun was high
> For whenever we didn't have food enough and the howlin' winds would get pretty rough
> we set the table with love (Anderson, "Po' Folks")

Sometimes, throughout the texts, there are verses pointing out the difference between the rich and the poor. These differences are often in favour of the poor, as for example in the text of the song "Saginaw":

Will you sell your father-in-law your Klondyke claim?
Now he's up there in Alaska digging in the cold, cold ground,
The greedy fool is looking for the gold I never found. (Fritzell, "Saginaw")

Country songs also point out another advantage of the poor compared to the rich. Although most male characters in the texts are unable to afford to the opposite sex the luxury that is bought with money because they do not have it, through the texts, they are presented as winners because they are portrayed as better lovers than the rich. For example, in Jennings's text of the song "The door is always open", the narrator, a man, is telling us how his ex-girlfriend married a rich man:

Saw your picture in the paper and I see you married good
And I know that he can give you all the things I never could

Further on in the text, he is telling us the way in which he is the winner over her rich husband:

But I know that he can't give you what you need most of all
So the door is always open, and the lights on in the hall (Jennings, "The door is always open")

These verses point out the poor man is a better lover than the rich husband, and this is kind of his personal victory over the rich people.

Another example is found in the text of the song "Tight Fittin' Jeans". The sender of the message, a man, recounts how he met a rich woman in the bar who is unhappy in marriage:

She said: I married money, I'm use to wearin' pearls
So tonight I left those crystal candle lights to live a dream
And partner, there's a tiger in these tight fittin' jeans (Twitty, "Tight Fittin' Jeans")

After the night they spent together he says:

I'm satisfied I did my best to make her dream come true (Twitty: "Tight fittin' Jeans")

At the end of this song, the last verse is: "A cowboy once had a millionaire's dream". The noun cowboy is referred to the sender of the message, and this last verse points out a cowboy's personal victory over the rich men, whose dream, even though he has the power that money can buy, will never come true, that is he will never be a better lover than the cowboy.

Sometimes the narrators are women who are married to rich men who give them financial security, but are not successful as lovers. As for example, in the text of the song "Satin Sheets", a woman directly addresses her husband, a rich man, and says she has found a poorer man who is a better lover:

I've found another man
Who can give more than you can
Though you've given me everything money can buy
But your money can't hold me tight
He does on a long, long night
You know you didn't keep me satisfied (Parton, Satin' Sheets")

Solution for the hard workers' life. If there are some verses in the songs indicating the protest or expressing dissatisfaction with the existing situation, then there are verses offering a solution to the situation. The most common solution to the plight of the workers is in leaving big cities and returning to the countryside. For example, in the previously mentioned text of the song "Big City", the sender of the message, a man, lives and works in the big city and his dissatisfaction is expressed with the verse:

I've been working every day since I was twenty.
Haven't got a thing to show for anything I've done. (Haggard, "Big City")
But at the end of the song the solution is offered in the following verse:

Big City, turn me loose and set me free, somewhere in the middle of Montana.
(Haggard, "Big City")

The song "Detroit City" describes the sadness of a southerner who went north in search of work in a factory and a better life. After many years of work, he realizes that he would be much better at home in the countryside, and decides to return to the country:

Last night I went to sleep
And I dreamed about those cottonfields and home
I wanna go home I wanna go home oh Lord I wanna go home (Parton, "Detroit City")

The countryside in the country music is a metaphor for the ideal, peaceful and serene life. Culprits for the hard life are never mentioned. Very often culprits are the workers who, if they live in the city, accept this way of life, and if they want to get rid of, then the solution is going to the country. We have not found the texts offering the solution in the form of transition from one class to another. Even if the acquisition of large income is mentioned, such as lyrics in the song "Luckenbach,

Texas (Back to the Basics of Love)", in which the sender of the message reports that he is making progress and earning money, he has a wish to escape to the countryside from the accelerated pace of life and stress. It seems that the only advantage that poor workers have in relation to the rich, and in the texts they are always portrayed as better lovers, is sufficient way of victory against the rich.

5. Conclusion

Country music lyrics mostly portray the world of work experienced by the Southern labour force, continuing a tradition established with the origins in industry. These country songs, sung by performers who clearly identify with the workers whom they perform for, provide an excellent example of class awareness, as opposed to class consciousness. Such tunes are invariably written from the worker's viewpoint, and leave no doubt that the narrator is fully conscious of his position in society but it is also evident that the songs do not consider group action designed to change for better the status of the worker. Union activity is not offered as an option, nor, for that matter, is political activity based on class consciousness. Country songs also portray conservative individuals offering some opportunistic mechanisms to overcome the low economic situation. The mechanisms are reflected in realizing and accepting the situation as it is, when the individual, whether as a housewife or a worker, accepts the necessity of working to provide for the family, or to maintain the household but finds the consolation in religious faith. The individual is also aware of the upper class, and through some personal acts, seeks for revenge against a member of the upper class by being portrayed as a better lover, and finally the individual finds the solution for his low economic status in leaving big cities, returning to the countryside where he feels free, and thus manages to maintain his dignity.

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THE ONTOLOGY OF SPACE: UTOPIA, DYSTOPIA AND HETEROTOPIA IN MARGE PIERCY'S *WOMAN ON THE EDGE OF TIME*

Abstract It was in his essay "Des Espaces Autres" (1967) that Michel Foucault introduced the term *heterotopia* to denote one of two sites that "have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect". The other of the two sites is, of course, utopia. In the narration of space, which any literary utopia basically is, space becomes one of the primary ontological concerns through which all other utopian aspects are reflected. The aim of this paper is to present Marge Piercy's novel *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1976) as a valuable work in which as different spatial structures as utopia, dystopia and heterotopia coexist thus providing us with ample material for the study of ontology of space in a literary work.

Key words: dystopia, Foucault, heterotopia, mirror, ontology, space, utopia

1. Mirror, mirror on the wall

Marge Piercy's masterpiece *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1976) can serve as an exemplary case study on how different, seemingly mutually exclusive concepts of space can be successfully juxtaposed. This leads us to the essential question: What is space? In physics, it is usually time as a concept that is problematic and hard to define (for example, different physicists such as Einstein, De Witt, Hawking, Barbour have actually undermined the commonsensical notion of time as incessantly flowing). But, history shows that there have been many misconceptions of space so far: the Earth was once seen as a disk carried by a turtle; it was thought to be flat; in the Classical presentation the Earth was surrounded by the Ocean; even in the great age of discoveries, the Terrestrial Paradise was frequently drawn on the maps; according to the Ptolemaic Geocentric Universe the Earth was seen as the centre of the universe, etc.[1]

[1] Zeno of Elea was among the first to draw our attention to the problem of space in his famous confusing paradoxes, among which are best known the paradox of Achilles and the tortoise, the arrow paradox, and the dichotomy paradox. In his paradox of place, for example, he claims that "if everything that exists has a place, place too will have a place, and so on ad infinitum" (Aristotle *Physics* IV: 1).

So, what is space? This question, as Aristotle points out, presents many difficulties, for

> an examination of all the relevant facts seems to lead to divergent conclusions. Moreover, we have inherited nothing from previous thinkers, whether in the way of a statement of difficulties or of a solution. (Aristotle *Physics* IV: 1)

One of the dictionary definitions says that space is "the unlimited or incalculably great three-dimensional realm or expanse in which all material objects are located and all events occur" (Dictionary.com). But things are usually a bit more complex, especially in literature and physics. In *Woman on the Edge of Time* there are four different spatial structures in which the action takes place*:* mental institution (heterotopia), the outside world ('topia'), the futuristic Mattapoisett 2137 (Utopia), and the futuristic Dystopia. Heterotopia is usually described as other space (which can be both physical and mental), utopia as no place or a good place, and dystopia as a bad place (which is also non-existent). The term *heterotopia* was coined by Michel Foucault in his influential work *Des espaces autres* (Of Other Spaces), in which he claims that "space itself has a history in Western experience, and it is not possible to disregard the fatal intersection of time with space" (Foucault 1967).

Among the possible types of heterotopia are the so called heterotopias of deviation, "those in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed" (Foucault 1967), such as hospitals, asylums, prisons, and rest homes. As Foucault perceptively notices, both utopia and heterotopia "have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect" (Foucault 1967). Foucault uses the mirror as an example to show us both the similarities and differences between utopias and heterotopias, claiming that

> between utopias and these … heterotopias, there might be a sort of mixed, joint experience, which would be the mirror. The mirror is … a utopia, since it is a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. (Foucault 1967)

Obviously, Piercy's Mattapoisett is a Foucaldian utopian mirror, for it is seemingly an unreal, virtual space. In the novel, the main protagonist, Connie, sees herself there where she is not – in the future. However, the mirror is also a heterotopia:

> It is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that I occupy. From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is (…) directed toward me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back toward myself; I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am. The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there. (Foucault 1967)

The mental institution Piercy's Connie is sent to is, therefore, the equivalent of the heterotopian mirror. It does exist in reality and owing to it she realizes her absence from the real life.

2. Over the cuckoo's nest

In his earlier and quite influential work *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (*The History of Madness*) Foucault distinguishes different types of attitude towards insanity. Historically speaking, in the treatment of madness two trends became dominant: institutionalization and exclusion. Consequently, the dialogue has been supressed by innumerable monologues:

> In the serene world of mental illness, modern man no longer communicates with the madman (…) As for a common language, there is no such thing, or rather, there is no such thing any longer; the constitution of madness as a mental illness, at the end of the eighteenth century, affords the evidence of a broken dialogue (…) The language of psychiatry, which is a monologue of reason *about* madness, has been established only on the basis of such a silence. (Foucault 1988: x)

Yet, in the novel *Woman on the Edge of Time*, future utopian society members always opt for the dialogue. They even try to reach out to their predecessors from our age. Interestingly, as they say, "Most we've reached are females, and many of those in mental hospitals and prisons" (Piercy 1991: 196). Their contactee, Connie Ramos, fits the pattern perfectly – she is a marginalized social outcast in every respect: she is a woman, a Chicana, underprivileged, unemployed (welfare recipient), officially labelled as violent (she accidentally broke her child's wrist, and in self defence she broke her niece's pimp's nose), and diagnosed as mentally ill (cf. similar dubious diagnosis and the consequential institutionalization in Ken Kesey's *One flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962)). As we can see, Connie is ostracized by her gender, ethnicity, class, and her nonconformist behaviour.

Actually, in all the three time/space frames women are the main representatives: in the present there is Connie Ramos, in the future utopia there is Luciente, while in the sexist materialistic technologically developed and highly polluted futuristic dystopia there is Gildina.[2] Obviously, the novel should be read primarily as a feminist utopia (in the futuristic Mattapoisett both sexes breast-feed their babies, "women have 'given up' childbirth in order that men won't regret having given up power" (Atwood 1976: 601), it is a sexually equal society, there are no gender pronouns, and everybody is referred to as 'per'…). As Kathleen Komar notices, in case of feminist utopias, "the space of the literary text becomes a site of critical rethinking and often of female rebirth" (Fancourt 2002: 97). But, this novel is also what Lyman Tower Sargent calls a critical utopia – it does not depict an ideal, perfect place but a better place with difficult problems (such works are usually critical both of the utopian tradition and of the current state of affairs) (Sargent 1994: 9).

However, it is also a fine example of a "mental utopia" or eupsychia – for, according to Donna Fancourt, such utopias are "constructed by the mind, and emerge from philosophical idealism, the belief that the external world is created by the psyche" (Fancourt 2002: 95). Nevertheless, to idealise does not mean to beautify or to perfect, but as H. E. dos Reis stresses, "to make present (to re-present) the world through the mediation of the ideas and images of the knowing subject" (Fancourt 2002: 95). After all, as Lyman Tower Sargent concludes, "utopianism is social dreaming" (Fancourt 2002: 96). This dreamlike eupsychian aspect of the future Mattapoisett utopia becomes obvious in the dialogue between Connie and Luciente:

> "But you exist." [Connie says …]
> "Maybe. Maybe not." Luciente smiled, her eyes liquid and sad. "It's not clear. We're struggling to exist." (Piercy 1991: 197)

Luciente's answer is ontologically enigmatic. Later on, she additionally undermines the stability of the existence of her world:

> "But there was a thirty-year war that culminated in a revolution that set up what we have. Or else there wasn't and we don't exist." (Piercy 1991: 198)

One of the characters from the future, Barbarossa, tries to provide a plausible explanation of the mutual interdependence of different alternate futures and our present:

[2] All the three names are quite revealing. In Spanish, Connie's full name Consuelo means consolation, and Luciente means bright, shining. Gildina, according to Adam Lowe, suggests gold and coinage, since she represents the other seen as a commodity (Lowe 2008).

> "At certain cruxes of history … forces are in conflict. Technology is imbalanced. Too few have too much power. Alternate futures are equally or almost equally probable … and that affects the … shape of time." (Piercy 1991: 197)

Obviously, M. Piercy's novel centres around the parallel worlds theory. This makes Adam Lowe conclude that

> in *Woman on the Edge of Time* (…) irony is present in the twin futures of America which Connie visits. Only one can exist in any one timeline, as time is considered linear. Yet Connie visits both futures, so neither is certain but both are possible. (…) If Connie can visit either future, then it must exist, but the existence of one denies the existence of the other. (…) whatever decision Connie makes, both or neither reality may occur simultaneously and those decisions therefore become unimportant. One future cannot be averted because it will exist parallel to the other, as it was and always will be. (Lowe 2008)

3. Welcome to Platonia

This parallel worlds narration makes us, somewhat unexpectedly, end up in the realm of modern physics. If several different futures can coexist independently then obviously something must be wrong with our commonsensical concept of time as gradually evolving from the past into the present and finally into the future. Julian Barbour, one of the leading physicists today, in his controversial study *The End of Time*, claims that time is actually just an illusion, it does not flow. Instead, he says that "Time is nothing but a measure of the changing positions of objects" (Folger 2000). According to Barbour,

> every possible configuration of the universe, past, present, and future, exists separately and eternally. We don't live in a single universe that passes through time. Instead, we – or many slightly different versions of ourselves – simultaneously inhabit a multitude of static, everlasting tableaux that include everything in the universe at any given moment. (Folger 2000)

It turns out, quite distressingly, that our concepts of past, present and future are just unstable grammatical constructs. Similarly, the poet T. S. Eliot claims in his "Burnt Norton" that

> Time present and time past
> Are both perhaps present in time future,
> And time future contained in time past.

If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable.
What might have been is an abstraction
Remaining a perpetual possibility
Only in a world of speculation.
(Eliot, "Burnt Norton", *Four Quartets*)

What Eliot poetically calls 'eternally present' in Barbour's system is represented by a multitude of Nows. Not only are all those Nows self-contained, but each one is a timeless, unchanging universe *per se* (Folger 2000). For, it is we who "mistakenly perceive the Nows as fleeting, when in fact each one persists forever" (Folger 2000). Moreover, Barbour creates a new hypothetic model of the universe in which all possible Nows are contained. This universe he calls Platonia in honour of the Greek philosopher Plato, who claimed that our changing world is just a copy of yet another one, which is real and unchanging. In order to make his model acceptable to the wider population Barbour uses the image of a snapshot or a strip of movie. As he points out, "each frame captures one possible Now … but nothing moves or changes in any one frame. And the frames – the past and future – don't disappear after they pass in front of the lens" (Folger 2000).

If we are to apply Barbour's model to the novel *Woman on the Edge of Time*, this is what we shall find: 1st Now – the present (both outside and inside the mental institution), 2nd Now – Mattapoisettian "futuristic" utopia, and 3rd Now – the dystopian dehumanized future. What is their ontological status? They coexist, side by side, in one realm (Platonia?). As we have seen, they all are plausible, all equally possible, and mutually dependent.

Although Marge Piercy's novel, as suggested by M. Atwood, proved to be a hard nut to crack for many reviewers at the time of its publication (Atwood 1976: 601), the ideas that support the concept of space/time structures presented in her work can now be found in numerous fields of research, such as modern physics, philosophy, logic, various literary theories. Thus, according to the Multiverse theory – instead of one there could be several universes (parallel universes).[3] Likewise, the fundamental assumption of the quantum physics Many-worlds interpretation is that

> in addition to the world we are aware of directly, there are many other similar worlds which exist in parallel at the same space and time. The existence of the other worlds makes it possible to remove randomness and action at a distance from quantum theory and thus from all physics. (Vaidman 2008)

[3] See Folger, Tim (2008). "Science's Alternative to an Intelligent Creator: the Multiverse Theory". *Discover.* Available at: http://discovermagazine.com/2008/dec/10-sciences-alternative-to-an-intelligent-creator.

It is no wonder that owing to the works of renowned physicists, such as David Deutsch (*The fabric of reality,* 1997) and Julian Barbour (*The end of time*, 1999), the ontological status of Piercy's futures is confirmed (and it is the futures and their utopian/dystopian aspects that interest us most). It seems that Barbour's concept finds best application in this case, for, as he stresses,

> we're always locked within one Now (…) We do not pass through time. Instead, each new instant is an entirely different universe. In all of these universes, nothing ever moves or ages, since time is not present in any of them. One universe might contain you as a baby staring at your mother's face. In that universe you will never move from that one, still scene. In yet another universe, you'll be forever just one breath away from death. All of those universes, and infinitely many more, exist permanently, side by side, in a cosmos of unimaginable size and variety. So there is not one immortal you, but many: the toddler, the cool dude, the codger. The tragedy – or perhaps it's a blessing – is that no one version recognizes its own immortality. (Folger 2000)

Obviously, both Piercy and Barbour try to lead us "Down the passage which we did not take/ Towards the door we never opened" (Eliot, "Burnt Norton", *Four Quartets*).

4. A tale told by a "Schizo"?

In the narration of space, which any literary utopia basically is, space becomes one of the primary ontological concerns through which all other utopian aspects are reflected, i.e. if the space does not exist (is not possible), then its qualities might become irrelevant. Connie's futuristic utopia's plausibility might be seen as doubly undermined – by being a utopia with a circular, repetitious aspect of the deeper structure of the novel, and by being a story told by a social outcast (a marginalized Chicano woman prone to violence and diagnosed with Schizophrenia). However, findings of the different teachings suggest to the contrary. For example, Lubomir Dolezel, who is the main proponent of the Possible worlds theory, explores "what […] possible-world semantics of fiction could say about the relation of fiction and history" (Doležel 2010: viii). Dolezel stresses the credibility of fictional worlds, pointing to the fact that "possible-worlds semantics claims that fictions are possible worlds" (Dolezel 1995: 201). Thus, any fictional world, including a utopia, is a possible world, which means that Connie's Mattapoisett is just another fictional but possible world. As shown earlier, the proof of both the plausibility and possibility of Piercy's feminist utopia and sexist dystopia can be found in contemporary physics (in the works of such eminent physicists such as Deutsch and Barbour), but also in modern philosophy (primarily in the works of M. Foucault, some of which have been mentioned, and Gilles Deleuze-Felix Guattari's seminal work *Capitalism and Schizophrenia,* 1972).

Of course, the whole novel *Woman on the Edge of Time* could be read as a classical anti-psychiatry piece.[4] The quasi-scientific bestial experiments performed on Connie and other patients do not undermine the credibility of Connie's visions of the future but, on the contrary, the sanity of the doctors and the whole power-system they represent. According to Donna Fancourt, "Piercy disrupts constructed notions of sanity and insanity, arguing that madness is a gendered construct in patriarchal society, exploited by those in power and used as a means of oppression" (Fancourt 2002: 105). Besides, it is precisely owing to the fact that Piercy gives voice to the voiceless that Connie's story becomes not only credible but equally possible, too. Therefore, Connie's utopia might be a tale told by a "Schizo", but what a story! As we have seen, all spaces and all worlds are possible and so is Connie's. This makes Donna Fancourt conclude that "Piercy does not validate one form of consciousness as more or less real: all are possible co-existent realities" (Fancourt 2002: 105). Consequently, as Connie and Luciente teach us, there is a utopia, it is within our reach and it is upon us to decide what we want our future to be like. Or, as T. S. Eliot's bird advises us

> human kind
> Cannot bear very much reality.
> Time past and time future
> What might have been and what has been
> Point to one end, which is always present.
> (Eliot, "Burnt Norton", *Four Quartets*)

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[4] Members of the movement claim that both in terms of diagnosis and medication psychiatry is more harmful than beneficent, that it is higly subjective (therefore not a true science), and that some of its aspects are quite sinister (patients are stigmatized, mental asylums are total institutions, etc.). Prominent adherents are M. Foucault, Ronald Laing and Thomas Szasz, among others.

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REFERENCES AND RESONANCES: TENNESSEE WILLIAMS AND WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Abstract The plays of Tennessee Williams written between 1945 and 1960 seem to be haunted by Shakespearean characters and motifs and in many of them we witness powerful transformations of Shakespearean tragedy. A staggering mixture of revenge, sexual desire and imminent destruction, Williams's plays with the prevailing mythical pattern, such as *Suddenly Last Summer*, or *Orpheus Descending*, offer an array of echoes and resonances to *Hamlet*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*. Although the American playwright downplayed the impact of Shakespeare on his work, the critics cannot ignore the fact that his female characters resemble Ophelia, Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra, whereas references to wheels of fire, brief candles, antic dispositions and mortal coils regularly occur in the plays of Tennessee Williams. The paper will try to answer the following question: was Williams writing an American tragedy with Shakespeare's drama in mind?

Key words: Tennessee Williams, William Shakespeare, tragedy, American literature.

In a letter to his agent and friend Audrey Wood, Tennessee Williams confesses that he has only one major theme for his work: the destructive impact of society on the sensitive non-conformist individual (Haley 1998: 67). This sentence (which might as well fit to describe Shakespeare's *Hamlet)* perfectly reflects the outcast characters in his plays who are the narrators of the author's own experience, as well as the essence of Shakespearean tragedy. The characters invented by Tennessee Williams embody the very same conflict of the tragic hero with the social order that we encounter in Shakespeare's tregedies.

Doomed to collide with the laws and customs of the society, doomed to be punished and destroyed for pursuing their dreams, Williams's characters rely too much on their romantic imagination. Unable to understand the causes and tolerate the effects of their inner dichotomies and discrepances, the society muffles the rebel yells of Val Xavier, Maggie Pollitt and Blanche DuBois and strives to punish them severely for their noncomformism. Not even the fact that all the prominent characters seek support and understanding can redeem them: their marginality is treated as an unpardonable sin, despite the obvious responsibilies of the rigid and biggoted society for their respective downfalls.

The world of Williams's plays is the controversial American South, strained with its many contradictions, a conservative society that is an eternal battlefield

against racial and sexual discrimination (Bloom 1987: 86). In Williams's time, promiscuity and homosexuality were seen as grave threats to the male-centred, prudish and homophobic patriarchal society and were severely penalized. His most prominent characters are charged with possession of an uncontrolled hunger for love, hope, devotion and understanding, accused of existential fallacy, imprisoned within emptiness of their lives that lack freedom and beauty, and finally publicly humiliated and executed, dying for the very same unattainable love that was denied to them in their lifetime.

The plays of Tennessee Williams, particularly those written between 1945 and 1960, are somehow haunted by Shakespearean characters and motifs, offering a rich array of powerful transformations of Shakespearean tragedy and digging deep into issues of identity, societal conflicts and the decline of moral values. The protagonists in the plays of Tennessee Williams explicitly declare their loneliness or tell of their isolation from the world, defining solitariness as a quintessential human condition which cannot be prevented or defeated. Some characters like Val Xavier or Maggie Pollitt turn into pessimistic philosophers who desperately try to articulate their experience of loneliness and nonconformity. Val, a poet and a Bohemian, gloomily equals life with incarceration: "Nobody ever gets to know nobody! We're all of us sentenced to solitary confinement inside our own skins for life!" (Williams 2000: 43), while the less articulate and more down-to-earth Maggie argues that "Living with someone you love can be lonelier than living entirely alone! If the one that y' love doesn't love you..." (Williams 2000: 890). The loneliness and isolation are the mark of an artist, inseparable from the hunger for love which these characters feel.

Tom Wingfield, the dreamy Proustian narrator of Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* is nicknamed Shakespeare because he writes poetry in secret, during his working hours, hidden in the washroom of the warehouse. Throughout the play, Tom's friend Jim addresses him as Shakespeare a number of times. "You know, Shakespeare, I never thought of you as having folks!" (Williams 2000: 438), Jim says, obviously dropping hints about the artistic abilities which clearly isolate Tom from the real world of connections and relationships, as well as his habit of going to the movies alone. When Tom forgets to pay the light bill and thus inadvertently causes the blackout during the elegant dinner given by Amanda Wingfield who is resolute to make a match for her crippled daughter, Jim tells jokingly that "Shakespeare probably wrote a poem on that light bill"(Williams 2000: 446); "I didn't even know you were Shakespeare's sister" (Williams 2000: 447), Jim says to the morbidly shy Laura Wingfield, reminding us instantly of Virginia Woolf's imaginative passages about the thwarted chances and destroyed illusions of a young woman with an artistic temperament who might have been born in Shakespeare's family, without any proper opportunity to repeat her brother's achievement.

By the end of *The Glass Menagerie*, after having shattered all fantasies of his garrulous mother and ruined his sister's chances to prosper, Tom informs the audience that he had been sacked for writing a poem on the lid of a shoebox. However, his masterly rendering of his family's drama of delusion and loss has

turned him by that time into a paragon of Shakespearean *negative capability*, so that we perceive his failure as the expected outcome of the collision between the spiritual growth of an artist and the crude material concerns of the society. Indeed, it is quite uncertain that Tom has committed to art, since we do not hear of him becoming a poet: Tom has rather become a chronicler of his family's tragic losses. Tom's dutiful jotting down the family history in a series of glimpses and flashbacks is clearly motivated by seeking apology for having abandoned his mother and sister, for sacrificing their well-being to his love of long distances. *Long distances* stand for dedicating his life to art but, in the long run, the sea expanse Tom wishfully embraces can mark any intelectual and moral pursuit into which Shakespeare's tragic heroes regularly plunge. Thus Tom resembles Hamlet, who neglects the strong attachment to his mother, his love for Ophelia and most of his worldly concerns for the sake of the impending revenge. The great Dane is not the only Shakespearean character whose traits can be recognized in Tom Wingfield's complex, guilt-ridden personality. Tom is gullible and impulsive like Othello, reckless and shallow like King Lear, even machiavelistic like Macbeth; like some of Shakespeare's villainous characters he seems to lack the moral fibre, but Williams reassures the reader that this recklessness is a part of a larger, artistic pursuit.

And yet, few critics dare compare *The Glass Menagerie* to any of Shakespeare's work. Tom's pursuit of happiness has not been compared to Hamlet's revenge on any level, although the two characters share a certain reluctance to act on their secret wishes and aspirations (Edwards 1985: 46). Hesitant to pursue the traces of Shakespeare in Williams's plays because Williams himself downplayed the impact of Shakespeare on his work, the critics and the audience cannot ignore insanity, fervor and doom in some complex Williams's characters such as Blanche DuBois.

A Streetcar Named Desire offers wealth of interpretative possibilities and its mystery lies in Williams's powerful transformations of crucial elements of Shakespearean tragedy such as love, loyalty, loss and insanity. *A Streetcar Named Desire* is "the first American play in which sexuality was patently at the core of all its principal characters", a sexuality "with the power to redeem or destroy, to compound or negate the forces which bore on those caught in a moment of social change" (Bigsby 1992: 51). Blanche DuBois is much more than a love-starved Southern lady or a ghost reviving the glorious past. She is a paradox in herself and a creator of paradoxes – Williams constructs a character that displays excessive femininity, yet cannot function successfully, her gender identity being curiously unstable and questionable (Berland 1995: 344). The memory of the disappearing Old South causes her much grief, yet she desperately tries to save the ideal image of her youth, since the memories of the Genteel tradition offer the perfect excuse to disguise truth as a pleasant illusion. Behind her appearance of social snobbery, sexual propriety and flirting as an indispensable element of her genteel upbringing, Blanche is frightened, unruly and impossible to control. In the Kowalski household, she turns into an insecure, love-starved woman, disoriented and frail, unable to acknowledge reality, addicted to whiskey and pipe dreams which seem to be her

only refuge after a number of tragic emotional and financial losses. However, although seemingly frail at the time the play depicts her, Blanche was capable of supporting the destitute DuBois family for probably a longer period of time, with her "pitiful salary at the school" (Williams 2000: 480), enduring a series of tragic deaths. The Blanche we meet at the beginning of the play has already cracked, battered by poverty and misfortune, and is thoroughly unable to restrain her passion and her desire.

As with many other Williams's characters, the desired happiness is sought through romantic and sexual unions, which prove to be either short and insignificant, or pure fantasy.

Many of Blanche's faults and examples of misconduct can be attributed to her desperate attempt to conquer the agonizing singledom. Her greatest misfortune is the lack of family and husband who would support her financially and morally, which was essential for a woman in the socio-historical context of the play. This necessity of traditional patriarchal support in the form of marriage is why Stella compromises and stays with Stanley, although their union offers only turbulent emotional mood swings and clear cases of domestic violence.

> STELLA: (...) I know how it must have seemed to you and I'm awful sorry it had to happen, but it wasn't anything as serious as you seem to take it. In the first place, when men are drinking and playing poker anything can happen. It's always a powder-keg. He didn't know what he was doing… He was as good as a lamb when I came back and he's really very, very ashamed of himself.
>
> BLANCHE: And that – that makes it alright? (Williams 2000: 505)

Stella is violently dependent on intimacies with Stanley, addicted to sexual pleasure and unashamed to confess her emotional dependence on her victimizer, so her position resembles to Gertrude's in *Hamlet*: the adulterous queen who sees nothing wrong in remarrying and the Southern girl who traded her tradition for the doubtful marital bliss both unwittingly abandon their closest relatives, placing them in danger. While Gertrude's sexual passion for Claudius intensifies her son's misery and endangers his life, Stella's devotion to Stanley and her unborn child leads to her rejection of her metaphorical daughter – her older sister who now desperately depends on her love, care and duty. Stella's marital compromises endanger Blanche, who turns to her younger sister for care and support the same way King Lear turns to Cordelia, but without a kingdom she could offer as a stake in the emotional blackmail. Stella's readiness to accept Stanley as he is complicates Blanche's position in the turbulent household, reducing her to an unwanted outcast. As Blanche has practically no friends she could rely on, her solitude, which is both the cause and effect of her vulnerability, links her to Shakespeare's lonesome tragic heroes.

Blanche's inability to acknowledge reality does not stop her from seeing Stanley in realistic light, but she is tragically prone to fancy and thus discredited,

even promoted into an unreliable narrator in the eyes of the other characters, and of the readers as well. Although her solitude and partially feigned madness connect her to Hamlet, she also represents the set of values Hamlet reveals his disgust with in the famous scene with Ophelia. Thus make-up becomes a symbol of falsehood and misleading representation, and Blanche is seen as scheming and dishonest for painting her face to hide her true age. At the same time, she is painting over her past to hide her promiscuity and alcoholism. This interpretation leads us to conclusion that Stanley symbolises the quest for truth, as he goes to great lengths to protect his friend Mitch from Blanche's marital trap. Stanley plays the role of Iago, who successfully lures Othello into believing in Desdemona's disloyalty, whereas he also embodies Othello's disgust with frail femininity.

Seemingly less complex than Blanche and far more scandalous, the eccentric exhibitionist Carol Cutrere from *Orpheus Descending* is a tragic hero crossed with Shakespeare's wise fool. She is a rebel and a sexual libertine who simply refuses to obey the rules, an outcast carrying a non licensed revolver who decides not to fit in the prescribed mould and enjoy her privileged social status, choosing to turn into a "lewd vagrant" (Williams 2000a: 28) instead. Carol has once tried to employ her activism for purposeful ends but she only met with failure. Her ritual role of rebel and prophet equals her to the Weird Sisters of *Macbeth* since she, like many supernatural characters from Shakespeare, is more a symbol or a catalyst of the action than a lifelike person. Similarly to Shakespeare's supernatural characters, she remains unchanged and unaffected by changes in the play. Still, Carol is marked with an absolutely human fear of loneliness, for when she discusses her own frailty she says: "The act of love-making is almost unbearably painful, and yet, of course, I do bear it, because to be not alone, even for a few moments, is worth the pain and the danger." (Williams 2000a: 51). Seemingly compatible to the main character of the play Val Xavier, Carol shares with him the label of "a fugitive kind" (Williams 2000a: 97): in the eyes of the both merciless and prudish society with fixed material concerns, they are discarded, damaged goods.

Through the character of Val Xavier, the modern day Orpheus and the ultimate artist, *Orpheus Descending* treats the subject of artist's place in society, and the need of an artist to transcend the material world if he is to create a valuable work of art. If the artist is to triumph over evanescence and realize the full potential of his genius, he or she must be liberated from the grip of reality and the bondage of everyday life. Although the major concern of Blanche DuBois is her fading beauty, her melancholy could well be associated with a more metaphysical lust for art which is vanishing from the horizon of drab everyday life. Blanche lives in a state of perpetual panic that she is losing her looks and unable of holding back the years, gladly appeasing her fears and nurturing her fantasies with the help of alcohol: bereaved over her terrible losses in life, Blanche becomes erratic and self-destructive like Hamlet, and her speech becomes, like his, madness which is at times feigned but also a playground of language. Unlike the woman in Sylvia Plath's "Lady Lazarus", the famous poem of resurrection and affirmation of women's strength, who claims "I am only thirty, /And like the cat I have nine times to die" (Plath 1960: 244), Blanche is

not prepared to use her strength. Thus she becomes a sad antipode to King Lear, who manages to turn his madness into wisdom and to resist his wish to "crawl towards death unburdened" (Halio 1992: 97).

While Shakespeare felt that words provide dramatic economy, Williams lavishes words on his characters, letting them dwell on their life in endless soliloquies which often serve to bury past rather than to dissect it. No matter how ardently words struggle to convey the meanings and mechanisms of the world, they set a trap for both the character and the audience. While the Renaissance tragedy usually implies "an authorial obsession with the capacity of language to damage, deform and mislead" (McEachern 2002: 45), it also proves language to be "the apparatus of evil" which is "treacherous and unreliable, even in the hands of the good" (McEachern 2002: 45). Almost all tragic heroes inhabit a world in which language is to some degree the enemy: *Othello* demonstrates the power of words used maliciously, *King Lear* deals with empty signs used by flatterers and liars, as well as with the painful discovery of the distance between sound and sense. The motive of *mouth-friends* used in *Timon of Athens* also points at the danger of surrounding oneself with flatterers. *Coriolanus* is unique among Shakespeare's tragedies for its hero's persistent mistrust of language; here the tragic hero is simply the man of action who cannot tolerate the capacity of language to mislead, as opposed to Hamlet, the man of thought who enjoys the slips and gaps of language.

Terry Eagleton argues that Shakespeare's plays "value social order and stability" with an extraordinary eloquence, further noting that "these two aspects of Shakespeare are in potential conflict with one another" (Eagleton 1986: xi). The stability of signs preconditions a well-ordered political state, but Shakespeare's "belief in social stability is jeopardized by the very language in which it is articulated" (Eagleton 1986: xi). Lacking a purely physical adequacy, language is doomed to hover between the equally unhappy solutions of understatement and linguistic inflation, both strategies of expression endangering social stability to a great extent, as *The Tragedy of King Lear* shows us. The old king's greatest mistake is the crass utilitarian exactitude with which he believes human love can be quantified. He arranges "a self-gratifying charade" (Kermode 2000: 185), and we sense that his giving his kingdom away in the opening scene of the play is a selfish act. Regal generosity is being bought with flattery which is required to be true to life. In an attempt to establish the adequacy between the word and the world, Lear's daughters are tempted to choose between a disastrous scarcity of words and their profitable profusion.

Blanche's fantasy role play relies on a specific kind of linguistic inflation, and she persists in impersonating either a damsel in distress (for Mitch), or a fragile Southern belle who needs to be waited on (for her sister): but the most dramatic and the most complex is the role of the pervert preacher who conceals too many dark secrets and harbours a wish to reach her former glory. Despite her narcissism and ardent wish to manipulate, Blanche's deception of others and herself is not a malicious intent, but rather a heart-broken retreat to a romantic time and happier moments before disaster struck her life. Inviting comparison to a variety of

Shakespeare's heroines ranging from Ophelia to Lady Macbeth, from Viola to Cleopatra, this failed Southern belle has turned into an epitome of both dismal and blissful human condition. Her unnatural obsession with light reminds us of the metaphorical candle from Macbeth's final soliloquy; her constant bathing owes to Lady Macbeth's attempts to wash away the *damn spot* that remains in her soul after the murder of Duncan. Blanche's anguish and suffering recall Lear's "wheel of fire" (Halio 1992: 237). Most of all, Blanche DuBois is Williams's Hamlet, representative of the writer's obsession with "this mortal coil" (Edwards 1985: 146), or, in Blanche's words, "the long parade to the grave" (Williams 2000: 126). Blanche is familiar with art and literature, a learned woman who compares Mitch to Samson or even to Rosencavalier, speaking English enriched with Latinisms but slipping into utterly vulgar idiom as her life in New Orleans turns into the long parade of her own misfortunes. The scope of her linguistic expression, at times inventive and playful but also callous and vulgar, reminds us of Hamlet's both learned and baudy idiom. Shakespeare and Williams invest their efforts into building characters that show the decline and fall of the intellectual, always being demonic and self-destructive at the same time.

On a more superficial level, Blanche's mixture of playfulness, coquetry and pensiveness certainly evokes Hamlet's "antic disposition" (Edwards 1985: 113) as the only resort of a hyper-sensitive soul. Blanche and Hamlet are both disgusted with the world which is unable to fulfill their expectations and needs, but find a solace in turning that world into stage, and transforming their miserable life into a captivating performance. While Hamlet accuses Gertrude of having betrayed his father for her own sexual pleasure, Blanche sees Stella's sexual fulfillment as a direct betrayal of the ancestral home and name. Like Hamlet castigating his mother, Blanche tries to convince her sister to aspire to something higher, to something more than instant sexual gratification.

The exceptional theatrical representation of Blanche's gradual descent into madness brings to mind Ophelia's mental breakdown after her father's death. Both female characters assume new roles in their madness and act in their own imaginary plays. The cruel stud Stanley sees inadvertently through Blanche's role changing:

> STANLEY: You come in here and sprinkle the place with powder and spray perfume and cover the light-bulb with a paper lantern, and lo and behold the place has turned into Egypt and you are the Queen of the Nile! Sitting on your throne and swilling down my liquor! (Williams 2000: 525)

Stanley's image of Blanche as an Egyptian queen results from the recognition of the theatrical elements in her disposition, such as fancy, illusion, cheap but effective tricks, make-up and costume. "To Blanche's Hamlet-like musings on death and her Egyptian theatre, Stanley Kowalski's rebuttal signals the birth of a new American drama appropriating its native" (Meskill 2004: 158). The bathroom is turned into Blanche's tent of miracles, her sanctuary and hideaway where she can pretend to be Cleopatra. Blanche becomes an image of tragic greateness, desperately

trying to blur the edges between real life and her projection of herself. The two "queens of the Nile" (Williams 2000: 525) exist in the eye of the beholder, even if the beholder is malicious, ready to tear away the theatrical illusion and smash it. Blanche is not supposed to function as a model of unfullfilled desire, whereas Shakespeare uses Cleopatra as a stock figure of the Western imagination and the broken promise of hedonism and lust. Cleopatra offers a model of carefree life immersed in self-oblivion, which is similar to Blanche's insisting on beautifying the dingy apartment of Stanley and Stella. The parallel between Desdemona and Blanche is a curious one: whether undeservingly or not, neither managed to escape calumny. Stanley sees it as an almost religious duty to reveal Blanche's promiscuity to Mitch, wishing to save him from disgrace and shame. Although Stenley is self-serving in revealing Blanche's past, his disclosure is an attempt at purgation of her feelings. Williams willfully exposes the male bonding theme which connects Mitch and Stanley to their mighty predecessors Othello and Iago. The game of poker turns into a ritual of initiation into a masculine world of ruthlessness and arrogance. *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* proves to be closer to *A Streetcar Named Desire* if we read it as a story of a dysfunctional Southern family. Tension, sibling rivalry, gossip and greed affect Brick's marriage. Maggie Pollitt is, contrary to Blanch, blatantly realistic about her future prospects, and she differs from *the moth of Laurel* in one important respect: the Cat is unable to create her own world of fantasy. Maggie tries to overcome difficulties in a traditional way, using her energy and cunning strategies, since she is well aware of the fact that it is not the world of dreams and illusions she is captured in: her obstacles and impediments are almost palpable, her pain springs from a life situation which offers not a slightest glimpse of hope. She is stuck at the hot roof of her own, unable to escape from the painful obsession with Brick the same way she is incapable of letting go the estate of the Pollitts. Living in a material world, Maggie is a crude, realistic overachiever who never lets herself slip into the world of pipe dreams and illusions, unlike Blanche who is lost in the world of fake Southern gentility, unable to recover and obtain a new, brighter future. With her stubborn devotion for her estranged husband, Maggie is a curious replica of Lady Macbeth, as she also desplays mock fortitude and readiness to use the valour of her tongue as her only weapon.

Similar to Shakespeare, Williams readily uses metatheatrical approach, resolving existential conflicts and developing abstract issues in the manner of "Chinese box" or "play-within-the-play", using theatrical metaphors and theatrical reflexivity (Guilbert 2004: 116). The Christian moral and ethical framework is always at hand for Williams and Faulkner alike, and were it for the Shakespearean influences it would have been present to a much lesser extent. Much like the art of William Faulkner, the plays of Tennessee Williams transform the crucial elements of Shakespearean drama into American idiom, and even the plays with prevailing mythical pattern offer an array of echoes and resonances, such as *Suddenly Last Summer* (introducing issues ranging from identity to insanity), or *Orpheus Descending*, which is a staggering mixture of sexual desire, revenge and imminent destruction.

According to Sermin Lynn Meskill, one of the central themes of *A Streetcar Named Desire* seems to be "the impossibility of making theatre, emblematized in the destitute figure of Blanche DuBois", (Meskill 2004: 158). Blanche's inner struggle can be interpreted as "the struggle of a new theatre to be born out of an old" (Meskill 2004: 158), the same as the new South imminently prevails over the quaint values of gentility (Fleche 1997: 50).

Tennessee Williams writes about psychological and spiritual displacement, loss of connections, loneliness and self deception which trace us back to Shakespeare's tragic heroes. The same way Shakespeare confronts the individual with the repressive and hostile environment, Williams pushes his characters into a conflict with a mechanized society, the conflict which exposes tensions of the American family, decline and fall of moral values and challenges of Puritan morality. Many of his female characters are individuals psychologically trapped in the myths, self-delusions, and pretensions of the gentility of the agrarian, Cavalier past. Some of them belong to the notorious Southern wench kind (Falk 1961: 20), passionate in behavior, sex-driven, in conflict with Puritan mores, but also vulnerable and oversensitive. Williams's female characters are mostly outsiders, emotionally deformed, dissatisfied and dysfunctional, some of them neurotic, some of them insane, often consumed by time and decay, but resisting to guilt and despair as long as they can. The song that Blanche sings in scene seven, "Paper Moon", describes the way love turns the world into a phony fantasy, since lovers reject to accept the material world and prefer to believe in their imagined reality. The idea of fantasy as the privileged realm of reality sums up Blanche's approach to life:

> BLANCHE: I'll tell you what I want. Magic (...) Yes, yes magic! I try to give that to people. I misrepresent things to them. I don't tell truth. I tell what *ought* to be truth. And if that is sinful, then let me be damned for it! (Williams 2000: 545)

The protagonist in this case is, as elsewhere in the plays by Tennessee Williams, an alienated tragic hero seeking to belong in an eroded jungle society (Falk 1961: 144), or an Everyman trying to cope through false compensations of pipe dreams, or a muted survivor living a life of quiet desperation, a victim of societal pressure, animal desires, and loss of integrity. Too many possible explanations show that the true art escapes definition. In that respect, Williams is among the best writers who have ever examined the frightening depths of human nature.

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A PORTRAIT OF THE ARCHITECT AT FIFTY FOUR: PETER GREENAWAY'S CENOTAPH FOR JOYCEAN MODERNITY

Abstract This paper regards linguistic aspects of James Joyce's novels *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Stephen Hero* as temporal gestalt (shape of an entity's complete form). Simultaneously, it traces stills from Peter Greenaway's 1987 film *The Belly of an Architect* that reflect the director's concern with visual reproduction, citation and "remediation". As if following dictum *per aspera ad astra* that Dedalus's dean used in a lecture on the sublime, Greenaway portrays Stourley Kracklite. For this purpose, he materialises Étienne-Louis Boullée's planetarium (the cenotaph for Sir Isaac Newton) and uses postcard images of Rome that serve in place of Stephen's diary. Changing, through immediacy of film medium, the "postcard ontology" of postality, envois (Derrida 1987) into complete arrival, Greenaway's film enables return to Joyce's texts where everything seen is reality, "but reality of thinking process and not of actual happenings in space and time" (Žižek 2006).

Key words: Joyce, Greenaway, time-image, aspect, architecture, postmodernism, remediation, writing

1. Joyce's use of intertextuality and Greenaway's approach to history of film

On the opening pages of Jacques Derrida's study *Of Grammatology*, term *writing* is used

> for all that gives rise to an inscription in general, whether it is literal or not and even if what it distributes in space is alien to the order of the voice: cinematography, choreography, of course, but also pictorial, musical, sculptural 'writing.' [Derrida 1997: 9].

It is precisely from this perspective that recent collection of essays entitled *Reel away the reel world": James Joyce and Cinema*, edited by John McCourt, approaches the writing of James Joyce. The essays are focused primarily on cinematic techniques employed in certain chapters of *Ulysses* and wider cultural events surrounding the opening of the Volta cinema in Dublin. Apart from that, they offer one allegorical reference to *A Portrait* within detailed comparison of Joyce's

approach to writing to Jean-Luc Godard's concern with film editing. Additionally, almost all other attempts at finding sharing points Joyce's writing has with more recent directors' styles point towards Joyce's anticipation of experimental and *postmodern* cinema in *Finnegans Wake*.

An intention of this paper is to demonstrate how, instead of polyphony and polylogue, we are witnessing poly-*mediality* in poetics of these two artists, namely James Joyce and Peter Greenaway. In a place of metaphor of panopticism – an arrangement of various points from which one spot is seen, or stylistic perspectives from which one theme is approached –we are encountering various mediums through which a story is told in works of Joyce and Greenaway. All of these mediums had been transcribed into text or film. Characterised by "concern with various positions from which meaning becomes possible" (MacCabe 1979: 4), Joyce's texts in their use of intertextuality are comparable to Greenaway's "spatialised databases" (Manovich 2007: 55) in their reflections on the history of the visual and cinema. In order to present this in the paper, at first will be shortly outlined general characteristics of Greenaway's films and Joyce's novel *Finnegans Wake*. Analysis will show why *A Portrait* should be related to the 1987 film, in contrast to the *Wake*, which is by its structure closer to Greenaway's later, digitally defined films. *The Belly of an Architect* is very simple, if compared to later Greenaway's films. Within it, no electric lights are playing an important structural material for the image, there is no lighthouse, fireworks, phosphorus rope or stars on a girl's dress as in *Drowning by Numbers*, no overlapping of several transparent moving images. In fact, nothing visually emphasized except from a photo-camera's flash that serves more to dénouement in the story than as a structural part of an image.

Furthermore, since this Greenaway's film is concerned with *architecture*, we will argue that his choice of monuments and ruins of Rome, along with Boullée's projects, is closer to the 1916 Joyce's novel. Bauhaus principles and *postmodern* architectural designs by the end of 1980s and later, on the other hand, are closer to *Finnegans Wake*. There is a reason why the architect and the director choose Rome, where all phases of the history of architecture are visible, to exhibit work of a French architect, which, might be said, anticipates work of Buckminster Fuller. In relation to *A Portrait*, film *The Belly of an Architect* by its *medium*, styles and montage appears as *postmodern*, while in reference to later Greenaway's films and Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* it stands as modern piece to postmodern ones. As a result, the main concern of this Greenaway's film appears to be the image of time, presented even through the process of writing, instead of the image of space - architecture, the most spatial-related of the arts. Finally, narration and languages of Stephen Dedalus and Stourley Kracklite will be studied, along with description of postcards interpolated into the film and seen as embodied Gilles Deleuze's theory of *time-image*. In that way, we will endeavour to show how of *A Portrait*, when approached after Greenaway's film, could be said that everything seen there is reality, "but reality of thinking processes and not of actual happenings in space and

time" (Žižek 2006). Correspondingly, the film "is not a sum total of images, but temporal *gestalt*" (Merleau-Ponty 1971: 54).

2. Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* as Greenaway's later films

During *Saloni 2008*, Peter Greenaway revived Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece *The Last Supper* at Santa Maria delle Grazie Church in Milan. Through live projections of the painting's digital simulacra of the same size and scale, the exact surface texture of the original had been featured. This video, made by sophisticated technology and featuring a degree of resolution never reached before, combines numerous languages. They include "visual art, cinema, poetry, music and some of the most cutting-edge new technologies" ever applied to Leonardo's fresco. The video may well serve to underline Derrida's thesis how "since the beginning of twentieth century, transcriptions from one *media* into another, seemed to be tragically necessary" (cited in McGowan 1991: 98. Emphasis added). Many a time attempts at restoring the fresco's initial aspect were made since its ageing process was more rapid than usual due to Da Vinci's experiments with colours and technique. For the same purpose, Greenaway completely decomposed it and filtered every painted surface. Fragment by fragment, he provided spectators with entire complexity of the masterpiece, with all its phases and the final visual effect painting originally probably had.

Greenaway's approach to Leonardo's painting may be seen as analogical to Joyce's method of writing *Finnegans Wake*. In the latter, textual piece, the structure of language is highlighted, but it is used in such a way that it troubles the distinction between signal and noise in a message, implying unintended information by intended one. Video process of restoring, on the other hand, evokes Joyce's manner to the degree when visual language is decomposed to the smallest parts, bits. Characteristics of each among the bits is further systematised and changed. While in the *Wake* we read "Boccuccia's Enameron" (Joyce 1999: 561.24) within which lexical and grammatical parts are re-built in gradation, in Greenaway's video hands of Christ and apostles are separately highlighted, so that saturation and light/colour balance of each pair can be restored. In prolongation, the process is repeated with faces, pieces of clothes, etc. Perspective is also varied within the video, along with possible differentiations in direction of lightning and length of shadows, showing why Leonardo's choice was the best to paint *The Last Supper* in "*chiaroscuro* coalesce" (Joyce 1999: 107.29). Rodney Farnsworth has argued that "Greenaway creates a filmic world apart with its own laws" (Farnsworth 2001: 41), which also does Joyce, while writing *Finnegans Wake* in such a manner that it requires of us to learn English anew.

More similarities can be certainly drown between Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* and montage in Greenaway's television series *Dante Cantos* (eight parts) and film *Prospero's Books*. Also, very fin-negating appears the concept of voluminous *Tulse*

Luper Suitcases that, being mostly digital-based, give spectators the possibility to choose in what direction should the film proceed. In an essay "Classic Shakespeare for All: *Forbidden Planet* and *Prospero's Books*, Two Screen Adaptations of *The Tempest*", Sara Martin notes that the director "challenges through technology the authority of Shakespearean *The Tempest*", being "[l]ess concerned by technophobia than by the dissociation between high art and high technology" (Martin 2000: 43). Martin further reminds that "Greenaway once declared that he is mainly interested in allegory rather than in three-dimensional characters or human psychology", concluding that Shakespearean allegory is adapted in Greenaway's film to explain how the imagination works. The author finds aestheticism of film to be clearly inspired "both by Greenaway's passion for sixteenth and seventeenth century painting – especially Dutch – but also by the Elizabethan and Jacobean masques. Greenaway pays as much homage to Inigo Jones, the celebrated masque designer, as to late twentieth-century technology" (Martin 2000: 44-45).

Additionally, Herbet Klein argued that the role of writing in *Prospero's Books* is "an ideal portrayal of cognitive and pragmatic change" (Klein 2002). Prospero's books are "the instrument of isolation and of interaction, of total unrelatedness and at the same time, of connectedness", same as the postcards in *The Belly of the Architect*. Kracklite starts writing them when he realises that he is loosing his wife, health and directorship over an exhibition of Boullée's technical drawings and models he had been preparing for ten years. Greenaway has deconstructed the books into both films and their equivalences within a cognitive process, which in turn determinates and criticises perception of them. Kracklite's postcards of Rome, on the other hand, although *remediated* in the same manner, appear to be more deconstructed images of Rome and portrait of how the city is perceived, since they never leave it. Earlier than 1991 *Prospero's Books*, *The Belly* explores the status of textuality and message without using high-definition digital technologies and multiple frames. It is worth noting that the script was entirely written by Greenaway, as in cases of *Walk Through H*, film based on images of drawings, aquarelles with traces of writing, and *Nightwatching*, film about Rembrandt van Rijn, in which visual aestheticism is entirely based on the painter's works.

For these reasons, and more closely related to an installation *The Stairs-Munich-Projection* from 1995, Manovich sees Greenaway's work as "a spatialized database". Walking from one to another of almost hundred screens the director put through Munich, one follows the history of cinema, year by year, represented by each of the screen. Although Greenaway usually interpolated books, calligraphy, paintings, fresco and drawings into the filmic image, in *The Belly* the medium of film is the same stuff that postcards, photocopies and architecture are made of. However, the architecture of Rome is in the same relation to pieces of modern and postmodern architecture, as postcards are to film. This can be also said of Stephen Dedalus's language in the diary in relation to literary writing. Moreover, it is precisely through these fragmented, ruined forms from or about the past that personal languages of both protagonists reveal. Thus in postcards, as in Prospero's

books and diary, "[e]verything is quotation, and already a reflection which is then reflected upon once more" (Klein 2002).[1]

Through analysing possible relations of Joyce's writing to architecture, we will further argue that due to the allusions that Greenaway's film makes to *A Portrait* we can perceive Rome as an open work, an open novel whose non-existing parts readers have to imagine. In that way, it will be possible to distinguish which aspects of the film are preserving as cenotaph Joyce's modern novel and why is Boullée's planetarium, seen in a form of moving images, also representative of modernism.

3. James Joyce and modern architecture

In a study described as the first major attempt to think the relationship of poetics to technology and hypertextuality in the works of Joyce, it is noted that

> Le Corbusier's interest in structural harmony led him to devise the "Modulor," a measuring principle which combines harmonious mathematical relationships with the proportions of the human body. Judicious use of the Modulor scale would enable an architect to "harmonise" every element in a building with the whole - a type of apparent architectonics that resembles Joyce's own interest in the relationship of the body to architecture - a theme that is both neo-Platonic (the body as dwelling place of the soul) and Heideggerean (language as dwelling place of man). [Armand 2003: 24].

In 1916, Le Corbusier designed Villa au Bord de la Mer (Boesiger, Stonorov 1943: 28) where he used for the first time most of those elements he later developed in 1927. These were demonstrated then in the Villa Savoye as "five points of a new architecture" based on new opportunities of reinforced concrete. One of the points are *pilotis* – supporting columns – that elevate a house into air, but, providing that they are set inside the house, can enable free façade to be built of light transparent walls or horizontal windows. As the mostly stylised result of the architect's care for highly lightened interiors appears Notre Dame du Haut, also known as Ronchamp Commentary. The base of one outside wall is thicker than its top, so that, in

[1] This theme of reflected reflection seems to be light-motive in Greenaway's opus. With regards to it, Rodney Farnsworth quotes Simon Watney on allegorical significance in *The Draughtsman's Contract*, since "it is thus no accident, as Greenaway is the first to point out 'that the central figure, the draughtsman, has in 1694 an optical device to help him fix his landscape on paper, a device which in principle, is little different from that used by the cameraman in 1982 to fix the landscape of *The Draughtsman's Contract* on film.' This analogy is reinforced as he describes how 'the camera retains, like the draughtsman in the film, a steady, uncommitted, observant, uncritical eye' […] This is the very nature of allegory - to demand further elucidation and commentary, beyond any closure of literal narrative devices". See: Simon Watney, "Gardens of Speculation: Landscape in *The Draughtsman's Contract*" *Undercut* 7/8 (Spring 1983) 7, or Farnsworth 2001: 80.

combination with differently sized windows, variously large beams of light are directed towards the centre of the church. However, of more importance to mapping possible mutual points in structures of buildings from the first half of twentieth century and Joyce's novels, in particularly *Finnegans Wake*,[2] is another principle that Le Corbusier demonstrated in the Villa Savoye and even earlier in 1922 within Maison Citrohan. Due to concrete, any house from then on could have free plan and free floors, which was impossible earlier because these depended on supporting walls. Adolf Loos and Frank Lloyd Wright further developed this invention. Their masterpieces, the Villa Müller and "Fallingwater", also called Kaufmann Residence, share certain structural similarities with the *Wake*. Both of these buildings were designed later than in 1923, when a thesis "Art and Technology – New Unity" (Wingler 1993: xviii) was introduced as the third programmatic goal of Bauhaus and made the main influence on future architectural design.

Adolf Loos, who taught at Bauhaus, proclaimed in his 1908 essay *Ornament and Crime* that ornament is crime, referring to Art Nouveau and arguing for the aesthetic charm of the ornament-free, of beauty which could be achieved trough proportion and by allowing materials to reveal their true nature (cited in Wingler 1993: 2).[3] If we look at Étienne-Louis Boullée's planetarium (1784), it seems to represent the same aesthetic principle. However, Loos's "Raumplan", demonstrated in 1930 within base of Villa Müller formed by four reinforced concrete pillars, may stand as the spatial metaphor of the circular structure of narratives employed in the *Wake*. The "Raumplan" is used for the lower part of the Villa, while the individual rooms are freely hanging as if in a cascade off the deck, in ordering and dimensions adequate to their functions. In *Finnegans Wake* several narrative structures are multiplied and varied, so that the impression of circular historic course is achieved even within smaller parts. These are more or less freely placed within the uniting circular form of the novel whose - conditionally termed – the last sentence is cut to be continued as the first one. Besides, textual composition of *Wake*'s second chapter of part II reveals Joyce's approach to composition of marginal texts and footnotes, parts whose spatial aspects are undividable from their importance and function. Loos, similarly thought of space, which he described as following:

[2] Zaha Hadid's buildings and the change architect's style brings into history of architecture remind very much of *Finnegans Wake* in the structure of its minor levels. Her architectural design has been labelled as *deconstruction in architecture* that is visible both in separate pieces and in Hadid's approach to urbanism. In fact, Hadid in early paintings, which reflect her account of urban structures, deals with forms in the same way Joyce approaches language in the *Wake*. Furthermore, as of a contemporary architect, Hadid's style still develops, while critical accounts of Joyce's novel are still revealing new things unsaid about it. However, the pairs urbanism-*Finnegans Wake* and *post-modern* architecture-the *Wake* require separate studies to be analysed. With urbanism, the study of chaotic and harmonic expansion of cities, the *Wake* shares many joining points specially if having in mind that Joyce last book is the book of dark and that large cities in nigh indeed seem as constellations from distance.

[3] For direct source, see: Adolf Loos, *Ornament and Crime* and *Die Potemkinsche Stadt: Verschollene Schriften, 1897-1933*.

> My architecture is not conceived in plans, but in spaces. I do not design floor plans, facades, sections. *I design spaces*. For me, there is no ground floor, first floor etc... For me, there are only contiguous, continual spaces, rooms, anterooms, terraces etc. Stories merge and spaces relate to each other. Every *space requires a different height*: the dining room is surely higher than the pantry – thus the ceilings are set at different levels. To join these spaces in such a way that the rise and fall are not only unobservable but also practical. [Lhota, Loos 1930, stenograph].

Creating an academic, theoretical and practical synthesis of all forms of visual expression with architecture, "the crystallized expression of mankind's noblest thoughts" (Forgács 1991: 18), Bauhaus founders agreed with Plato who by the beauty of shapes considered "straight lines and circles, and shapes – plane or solid. […] These are not, like other things, beautiful relatively, but always and absolutely" (Bartram 2004: 53). Bauhaus workshops were oriented towards this poetic direction, which resulted in one of the most poetic pieces of architecture. Following two principles, that provided for every individual an individual style and for every place an appropriate formal language, Frank Lloyd Write created the "Fallingwater". One of the building's main purposes was to integrate interiors with natural surroundings,[4] achieved by horizontal bands of windows Write introduced in 1904 Martin house in Buffalo, New York. Working on projects and realisation of the Fallingwater took three years before *Finnegans Wake* was finished and it is possible to find similar attitudes towards play and structure within these two works. Unlike in the case of Villa Müller, all horizontal spaces of the Fallingwater are based on one carrying vertical, which is partly the original rock the house is placed on. We may compare this kind of spatial composition to the mentioned chapter in part II of *Finnegans Wake*. Moreover, the waterfall, whose course is following the structure of Write's building, is alike "the [|an outside of the page|] riverrun" of *Finnegans Wake*.

In contrast to the architecture of the first half of the twentieth century, postmodern works exhibit "ever more dynamic revolution in the languages and forms" (cited in McGowan 1991: 181) as both John McGowan and Frederic Jameson emphasised. As metonymic building for postmodern hyperspace, Jameson names John Portman's The Bonaventure Hotel, due to its elevators and escalators for communication between interior spaces and glass-like facades. In those glasses the city is reflected, resulting in one building which embodies the urban space. The same constructing concept was used in Michael Jantzen's 2002 Malibu Video House

[4] In contrast to Frank Lloyd Write's buildings, Frederic Jameson is arguing against possibility of individual body to locate itself within postmodern hyperspace. He notes how "this alarming disjunction between the body and its built environment – which is to the initial bewilderment of the older modernism as the velocities of spacecraft are to those of automobile – can itself stand as the symbol and analogue of that even sharper dilemma, which is the incapacity of our minds, at least at present, to map the great global, multinational and decentred communicational network in which we find ourselves caught as individual objects" (Jameson 1991: 15-16).

where the façade is covered with thin gas-plasma television screens, which create a full-size video interface with the real world. These screens enable full reflection of the sea for someone standing outside, while for those in the inside even the sound of sea is provided, equal to that one on the outside. Exterior space, not originally part of these buildings, becomes integrated within them, by a similar way now history of literature is used within *Finnegans Wake*.

Nevertheless, we may ask what are Étienne-Louis Boullée's planetarium and architecture of Rome presented in the Greenaway's film having in common with buildings previously analysed? First of all, serving as a monument, planetarium is not meant to have all functional parts private and public building share. Thus, it appears as very similar to basilicas, fountains and remains of ancient Roman architecture. Secondly, being unrealised, it becomes mere image, a drawing that is mechanically reproduced in books and Greenaway's film that represents both history of writing mediums and history of architectural styles at the same time.

4. Aesthetic aspects of the two portraits

"(one has thoughts of that eternal Rome)" (Joyce 1999: 298.32-33).

Prior to concluding a dialogue with proverb *per aspera ad astra*, the dean of studies in *A Portrait*, made a call "to distinguish the beautiful and the sublime […] to distinguish between moral beauty and material beauty" (Joyce 1958: 188). Contextually, he indicated that sublime is an aspect of material beauty. Immanuel Kant reflected upon the distinction and dependence of moral on material beauty in a claim that two things always leave him speechless – the starry night above him and the moral principles inside him. Later, Peter Greenaway repeated this thesis in *The Belly of an Architect*. This film, from the opening shots, demonstrates the director's "fascination for symmetry" (van der Pol 2005: 214) and underlines it by introduced character of little Italian boy. Thanks to him, an effect of mise-en-abyme or portrait-within-the portrait is created, but also the visual perception-within-the visual perception, since the boy sees a model of lighthouse, another light-related Boullée's building. The boy's future is left completely open in the film, but there are indications that he will become an architect. As for Boullée's buildings, although the lighthouse is seen, the realised planetarium, or, more precisely, its failing into a birthday cake, is left barely tasted. Nevertheless, even in that form, it presents aesthetically rich visual material.

In *A Portrait* and *Stephen Hero*, architecture serves as an agency of thought. Thus, we read how "when [Stephen] had made a skeleton map of the city in his mind he followed boldly one of its central lines until he reached the Custom House" (Joyce 1958: 64). Similar approach is visible in a piece of dialogue that changes during the genesis of the novel:

> Yes, Stephen said, smiling in spite of himself at Cranly's way of remembering thoughts in connection with places. (Joyce 1958: 248)

> Yes, yes, I remember, said Stephen, who hated Cranly's method of remembering the past, what did I tell you? (Joyce 1966: 143)

Sculpture also becomes related to the process of cognition and writing, although, in reality, "Lynch would have had little trouble in scratching his name on [the Venus of Praxiteles's] backside" (Cullen 2009: 38). On the contrary, Kracklite answers about his identity to a police officer while standing in front of a marble belly, the fragment of Colossus of Constantine. Jean-Michel Rabaté, in an introduction "Après mot, le déluge: the ego as symptom", correlates the question of name to the Modern Library's issued list of the hundred best novels of previous century where "Joyce was the only novelist to whom […] several photographs were devoted" (Rabaté 2002: 10-11). Contextualised within this critical portraying, Rabaté's discussion on *A Portrait* continues with Lacan's linking of 'emmoi' with *de moi* ('of me'):

> By stressing the homophony of 'je nomme' ('I name') with 'jeune homme' – the 'young man' of Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist*, Lacan follows in the steps of a 'young man Joyce' with whom he shares revolt and […] the creation of a radically new language allowing them to think originally. [(Rabaté 2002: 17].[5]

While Stephen's diary begins on March 20th, Stourley writes on the back of postcard of Mausoleo di Augusto on Monday, May 20th. Afterwards, postcards include those of the Typewriter on July 31st, of Villa Adriana on Tuesday, August 6th, of Piazza di S. Pietro on Wednesday, August 7th, while with an image of Forum Romain he wonders on Thursday, August 22nd why Boullée never came to Rome. The last one is filled on Monday, February 10th, moments before a doctor told him a

[5] In relation to Stephen's language and of importance to link Joyce's writing to postmodernism, perhaps one should regard work of Buckminster Fuller who taught at Black Mountain College. Fuller is recognised as pioneer in thinking globally while, combining architectural design and engineering, developed Geodesic Dome. This patent follows the same methodology of Walther Bauersfeld's design for the Zeiss Planetarium, built twenty years prior to Fuller's. A unique language style in Fuller's thirty publications is characterised by long sentences, unusual compound words (omniwell-informed, intertransformative, omni-interaccommodative, omniself-regenerative) and use of the word 'Universe' without the definite or indefinite articles with capital letter. Instead of the words "down" and "up" that refer to a planar concept of direction inconsistent with human experience, Fuller argued that "in" and "out" should be used, since they better describe an object's relation to a gravitational center. He also used "world-around" instead of "worldwide" and "sunsight/sunclipse" replacing "sunrise" and "sunset" to rotate the geocentric predisposition of major pre-Copernican celestal mechanics. Furthermore, he invented the term *tensegrity* from *tensional integrity*. See: Wikipedia and *Synergetics: Explorations in the Geometry of Thinking*, available at: http://www.rwgrayprojects.com/synergetics/toc/toc.html.

diagnosis. In the study *Cinema II: The Time-Image*, Gilles Deleuze argues that "the principal act of cinema" is "to give us the image *of* time" (Deleuze 1989: 34), which is in Greenaway's film realised through postcards. They function as pure optical situations, id est time-images. In conclusion, Deleuze claims that "Benjamin's art of reproductions is art of automatic movement" (Deleuze 1989: 264) which *The Belly* seems to demonstrate with the sculpture of August. As a unique piece of art, it becomes technically reproducible through film images when Kracklite photocopies the postcard with image of this sculpture. Since the postcards no longer function to lessen the distance between a receiver and Rome, they become pure images, a type of media within Greenaway's rhetoric. They become "reflective genres" being "genuine *categories* through which the film passes" (Deleuze 1989: 184).

Joyce's concern with light and image is emphasised through his use of adverb in following examples:

> He had been thrown by the fellow's machine lightly on the cinderpath and his spectacles had been broken in three pieces […]. (Joyce 1958: 38)

> […] it thrilled him to think of it in the silence when the pens scraped lightly. (Joyce 1958: 44)

> Then in the dark and unseen by the other two he rested the tips of the fingers of one hand upon the palm of the other hand, scarcely touching it lightly. (Joyce 1958: 81)

In these sentences the contexts within which Joyce places the word is important for aesthetic value of the text. In the first example the writer deliberately chooses Stephen's spectacles to be broken (after being thrown lightly) - not Stephen's fingernail, nose or elbow. Spectacles are related to clearness of seeing and, as such, to light and visual sensation. In the second example, although "lightly" refers to auditory appearance, the pens and visual lines they leave are, again, indicating something that is related to the sight, to the visual and to the light. In the third example, the adverb is used in, probably, the best situation to describe its meaning – being tactile-oriented, but this action is contextualized by darkness and distracted attention of "the other two" who are unable to see what is happening. This darkness and movement "unseen by the other two" that results in tactile sensation are also aspects that are primarily related to the visualization. In this respect, the adverb "lightly" in these sentences can be read as derivate of noun "light" where "being touched lightly" would mean to be touched so slightly as if by the light, so that a feeling it more recognised as a change in temperature conditioned by a sun-ray falling upon skin than as a tactile pressure or pain.

Furthermore, narration also seems to point towards, what Benjamin later defined as technical reproducibility, since it describes in advance the upcoming repetition of syntax:

Cranly gripped his arm tightly to check his tongue, smiling uneasily, and *repeated*: — Easy, easy, easy! (Joyce 1958: 196, emphasis added)

[…] He stood at the foot of the staircase, […] nodding his head often and *repeating*:

— Not a doubt of it, Mr Hacket! Very fine! Not a doubt of it! (Joyce 1958: 197-99, emphasis added)

Due to variety of styles, Keith Williams in a recent paper *An Individuating Rhythm: Rapid Photography and* A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man correlated *A Portrait*'s innovative form to Joyce's earlier speculations about representing consciousness (Williams June 16th 2010). Driving concepts and dynamic phrasing, fluid succession of presents implied in the past, according to Williams, mirror key characteristics of rapid photography, materialistically achieved vision as, for example, by Eadward Muybridge's 'Zoopraxiscope', a breakthrough towards the first cinematographic devices as Cinematograph. The rhythm of Muybridge's proto-cinematic device figured dissection of physical motion, while in Joyce's novel it underlines the protagonist's psycho-sensory processes and form of the novel, which, as cinema, shows very slowly how motion is composed. In *The Film and the New Psychology*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty argues that "[t]he idea we have of the world would be overturned if we could succeed in seeing the intervals between things […] as *objects*" (Merleau-Ponty 1971: 48). The moving image we see is exactly that interval between two photographs, and, thus, film is metaphor of both visual perception and thinking process as such. That Joyce was aware of this, perhaps the best demonstrates the following passage from the third chapter of *A Portrait*:

The slide was shot back. *The* penitent emerged from the side of the box. The farther side was drawn. *A* woman entered quietly and deftly where the first penitent had knelt. The faint murmur began again. […]

The slide was shot back. *A* penitent emerged from the farther side of the box. The near slide was drawn. *A* penitent entered where the other penitent had come out. *A* soft whispering noise floated in vaporous cloudlets out of the box. It was the woman: soft whispering cloudlets, soft whispering vapour, whispering and vanishing. […]

The slide was shot to suddenly. *The* penitent came out. He was next. He stood up in terror and walked *blindly* into the box. (Joyce 1958: 140, emphases added)

Prior to the Greenaway's film, *A Portrait* stands as an agent of changing mediums of Derrida's concept of writing, since both narrative of film and written language in diary, can be used to portray a phase in development of the character. With Joyce and Greenaway, additional characters are language, architecture and literature or film, id est their histories.

5. Postality

Both Stephen Dedalus and Stourley Kracklite develop their personal languages in process that began with *agnosis*, helped by spectral words of precursors, and continuing into "entelechy, form of forms" (Joyce 2008: 9:208). In *A Portrait,* this course begins with progressive *aspect* and verbs in their dynamic use, suggesting repetition of some events in the structure of syntax, rather than in represented events. For this purpose, an alteration of *returning/returned* and *repeating/repeated* is notable in the episode with O'Neill Temple and Cranly. In prolongation, Stephen's request for "new terminology and new personal experience" (Joyce 1958: 210) if debating on phenomena of artistic reproduction, gains its answers in the scene in a church and through serialised form of diary. Greenaway's Stourley, on the other hand, is seen while encountering Boullée's unrealized planetarium and postcard images of Rome which serve instead of Stephen's diary. Through immediacy of film medium the "post card ontology" is changed into complete arrival, of which Derrida thought to be impossible due to postality in communication, disusing in length questions of sending and non-arrival (Derrida 1987).[6] Texts written on postcards, like film, function as spatio-temporal transposition of protagonist's language and consciousness. Finally, the architecture of Rome, apart from being an open work, an open novel, becomes the branch of art in the age of its mechanical reproducibility. If translated into another medium, such as film, its sublime aspect stays preserved within Greenaway's work, which also happens to Joyce's writings.

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[6] See also Alan Roughley, "Postcards to Joyce", in *Reading Derrida Reading Joyce* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), or Alain Robbe-Grillet, "Time and description in Fiction Today (1963)" in *For the New Novel* (New York: Groove Press, 1965) where Robbe-Grillet argues that the cinema's only one grammatical mode is the present tense of indicative.

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USE OF VIOLENCE ON STAGE IN THE PORTRAYAL OF MODERN CULTURE IN SARAH KANE'S *BLASTED*

Abstract The paper will focus on British playwright Sarah Kane's play *Blasted* through which she presented, by means of sexual and violent images, contemporary issues about war, gender and the media's insensitive manipulation of the news, with the purpose of making the audience abandon positions of casual observers and awakening their moral sensibilities. With the aim of portraying political atmosphere of the time, in the course of which the concept of justice got blurred by false ideological pretences, Sarah Kane relied on the work of Edward Bond whose defense of Marxist principles and literature from their postmodern trivialization will provide a critical perspective to this paper. The purpose of the paper will be to draw attention to the powerful and unique voice of Sarah Kane and other in-yer-face playwrights who made theater art capable of revealing the truth not only about society but also about notions of morality and ourselves.

Key words: postmodern culture, in-yer-face theatre, violence, oppressors, the oppressed

1. Where do we live? What do we live by?

The twentieth century was definitely a time of betrayals, the way Yugoslav-born critic and academic Darko Suvin put it in his 2002 essay *Politics: What May the Twentieth Century Amount to: Initial Theses*. What the twentieth century amounted to were socially constructed concepts of good and bad, disinterestedness and indifference to natural human rights, lure of desirable commodities and the global triumph of corporate capitalism which was frequently identified as the only conceivable version of a utopian paradise. The one who suffered the consequences of the aforementioned betrayal was contemporary man. All he was presented with was the so-called "fake utopia", reflected in a series of false and empty promises. Suvin associated this kind of society with Disneyland, in which "a careful and most efficacious organization of desires displaces the possibility of an active intervention into the real world" (Moylan 2000: 136) and claimed that that same society drugged Althusserian socially-produced subjects not only with crack, alcohol and other types of industrially produced pills but also with disneyfication, i.e. mania for the consumption of attainable goods. It is no wonder, then, that the same author was utterly disappointed when casting a backward glance at the previous era.

In societies of this kind, which have continued to exist, everything and everybody that is deemed different, that refuses to conform to ideological standards, that demands justice and claims it to be a birthright belonging to all, that wishes to re-create long-lost humanity and re-establish the world in terms of values other than those stemming from capitalist economy, that starts asking questions about the true purpose of life within the hedonistic empire, that starts to perceive ideological contradictions and wishes to take action against the oppressive elements of reality is considered as the Other, a savage who should be "civilized" in order to deserve a place in the society. As Terry Eagleton put it in one of his articles (2008), "the ambition of advanced capitalism is not simply to combat radical ideas, or even to discredit them. It is to abolish the very notion that there could be a serious alternative to the present". "Already civilized" advanced capitalism feels nothing more than contempt for the Other and regards him or her as a dangerous threat capable of disturbing a well-established ideological equilibrium. For that reason, the Other is, more often than not, left in ignorance of the truth (even the truth about what his or her own life should be based on), pushed aside to the margins of the social scale, or, even, exterminated. It is obvious, then, that "the Third World War against peoples we call third world people, or bomb them or blockade them into becoming third world people, the war of world wide niggerization has begun." (Tesich). What is particularly worrying is that "it began at home a long time ago." (Tesich). This "niggerization", or, if simply put, violence against the Other, is frequently legitimized by the proclaimed maintenance of law and order. It is not even called violence. One of the examples that could support this fact is found in the past. Namely, the invasion of South Vietnam in 1962, the attack against South Vietnam, and the aggression in Indochina were not even recognized as such. Rather, there was "an American defense of South Vietnam against terrorists supported from the outside" (Roy 2004: 56).

2. In-yer-face reaction against violence

Some authors regarded this kind of society as "post-Fordist" (Ajdačić 1999) and claimed that it was characterized by "soft" technologies, automation, mega corporations and their regulation of the world market, integration of the media and computers and complete domination of advertising. Instead of lobbying for the celebration of human rights, Francis Fukuyama (1992) praised this kind of world as the haven of free living for which no alternative should be searched, it standing for the "end of history" and a promise of eternal paradise. Nevertheless, these issues were at the same time tackled by a considerable number of British artists who "dared" to present the audience with alternative viewpoints and set out to "make things appear" (Watt and Meyer-Dinkgräfe 2007: 2) through their theater art. Theater critic Michael Billington identified these writers who had emerged during the 1990s as having grown up in England in the 1980s, the era of Thatcherism, consumerism and faith in profit as the ultimate test of anything's worth. In his view,

they rejected and protested against all that they were in a position to witness (Aragay et.al. 2007). Their work was known under the name of "in-yer-face theatre". Aleks Sierz, creator of the term, defined it as "the kind of theatre which grabs the audience by the scruff of the neck and shakes it until it gets the message" (Sierz). Its power lay in the presentation of violent images by means of which the authors managed to perform a hideous attack on the senses of the audience, thus bringing them face to face with the harsh conditions of everyday life. Vivid re-presentation of the things happening around them in their everyday lives and sudden close contact with the events on stage stirred the process of cleansing the blurred images of reality and led them towards a path of abandoning their positions as casual and indifferent observers in harsh surroundings. It was American director and playwright Ken Urban who summarized the effect of in-yer-face theatre. In his view, the plays written by these artists examined the possibilities of cruelty with the purpose of "countering cynicism and challenging mainstream morality's interpretation of the world" (Urban 2002: 354). In the process of commenting on the culture of the so-called "cool Britannia", Urban claimed that "while coolness is associated with a cynical state of disinterestedness, cruelty is a very different affect. Although it may appear cold, cruelty carries with it the possibility of transformation" (2002: 363).

If we return a few decades into the past, we will be able to see that "in-yer-face" writers were not the first ones who started to react against the culture in such an explicit manner. Nor were the nineties the first period in history in which such works of art were regarded as problematic. In one of his interviews, Harold Pinter reflected on his play *Party Time*, reprinted in his *Plays: Four*, which is worth mentioning in this respect. Namely, in this play "you have a lot of well-dressed people enjoying a fashionable, champagne-filled party while outside there are roadblocks and helicopters" (Billington 2006), and although some of these people seem to be responsible for the situation happening outside, they do not care. Furthermore, there were the ones whom some theater critics placed into the group of "in-your-bollocks" writers (Aragay et.al. 2007: 131). Namely, starting from the 1960s, it was Edward Bond who used his plays as well as collections of essays to "illuminate and resolve situations of cyclical social aggression" and illustrate "the madly systematic (self-)destructive compulsions which a distorting society has inscribed into the national unconscious" (Rabey 2003: 79). In his defense of Marxist principles, Bond examined unjust rules on the basis of which the culture forms its sustainability. In his words, "medieval alchemy sought to turn base metal into precious metal, dross into gold. It failed because it did not observe natural law. Our alchemy succeeds: it turns everything into gold, into money and capital. But it turns all other values – our freedom, democracy and justice – into dross" (2000: 8). Unfortunately, past times showed that these rules had brought about Auschwitz and Hiroshima. The present problem is that atrocities are likely to happen again under whatever names and that the future will "vanish" the moment history "ends".

His notorious play *Saved*, reprinted in *Plays: One* (1977), explores these problems on stage. It examined the lives of a group of working class South London youths, who felt suppressed by an unjust economic system and unable to give their

lives true meaning. The audience saw them perform acts of barbarous violence. *Saved* was banned because of the feeling of shock the scenes of a baby being stoned to death provoked in the audience and the critics. The same situation happened with all other plays that included nudity, swear words, homosexuality or any other "repulsive" details.

Nevertheless, if we go back to the last decade of the previous era, we will see that Pinter's and Bond's works of art, despite being regarded as repulsive, still managed to inspire a generation of British playwrights, including Sarah Kane. According to some critics, Kane, just like her contemporary, Mark Ravenhill, the author of *Shopping and F***king*, whose play, together with its title, caused great deal of offense, was "manifestly influenced by Bond, and his materialist demonstrations of how characters are often primarily defined by a systematic degradation" (Rabey 2003: 206). In Ravenhill's words, "since the sense of society and the social collapsed in Britain in the mid-1980s and everybody was encouraged to think of separate communities, everything became a community: the gay and lesbian community, the wheelchair users' community, even the crochet community, or the needlework community. This replaced any sense of society. Creating a sense of subcultures is just another evasion of the notion of a society and of the attempt to try and create one, a communication, a sense of constructing our living with all sorts of different people. Subcultures are valid for teenagers, but it's not an adult form of existence. Being a social being, being part of a society, is the only truly adult form of existence" (Aragay et.al. 2007: 92-93).

As for Sarah Kane, the British modern-day *enfant terrible* and "the Court's archetypal playwright for 1990s", as Billington would call her (Aragay et.al. 2007: 117), she used her plays to react against the society around her and its corresponding institutions. Having this goal in mind, she sets one of her plays, *Cleansed*, reprinted in her *Complete Plays* (2001), "in an institution designed to rid society of its undesirables" (2001), in which sadistic Tinker performs a series of atrocities on a young woman, her brother, a disturbed boy, a gay couple and a peepshow dancer. Unfortunately, within the confines of postmodern society, this "institution", which stands for university, has lost its true function. Accusing universities of shifting from being the accusers of corporate capitalism to being its accomplices, Terry Eagleton makes a distinction between academics, who "spend their lives researching such momentous questions such as the vaginal system of the flea" and true intellectuals who "have the more arduous job of bringing ideas to bear on society as a whole" (2008). Kane zealously supported the latter. As a true intellectual, she used her art to present violent images on stage and make her audience experience sexual and homosexual rape, torture, beating, sucking out of eyes and murder as if all these atrocities were happening in their immediate neighborhoods. She forced them to live through her characters' experiences, which was quite attainable due to the fact that her first play, *Blasted*, also reprinted in her *Complete Plays* (2001), was performed only a few feet away from the audience themselves.

Kane's utilization of violent images with the purpose of confronting the false cultural constructs, making people escape the dark recesses of apathy, and leading

them towards contemplation of a different way of life outraged the press and critics. Her fellow-playwrights agreed that "plays like these don't often come", and that, due to that fact, the play "unleashed a giddy paroxysm of rather idiotic fury from British theater critics" ("Sarah Kane Special"). They obviously did not expect a woman to be able to make such bold statements in her works of art. One of the journalists working for the *Daily Mail* at the time regarded the first performance of *Blasted* in 1995 as "a disgusting feast of filth" (Sierz). Unfortunately, what troubled the press and the critics most was not violence itself but the presentation of violence. The play was deemed offensive and repulsive since it established a link between domestic violence happening in Britain and the civil war in former Yugoslavia. The truth about their disinterestedness and about the harsh reality was thrown in the face of "cool Britannia" and it obviously could not stand it. As for Kane herself, she was well aware of all the epithets "in-yer-face" writers, like her or Mark Ravenhill, were given. They were called "the New Brutalists", "the School of Smack and Sodomy" or "Blut and Sperma school" (Ravenhill 2006). Therefore, she did expect the negative reaction and commented on the way the society managed to mask its injustices, by claiming that she "wrote [*Blasted*] to tell the truth. Of course, that's shocking. Take the glamour out of violence and it becomes utterly repulsive" (Sierz). All she wanted was to expose the truth. In Billington's words, "Kane was arguing that if only we experienced some of the things that were happening at that moment in Serbia, we would come to our senses" (Aragay et.al. 2007: 112). She was also far from regarding her plays as filthy, depressing or hopeless. In her own words, "to create something beautiful about despair, or out of a feeling of despair, is for me the most hopeful, life-affirming thing a person can do" (Sierz). Without providing the readers with any kind of interpretations, she simply let her plays speak for themselves and reach the moral sensibilities of the people watching them. Ironically enough, the media helped her reach her goal. Much as they attacked her, they drew attention towards her.

In *Blasted*, Kane mingled the scenes of Ian's raping of Cate between her fits, soldier's bursting into the room and holding Ian at gunpoint, Cate's fleeing through the bathroom window, massive explosion, soldier's raping of Ian and subsequent sucking out of his eyes and eating them, soldier's suicide and eating of baby's corpse with normal and everyday life scenes of football matches played at Elland Road. And she packed all that in a setting "that could be anywhere in the world" (2001: 8) and that was familiar to anyone who had been in or had known anything about expensive hotel rooms symbolizing society's craving for commodities. In this way, she managed to provide the audience with a powerful critique of society's primary interests and its indifference to real problems which include violence. Among other things, *Blasted* implies that Britain is a society in which everyone that is regarded as the Other should be degraded. It is Ian, the main male character in the play, who proves this through his behavior towards vulnerable Cate, through his obvious contempt for "wogs", "niggers", "colored brethren", "lesbos" or "Indians" (Kane 2001) and through his belief that all who would dare to sympathize with these classes of people were "retard" (Kane 2001). Not only does Ian, a middle-aged

journalist, whom Kane considered to be the perfect representative of insensitive patriarchal culture, torture Cate psychologically by considering her inferior and directly showing it to her as in the case of his refusal to respect her decision not to enter into sexual intercourse with him, but he also refuses to acknowledge her physical suffering and rapes her between a series of her epileptic fits. The fact that Kane placed the scenes of rape of Cate offstage can be particularly interesting if for no other reason than to imply the idea that women as well are to be treated as the Other and that violence performed over them is such a normal and expected thing that it does not even deserve to be shown on stage.

It has already been mentioned that Kane strove to establish a link between domestic violence and violence surrounding war atrocities. After psychological and physical savagery has blasted Cate, civil war, reflected in the figure of a soldier, blasts the entire hotel room, lives of the characters and, finally, the audience's deeply-rooted beliefs. Kane was intent on identifying the soldier with Ian himself and making them both into monsters bred by the same ideology but materialized within different circumstances. The Soldier is a person who was trained to kill, destroy and even forget his crimes and his deeds as well as the sufferings which he had to endure. All these things are simply rendered as normal and even encouraged as long as they are not brought home with him. "Like it never happened" (Kane 2001: 29). Ian's monstrosity is reflected in his indifference to war atrocities that the soldier attempts to describe to him. Not only does he express a lack of interest in the series of rapes and murders of men, women and babies during the war and his subsequent refusal to write about those things since no one would be interested in reading about them, but he also reports the news about recent street crime as if it were just another boring story, good enough to fill the pages of some weekly magazine. According to Peter Buse, "*Blasted* implies that modern Britain is a society where potentially traumatizing events, such as rape and murder, are rendered inconsequential by the constant diet of them provided by the press" (2001: 186). Ian's cold and detached manner of presenting the story to the newspaper he works for was used by the author of the play in order to point to the media's insensitive and tamed portrayal of harsh stories and their intention to blur society's crimes by means of these masked stories. In order to break through this wall of apathy, Kane heightens the intensity of the play and makes the soldier perform a new series of atrocities which neither the audience nor the critics could expect. Namely, the moment the soldier realizes that Ian is too bloodless to be able to react or feel something when listening to his war experiences, "he pulls down Ian's trousers, undoes his own and rapes him" (Kane 2001: 29), and, symbolically, breaks through defense mechanisms that the so-called "civilized" culture has erected against caring about what is happening in its immediate neighborhood or around the globe as well as through socially constructed notions of gender. However, although Kane probably knew that she was going to shock the audience the moment acts of violence started happening to one of the representatives of the ever-present and pervasive culture, she decided to go a step further and show that their (and Ian's) insensitivity had no limits. Namely, Ian is still silent even in the moments of pain caused by violent acts

of homosexual rape. And he still fails to see beyond his own needs and worries only about whether he is going to be killed or not. In order to make him go beyond his ideologically created blindness and indifference, Kane makes the soldier take away Ian's physical ability to see. What is more, he "puts his mouth over one of Ian's eyes, sucks it out, bites it off and eats it. He does the same to the other eye" (Kane 2001: 30). Ian has finally been left helpless and dependent on others.

According to Peter Buse, "all three characters in *Blasted* seem to have undergone some form of potentially traumatizing experience" (2001: 176). He claims that the soldier's violence is a consequence of his own trauma experienced during the war and that he feels a constant urge to re-enact any kind of violence, be it homosexual rape, murder or torture, only because society is unwilling to acknowledge his suffering. As a product of his own environment, he performs his deeds ruthlessly, thereby meeting cultural standards on the basis of which soldiers' duties are to turn into monsters in the course of whatever war is taking place. In the case of Ian, there also appear to be some things he has done, which haunt him and scare him. The actions that stem from the Soldier's and Ian's own terrifying experiences are further explained by Paulo Freire. In his words, "the oppressed, at a certain moment of their existential experience, adopt an attitude of 'adhesion' to the oppressor… This does not necessarily mean that the oppressed are unaware that they are downtrodden. But their perception of themselves is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression". Because of this, "the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or 'sub-oppressors'" (1996: 27). As for Cate, although she has been abused both physically and psychologically, she still manages to resist the repetition of a series of torments and attempts to halt the process of her belittlement and defamation. Kane gives her the opportunity and power to express her outrage over being treated as inferior within patriarchal society. The moment she refuses to play her previous role and give in to Ian's sexual aspirations, the power shift occurs. She points a gun at him and even performs some violent sexual acts in order to strike back at her oppressor. Namely, "she goes for him, slapping him around the head hard and fast" (Kane 2001: 19). "She bites his penis as hard as she can. Ian's cry of pleasure turns into a scream of pain. He tries to pull away but Cate holds on with her teeth" (2001: 21). However, in spite of these events and obvious atrocities performed on her part, Cate cannot be seen as Freire's "sub-oppressor". What she does after the first-mentioned act is worry about Ian's health. After the sexual assault, she cleans her teeth. She obviously did not enjoy her monstrous acts. She only defended herself and expressed strength to strike back and free herself from the confines of patriarchal culture. What is more, she follows and regains Freire's concept of humanity within a dehumanized world. In his words, in order for the struggle for liberation to have meaning, "the oppressed must not, in seeking to regain their humanity, become in turn oppressors of the oppressors, but rather restorers of the humanity of both. This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well" (1996: 26). Cate took her role quite seriously. Namely, in the course of the play Cate escapes through the bathroom window and manages to save herself from further

torments. In her absence, the hotel room is hit by a mortar bomb. She returns soaked but cleansed by rain, holding a dying baby, only to find Ian broken and blinded. In spite of the fact that Ian caused her a great deal of offence, to say the least, Cate still refuses to let him give up on life, claiming that giving up is for the weak. She offers him psychological support and brings in the baby and some food, symbols of the continuation of life. Although the baby dies, this moment still signals some flickering hope. Namely, Cate prays for it, thus showing another sign of her inherent humanity – devotion to religion.

Aleks Sierz says that "in what was probably the last interview she gave, [Sarah Kane] talked about her work and corrected an article [he] was writing about her, pointing out that the final scene of *Blasted* takes place in a metaphorical 'hell'. 'Don't forget the stage direction that says 'He dies with relief'', she said. 'Ian dies, so you think that's the worst thing that can happen – then it rains on him'. It's a moment that sums her bleak sense of humor" (Sierz). It should also be taken into consideration that for Sarah Kane, hell is "exactly the same place [as earth], only it's raining" (Sierz). Ian dies with relief but his ensuing "shit" (Kane 2001: 34) at the onset of the rain shows that he fails to realize that the start of rain helps in his resurrection. Ian has to reach the borders of a metaphorical hell in order to be able to "see" again. Similar to the situation in Bond's *Lear*, where the main character spends his superficial life dwelling in the darkness of ignorance and commodities before he gets blinded and faces the truth about the true purpose of life, it is only when Ian is literally blinded, that he becomes provided with true insight. And it is only when the rain starts and Cate brings in the food that new life becomes possible. What is more, the last line in the play is Ian's "thank you" (Kane 2001: 35), which is, in Billington's view, "simply an acknowledgement of the other person, Cate, as a person, as a human being. It's as if communication has at last been established on a humane level. So the play, far from seeming a squalid spectacle of horror, seemed to [be] a humanist statement about the possibilities that lie ahead of us" (Aragay et.al. 2007: 119). Therefore, although the soldier, who started the process of subversion of socially constructed matrix, did not survive, there are other survivors. Despite their wicked actions, Kane manages to provide them with seeds of humanity.

3. Beyond Humanity

On the basis of everything that has been mentioned so far, Tom Moylan seems to be right when he insists that culture's "myths" acknowledge only those images and narratives that stand by its dominant viewpoints. Within that process, all other ways of being in the world end up in the void of silence and elimination (2000). Rejecting all false notions created by culture and refusing to believe that "there's such a thing as a woman playwright" ("Transcript 21"), Sarah Kane proved to be the one who could never force herself to conform to "traditional" rules of pervasive ideologies. She did not even try. She managed to establish a link between events that the culture around her regarded as incompatible although those events were bred "at

home". By making a strong connection between domestic violence and war atrocities through vivid presentation of images on stage only a few feet away from the audience, Kane succeeded in "moving the millimeter" from the terrain of betrayals and "smashing the mirror" (Pinter 2005) of fake utopia so that the truth about people's ignorance would start to dawn on them. That is precisely what Harold Pinter insisted on throughout his works of art. He used his Nobel Prize lecture to express his opinion about the "truth in drama", which is, in his words, "forever elusive. You never quite find it but the search for it is compulsive. The search is clearly what drives the endeavor. The search is your task" (2005). What Kane left behind for her supporters, and others who are not, is the task to follow the matrix.

If put ironically, history proved that it did take a lot of violence to keep a capitalist peace (Bond 1977). It can be said that it also did take a lot of ignorance of that violence to keep that same peace. Unfortunately, not much has changed so far in this respect. In 2010, *A Serbian Film*, the dark thriller that features disturbing scenes of violence and sex, had four minutes and eleven seconds of its original content removed before it could be released in British cinemas. What is more, the British Board of Film Classification provided it with the label of "the most cut movie in sixteen years" (Bailey 2010). Fortunately, theater has always been there, the way Bond put it, to deal with its only subject – justice. Sarah Kane stood for the voice of the theater during the nineties. Although she committed suicide at the age of 28, Michael Billington claimed that she was "the one who has survived, partly because of the cryptic nature of her career; the one around whom myths are starting to assemble; the one whose plays get performed everywhere; the one who is always talked about at conferences" (2007: 118). The purpose of her works, as well as of theater art throughout the centuries, has been to raise our consciousness and "remind us that being human involves asking 'why' questions" (Petrović 2004: 315) to which answers could be obtainable from the never-ending utopian dreams.

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GHOSTS AND GHASTLY CREATURES OF THE 'DOWN-UNDERWORLD' – THE AUSTRALIAN GHOST STORY[1]

Abstract Based on a selection of ghost stories published in Australia over an extended period of time, from colonial to contemporary fiction, this paper aims to define the Australian variety of the genre. It traces the deep anxieties of a transplanted culture as reflected in a duly transported genre, whose major driving force is the (irrational) fear of the unknown and the unexplored. In the beginning, the genre itself is haunted by its European predecessor until it takes root on Australian soil and becomes enriched by the pre-European tradition of Aboriginal lore. As the developing society (nation) gains confidence, its ghost stories become tinged with irony and humour, and ghosts start prowling not only the bush but town alleys as well.

Key words: Australian ghost story, gothic, cultural anxiety, identity, uncanny.

1. Introduction

The genre of ghost story in Australia might not have been given much scholarly attention, as Ken Gelder (ix) notes in his 'Introduction' to *The Oxford Book of Australian Ghost Stories* (1994) but, as the stories he compiles for the anthology illustrate, the genre has been popular with Australian authors from the very beginning. Tracing the development of the genre through time, this paper explores the specifically Australian variety of the ghost story within the wider context of the Gothic. Firstly, the tension between the present and past is identified as one of the prominent features of the Gothic and the notion of the haunting past is defined in the Australian variety as the crippling feeling of the cultural cringe and the shame of the convict stain. Furthermore, the shadow of past crimes spreads stealthily over the new country and points to social evils in general, and greed in particular, as gold was discovered in Australia which triggered an economic boom. In addition, the paper investigates the allegorical problematisation of the *terra nullius* doctrine and the issue of Aboriginal dispossession as yet another aspect of

[1] The paper is the result of research conducted within project no. 178019 "Translation in the system of comparative study of Serbian and foreign literatures and cultures" funded by the Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

the guilty past utilised in the Australia ghost story. Next, Freud's notion of the uncanny is explicated; attention is drawn to internal fears and the home as the source of danger in the specific setting of the Australian ghost story. Finally, the Gothic potential of the unique Australian landscape and the influence it had on European settlers is illustrated through several descriptive passages which show that it was perhaps the strangeness of the landscape that initially triggered the Gothic imagination of the first writers in Australia.

2. The haunting past: the cultural cringe and the convict stain

The ghost story, as a special category of the Gothic, hinges on the relation of the present and past. While Gothic literature appeared and thrived in Europe as 'the site of struggle between enlightened forces of progress and more conservative impulses to retain continuity' (Botting 1996: 15), in the case of Australia, cultural anxiety is not spawned by any threat posed by change or revolution but rather by the unsettling notion of not having a past or, even worse, having a convict past. The sense of the *cultural cringe* has been haunting Australia from the very beginning and it refers to the inferiority complex which arises from the conviction that Australia lacks a long-standing cultural tradition and that the one it has is inauthentic and derivative, always wanting in comparison with the British or European models. The feeling that Australia is not old enough to have *proper* ghosts and, by extension *proper* ghost stories, surfaces in several examples of the genre. In the context where the ghost of Hamlet's father, 'who was not at all particular about the number of people he entertained collectively' (Couvreur 1994: 86), and 'the mirth of the goblins in the Catskill mountains' (Couvreur 1994: 87) are deployed to evoke the great Bard of centuries-old British tradition and the father of American literature, an Australian ghost does not seem to display such self-confidence: 'Perhaps the sense that in a country like Australia, as young in all that constitutes age in countries, as a fine baby in leading-strings, the genus ghost had hardly had time to develop itself, may have had something to do with the retiring disposition of the Rubria ghost' (Couvreur 1994: 86). Both 'The Rubria Ghost' (1878) and 'The Ghost of Wanganilla: Founded on Fact' (1891) were written at a time of political and literary fermentation in Australia, still an English colony, and they reveal contemporary perceptions and attitudes, British and Australian, about Australia and its emerging literature. While entertaining his English schoolmate in Melbourne, Harry is quite right to assume that his friend has '[n]ever heard of an Australian ghost story' as Straubenzie 'must confess [he does] not expect one of the correct type' because '"marvellous Melbourne" is altogether too new for that style of thing' (Chads 1994: 94). Rosa Praed also finds the new country lacking in ghastly creatures in comparison to Europe and resorts to the Aboriginal lore: 'The old world has her tales of ghoul and vampire, of Lorelei, spook, and pixie, but Australia has nothing but her Bunyip' (Praed 1994: 102).

Another source of Australian cultural insecurity is the so-called *convict stain* or the unnatural birth of the nation which remained haunted by a faltering sense of identity. According to Andrew Smith (2007: 10), in discussions of colonialism and postcolonialism '[h]ow nationality […] is represented in the Gothic helps us to explain why there are periodic anxieties about the meaning of national identity.' The concept of a transported culture originated with the transportation of criminals from the old country to the penal colony. The issue of transportation is tackled in the Australian ghost story, where the ghost represents that which haunts a culture – its self-formulation, its fears and concerns about its various social and economic issues. The Australian ghost story makes use of the common Victorian perception of Australia as either a dumping ground for criminals or an escape route for the dishonoured. In either case, the faraway colony was the underworld 'from whose bourn no traveller' was allowed or expected to return. Reverberations of Magwitch's fate in *Great Expectations* are found in the character of John Fisher ('The Ghost Upon the Rail,' 1859), an emancipated convict who has prospered in the new country but sadly reaches the conclusion that none of his relatives would be happy to see him if he decided to visit them in England.

> When I got into trouble it was the breaking of the heart of my old father and mother; and none of my brothers and sisters – in all, seven of 'em – have ever answered one of my letters. [...] I have often thought that if I was to go back they would be sorry to see me, even if I carried with me £100 000, earned by one who had been a convict. (Lang 1994: 1)

Transportation is also used as a point of departure in Hume Nisbet's 'The Haunted Station' (1894), whose treatment of convictism relies on the tradition of the Australian convict novel with an innocently convicted character, transported for life, who lives through perils and sickness of a sea journey and then, having survived the horrors of the penal system, manages to escape.[2] Facing the ghosts of his past is the crucial experience which opens the possibility of the re-invention of the self. Put metaphorically, the dead of the old world are resurrected in the colony. That a colony is a land of ghosts is the impression of the narrator of Marcus Clarke's 'Human Repetends' (1872). Having been socially ruined, or 'killed', through the loss of inheritance and having been shunned by all his fair-weather friends, the narrator decides to 'vanish to Australia' (Clarke 1994a: 66). Once there, he 'found that [he] was among old friends whom [he] had long thought dead or in jail. To walk down Collins-street was like pulling up the Styx. On either side [he] saw men who had vanished from the Upper World sooner than [he]' (Clarke 1994a: 66).

The 'Under World' seems to be a replica of the 'Upper World' albeit on a smaller and poorer scale, which asserts the superiority of the old country and its

[2] The best known examples of the Australian convict novel are *His Natural Life* (1870-71) by Marcus Clarke and *Robbery Under Arms* (1882-83) by Rolf Bolderwood.

culture and reinforces the notion of the cultural cringe: 'The game was made in the same fashion, only the stakes were not so high. The porcelain was of the same pattern, only a little cracked' (Clarke 1994a: 67). In addition, Clarke's story draws on the ambivalent nature of the Australian experience, the double aspect of Australia, which was both a land of exile and a land of possibilities. The prospect of a fresh start, hopefully a better one, is undercut in this story by means of the doubling effect, which is a device frequently found in Gothic fiction (see Botting 1996: 60, 79; Smith 2007: 14; Briggs 2001: 124). The story and the characters behind a fifteenth-century portrait appear to be re-enacting their story in eighteenth-century Melbourne. The murderous pattern of the old world unfolds again in the new world. As the old-world romance is re-played in the new world and as murder takes place in the labyrinth of the streets of the new world, a feeling of disillusionment sets in. The place may change but human nature remains the same, and the young society appears to have inherited the evils of the old society. However, the story has an open ending and the reader (together with the narrator) is not sure whether the narrator will assume his role in the sequence of returns and repetitions in the story.

3. Social evil

In addition to monstrous origins, the ghostly return testifies to guilty secrets of past crimes, committed both individually and collectively. In 'The Ghost upon the Rail' and Mary Fortune's 'The Ghostly White Gate' (1885) the chain of events is set in motion by ghosts of murdered people who seek revenge and justice.[3] The inspiration of Gothic fiction taken from Elizabethan and Jacobean revenge tragedies goes a step further in Fortune's story as the characters stage a 'mousetrap' in order to ascertain the guilt of the murderer. Both stories are predicated on social evils arising from the materialism of the developing society focused on the rapid acquisition of property and wealth. Closely connected to the genres of crime fiction and detective story, they tell of murders prompted by greed and the love of gold. Among the most famous examples of English ghost stories which emphasise the issue of money and foreground concerns about class and wealth is Dickens's novella *A Christmas Carol* (1843). The ghosts in such stories articulate anxieties in economic spaces propelled by social progress which, in the case of Australia, was supported by the discovery of gold and the expansion of the frontier.

[3] John Lang based his story on strange events following the sudden and mysterious disappearance of the ex-convict and farmer Frederick Fisher on 16 June 1826. His ghost was said to be seen sitting upon the rail and pointing to the spot where his body was buried. His friend and neighbour George Worrall, also a ticket-of-leave man, was arrested and hanged for Fisher's murder in February 1827 (Gelder 1994: x).

4. Preoccupation

Taking possession of the land by the rapidly developing white society, however, was only possible through the dispossession of indigenous communities. Racial anxieties and what Ken Gelder (2007: 119) terms *preoccupation* are explored in several ghost stories which can be interpreted as a symbolic re-enactment of colonisation. The seemingly empty house found in 'The Haunted Station' and 'An Australian Rip Van Winkle' (1921) is indicative of the *terra nullius* doctrine (Gelder 1994: xii) which was used by the white settlers/invaders to justify their claim to the land. However, the narrator in 'The Haunted Station' discovers that the house has been the scene of a terrible crime – the slaughter of a prosperous squatter's family.[4] The exploration of an empty house in 'An Australian Rip Van Winkle' also addresses the Australian postcolonial condition and allegorically problematises the issue of discovery. While the protagonist believes that he is 'treading [...] into the unknown' on 'roads that lead nowhere' (Hay 1994: 166) he is actually trespassing into a world that does not belong to him, as the house betrays signs of occupancy and an unseen presence. Guy Boothby's 'With Three Phantoms' (1897), which tells about an unsuccessful expedition into the bush and a sole surviving explorer saved by three ghosts, also illustrates the point that a white explorer in the Australian outback is never the first human presence there.

Ghost stories such as Ernest Favenc's 'The Red Lagoon' (1899), William Sylvester Walker's 'The Evil of Yelcomoron Creek' (1899) and Rosa Praed, 'The Bunyip' (1891) explicitly introduce the Aboriginal context and summon the ghosts of buried atrocities. Australian authors use the Gothic mode to explore Australian varieties of greed, usurpation, intolerance and cruelty as well as the insidious perils and racial vengeance that marked the settlement of the land. Avoided by both blacks and whites, the haunted Red Lagoon in Favenc's story is actually revealed to be a massacre site, where an entire Aboriginal tribe was slaughtered and where a white man was killed by the Aborigines. The stereotypical haunted place of a ghost story, when placed within the Australian social and historical context might conceal the grave facts of colonisation. As Brian James's 'The Bunyip of Barney's Elbow' (1956) might imply with the strange 'Noise' which haunts the township, prosperous white Australia remains unsettled because of those violently silenced voices of its pre-occupants. In 'The Evil of Yelcomoron Creek,' white man's excitement at the exploration of the new country and his inquisitive spirit, portrayed in line with many contemporary colonial stories of eager young explorers, are rebuffed by the encounter with the evidence of an earlier occupation of the land. The sacredness of

[4] It should be noted that Nisbet's story uses motifs and structural elements found in Poe's 'The Fall of the House of Usher' such as the unnamed narrator, who does not belong to the 'house,' the description of the dilapidated house and the fissure, as well as night vapours rising from the pool in front of the house. The house in Nisbet's story also collapses on a stormy night and disappears in the ground as the terrified narrator escapes in horror.

an aboriginal burial site is invaded by an opal fossicker. At first he thinks he has stumbled upon an Eden-like valley until the disturbed spirits start rising with their weapons to remind him that they are not willing to surrender every place for the whites to exploit. Praed's story incorporates the Aboriginal mythical creature, the embodiment of fear, into the white experience of Australia. The story of the white child lost in the bush works both at the literal and metaphorical levels with the bunyip representing the unknown territory laden with danger and luring at the same time. For both the indigenous population and the white settlers/invaders the bunyip is the name they have given to their fear of the environment and the fear of the other race.

5. The uncanny

The literature on the Gothic and its related subgenres unanimously finds fear, anxiety and threats to be the principle drives behind these texts (Botting, Smith, Punter, Spooner and McEvoy). In eighteenth century narratives, ghosts are the embodiments and evocations of perceived threats to the established values and they are also expressions of social anxieties. In other words, spectres, demons, monsters and skeletons are representations of real or imagined, but chiefly *external* threats. From the nineteenth century on, however, the Gothic is mainly concerned with *internal* fears, the workings of the human psyche and the disturbingly repressed self. In short, ghosts expressed fears which were closer to home. One of the staple theoretical texts which has influenced the interpretations of gothic texts is Sigmund Freud's 'The Uncanny' (1919). Freud juxtaposes the notions of *heimlich* (familiar, native, belonging to the home, homely) and *unheimlich* (un-homely, uncanny) only to conclude that 'unhemlich is in some way or other a sub-species of heimlich' (Freud 1919: 4). What he suggests in the essay is that the familiarity of the home does not necessarily imply safety or innocence. Quite the opposite, it can harbour frightening family secrets (which Freud relates to sexual anxieties), a repressed family past and the fear of their revelation. As fear literally preys on its victims, the protagonists of Gothic fiction find themselves trapped in the house which becomes a dangerous and sinister place.

Gothic texts have commonly focused on a building. The conventional setting of the eighteen-century Gothic is a mansion or a castle, with the most notable examples of *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) by Horace Walpole or *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) by Ann Radcliffe, while after the nineteenth century danger and evil are found lurking in the corners of a family house, as portrayed in Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) or Poe's 'The Fall of the House of Usher' (1839). Mary Fortune's 'The Ghostly White Gate' has a Madeline-like female character, a ghostly figure, who warns and ultimately saves the narrator from the evil residing in the house – her father's murderer, who keeps her sedated and virtually incarcerated in the house. Both 'The Haunted Station' and 'At Coomassie Gully' (1904) feature houses haunted by their former residents, killed by evil bred within the house. Terry

Dowling's 'The Daemon Street Ghost-Trap' has a conventional setting of an old mansion-like family house occupied by a very old man. Like Roderick Usher, he is being consumed by a strange disease originating from the unnamed family evil and, like the picture of Dorian Gray, he absorbs the evil and contains it within his frame so that other members of the family can lead their lives away from home. In addition, the red room or the ghost-trap of the title is probably a reference to H. G. Wells's story of the same title (Wells 'The Red Room') and as such expresses the point which is adopted sometimes in ghost stories with a comic twist – that ghosts, disease and death are drawn to man by his thinking of them, that the ghosts feed on fear and when deprived of food they lose all their power.

6. The comic twist

The growing confidence of Australia after the Second World War is reflected in a more confident and playful approach to the conventions of the ghost story. Mary Gordon's 'The Ghost That Came to Darwin' (1944) follows a 'disappointed and disconsolate' ghost who is so 'tired of being ignored' and 'of waiting for his presence to be felt' that he is thinking of 'go[ing] back to England where [he is] appreciated' (Gordon 1994: 201). The ghost's tricks are successful only insofar as they build upon the soldiers' fear and nerve-wrecking expectation of a Japanese attack. Dal Stivens's 'Ironbark Bill Meets the Bunyip' (1953) shows a bunyip outwitted by a swagman who not only fails to show any fear, to the monster's surprise and dismay, but proves impervious to the temptations of gold as well. Another of Stivens's ventures into the genre, 'The Hardworking Ghost' (1953) uses a ghost to comment on man's character. As a supernatural creature, the ghost can make anything possible and get anything done, but man, his employer, is never satisfied. Exploiting the comic potential of the genre, Stivens mocks man's disposition to nag and his tendency to adopt negative attitudes – if one thinks that there is a catch, there will be one in the end. Whatever happens to man is the outcome of his own thoughts. The ghost in this story is not a shadow of guilt or an expression of looming threats but it helps illustrate aspects of human nature.

It has to be pointed out, however, that ghosts received a somewhat irreverent treatment even in the nineteenth century. Chads's 'The Ghost of Wanganilla: Founded on Fact' is essentially a humorous story in which the stereotypical apparition of a woman, with her arms held aloft in anger, or despair, dressed in a long, white robe, turns out to be a tree. In 'practical Australia' (Chads 1994: 95) there is a practical explanation for ghosts and the English guest who has never *heard* an Australian ghost story is actually given the opportunity to *touch the ghost* (Chads 1994: 101). The young man might not have met the spectral woman that night but the incident brought him close to his future wife and resulted in a happy marriage. He has carved a present for her from the piece of wood from the tree whose branches (the ghost's hands) hit him on the hand on that stormy night. In this story, even nature in Australia seems to be prone to practical jokes. On the other hand,

from the earliest days of European settlement, the Australian landscape, in stark contrast with the English landscape, has been the source of awe and wonder as well as fear and despair.

7. The Gothic aspect of the Australian bush

The most famous description of the bush is perhaps given in 1876 by the Melbourne writer and journalist Marcus Clarke, who drew on Gothic tropes to frame the experience and response to the Australian interior.

> What is the dominant note of Australian scenery? That which is the dominant note of Edgar Allan Poe's poetry – Weird Melancholy. […] The Australian mountain forests are funereal, secret, stern. Their solitude is desolation. They seem to stifle in their black gorges a story of sullen despair. No tender sentiment is nourished in their shade. In other lands the dying year is mourned, the falling leaves drop lightly on his bier. In the Australian forests no leaves fall. The savage winds shout among the rock clefts. From the melancholy gums strips of white bark hang and rustle. The very animal life of these frowning hills is either grotesque or ghostly. Great gray kangaroos hop noiselessly over the coarse grass. Flights of white cockatoos stream out shrieking like evil souls. The sun suddenly sinks, and the mopokes burst out into horrible peals of semi-human laughter. The natives aver that when night comes, from out the bottomless depths of some lagoon the Bunyip rises, and in form like a monstrous sea-calf, drags his loathsome length from out the ooze. From a corner of the silent forest rises a dismal chant, and around a fire dance natives painted like skeletons. All is fear-inspiring and gloomy. No bright fancies are linked with the memories of the mountains. Hopeless explorers have named them out of their sufferings – Mount Misery, Mount Dreadful, Mount Despair. (Clarke 2003: 207)

The bush has excited the Gothic imagination of Australian writers ever since. Rosa Praed has 'spectral white gums rising like an army of ghosts around you' (Praed 1994: 102) and reading Marcus Clarke's 'Preface to Gordon's Poems' (1876) seems to be a déjà-vu of his 'Holiday Peak' (1873) where:

> There is an indescribable ghastliness about the mountain bush at night which has affected most imaginative people. – The grotesque and distorted trees, huddled here and there together in the gloom like whispering conspirators. ... The white, bare, and ghostly gums gleaming momentarily amid the deeper shades of the forest. The lonely pools begirt with shivering reeds, and haunted by the melancholy bittern only. ... The silent and solitary places where a few blasted trees crouch together like withered witches, who, brooding on some deed of blood, have suddenly been stricken horror-stiff. – Riding through this

> nightmare-landscape a whirr of wings and a harsh cry disturb you from time to time, hideous and mocking laughter peals above and about you, and huge grey ghosts with little red eyes hop away in gigantic but noiseless bounds. ... You become drunk with the wine of the night, and, losing your individuality, sweep on ward a flying phantom in a land of shadows. ... and from time to time the level surface of the forest was broken by the spectre-like upstarting of some huge gum-skeleton grasping at air with his crooked and ravenous claws.' (Clarke 1994b: 72)

The entire scene of the night-ride through the forest has the ominous atmosphere of a nightmare not unlike the one found in Hawthorne's 'Young Goodman Brown'. Clarke's narrator also meets familiar people in unfamiliar circumstances amidst the forest but in the Australian version they are not performing any strange and barbaric rites, that is reserved for the racial other – Aborigines. The people he finds lead happy lives in a 'might-ha-been' place (Clarke 1994b: 76). The implication is surely that even a young society like the Australian one of the nineteenth century was dreaming escapist dreams of a fresh start in a better place. In Guy Boothby's story what the explorer finds in the interior is not an inland sea, as was hoped by early explorers, but 'the most hopeless stretch of awful desert on the face of this godless continent' and he returns from that 'Inferno' to tell his story in 'the voice of one returned from the dead' (Boothby 1994: 132). The runaway convict of Nisbet's story also describes the landscape by means of gothic imagery.

> I felt the weird influence of that curse even as I crawled into the gully that led to it, a shiver ran over me as one feels when they say some stranger is passing over your future grave. A chill gripped at my vitals as I glanced about me apprehensively, expectant of something ghoulish and unnatural to come upon me from the sepulchral gloom and mystery of the overhanging boulders under which I was dragging my wearied limbs. A deathly silence brooded with this rut-like and treeless gully [...] (Nisbet 1994: 110)

Yet the experience of the Australian landscape remains ambivalent and Clarke's 'Preface' is again one of the earliest articulations of the double aspect of the Australian experience, of both its repulsion and attraction. Having evoked the eerie atmosphere to describe the landscape which hardly seems to be fit for human inhabitation, Clarke concludes his reflexions arguing that nature is an enemy only to those who approach it with prejudices and a biased fear of the unknown. On the other hand, to those who make an effort to listen to it, nature can whisper the most precious and beautiful secrets, as European landscapes have been whispering to their poets for ages. In other words, Clarke suggests that it might be time for the Australians to stop looking at their nature with the eyes of foreigners and find beauty in its uniqueness instead.

> In Australia alone is to be found the Grotesque, the Weird, the strange scribblings of nature learning how to write. Some see no beauty in our trees without shade, our flowers without perfume, our birds who cannot fly, and our beasts who have not yet learned to walk on all fours. But the dweller in the wilderness acknowledges the subtle charm of this fantastic land of monstrosities. He becomes familiar with the beauty of loneliness. Whispered to by the myriad tongues of the wilderness, he learns the language of the barren and the uncouth, and can read the hieroglyphs of haggard gum-trees, blown into odd shapes, distorted with fierce hot winds, or cramped with cold nights, when the Southern Cross freezes in a cloudless sky of icy blue. The phantasmagoria of that wild dreamland termed the Bush interprets itself, and the Poet of our desolation begins to comprehend why free Esau loved his heritage of desert sand better than all the bountiful richness of Egypt. (Clarke 2003: 208)

One of Walker's characters makes much the same point: 'and there's lots of strange sounds of birds and beasts all around you. One takes to it wonderfully after a bit. I don't think I'd swap it for the English twilight, after all' (Walker 1994: 142). While for Lionel, an Englishman, in Chads's story the Australian landscape differs 'so entirely from the lovely English landscape' which 'he thought could not be equalled anywhere' (Chads 1994: 95), his Australian hosts take great pride not only in their well-kept garden but also in the nearby gurgling creek, the surrounding paddocks, a range of hills in the distance, the fragrance of innumerable blossoms, and 'sweet musical calls of minahs and magpies' (Chads 1994: 95). Barbara Baynton also contrasts two different concepts of the landscape by means of the juxtaposition of childhood and adult responses to the environment. In addition, her story ('A Dreamer,' 1902) is a metaphorical expression of the need to separate from one's parent (country) at a certain point in life. The idyllic sunny landscape of her childhood undergoes an unrecognisable transformation in a threateningly violent storm while a pregnant daughter gets herself almost drowned in an attempt to reach her old home only to find her mother dead and receive not such a warm welcome by the people in her mother's house. The treatment of the landscape by Australian authors, therefore, can be said to indicate the anxiety at the root of Australian identity.

8. Conclusion

The Australian ghost story developed through a marriage of the European Gothic tradition and uniquely Australian historical and social conditions. While the Australian ghost story uses the conventional themes of persecution, crime and guilt, they are reworked within the specifically Australian context of the transportation of convicts, the 'monstrous' birth, cultural insecurity, the rapid development of a young economy and the dispossession of the indigenous Australians. The Gothic

conventions of a murky atmosphere, pervading mystery, ominous tone, gloomy mood, and nail-biting suspense are all incorporated into the Australian ghost story. The setting, the characters and the motifs of British and American Gothic literature are, however, reworked and given an Australian twist. Perhaps the most apt illustration of how the conventional ghost story assumes a recognisably Australian guise is the occasion on which such stories were told – usually late winter evenings around a cosy fire. As we learn from Praed's story, they were mostly campfire yarns told by shearers, drovers and swagmen about their experiences in the bush. The traditional dark cold Christmas night, as found in Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*, receives a local inflection as found in Boothby's story which takes place on 'Christmas Eve – a sweltering mockery of the day' (Boothby 1994: 130) or described in the opening of Lang's story: 'It was a winter's night – an Australian winter's night – in the middle of July' (Lang 1994: 1).

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RACE AND GENDER IN EMILY PAULINE JOHNSON'S *A RED GIRL'S REASONING*

Abstract Johnson questions the stereotypes of mixed-race and female in the patriarchal world of North America after the creation of Canada in 1867. Being herself an offspring of a Mohawk chief and British noblewoman, she ridicules the Victorian notions of prudery, especially when imposed on the First Nations women. Johnson's narrative is based on the dismissal of the Indian and female inferiority and the claim for their equal treatment, thus reflecting Said's vision of the resistance on the part of the Other: 'to re-chart and occupy the place in imperial cultural forms reserved for subordination, fighting for it on the same territory once ruled by the consciousness that assumed the subordination of a designated inferior Other' (*Culture and Imperialism*, 1993). This paper focuses on the issues of race and gender in *A Red Girl's Reasoning* (from *The Moccasin Maker*, 1913) and their connection with contemporary notions of biculturalism and feminism.

Key words: race, gender, imperialism, biculturalism, colonialism, multiculturalism, the Other.

1. Split identities: Johnson's version of the colonizer and the colonized

Emily Pauline Johnson is considered to be one of the pioneers who questioned the stereotypes of mixed-race and female in the patriarchal world of Europe and North America during the decades after the creation of the new dominion of Canada in1867. Being herself an offspring of a Mohawk chief and British noblewoman, she ridiculed the Victorian notions of purity, prudery and propriety, especially when these notions were being imposed on the First Nations women who held different values and beliefs about appropriate feminine behaviour. Owing to her lifestyle, usually considered 'excessive' by the European settlers in Canada, she rightfully became the champion of human rights for the First Nations people, the first native spokesperson for the domesticated Wild West. She dedicated her life to stage performing, where she could blend her dual origin into a vision of unity – during the course of a single performance, Johnson posed as an Indian princess in her traditional buckskin dress, rabbit's pelts and Indian jewelry made by herself, and as a British upper-class lady, in an ageing ball-gown, that helped her perform some satirical sketches about the upper-class life in Ottawa. Although her performances

stayed on the level of entertainment, Johnson presented both aspects of her mixed-race heritage as mutually dependent, yet split identities.

In her short stories, Johnson frequently confronts the white imperialist culture and the fetishized image of the First Nations people as a mark of its national difference. She uses aspects of this fetishized identity to resist the white hegemony and to attempt to write herself along these lines of difference into the national script. The idea that Johnson reinforces in her short stories, especially in *A Red Girl's Reasoning*, which is the subject of this paper, is that although the First Nations were captive, they were never conquered. Regarding the matter of *race*, Johnson flirts with the idea of Rousseau's 'noble savage', and with notions of mysticism and exoticism that the 'civilized' Victorians assigned to the Aboriginal population, and presents them as proud, obstinate and frank people, even at their own cost. Furthermore, in this story, the artificial binary opposition between the vulnerable white woman, supportive of the males, and dirty, immoral squaw, is rightfully rejected: regarding the matter of *gender*, Johnson's narrative is based on the dismissal of the Indian and female inferiority in general, and the claim for their equal treatment in the society, thus reflecting Said's vision of the resistance on the part of the Other: "to re-chart and then occupy the place in imperial cultural forms reserved for subordination, to occupy it self-consciously, fighting for it on the very same territory once ruled by the consciousness that assumed the subordination of a designated inferior Other" (Said 1993: 23).

Edward Said and his influential study *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) which examines the relationship between the West and its imperial conquests within the context of culture, can serve as a good starting point in the analysis of Johnson's *A Red Girl's Reasoning*. In this study, Said views *imperialism* not as a contained era of history, but rather as something more fluid. According to him, imperialism works in both the material world and in the imagination (hence his focus on literature); thus the removal of a colonial or imperial power does not put an end to the influence of imperialism in the beliefs and practices of a nation. The repercussions of imperialism are still evident today in the Western culture and the culture of places that have been colonized as well. Any analysis of imperialism must acknowledge this two-way relationship, exploring how the colonizer country has impacted the colonized, as well as looking at the ways imperialism has shaped the culture of the colonizer.

In Johnson's short story, this two-way relationship is emphasized through the marriage between the representatives of the colonizer and colonized, Charlie and Christie. Johnson portrays their wedding ceremony in terms of *biculturalism*, with a great reverence for the cultures that the young couple comes from: the priest canters through the service in Latin, pronounces the benediction in English and congratulates the newlyweds in Indian. Although this 'bicultural' picture seems to be idyllic, Charlie is warned about the genuine nature of his wife – apart from being dutiful, loving, fearless and obstinate, "it is kindness for kindness, bullet for bullet, blood for blood" that he can expect from Christie. "What you are, she will be"

(Johnson 1999: 8). However, being so fond of Christie, Charlie, a proper representative of the Victorian age, naively thinks that the love that binds them can be a key to bridging the differences in their origins. At the beginning of the story, Charlie is unaware of the fact that he acts as an 'amiable' authority to Christie on two grounds – *race* and *gender* – being white and male, he is unquestionably superior to Christie, who is Indian and female.

2. Categorization of the Other: "The cultured Indian"

What is especially relevant for the theme of this paper is the idea that Said specifically addresses the way in which subjugated peoples are represented within literature and how it has affected not only these peoples but also the cultures they live in. To accomplish his goal Said sets up a methodological argument within which he addresses the following concepts. First, that imperialism is not about a specific moment in history, but rather a continuing interdependent dialogue between subject peoples and the dominant hegemony of the empire. This is essential to Said's argument because it demonstrates that the end of imperialistic influence upon literature did not end with colonial rule, but rather that it continues to exist within postcolonial culture because of the circumstances in which subjugated peoples have been placed. Secondly, through the production of popular Western literature authors have perpetuated a sense of continued domination upon subject peoples. This theory that postcolonial oppression has been institutionalized within Western literature is a reference to the idea of a continuing interchange of ideas between the dominant culture and oppressed peoples. Lastly, Said's comparison of *colonialism* to *racism* is integral to his argument about the continuation of oppression in a postcolonial environment. Throughout his analysis of culture, he focuses on the limitations of subjugated peoples within Western culture and the reasons for their continued oppression. Said points out that there are serious restrictions placed upon colonized peoples, which not only affect the pursuit, but also the construction of their social and economic goals. He suggests that it is often postcolonial society that tends to oversimplify the intent of past imperialistic powers. By this oversimplification, there are attempts to justify the view of European hegemony that was used as a mechanism to bring about colonial rule, therefore separating the colonial intent from colonized impact. In other words, the process of colonization is mostly presented as a justified act, because it is undertaken for the sake of spreading civilization to savages, civilizing the brutes, converting the heathen, or, to borrow Alice Miller's phrase – it is undertaken "for their own good" (Miller 2002). However, in this book, Said attempts to move beyond "the rhetoric of blame" and deconstruct the binary of "colonizer" and "colonized" (Johnson 1999: 18). In her work, Johnson does the same – she claims that "the white race and red are one if they are but Canadian born" (Canadian Born, the second book of poems, 20). Both Johnson and Said do not view

violence as an effective means of dealing with the legacy of *imperialism*, instead placing much greater faith in the power of *multicultural education*.

Said's opinion about the way the subjugated peoples are represented in literature can be illustrated by the manner the First Nations people are seen through the eyes of the philistine 'white-settlers' society in Johnson's *A Red Girl's Reasoning*. Christie, their representative, although quite ordinary, pale, dark girl who spoke slowly and with a strange accent, danced fairly well, sang acceptably and never stirred outside the door without her husband, immediately becomes "all the rage" (Johnson 1999: 10) that winter at the provincial capital. The men called her a "deuced fine little woman", and the ladies perceived her as "the sweetest wildflower" (Johnson 1999: 10). Even her husband Charlie, who as a boy had the Indian relic-hunting craze and as a youth studied Indian archaeology and folklore, though quite aware of the fact that Christie was utterly uncivilized and uncultured by his 'civilized' standards, highly praised her "innate refinement so universally possessed by the higher tribes of north American Indians" (Johnson 1999: 9). According to Charlie, she belonged to the type of "the cultured Indian" (Johnson 1999: 9). Johnson, being herself of mixed origin, emphasizes the idea that the colonizers perceive *the Other*, the colonized Indian female, as an exotic entity, thus projecting their own visions and stereotypes of a 'proper' Indian on Christie. Thus, the colonizers, instead of using aggression and violence over the colonized, actually use the method of categorizing the Other: as long as Christie fits in perfectly within the standards of the Victorian society and acts complacently in the drawing rooms of the wives of the pompous Government officials, and, most importantly, is almost abjectly devoted to her husband, the mixed-race marriage is a perfect success. Johnson's portrayal of the union of the opposites is a good example of Said's argument about imperialism as an interdependent dialogue between the dominant colonizer and the repressed colonized party. The imperialistic influence does not end with the colonial rule, as Said argues, it continues to exist within postcolonial culture because of the manner in which subjugated peoples have been depicted, in this case, as 'noble savages', raw and uncivilized, but with a touch of 'fine innate refinement' that makes them acceptable by the civilized and sophisticated Europeans.

Through the reinforcement of the 'noble savage' stereotype in popular Western literature authors have perpetuated a sense of continued domination upon subject peoples, claims Said, so that colonial oppression continues within the body of Western literature, and, in that way, a continuing interchange of ideas between the dominant culture and oppressed peoples takes place. However, Johnson's narrative spoils this idyllic, though utterly unrealistic, image of the First Nations: when offered a choice between the truth of white men and Indians, Christie chooses the latter.

3. Choice between personal convictions and public opinion

The incident occurs rather trivially: at a party, in a Canadian provincial capital, Christie is asked about the marriage ceremony of her parents. It is taken for granted that Christie's mother, a humble and ignorant Indian, succumbed to the marriage rites of the white man, her husband being one of the first pioneers in the New World. Furthermore, it is also assumed that Christie found a role model for her submissive behaviour in her own family. However, the Victorian philistines are shocked after being informed that the marriage ceremony of Christie's parents was performed by Indian rites, or, better to say, it included no ceremony at all. "The two people just agree to live only with and for each other, and the man takes his wife to his home…there is no ritual to bind them; they need none; an Indian's word was his law in those days" (Johnson 1999: 13).

This statement causes a roar of disapproval on the part of the whole assembly. What is at stake here is a difference between the oral and written form of culture. Johnson emphasizes the importance of unwritten laws and story telling as valid and meaningful aspects of the First Nations culture, unlike the official letter of the law practiced by 'more civilized' European settlers. Her aim is to subvert the official orthodoxies and to challenge conventional ways of thinking. This is what Christie manages to achieve.

After the initial shock, the party, being assured that Charlie and Christie got married according to the Christian laws, with Father O'Leary leading the ceremony, can be continued. However, it is Christie that disturbs the atmosphere of conventional cheerfulness – "she rose, slowly, ominously, with the dignity and pride of an empress" (Johnson 1999: 13) – protesting against the idea that her marriage would not be lawful if undertaken according to Indian rites. Instead of offering her support, Charlie is too weak to handle the pressure of his community and, outraged, leaves the party, without being aware that this sign of weakness will soon cost him dearly.

In addition, when approaching Christie next time, Charlie insists on the conviction that his wife disgraced him, not only because of her public outburst, but because of her concealing the significant facts about her life that could, in case he knew them before, even put into question the institution of their marriage and his affection towards her. Johnson portrays this conflict as a collision between two principles: public and private, social obligation and personal conscience, legality and justice, Christian and Indian. What seems to Charlie as "a fit of ridiculously childish temper" (Johnson 1999: 17) is, on Christie's part, a farewell to their union due to Charlie's betrayal of its uncorrupt sanctity:

> I tell you we are not married. Why should I recognize the rites of your nation when you do not acknowledge the rites of mine? According to your own words, my parents should have gone through your church ceremony as well as through an Indian contract; according to my words, we should go through an

> Indian contract as well as through a church marriage. If their union is illegal, so is ours. If you think my father is living in dishonour with my mother, my people will think I am living in dishonour with you. How do I know when another nation will come and conquer you as you white men conquered us? And they will have another marriage rite to perform, and they will tell us another truth, that you are not my husband, that you are but disgracing and dishonouring me, that you are keeping me here, not as your wife, but as your – your squaw. (Johnson 1999: 16)

This outburst calls our attention to a key element of biculturalism here – the connection between race and culture. The cultural labels are never neutral, but carry racially inscribed connotations of inferiority, completely opposed to the construction of the Western society which presents itself as progressive and democratic. Edward Said, in his study *Orientalism* (1994), claims that Orientalism presents a Western style of dominating, restructuring and having authority and power over the Orient or 'Other'. (Said 1994: 3) As a result of this unfair power balance, the Orient is not a free subject of thought or action. (Said 1994: 3) In effect, the unequal relationship between the Occident (the West) and the Orient (the 'Other'), causes the white-European culture to gain in strength and identity by setting itself up against the orient culture. (Said 1994: 3) The Oriental is seen as being irrational, depraved, childlike and 'different', which is exactly how Charlie in *A Red Girl's Reasoning* perceives Christie's behaviour after the unsuccessful party, whereas the European is seen as rational, virtuous, mature and 'normal'. (Said 1994: 40) From this point of view, the title of Johnson's story contains a mighty paradox in itself: irrational red girls cannot reason, their authorities – in this case, white and male – are in charge of this demanding activity.

The following day, Charlie is ready 'to kiss and make up', as if nothing important happened, he rationally concludes that he and his wife exaggerated and behaved like children; however, Christie keeps up her word. In order to respect her decision to leave Charlie and end their marriage, she does not need an official stamped document – her word is what matters and not to abide by it will mean to lose, not only the respect of her native community, but, more importantly, her self-esteem. Thus, before departing, she leaves a note to Joe, Charlie's brother, assuring the readers that the former spouses have already told everything they had to each other, from which it becomes quite clear that her affection for her husband can never be put into question, it will remain solid and constant forever: "I hope you do not mind, but I kissed your hair while you slept; it was so curly, and yellow, and soft, just like his" (Johnson 1999: 18).

In the same manner as her husband, Christie is given a choice between being loyal to her genuine affection or to the unwritten laws of her community. Her decision affects her private sphere, because she discards it for the sake of the public conviction of her community and remains consistent with her decision till the end, thus bringing into question the impact of the white colonizer and its alleged

supremacy over the racially inferior colonized. Simultaneously, her decision comes into collision with the popular Indian, 'noble savage', stereotype among the white settlers, and portrays them, as previously discussed, as captive, but never thoroughly conquered.

In his work on fantasies of white supremacy, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (2000), Ghassan Hage claims that such fantasies create a fertile ground for the development of nationalism in the white settler societies. As such, they derive from and feed into a field of Whiteness. He suggests that:

> Whiteness is an ever-changing, composite cultural construct. It has its roots in the history of European colonization which universalized a cultural form of white identity as a position of cultural power at the same time as the colonized were in the process of being racialised. Whiteness in opposition to Blackness and Brownness was born at the same time as the binary oppositions of colonizer/colonized, being developed / being underdeveloped, and later First World / Third World was emerging. In this sense, White has become the ideal of being the bearer of 'Western' civilization. As such, no one can be fully White, but people yearn to be so. It is in this sense that Whiteness is itself a fantasy position and a field of accumulating Whiteness. It is by being qualified to yearn for such a position that people can become identified as White. At the same time, to be White does not mean to yearn to be European in a geographical sense. (Hage 2000: 58)

Hage suggests that in order for the Black/Brown body to be constructed as different and inferior, the White body has to retain its innocent and valorized status.[1]

[1] In the similar vein, Himani Bannerji, a contemporary Bengali-Canadian author, claims that the violence of racism is masked by the discourses of denial, on the categorization of racism as something other than what it is, on the tactics of individualization, and the conversion of racial differences into categories that demonize, trivialize or erase the difference in ways that suit the interests of a dominant, hegemonic power. In part, this is achieved through a systematic use of coded language to refer to racial differences. Bannerji summarizes it when she says that "there is not even a language within the state's redress apparatus to capture or describe the racist sexism towards third world or non-white women and men" (Bannerji 2000: 47). The type of language that exists is that which utilizes coded signifiers such as 'culture', 'diversity', 'tolerance', 'difference', thereby disguising any option of systemic and symbolic violence of race and racism. Most discourses on race utilize coded words such as 'immigrant', 'refugee', 'alien', 'terrorist', to refer to people of colour. Such words colour up and disguise the main relations of power and present these categories as authentic absolutes against which the normative Canadian is implicitly defined as the white, law-abiding citizen of the nation.

In Johnson's short story, the method of colouring up the main relations of power is revealed through the manner the white philistines address Christie. They are not certain whether it would be politically correct, to use the term quite popular in the modern body politics, to call her an Indian or red squaw or native, etc. In order to disguise this uncertainty and to reinforce their own superiority over the colonized, they refer to the natives as her "mother's people" (Johnson 1999: 12), and it is Christie

However, as already suggested, Johnson's deconstructs the binary oppositions of white/red, superior/inferior, colonizer/colonized, innocent/corrupt, by emphasizing the narrow-mindedness of this world view. Not only that the representatives of the First Nations in this story are far from being interested in becoming 'white' and civilized themselves, but they obstinately stick to their oral tradition and loyalty to the community, even at the cost of sacrificing their genuine selves.

For example, the moment Charlie realizes that he put at stake his marriage to Christie by insisting on the respect of the written rules of the Christian community, he goes on a quest to find his wife and bring her back home. He was often discouraged, but never despondent on his way. "He even took to petting dogs, looking into their large, solemn eyes with his wistful, questioning blue ones; he would kiss them, as women sometimes do, and call them 'dear old fellow' in tones that had tears" (Johnson 1999: 18). On one occasion, Charlie saves a huge St Bernard dog imprisoned in an empty freight car. The animal was nearly dead from starvation, and it turned out that to rescue back the dog's life was a remedy for his own sick heart. The relationship between Charlie and the dog reveals Charlie's inner need for genuine love and affection provided by his wife that, in her absence, found a substitute in a simple, two-way, uncorrupt emotion between a man and animal. This emotion, a sign of his deep regret and reverence for the sanctity of his love for Christie, keeps him in life till the moment he finds his beloved again.

The moment Charlie sees Christie again he cannot conceal his genuine affection: "His heart swelled with a sudden heat, burning moisture leapt into his eyes, and clogged his long, boyish lashes" (Johnson 1999: 19). Christie's initial reaction is instinctive – she is physically drawn to the man she loves: "For a second, she stood magnetized by his passionately wistful face, her peculiar grayish eyes seemed to drink the very life of his unquenchable love…she quivered from head to foot as his fair, wavy hair brushed her neck, his despairing face sank lower until his cheek, hot as fire, rested on the cool, olive flesh of her arm. A warm moisture oozed up through her skin, and as he felt its glow, he looked up". (Johnson 1999: 20) However, she shows that even a red girl can reason and restrain herself, as previously suggested in the title of the story, she remains as cold as stone and quotes her tribe's belief, traditionally passed on from generation to generation, that even love cannot make a slave of a red girl. Charlie leaves desperately, and Christie remains on her own, conscious of "but two things, the vengeful lie in her soul, and a little space on her arm that his wet lashes had brushed" (Johnson 1999: 20).

In other words, Christie's actions do not differ from those of Charlie: both of them give primacy to the laws of their communities at the expense of their private convictions. This is Johnson's way of showing how woefully incomplete and one-sided the wide-spread public opinion of the Other is, and how, by following blindly

herself that is not 'civilized' enough and speaks the truth about the matter: "Perhaps you are, like all other white people, afraid to mention my nationality to me" (Johnson 1999: 12).

the tyranny of the majority, one can end completely dissociated from his/her genuine nature. Both the white settlers' culture and the culture of the First Nations are put under scrutiny and presented as restrictive and oppressive in Johnson's *A Red Girl's Reasoning*.

4. Conclusion: multicultural dream come true?

With her art and stage performing, Johnson confronts the Western cultural, political, and literary hegemonies and creates a counter discourse to the already established Western literary and historical discourses. In 1892, she was given a prize for fiction by Dominion magazine for *A Red Girl's Reasoning*, thus obtaining the title of the first native Canadian poet. In her work, she testifies to the fact that not all individuals in Canada are equal "before and under the law," do not "enjoy equal status," and do not "have an equal opportunity with other individuals" as the Multiculturalism Act, passed on in 1988, almost a century after this story was written, promulgates. Multiculturalism is an aspiring concept that attempts to include all individuals in the Canadian society and to tackle the problems linked with cultural and social inequalities and racism. It thus creates a national myth of equality and integration. The reality for many 'visible' minorities, for instance, the First Nations, is a different one, however, and they painfully realize that the 'two founding nations' still dominate all spheres of this multicultural society. However, the mere fact that Johnson raised her voice against racial and gendered injustice almost a century ago is optimistic enough and gives us hope that in the future there will be more voices who will seek for justice and equal treatment in the Canadian society, not in Charlie's and Christie's way, by sacrificing themselves for the 'noble' goals of their communities, but by giving priority to the personal convictions and private decisions. Thus, Emily Pauline Johnson becomes our contemporary who, in her writing, warns us about the tragic consequences of the disrespect for the free will of an individual, notwithstanding his/her race and gender, in multicultural Canada today.

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(IN)VISIBILITY AND POWER IN SARAH WATERS'S *AFFINITY*

Abstract Sarah Water's second novel *Affinity* is set in the infamous London prison, designed by Jeremy Bentham with the aim of achieving the principle of panopticism – of complete and constant surveillance of the prisoners. The novel takes up this idea and places the characters within a complex network of visible and invisible positions, of looking and being looked at. Margaret Prior, a "Lady Visitor" at the prison, is initially given a seemingly superior position which exposes the prisoners to her gaze. The aim of the paper is to explore how her position is undermined as the novel progresses until it becomes clear that she is the one under scrutiny, which ultimately leads to her demise.

Key words: panopticism, gaze, power, neo-Victorian novel, Sarah Waters, *Affinity*

1. Introduction

Sarah Waters's second novel *Affinity* (1999) is a tale of desire and deception set in the Victorian era, and as such it reflects current literary interest in reviving different historical periods and approaching them from a contemporary perspective. Waters's novel engages with the Victorian discourses of gender, sexuality and class and looks at the erasures and omissions in the Victorian narrative in an attempt to illuminate the previously invisible sections in the Victorian text, specifically the narrative of lesbian desire. The novel is centred on the diary entries of Margaret Prior, a middle-class lady visitor to London's Millbank prison, and Selina Dawes, a young medium imprisoned after a spiritual séance ends in the death of her benefactress. Margaret becomes increasingly attracted to her and is led to believe that the feelings are mutual, only to eventually be swindled of her inheritance and her identity. Left with nothing but her unfulfilled desires, she takes her own life. The prison narrative serves to illustrate Margaret's position in the Victorian society and to point to different levels of observation and surveillance at work in the novel. As a member of the middle-class, Margaret is initially placed in a seemingly superior position to the prisoners, but in truth her unmarried status, intellectual aspirations and unwillingness to conform to rigid social norms relegate her to the margins of Victorian society and align her with the inmates. This precarious position makes her particularly susceptible to the trickery she is exposed to.

2. The Panopticon and panopticism

The descriptions of Millbank prison rely on the available factual information and genuine historical records of the actual prison that existed in place of today's Tate Gallery in Pimlico, London, between 1816 and 1890. The prison was built to reflect the Panopticon design conceptualized in 1785 by Jeremy Bentham. It consisted of six pentagons housing different wards, and a hexagonal building in the central yard where the governor's offices were situated. Each of the pentagon yards also contained a watch tower and the warder's premises (see Figure 1).

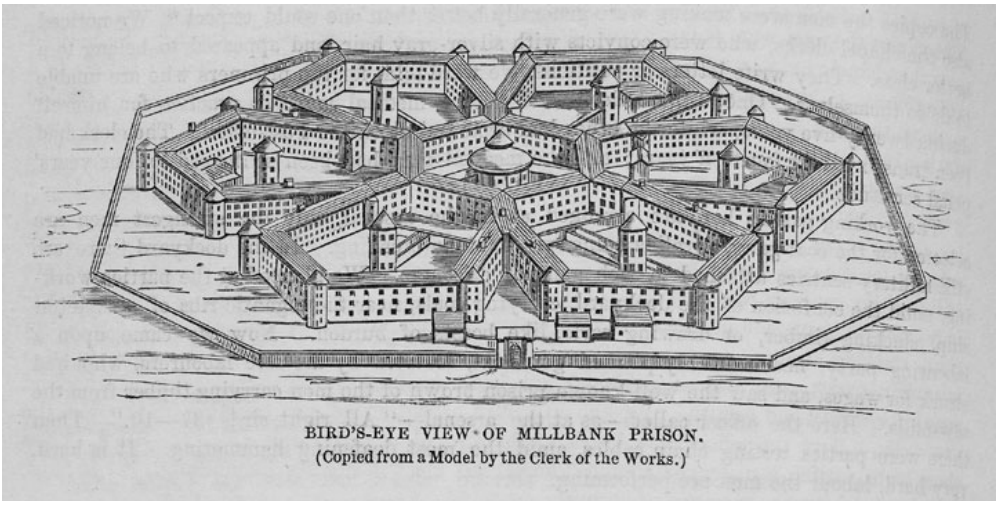

Figure 1: Bird's-eye view of Millbank Prison from Henry Mayhew's, 'The Criminal Prisons of London', 1862. © British Library Board (Shelfmark: 6057.i.7). Reproduced by permission.

Due to Millbank's panoptic design, when discussing the issues of gaze and power in *Affinity* Waters's critics mostly turn to Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975; transl. into English in 1977) and its discussion of panopticism. Foucault engages with the issues of looking and being looked at from a social and institutional standpoint. In *Discipline and Punish*, the gaze occupies the central position in his discussion of surveillance and institutional control, as the vehicle to their enforcement, as can be seen from the selected quotations given below:

> Visibility is a trap. (Foucault 1995: 200)

> Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. (Foucault 1995: 201)

> Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, *gazes*. (Foucault 1995: 202, added emphasis)

The layout of the Panopticon, with the walls of the cells facing the yard open to inspection and allowing the interior to be seen from the central tower, means that the prisoners' movements are observable at all times by a small number of guards. The key feature of the design is the fact that even though actual surveillance does not take place constantly, the very awareness of this possibility is enough to constrain and exert control over the self-conscious prisoners. The panoptic gaze therefore functions through the internalization of its influence by the object it is turned upon, so that it becomes its own monitor. What is more, Foucault develops the Panopticon as an architectural solution into the wider notion of panopticism as the organizing principle of government and state control, positing all-seeing state power which registers and appropriately sanctions any type of misbehaviour or unacceptable phenomena, as opposed to its subjects who act as self-censors, curbing any unlicensed impulses. Foucault's panoptic principle is apparent in the descriptions of prison life and the details of Margaret's visits to Millbank, and has a broader significance for her status in her family and in society at large.

3. Other theoretical approaches

Foucault's work is certainly a fruitful theoretical base for the discussion of *Affinity* and will serve to frame the analysis proposed here; however, one can observe resonances of other concepts as well, such as Sartre's notion of "the Look" (Fr. "le regard"), described in *Being and Nothingness: A Phenomenological Essay on Ontology* (1943, transl. into English in 1956), and Lacanian interpretations of the gaze[1], its role in the formation of the ego and its social aspect. Lacan's ideas have been further taken up by contemporary feminist film theory, most notably Laura Mulvey. What connects these theoretical approaches is their notion of vision as an exercise of power, along with the fact that they have had an enormous influence on a whole range of disciplines, from literary criticism, film and photography studies to social and political theory.

Simply speaking, Sartre's concept of the Look states that being looked at by another makes one aware of him or herself as an object in the other's eyes. The look provokes anxiety and feelings of fear, shame (both moral and existential, as Sartre's examples show) or pride, because it implies the subjectivity of the other and the

[1] Lacan's concept has been translated into English as "gaze", but it is also "le regard" in the original French text. Subsequent critics working on the grounds of Lacan's theory have in fact differentiated between "the look" and "the gaze", but as this distinction is not crucial for the analysis given here the two terms will be used interchangeably.

objectivity of the self. Because the look interprets and ascribes meaning based on the exteriority of the object, it reduces one to the external image perceived by another. At the same time, it confirms its existence and places it within another referential system: "To be looked at is to apprehend oneself as the unknown object of unknowable appraisals – in particular, of value judgements. (...) In so far as I am the object of values which come to qualify me without my being able to act on this qualification or even to know it, I am enslaved" (Sartre 1969: 267). The look therefore suggests the freedom of the other and the absence of one's own.

In Lacanian theory, on the other hand, the gaze is explored in psychoanalytical terms and is seen as crucial to the development of the ego. The child's mirror image and its apparent completeness are contrasted with the fragmentation of the body experienced by the child. For this reason, the child identifies with the image, and for Lacan this moment marks the birth of the ego. Because it leads to identification with another, the gaze has a significant social aspect. Kaja Silverman concludes that the gaze represents a means by which we are

> ...socially ratified or negated as spectacle. It is Lacan's way of stressing that we depend upon the other not only for our meaning and our desires, but also for our very confirmation of self. To 'be' is in effect to 'be seen'. (...) [I]t would seem to represent the inevitable feature of all social existence. (Silverman 1996: 133-4)

Finally, the connection between the gaze and sexual desire has been of particular interest to feminist film theory, explored in terms of scopophilia, or pleasure derived from looking at another as an erotic object. In her seminal essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", Laura Mulvey suggests that traditional narrative cinema reflects and plays on the socially established gendered codes of looking and objectification, according to which the female figure is "coded for strong visual and erotic impact", signifying "*to-be-looked-at-ness*" (Mulvey 1999: 837), whereas the man is ascribed the active role of spectator. Mulvey argues that the cinematic pleasure rests precisely on the audience's identification with the male figure and the gaze it casts.

Affinity directly engages with these critical concepts. Sartre's and Lacan's ideas provide deeper insight in the exploration and understanding of Margaret's shifting position within the visual network which comprises her family, the prison officials, the prisoners, and most significantly, Selina Dawes and Ruth Vigers. Mulvey's framework, on the other hand, proves useful for the analysis of Margaret's interaction with Selina and the carefully crafted seduction she succumbs to.

4. Margaret Prior: from the observer to the observed

The narrative of the prison echoes Foucault's ideas by clearly demonstrating the power balance inherent in the division between the prison staff as observers

(serving as symbols of government and society in general) and the prisoners as the observed (mostly, but not exclusively, members of the lower class). The visits highlight the key features in the prison design which enable this division to be enforced. As in the actual Pimlico prison, each of Millbank's pentagons houses a different prison ward, and in the central yard there is a building where the emblems of institutional power are concentrated – the governor's office along with the clerk's offices, the chapel, the surgeon's house and the infirmaries. Initially, Margaret is given the position of the observer, who is not only allowed to look freely at the prisoners, but who is to serve as a role model of acceptable female behaviour, as opposed to the criminality and monstrous femininity embodied by the female prisoner. Her initial identification therefore lies with the warders and the power bestowed upon them. However, it is suggested rather early on that the apparent class division existing between her and the prisoners need not hold, foreshadowing not only Margaret's subsequent identification with the inmates, but her multiply exposed position: "'Why, we have had ladies here,' (...) '*Ladies*, miss, quite like yourself.'" (Waters 2008: 25; see also 327-8).

When Mr Shillitoe, the prison governor, takes her to the central tower, Margaret immediately feels drawn to the view from the window. Each of the characters present in the scene displays a sense of pleasure at being able to watch the yard fill with women, who emerge for their hour of exercise:

> 'Miss Haxby, will you come to the window and watch with Miss Prior? Now, Miss Prior, keep your eyes before you, and you shall see something!' (Waters 2008: 13)
>
> Miss Haxby, I thought, gazed at the plodding women with a kind of satisfaction. 'See how they know their places,' she said. (Waters 2008: 14)
>
> I gazed again at the circling women, saying nothing, thinking my own thoughts.
> 'You like to look at them,' Miss Haxby said then.
> She said she had never had a visitor yet that didn't like to stand at that window and watch the women walk. It was as curative, she thought, as gazing at fish in a tank.
> After that, I moved from the glass. (Waters 2008: 17)

For Mr Shillitoe, the women are a spectacle he invites Margaret to observe. Miss Haxby, the matron, watches the women in the yard with satisfaction because they "know their places", and even though she refers to the orderly movements of the prisoners, the remark is indicative of the power relations which underscore the scene. Finally, for Margaret, gazing at the women is represented as a source of pleasure. After Miss Haxby observes this, Margaret feels uneasy and moves away from the window. This feeling of unease is reminiscent of Sartre's voyeur from

Being and Nothingess, who experiences shame and anxiety when caught peeping through the keyhole (Sartre 1969: 259-261). This is the first suggestion of Margaret's growing visibility to different power structures which is to become fully apparent later on. The scene also illustrates the dehumanizing effects of the gaze – the women are likened to "fish in the tank", which complements other dehumanizing descriptions of them, as dolls, beads on a string, or ghosts. The dynamics of being observed while observing will be repeatedly played upon throughout the novel. For instance, as she secretly watches Selina in her cell for the first time, Margaret moves away only when the privacy of the moment is disturbed by the matron's footsteps, and the scene can be read as another resonance of Sartre's voyeur, whose imagined observer is anticipated by aural cues (the footsteps in the corridor).

Another tool for the supervision of the prisoners is the inspection flap on their doors, or "the eye". The unsettling nature of this punishment is evident in the prisoners' repeated attempts to blind the matrons through the flap and both symbolically and literally remove the constant gaze turned upon them. Selina Dawes singles out as one of the most unbearable aspects of her punishment the fact that she is ceaselessly exposed to the gaze of others: "All the world may look at me, it is part of my punishment. (...) To have the matron's eye ... forever on you" (Waters 2008: 47-9). As observed by Llewellyn (2004), it is hardly surprising that when Selina attacks a matron, she hits her with a trencher across the eyes, blinding her temporarily (see Waters 2008: 249). Interestingly, while constant surveillance is imposed as part of the regular disciplinary regime, the punishment for severe breach of the prison's regulations is precisely the opposite – being put in "the darks", a cell at the heart of the prison, in complete darkness, away from anyone's eyes. The darkness is perceived as an existential threat, and the prisoner faced with this punishment fears she will "die in the dark, like a stinking rat" (Waters 2008: 183), which is in line with Silverman's assertion that the gaze, in Lacanian terms, serves as the confirmation of the self.

Initially, Margaret uses the power afforded to her privileged position of the observer and looks through the flap at the women, who either remain unaware of her gaze or simply acknowledge the faceless presence behind the door. The first woman Margaret secretly watches is a woman imprisoned for attempted suicide by sedative overdose, a criminal offence Margaret herself is guilty of, having attempted to take her life after her father's death. The matron invites Margaret to take a look and in doing that, Margaret experiences her own vicarious punishment, having previously escaped its actual enforcement owing to her social status, which induces feelings of guilt and self-loathing. As a result, her identification shifts further from the guards to the prisoners, so when she refers to "her old griefs" (her unrequited love for her sister-in-law, her father's death, her attempted suicide) she uses images that bear association with imprisonment. She imagines her past "shut with a strap and a buckle" (Waters 2008: 29), suggestive of a corrective facility, but also of a mental institution, which foreshadows both her hysterical episodes and her poor judgement of Selina's true motives.

Margaret does not retain her position of the clandestine observer for long. In her subsequent visits, she finds herself exposed both to increasingly reciprocating gaze cast by the prisoners and to the inspection of the matrons.

> … Now I did hear Mrs Jelf's boot upon the passage-way. 'Quickly!' I said – for my heart had begun to beat so fast in my breast, I saw the cloth above it give a quiver, like a drum-skin. (…) Still the boot came closer, still my heart thumped! (…) and Mrs Jelf made her appearance at the bars. I saw her dark eyes searching, in their usual fretful way; but there was nothing to see, except my fluttering breast – and that I covered with my coat… (Waters 2008: 115)

The quoted scene is the first in a series of scenes where Margaret is placed *behind* the cell door, anxious to avoid the searching look of the matrons. The spatial twist on Sartre's voyeur scene, which places her *inside* the cell, reflects how Margarets's seemingly superior position is progressively undermined, until she proves completely visible and therefore powerless. Additionally, and more significantly, Selina reciprocates Margaret's gaze and in doing so shifts the power balance, claiming the position of power for herself. Her gaze is described as "unflinching" (Waters 2008: 44), "still" (46) and "unsettling" (46, 64), her eyes are "dark as a magician's" (272), and in many scenes Margaret cannot bear her direct gaze and has to avert her eyes (88, 110). Selina's penetrating gaze is threatening because it discloses all Margaret's hidden anxieties while revealing nothing of the observer:

> ... [I] still felt her watching. (...) 'You have come to Millbank, to look on women more wretched than yourself, in the hope that it will make you well again.' – I remember the words very clearly, because they were so gross, and yet came so close to the truth... (Waters 2008: 47)

Selina manages to further destabilize Margaret's gaze by willingly exposing herself to it and exciting fetishist fantasies. Margaret's very first surreptitious gaze at Selina, whose perfect stillness and devotional posture invoke an association with a saint or an angel depicted in a Renaissance painting, discloses the scopophilic nature of her interest. In fact, Margaret's position of an "invisible guest", looking at the image framed by the door flap from the darkness of the corridor, parallels that of the film spectator "looking in on a private world" (Mulvey 1999: 836) framed by the film screen. The association with a painting depicting a sacred figure points to Margaret's subsequent objectification and fetishisation of Selina and different objects associated with her – a reproduction of Carlo Crivelli's painting that she keeps in her room, the coil of Selina's hair she secretly seeks out among the prisoners' belongings, and most importantly, her velvet collar. Selina and her possessions become the locus of Margaret's desire, much like the locket with the curl of Helen's hair used to be. As Mulvey suggests, fetishistic scopophilia

manifests itself as the over-valuation of the object, which in Margaret's case culminates when she recognizes Selina's features in the face and hands of the Virgin in one of Crivelli's paintings.

The power of Selina's gaze is attributed to her spiritual sensitivity, and the connection which is established between visual and spiritual insight serves not only to create an air of mystery, but also to conceal Selina's true motives. In her study on late Victorian spiritualism and the issues of gender and power, Alex Owen reports a common belief among the Victorians that a mesmerist must have a 'powerful Magnetic Gaze', which is "searching, piercing" (Owen 2004: 128). She also observes that the cabinet, used by a great number of mediums (Selina included), provided a means of "shield[ing] the medium from public gaze" (Owen 2004: 46) and its implicit scrutiny. These beliefs are evident in Selina's insistence that her spirit-friends "see everything. Even the pages of [Margaret's] secret book" (Waters 2008: 111), leading Margaret to believe that the most intimate details from her diary become visible through the spirits' eyes. Falling prey to her own wish for romantic fulfilment, Margaret discovers only too late that her principal observer is her own maid Vigers, working in league with Selina to trick and rob her.

5. The social Panopticon: gender roles and class blindness

Margaret's exposure to Selina's and Vigers's gaze, with its tragic consequences, is associated with her social visibility and its equally damaging effects. She feels growing unease at being the object of observation both at the prison and in her own home. In fact, the distinction between the two becomes blurred, as she associates the prison matrons with her mother, who controls access to her sedatives, sets watch over her during her bouts of illness and whose scolding is a constant reminder of Margaret's inability to fulfil the domestic roles required of her sex. As a childless and unmarried woman with intellectual aspirations, Margaret embodies improper femininity as much as the prisoners she visits, and because she is a middle-class lady her transgression of social norms is perceived as far worse. During one of her early visits to Millbank, she imagines one of the prisoners as a humbled fairy princess, "set to work at some impossible labour" (Waters 2008: 24). In the light of her subsequent identification with the prisoners, this description is indicative of how she perceives her own position in the society – humbled, constricted and given the impossible task of fitting the norms of acceptable women's behaviour.

Although Margaret perceives the threat posed by the institutional gaze embodied by the matron, and by the social and familial gaze embodied by her mother, and seeks to escape them, she fails to comprehend the danger of Selina's gaze; to the contrary, she revels in it. Ironically, she feels its reach even in the privacy of her bedroom, but she tragically misinterprets the significance of this specular interaction. This is not surprising, as Selina's gaze provides a desired

identity Margaret is not allowed to have within the bounds of socially imposed norms – an interesting and original rebel, rather than a plain and awkward spinster. For Margaret, Selina is also the ideal image she identifies with early on ("*You are like me*", Waters 2008: 82), a belief Selina actively fosters ("Look at any part of you – it might be me that you are looking at! [Waters 2008: 275]). Even though Margaret's exposure to Selina's gaze at first seems liberating from the restrictions imposed by the judging eyes of the Victorian society, allowing her to be her unbridled, true self, her failure to remain in the position of the active observer has disastrous consequences.

Margaret's resentment of the socially imposed restrictions on women's behaviour and of the severely limited range of female roles finds relief in hysterical episodes reminiscent of the prisoners' enraged outbreaks. Not surprisingly, in accordance with the Victorian understanding of hysteria her mental state is interpreted as a consequence of her unmarried status and her gender, rather than inadequate mental stimulation or frustrated desires (see Showalter, *The Female Malady*, 1985). Despite the supervision she imposes, Margaret's mother remains oblivious not only to the true source of her daughter's frustration ("She thinks she sees into all my weaknesses. She does not, of course, see the greatest one", Waters 2008: 288), but also to the presence of the second observer in the house, Vigers. Unlike Mrs Prior, Vigers correctly interprets Margaret's nervous disposition, proving herself the more astute observer.

As a servant, Vigers remains completely invisible to Margaret and to the members of her family, which enables her to actualize her plan without arousing any suspicion. As Margaret's maid, she has free access to her room and her belongings, and uses it to plant different objects supposedly sent by Selina through spiritual channels, and more importantly, to read Margaret's diary and report its content back to her accomplice. Vigers's invisibility in Margaret's middle-class family guarantees that the gaze is never turned in her direction to compromise her plans, which means that the controlling gaze hits a blind spot; it is undermined and rendered powerless by a character the society deems unworthy of the gaze in the first place. Ironically, Margaret receives an early warning pointing to the origin of the gaze turned upon her, when one of the matrons warns her not to leave any valuable objects in sight of the prisoners, as she would "keep [her] rings and trinkets hidden from the eyes of a servant" (Waters 2008: 16). While this warning allows for the possibility of a servant turning their eyes upon an *object*, Margaret fails to recognize that the gaze could be turned upon herself as well. As Heilmann and Llewellyn conclude, the "consequences of acquiescing with the idea that those deemed socially 'inferior' are irrelevant and therefore rightly remain invisible to us strike home with a vengeance" (Heilmann & Llewellyn 2010: 188).

6. Conclusion: invisibility, privacy and the narrative

The final consideration to be made is the relevance of the issues of visibility and invisibility with regard to the narrative. The presence of the institutional gaze is contrasted with the intimacy and supposed privacy implied by the diary form used (see Brindle 2009/10). What *Affinity* does is effect a subversion of both. On the one hand, the diary as a private document is compromised. In fact, what enables the success of the trick is precisely the intrusion on the privacy of Margaret's "secret book". Although the visibility of her diary is initially perceived by Margaret as a token of her special bond with Selina and a gateway to their secret communication, not to be feared but relished, the fact that she does not recognize its implicit danger becomes the crucial factor in her demise. Once the devious scheme reveals itself, Margaret burns her diary because she feels that both the diary and her feelings have been tainted by Vigers's gaze: "I (…) cannot bear to read again what I set down *before*. When I tried that, I seemed to see the smears of Vigers's gaze upon the pages, sticky and white" (Waters 2008: 348).

On the other hand, the narrative of the prison is contained within Margaret's diary narrative, which is inevitably limited by her own perspective, both in terms of how much she is allowed to see and how she interprets the events she witnesses. On a different level, society's surveillance of Margaret proves equally limited and ineffectual, its failure symbolized by the policeman patrolling outside Margaret's home, who remains oblivious to any of the tragic events inside. Even though the matrons suspect the true motive behind her visits, it remains unknown to her mother, and the society at large. As only a select few have insight into Margaret's secret infatuation, we can assume that her goodbye note to her family is likely to be read as a suicide note, and that her death will be ascribed to her unstable mental condition. Finally, the secret correspondence between Selina and Vigers, crucial to the entire plot, remains invisible to the supposedly all-seeing panoptic gaze. Ultimately, secret communication triumphs over the controlling power of vision and attempts at absolute knowledge, and the entire story of Margaret's ill-fated desire is likely to remain invisible to the majority of those involved. At the same time, the true narrative of female same-sex desire in Victorian times, the liaison between Selina and Vigers, remains veiled in both specular and narrative terms, and it is left to the power of imagination, Margaret's and the reader's alike, to piece it together.

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Illustrations

Bird's-eye view of Millbank Prison from Henry Mayhew's, 'The Criminal Prisons of London', 1862. Copyright The British Library Board. Available at: http://www.bl.uk/learning/images/victorian/crime/large102173.html. Retrieved on: 14 March 2011.

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INNOCENCE AND EXPERIENCE: ECHOES OF WILLIAM BLAKE AND ÁGOTA KRISTÓF IN CHRIS ABANI'S *SONG FOR NIGHT*

Abstract Chris Abani's novella *Song for Night* records a West African child soldier's nightmarish journey of self-discovery through a warzone landscape in search of his platoon. Tracing the narrator's haunting story, the paper aims at exploring the Blakean concept of innocence and experience and drawing parallels with Ágota Kristóf's *The Notebook*, another account of the loss of innocence in war. Special attention is paid to the point of view as it plays a crucial role in shedding light on the narrator's passage from innocence to experience, from ignorance to knowledge, against a backdrop of unspeakable brutalities which the child adapts to.

Key words: innocence, experience, loss, war, Abani, Blake, Kristóf.

Because I was happy upon the heath,
And smil'd among the winters snow:
They clothed me in the clothes of death,
And taught me to sing the notes of woe.
William Blake, 'The Chimney Sweeper'

1. The bleak Blakean journey

'How far into darkness can a being go and still find their way back to light. And how much is it necessary for there to be darkness for the concept of light to exist' (Kaufman 2006: 2). These words of the Nigerian author Chris Abani curiously echo William Blake's much quoted idea–inherited from Jakob Boehme–that without opposites there is no progression. So does his novella *Song for Night* which sets Blake's notions of innocence and experience in the context of indescribable, yet graphically portrayed horrors of an unnamed civil war in Nigeria, with its title suggesting that this is a song *of* as well as *for* innocence lost. Amidst the novella's many intertextual references, the Blakean prove useful and perhaps indispensable in interpreting contemporary forms of injustice in Abani's work.

Among his other works, Blake's famous collection *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, influenced by Milton's *Paradise Lost* and, structurally, 'L' Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso', explores the concept of the former giving way to the latter, of innocence taken away, within the cheerful pastoral setting of the *Songs of Innocence*

which transforms into the dark, wintry and increasingly urbanized fallen world of the *Songs of Experience*. Embodying a complex idea of innocence as spiritually and morally pure yet ignorant and therefore fragile, containing 'the new-born innocence of children and lambs, the vulnerable and exploited innocence that shows children neglected and enslaved, and the mature vision of a world of love in which God is found in the merciful and peaceful acts' (Watson 1985: 88), the earthly paradise that Blake evokes in the collection's first section is perhaps unique in European pastoral poetry in its support of a 'determined and intellectually rigorous antipastoral' (Curran 1986: 111). Contrary to the children of the second section, those in the *Songs of Innocence* are painfully unaware of being abused by a corrupt, materialistic age. The merry rhythm of the line 'So your chimneys I sweep and in soot I sleep' (Blake 1967: 39) sharply contrasts with the image of innocence lying in the soot of human cruelty. Song, laughter and play are frequently interrupted by weeping, if sometimes for joy, which turns louder in the desolate world of the *Songs of Experience*, more explicitly critical of social injustices and inequalities. 'A little black *thing* among the snow'[1] (Blake 1967: 90) speaks of the merciless 'reification' of children sold by their parents and thus 'commodified'.[2] Neglect, poverty, child labour and racism now shriek in Blake's bleak vision, with innocence remaining 'an ideal to be struggled for' (Watson 1985: 88), one which, like all ideals, is always out of reach. For those who have lost innocence, there is no going back. Their only option is to move on by embracing experience. Having no alternative, this is precisely what the children soldiers in *Song for Night* do.

Set in Nigeria, three years into a 'senseless war' (Abani 2007: 19), the novella traces the steps of a child soldier's search for his lost platoon. As he progresses on his way through the war-ridden country, both the reader and the child, with the former always a few steps ahead, gradually realize that this is a mythical and metaphysical journey of self-discovery and redemption, reminiscent of Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. His journey 'home' is also one of memory, taking him 'from one scene of past trauma to another' (Abani 2007: 147), forcing him to face his desire, shame, guilt and fear. Along the way, his is the only point of view we are allowed and he is the most unreliable of narrators, one who is for long unaware of the true meaning of his dreamlike odyssey.

Abani's peculiar blend of beauty and horror, reality and imagination, history and myth, presents us with the legacy of the moment depicted in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, when contact was established between the white man and the black man. A former British colony, Nigeria faces the corruption and instability characteristic of so many postcolonial spaces and incarnates dreams, particularly

[1] Emphasis added.

[2] For a lengthy disussion of thingification and commodification in the context of postcolonial literature, see Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*.

dreams of independence, 'turned rancid' (Abani 2007: 97).[3] The topography of the nightmarish landscape My Luck, the ironically named main protagonist, takes us through is dotted with ghastly sights of countless corpses, mutilated people, phantom soldiers, burning houses, desecrated churches and deserted villages. One of the most striking aspects of the novella, its intentional vividness of horrifying detail is finely balanced with visions of beauty and, surprisingly, hope.

> The canoe becomes entangled in some lilies growing in a green and white cluster, and though the tides are pulling at it, I know because the lilies are nodding their white heads in time that the boat will not dislodge. The skeleton sways back and forth with the boat's motion and it makes me think of an elaborate decoration on a Swiss clock. There is a cobweb between the bony arm and the empty chest. It is beautiful and shimmers in a fading light. I wonder how long this poor soul has been lost, even as I admire the cobweb, thinking it reminds me of another time. Of the doilies and small caps I used to crochet all those years ago. (Abani 2007: 76)

Seen from the perspective of someone exposed to the brutalities of death and war from an early age, the world does not lose its peculiar appeal.

Long accustomed to ghastly images, My Luck confides to the reader at the very onset of the story that 'it is a strange place to be at fifteen, bereft of hope and very nearly of your humanity' (Abani 2007: 19). Having joined the war at the age of twelve, seeking revenge for the lost loved ones and with a 'clear enemy' in mind, at fifteen he is tired of the hate and is merely fighting to survive (Abani 2007: 19). He sees through the world that exposed him to 'the real thing' (Abani 2007: 31), which he was hungry for, after ridiculous three-week training according to the rules of a non-existent manual which the narrator prefers to think of as lost. With wooden guns replaced by real weapons, loaded when there is ammunition, he and his smallest fellows are chosen for the 'elite team' of mine diffusers. Like Blake's chimney sweepers, they are chosen not for their intelligence or skill but for their small size that would apparently prevent them from setting off mines. To silence their death screams, the superiors go a step further. 'I finger the scar on my throat that marks the cut that ended my days of speech', says My Luck (Abani 2007: 20) revealing that they are literally rendered voiceless and left to invent an unusual and highly specific language of signs.

His inability to speak makes him 'better versed at the interior monologue' (Abani 2007: 21) and he engages in the most intimate communication with the reader whom he grants access to his mind. The bond is strengthened by the fact that his inner speech is in Igbo, though the written words are in English, exposing his

[3] For a vivid depiction of the many failures of postindependent societies to rise to even the most basic expectations of the former colonized, see for instance Jamaica Kincaid's *A Small Place* and Caryl Phillips' *A State of Independence* and *The Final Passage*.

most atavistic, deepest self. Through My Luck's disillusioned eyes, the reader witnesses a reality dominated by a distorted idea of humanity, in which 'nothing is strange anymore' (Abani 2007: 31).

His disarming honesty about war dealings and his own shameful role in them is poised with indifference of tone, signaling the extent of his disenchantment. Seeing vultures feeding on a 'macabre regatta' of corpses (Abani 2007: 45), My Luck simply scratches his belly, thinking of breakfast. On another occasion, the naturalistic details of the consequences of mine explosions are related with intimidating composure and matter-of-factness.

> When a mine explodes, anyone directly on top will usually be killed. They are lucky. For the rest, shrapnel tears off arms and legs and parts of faces. Mines are like little jumping jackals. You step on one, they arm, you step off, and they jump about mid-torso high and then explode, ripping you apart. For us, the rebels, mines are as valuable as bullets. We have no generous superpower sugar-daddies and we reuse every mine that we successfully diffuse. Waste not want not. (Abani 2007: 47-48)

His impassive tone is in full sway in scenes like the one when he says good-bye to his lover Ijeoma, whose name is yet another touch of irony as it means Good Life.

> 'She no longer had any arms or legs and wasn't much more than a bloody torso, lacerated by shrapnel, body parts scattered in a way that cannot be explained or described.' (Abani 2007: 54)

His and his fellow soldiers' cold detachment, resulting from extreme exposure to horrors which they too are forced to commit gradually perverts them to such an extent that they are able to cheer 'at the snapping of old bones and the sigh of tired flesh' (Abani 2007: 28) during a killing and even feel the joy of 'a bullet tearing through a body, the juicy suck of flesh around a bayonet, the grainy globular disintegration brought on by clubs' (Abani 2007: 143). When the young narrator is forced to rape a woman, despite his reluctant consent and sobbing, a part of him enjoys it. The woman comforts him and her tender words echo Blake as she sees in him 'a boy lost' (Abani 2007: 85). He may not be entirely lost, though, as he still retches at the sight of a train's gruesome cargo of cadavers and feels fear in front of people chopping dead bodies before burning them. The most important indicator of his lingering humanity, however, is his feeling of guilt and shame.

He is hurt by the pleasure he took in rape and admits to being a coward, hiding during his mother's agonizing murder,[4] or leaving his dying father alone like a dog. The road to his redemption is also haunted by painful memories of the innocent casualties among the many he has killed, as well as vivid scenes of torture and death

[4] This particular scene bears striking resemblance to one in Caryl Phillips' *A Distant Shore*.

in general. War has made him habituated to the pain and fears of others but not his own. Like Coleridge's ancient mariner, he is unable to rest, pray or cry for tears are useless in his present ordeal. Rest will come as he gets closer to his aim.

It is small wonder that these children are hardened in a hypocritical world where the worst among war criminals can say 'I am a civilized man' (Abani 2007: 33) while the West sells land mines banned in civilized warfare to those it deems inferior.[5] It is a world of mostly untrained soldiers fighting for causes not even they can remember or even properly understand, suffering 'acceptable losses' (Abani 2007: 49) and 'liberating' their victims' belongings, a world of extreme poverty and madness, with people reduced to scavengers and thieves robbing even corpses of their possessions. This blood-curdling setting allows for nothing sacred as little girls named Faith are in danger of being raped, statues of Jesus are mutilated for firewood and those of the Virgin used for shooting practice, while the kind are killed for reminding us of the shits we are (Abani 2007: 111). In it, the measure of age and maturity is neither pubic hair nor cigarettes and weapons but one's skill in interior monologue (Abani 2007: 21).

My Luck truly does sound too old for his age when he contemplates his loss of a sense of what innocence might mean and wonders whether man is ever truly innocent. Like the children in Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, he is deprived of his boyhood, but he will never be a man, either–'not this way' (Abani 2007: 143). Not all is lost, however, as the narrator and his friends are not entirely immune to all monstrosities, some of which make them cry[6] while others induce fear that they regard as a remnant of childishness. Even in the most bizarre scenes, they are capable of recognizing beauty and the strength of hope. As he watches a group of maimed creatures, pronounced dead through a slip of the gruesome mathematics of war and now seen as ghosts or zombies, seeking refuge in the forest, My Luck notices a disabled girl dancing in a circle.

> Still balanced on one leg, her waist began a fierce gyration and her upper body moved the opposite way. Then like a crazy heron, she began to hop around, her waist and torso still shaking. She was an elemental force of nature. I couldn't take my eyes off her. … a small fire sprite shaking the world and reducing war-hardened onlookers to tears. (Abani 2007: 51)

Here too, Abani employs an intricate fusion of the ghastly and the marvelous, which is perhaps his most astounding achievement in this novella. In the midst of all the suffering, the narrator and his platoon manage not to forget about love and play,

[5] Such western images of Africa are condensed in the symbolical title of My Luck's French textbook: *French Afrique Book One: French Even Africans Can Speak*. An elaborate discussion of similar stereotypes can be found in Edward Said's *Orientalism*.

[6] Like the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, *Song for Night* frequently echoes with the sound of crying.

either. Having witnessed a nun's suicide, the platoon breaks into play, which provides temporary relief as new horrors are always close at hand. One of the places the narrator revisits is an oasis where for a brief moment they cease to be soldiers and become teenagers again. The delicate portrayal of the idyll reverberates with images of little Tom Dacre's hopeful dream about the chimney sweepers' release from the burden of their grim realities.[7] Enjoying the time snatched from war, My Luck and Ijeoma are 'making love with desperation tinged with the foreknowledge of loss' (Abani 2007: 58). Making love is their desperate attempt 'to make sure that amongst all that horror, there was still love' (Abani 2007: 86).

The stark contrast between childhood and enforced adulthood, love and hate, lovemaking and rape, the beauty of life and the horror of death, all reflect the notion of innocence abused by an evil which seems inherent. They *are* taught to kill but no one teaches them to enjoy it and yet even these apparent innocents do (Abani 2007: 143). The idea of abused innocence is most powerfully conveyed, for instance, in the parallel between the ominous clicking of a mine arming and the mechanism of a child's toy or the description of the youngest boy in the platoon who is only seven or eight and 'in his bedraggled clothes that are several sizes too big, he looks like a scruffy elf. The .45 automatic he lugs around would be funny if it wasn't real' (Abani 2007: 131).

2. Other visions of compromised innocence

Another striking literary account of perverted innocence is Ágota Kristóf's *The Notebook*. The novel, part of a literary triptych, follows the transformation of a pair of twins under the influence of wartime atmosphere. Forced to stay with their grandmother who is not only reluctant to look after them but seems utterly devoid of any emotion for the children–that being a singular lesson in the world's brutality, they grow up and grow numb to the pain around them. Left to their own devices, they devise a system of exercises designed to make them stronger and better equipped to deal with the world. Among them are exercises for strengthening the body and the mind, exercises in begging or being deaf and blind, exercises in starvation and cruelty. The world around them teaches them additional lessons in experience such as poverty, blackmail, pedophilia, or killing, all of which inure them to the suffering of people around them as well as their own.

Indifference of tone is driven to the extreme here as the twins become more and more isolated and cold in their attempt to protect themselves. Their short, fragmentary utterances, whose subject is always 'we', characteristic of Kristóf's terse style, give off a sense of alienation which denies even the slightest trace of humanity or warmth and expose the world of experience in its most frightening aspects. Like the children soldiers in Abani's novella, they too are forced to kill,

[7] See Blake's poem 'The Chimney Sweeper' from the *Songs of Innocence*.

which sometimes and from another point of view, might look like performing deeds of mercy. Their vomiting when they see a pile of burnt corpses points to the leftovers of fear and perhaps empathy in their hardened hearts, suggesting another shared aspect of experience between them and the little soldiers in *Song for Night*.

Apart from a near total lack of humane feelings, a major difference between Abani's work and that of Ágota Kristóf is that she refrains from providing graphic details of the horrors of war, except for the aforementioned pile. War remains in the background as she focuses on its effects on the minds of its (innocent?) victims. The unnamed (because any) twins are not soldiers in the unnamed (because any) war though they too fight to survive. Their struggle leads the reader to the perplexing end of *The Notebook* which gives hope and takes it away.

Hope is shattered in the sequels *The Proof* and *The Third Lie*, which expose the aftermath of war in all its desolation. The prevailing sense is one of utter loneliness in a world which provides no space for mercy and love. The two narrators merge into one–Claus, whose anagramically named imaginary twin Lucas has been missing for years–whereby individual madness is introduced as a reflection of the collective, societal insanity depicted in both Kristóf's and Abani's work. Like *Song for Night*, the fragmented structure of the trilogy walks the blurry line between reality and imagination with the unreliable narrator being unable to distinguish between truth and lie, mercy and brutality, or grasp the true nature of his journey in a setting where no relationship is truly affectionate or satisfactory. Similarly, My Luck does not fully comprehend where he is heading to but, despite being caught up in ambiguous acts, he does not lose a sense of morality nor does his world deny the possibility of positive outcomes. Rendering all hope abortive, Kristóf's trilogy provides no relief.

A similar narrative is found in Serbian literature. The novel *Top je bio vreo* (*The Cannon Was Hot*) by Vladimir Kecmanović[8] is set in Sarajevo at the time of the war in Bosnia. The impartial story is related from the perspective of a shellshocked child muted by an explosion which leaves him orphaned. Like My Luck, he allows the reader inside his mind but the air of intimacy is curiously missing. The laconic sentences reminiscent of *The Notebook* resound with the same impassiveness of tone that betrays a desperate desire on the part of the child to survive in the sea of adult poison threatening to drown him. That he fails to remain entirely immune to it the reader learns at the very end when the boy regains his voice–the cigarette in his mouth a preposterous symbol of experienced manhood–and reveals his wish for 'the real thing'.

[8] A film based on the novel, dedicated to Ágota Kristóf, among others, is about to be released soon. Another interesting film dwelling on the theme of innocence lost in war is *Turtles Can Fly* by Bahman Ghobadi.

3. The uncanny in Abani's ghost story

Unlike *Song for Night*, Kecmanović's narrative makes no use of the uncanny in its portrayal of the loss of innocence. The further My Luck progresses on his way, the easier it is for the reader to understand that the journey takes place somewhere between the real and the supernatural. Not even the narrator can sometimes distinguish between the two. It is precisely this feature of Abani's novella that brings it closest to *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. The ghastly landscape of mangrove swamps with leech-like creatures lurking in the dark and tree roots like fingers rising above the shifting water levels is occasionally substituted by scenes of pillaged villages and deserted towns populated only by rabid-looking scraggy dogs, with the unbearable heat symbolizing the madness of war. He comes across burning houses and piles of dead bodies, the streets and the river littered with corpses whose numbers seem ever increasing, with clouds of flies taking the form of black-winged angels. The yards that once resonated with laughter and gossip gave way to the emptiness and desolation surrounded with soot-blackened walls[9] which host a handful of hungry rats. The deserted football pitch is now a tropical Valhalla where the restless and confused spirits of phantom soldiers relive their final battles. As with the eerie atmosphere in the ancient mariner's story, relief comes rarely, in the form of quaint fishermen's encampments on the river banks, revisited oases, or sleep and rest which come more easily.

A sense that this is also a ghost story is heightened by a rising number of hints suggesting that it is not so much a physical journey as one of the soul. Upon regaining consciousness after the blast, My Luck sees no bodies around and his platoon have forgotten to double check if he is dead. His cigarette pack never seems to run out while he can endure without water for days on end.[10] He loses track of time, his memories get mixed up and their chronology changes as the time between them is shrinking. Memories of his elusive friends' faces gradually fade and he wonders what is keeping him marooned on a shifting sandbank. He finds no evidence of the bombing he knows happened, he has not heard the sound of mortar or shell fire for a long time and the landscape sometimes changes before his very eyes. Tormented by dreams of lost relatives and friends, he wonders what it all means as he realizes that 'things are off' but he 'can't quite place why' (Abani 2007: 58). The few people he meets mostly ignore him while those who do take notice make a sign of the cross, shy away or shout 'tufia' at him to chase away spirits. At the sight of a dead lizard on a doorstep, symbol of rebirth, he comes to the realization that for there to be a rebirth, someone has to die first.[11]

[9] Yet another Blakean reference to both 'The Chimney Sweeper' and 'London' where sighs run in blood down palace walls.

[10] His thirst being another allusion to the ancient mariner.

[11] There is a number of other clues but this is perhaps enough to already spoil it all for those who have not read the novella. One other clue is worth mentioning, however, as it leads back to Tom Dacre's dream. Along the way, My Luck loses his bag.

Driven by a vague but strong desire to cross the river, the narrator learns that he needs to relive his memories and release his darkness before he can move on (Abani 2007: 104). All the while, the words of his grandfather, from whom he has learned everything he knows, echo in his mind. In the course of his journey he comes to interpret grandfather's stories and warnings about the river Cross and its macabre flow. Since 'we all have to cross it some day' (Abani 2007: 113), there is no way of avoiding it, so the mythical river keeps flanking him. Grace, a strange woman he meets towards the end, and a catechist called Peter, whose names require little explanation, resolve My Luck of most of his ambiguities and help him cross to the other side.[12]

4. Conclusion

The loss of childhood and its significance is a recurrent theme in Abani's work. His novella *Becoming Abigail* tells of the title protagonist's premature introduction in the world of experience in which the fourteen-year-old is brutally mistreated and forced into prostitution. The harsh circumstances of her growing-up, childhood being the one thing she never really had and yet truly needed (Abani 2006: 111), may in fact echo the author's own experience of torture.[13] The inescapable social dimension of Abani's works provides a backdrop for the author's exploration of the human element, of characters that humble him as a person by not allowing the world to break them (Kaufman 2006: 2). Even though My Luck's story confirms that 'attraction and repulsion, reason and energy, love and hate, are necessary to human existence' (Blake 1998: 74), and is intent on bringing out the most brutal and painful facets of experience, the world is perhaps not well lost. 'Even with the knowledge that there are some sins too big for even God to forgive, every night my sky is still full of stars; a wonderful song for night' (Abani 2007: 79).

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[12] The ambiguous end of *The Notebook* sees one of the twins crossing over barbed wire to the other side of the fence.

[13] Before he left Nigeria, Abani had been imprisoned several times, his writings a potential threat to the then regime, the first time when he was sixteen.

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SOME CONCEPTIONS OF *INCEPTION*: WHAT CHRISTOPHER NOLAN OWES TO JORGE LUIS BORGES

Abstract Following Seymour Chatman's observation that "narrative itself is a deep structure quite independent of its medium," we have analysed the recent film *Inception* directed by Christopher Nolan and various shorter texts by the author of perhaps the most condensed 20th-century fiction, J.L. Borges. The parallels can be found in the crucial motif/structure of a dream, in which the 'real' action is taking place, the circularity of time, the obliteration of the dividing line between reality and dreaming, especially during the transitions from the upper to the lower strata of the dream, supported by a noticeably symmetric narrative framework. The principal texts that could have influenced Nolan include "Tlön, Uqbar, *Orbis Tertius*," "The Circular Ruins," "The Secret Miracle" and "The Garden of Forking Paths," which exhibit the central Borgesian themes: the labyrinth, the mirror, the dream and the voyage in time.

Key words: labyrinth, dream within a dream, mirror, forked narrative, circular motion

1. A looming web of connections

Strange as it may seem, one of the highest-grossing blockbusters in film history owes a sizeable cluster of fundamental ideas to a writer who, according to Jose Contreras, "used to sneak his first book of poetry into the coat-pocket of every stranger that he met in his native city of Buenos Aires. In those years, Jorge Luis Borges considered completely preposterous to sell his books and, even, to obtain some money from them! Who would be interested in reading his writings, he asked himself" (Contreras 2010). In an interview with Dave Itzkoff, director Christopher Nolan revealed his longtime interest in shooting a film about dreams, explaining the pivotal idea: "What *Inception* deals with is a science fiction concept in which really only one simple thing has changed, which is that you and I are able to experience the same dream at the same time. Once you remove the privacy, you've created an infinite number of alternate universes in which people can meaningfully interact" (Itzkoff 2010). To the question: "So who do you read in preparation to make a movie like this? Freud? Philip K. Dick?", he provided a relatively cursory answer: "Probably Borges. I'd like to think this is a movie he might enjoy. [*Laughs*] It sounds like a highfalutin reference in some ways, but the truth is, he took these

incredibly bizarre philosophical concepts – like a guy facing a firing squad who wants more time to finish a story in his head, and he's granted more time by time slowing down, as the bullet travels between the gun and him…" (Itzkoff 2010)

The Borges text that Nolan alludes to is the short story "The Secret Miracle" (from the classic collection *Fictions*, 1944), and the guy facing a firing squad is Jaromir Hladik, author of a couple of books on eternity and mysticism and of an unfinished tragedy. The plot begins with a dream of a long game of chess, played by two feuding families for centuries, with the dreamer running on the sands of a rainy desert not being able to remember either the pieces or rules of chess. On awakening, he realises that the Third Reich vanguard is occupying Prague, which soon results in his arrest and sentence to death due to his Jewish origin; as a plot within the plot, Borges brings up the topic of Hladik's uncompleted tragedy *The Enemies*, in which a nineteenth-century baron (Roemerstadt) receives visitors, but he has an uncanny feeling that they are sworn to eliminate him, led in all likelihood by a Jaroslav Kubin, who in his madness claims to be the baron. The irregularities of the play begin to proliferate, even the murdered conspirators return, the clock from Act I is still striking seven in the evening in Act III. The collocutor from the first act reappears and utters the same words he used in the beginning, which helps the viewer understand that the man is not a double, but that the baron is actually the insane Kubin. At the embedding level, Hladik has to undergo execution but in a dream the voice of God grants him the required time to finish the play, causing the physical universe to stop for a year – the bullets were fired at the appointed time, but the interval between the order and the execution was miraculously extended to a year in the condemned man's perception. So he reworked the hexameters from memory, and no sooner had he finished the piece than the salvo brought him down, causing his death at two minutes after nine.

This long summary of the story in question was necessary for perhaps one particular reason, i.e. the director's misinterpretation of Borges's text; as Radu Toderici notes, the bullet does not travel between the gun and the character, but "the scenes freeze before anyone manages to fire a single bullet. True, they freeze just before shooting, but no way after. […] This image of the bullet gradually getting close to its target eloquently speaks about how much Nolan is a child of his time, because it was abundantly used in action movies of the 80s and 90s" (Toderici 2010). On the other hand, the similarities between Dominic Cobb's dream sequences opening and closing *Inception* and the desert motif from the first page of the short story, as well as those between Roemerstadt's paranoid delusions and Saito's projections of his guards followed by the arrival of the destined murderer can hardly pass unnoticed. The initial impetus for the creative process can be found in a different art form, from where it may be grafted on another mode of expression, assume the shape the means of expression allows it to have, thus leaving the critic to introduce a set of hypotheses resting on a general idea of the 'connecting tissue' or 'core idea' relating the two works.

2. Transcendental narrativity

When we deal with thematic links between literature and film, with topoi in works of art produced in different centuries, and compare an author whose works are as encyclopaedic as those of Borges and a film whose plot is in a large part not verbally presented but furnished with direct iconic signs, where a labyrinth means a labyrinth because we can actually see its physical construction, it is all too easy to make an error of overinterpretation and see traces of Borges where the director need not have intended them to exist in the first place. Apart from many other influences, cinematic and literary alike, Nolan did unmistakably single out Borges as one of the main sources of inspiration: "I've always got a lot out of reading his short stories and his approach to paradox" (Howell 2010). The two artists' common interest in dreams is further corroborated by Nolan's identification of the idea informing the movie: "I've been interested in dreams since I was a kid and I've wanted to do a film about them for a long time" (Hiscock 2010). In a way, the director's frank admission helped create his own role model, to which we could apply Borges's own logic from "Kafka and His Precursors": "The poem 'Fears and Scruples' by Robert Browning prophesies the work of Kafka, but our reading of Kafka noticeably refines and diverts our reading of the poem" (Borges 2001: 365). The ungraspable fabric of the dream as a motif – a commonplace remark – can transcend time and space, but Borges specified it more memorably, discussing the palace of Kubla Khan and its verbal counterpart in Coleridge: "A Mongolian emperor, in the thirteenth century, dreams a palace and builds it according to his vision; in the eighteenth century, an English poet, who could not have known that this construction was derived from a dream, dreams a poem about a palace" (Borges 2001: 371). Indeed, having these two brilliant, but necessarily speculative references at hand does not make firm ground for a viable scholarly hypothesis, but Nolan's explicit statements only add up to Borges's lucid, inductive intuition in seeking undeniable connections between various shapes in which one and the same idea recurs.

While analysing the properties of narrative on a comic strip example, Seymour Chatman gives the reader the possibility of verbalising the story, from which we take only the last portion for brevity's sake: *He* [the king] *pawned his crown for a bundle of money so that he could go back to the Royal Casino to gamble some more*. He italicises the text because he considers those sentences to be abstract narrative statements. In his technical sense of the word, story exists only at an abstract level, and there is no privileged manifestation (Chatman 1980: 37). The events in a story are turned into a plot by its discourse, the modus of presentation. The discourse can be manifested in various media, but it has an internal structure qualitatively different from any one of its possible manifestations. Plot, story-as-discoursed, exists at a more general level than any particular objectification, any given movie, novel or whatever (Chatman 1980: 43). A major difference between cinema and literature lies in the fact that "story-space in cinema is 'literal,' that is, objects, dimensions and relations are analogous, at least two-dimensionally, to those in the real world. In

verbal narrative it is abstract, requiring a reconstruction in the mind" (Chatman 1980: 96-97). Finding connections between *Inception* and Borges's fiction could become an inordinately long catalogue of relations if we related every existent and every occasional piece of décor in his short stories to any visual representation of the same in Nolan's work, but having in mind that about four-fifths of the film takes place within designed dreams, this basic story-space owes its origin in part to the Argentine author, whose own poetry and fiction abound in this topos, making it a tenable gateway to a parallel universe.

3. Nolan's modelling of the Borgesian themes

One of the possible access points for a comparative analysis of *Inception* and Borges is the short story "Tlön, Uqbar, *Orbis Tertius*," revolving around an accidental discovery of a uniquely printed encyclopaedic article on the little known Near Eastern country of Uqbar, whose poets in turn treat only the subject of an imaginary land named Tlön; subsequent to this discovery, the narrator comes into possession of the eleventh volume of *A First Encyclopeadia of Tlön*, which brings his associates to a conclusion that the intricate world of Tlön was invented by a secret society of astronomers, biologists, engineers, metaphysicians, poets, chemists, etc., and has its intimate, provisionally formulated laws. For the nations of Tlön, the world is not a concourse of objects in space, but a heterogenous series of independent acts. It is successive and temporal, not spatial (Borges 2000: 30-32). The world of the dream in *Inception* is also the product of an extremely versatile company of experts, but they act as high-tech thieves of vital information from their targets' minds while the conscious guard is lowered and more liable to deception. Film viewers may notice that the dream world's complexity and notably different physical laws share a lot with the universe that Borges's story models. Further on, the theme of disintegrating belief in this world can be found both in the short story and in the film; after an increasing number of intrusions of objects from Tlön into our reality, "already a fictitious past occupies in our memories the place of another, a past of which we know nothing with certainty – not even that it is false" (Borges 2000: 42-43). In the film, Cobb, the agent most skilled in data extraction from dreams, is prohibited from returning to the US because his wife Mal committed suicide, accusing him of homicidal intentions; her main problem centred on the illusion that had become reality in the proces of exploring the dream within a dream, for which we have ample evidence in the film. The dream world's bottom is called limbo, a raw, infinite subconscious, where ten hours' sleeping time can easily be perceived as fifty years. To wake again, the dreamers need to kill themselves, which they do on a railway track. Cobb later explains the problem to the architect of the new simulated world, Ariadne: "She was possessed by an idea. This one very simple idea that changed everything. That our world wasn't real. That she needed to wake up to come back to reality...that in order to get back home...we had to kill ourselves" (Minute Mark 77:48-78:12). The totem which every dreamer builds to their own

taste and specifications has a practical purpose of assuring them that they are not within another person's dream at the moment, as Arthur (a demolition expert, who makes dream level changes possible) warns Ariadne: "That way, when you look at your totem, you know beyond a doubt that you're not in someone else's dream" (MM 34:11-34:17). Mal had used a spinning top which Cobb discovered locked away in a safe while living in limbo, and strangely enough, that very top found its way to the real-world setting of their hotel suite on the wedding anniversary, the scene of Mal's suicide; Borges's story mentions two intrusions of Tlön into everyday experience: a mysteriously vibrating compass and a bright metallic cone that had a small size and intolerable weight (Borges 2000: 40-41). In the first scene of the film, considered by many to be a suspense-filled flashforward, Cobb is brought by guards to a Japanese-style palace, where on seeing the younger man's top, an old man with a strikingly wrinkled face begins his monologue: "I know what this is. I've seen one before, many, many years ago. It belonged to a man I met in a half-remembered dream. A man possessed of some radical notions" (MM 02:09-02:42). When the scene repeats very near the end of the film, this time with a different arrangement of replicas, we become aware that the old man is Cobb's client Saito, a Japanese businessman who accompanied the team to the dream world and fell into limbo – to him, reality had all but turned into oblivion, which inversion also happened to Mal in the storyline. The order of the fictitious world succeeded in outweighing the disorder of the real world, in "Tlön" and *Inception* alike, all the more so if we abstract the mimetic medium and focus on the exquisitely intricate maze as a governing idea.

The principle of the labyrinth, albeit in its more cerebral and subtle representations, can be found in both Borges and Nolan; the narrator of the short story under scrutiny acknowledges that reality soon yielded to 'finds' from Tlön, since the semblance of order was sufficient to entrance the minds of men: "How could one do other than submit to Tlön, to the minute and vast evidence of an orderly planet? It is useless to answer that reality is also orderly. […] Tlön is surely a labyrinth, but it is a labyrinth devised by men, a labyrinth destined to be deciphered by men" (Borges 2000: 42). While in a training session of shared dreams, Ariadne learns the secrets of maze building from Arthur: "[*Ariadne*] But how big do these levels have to be? – [*Arthur*] It could be anything from the floor of a building to an entire city. They have to be complicated enough that we can hide from the projections. – A maze? – Right, a maze. And the better the maze... – Then the longer we have before the projections catch us? – Exactly" (MM 40:25-40:41).

The next short story which could be treated as a partial source of Nolan's ideas is "The Circular Ruins," about a silent man who disembarks on the river bank somewhere in the Near East long before Christ, settles in a ruined temple, and resolutely begins to dream a man: "He wanted to dream a man: he wanted to dream him with minute integrity and insert him into reality" (Borges 2000: 73). Leaving apart Cobb's extraordinary ability to build dreams within dreams as traps for even the trained subjects, he also has a compelling wish that he yearns to see fulfilled – the return to his children, whom he always dreams of with their backs turned, as he

may have forgotten what they now look like. Although he expressly forbids Ariadne to dream of real places so as not to lose the grasp on reality, he has in fact built a world of memories to which he returns every night, keeping company with his deceased wife. When Ariadne notices this anomaly, because Mal's projection tends to frustrate his plans for extracting information, she asks Cobb: "Why do you do this to yourself?" and he answers: "It's the only way I can still dream. – Why is it so important to dream? – In my dreams we're still together" (MM 56:02-56:14). In the story, a psychologically explicable phenomenon goes on steadily for a number of nights in the stranger's dreams, as he "dreamt that he was in the centre of a circular amphitheatre which in some ways was the burned temple" (Borges 2000: 73), since the external stimuli can indeed influence the mechanism of the dream by way of analogy: while Cobb is struggling to escape with vital information at the lower level shortly after the film opens, one of his associates at the higher dream level gives him a slap to wake him up, which results in his being tossed to and fro down below, followed by an overwhelming tumult of sea water rushing into the palace below while Cobb is struggling to get out of a bathtub above (MM 10:25-11:22). Dreaming regularly can assume the form of addiction, as it has been evident with Cobb, but not only with him – when the team members go to Mombasa to find the capable chemist who can make the sedative for the dreamers to sleep through three levels, they witness a dozen sleepers in the basement. They sleep for 4 hours a day and experience 40 hours, which the chemist's assistant explains: "They come to be woken up. The dream has become their reality" (MM 43:20-43:30). In the story, after many nights filled with deliberate dreaming, the protagonist of "The Circular Ruins" becomes slightly disappointed with the lack of activity among his imaginary students in the amphitheatre, and "one afternoon (now his afternoons too were tributaries of sleep, now he remained awake only for a couple of hours at dawn) he dismissed the vast illusory college for ever and kept one single student (Borges 2000: 73-74). The convention of substituting night for day, or as it appears in these plots, dream for reality, occurs in both authors, more prominently in Nolan's film than in Borges's stories. When the magician in the story finally succeeds in giving birth to his dream child, he sends the boy downstream to another broken temple, instilling into him a complete oblivion of the years of imaginary communion. He soon receives word of a "magic man in a temple of the North who could walk upon fire and not be burned. He recalled that, of all the creatures of the world, fire was the only one that knew his son was a phantom. […] He feared his son might meditate on his abnormal privilege and discover in some way that his condition was that of a mere image" (Borges 2000: 77). Soon after this, a quick fire descends on the sanctuary, and the man decides to walk into the shreds of flame and put an end to his labours: "But they did not bite into his flesh, they caressed him and engulfed him without heat or combustion. With relief, with humiliation, with terror, he understood that he too was a mere appearance, dreamt by another" (Borges 2000: 77). One of Cobb's most efficient dream extracting techniques consists in building multiple dream levels, so that the subject could lay bare their subconscious secrets by thinking the end of a dream signifies the return to reality – in fact, the first

embedded dream in the film brings Saito to a fleeting triumphant conclusion that he has woken up, but he soon understands (through the architect's error) that he is just a dreamed projection of somebody else. The central mission in *Inception* has to do with the process of planting an idea into the mind of Saito's main competitor to dissolve his financial empire after his father's death; to make all that take firm root in his mind, Cobb orchestrates a three-level dream, with some intrusions even into limbo below, where the mind can easily succumb to oblivion. The subject, like Borges's invented boy, should ideally never notice any irregularity in the dream matrix, but occasionally it happens – for example, Saito senses the material of his carpet to be false, sudden shifts in gravity of the fictitious world occur more than once, just as the magician's son in the story might some day think it odd to be able to walk upon fire and thus realise he is in a dream.

There has been a lot of discussion of the very last scene of the film,[1] when Cobb returns home and spins his top to see whether he is still dreaming. If it tumbles, he can be positive that he came back to reality and, to many spectators' surprise, he does not even bother to look at the result, as the image fades out and we can hear a wobbling, but by no means the conclusive sound of the top falling. That event prompted quite a few viewers to accept the hypothesis that he is still dreaming, and that virtually the entire film takes place in a dream, but Michael Caine (the architecture professor who taught Cobb to move around dreams) solved the puzzle unequivocally in a BBC Radio interview: "[The spinning top] drops at the end, that's when I come back on. If I'm there it's real, because I'm never in the dream. I'm the guy who invented the dream" (Hannaford 2010). Taking this cue, we can rest assured that at least in certain sections of the film fantasy is still contained by a perceptible reality, but dreams dominate the film's texture plentifully.

The film also lends itself to being compared with another seminal short story, "The Garden of Forking Paths," which treats Yu Tsun, a Chinese professor of English who became a German spy on English territory and possessed "the name of the exact location of the new British artillery park on the River Ancre" (Borges 2000: 45). In order to communicate the name, he finds a paradoxical manner of expressing it – he goes to a nearby village and pays a visit to Sinologist Stephen Albert, whom he murders and makes the name Albert evident to his employers as the intended military target. When Albert receives him, he wants to show Yu Tsun a particular garden, which the Chinese's ancestor Ts'ui Pên devised long before, when he renounced his position as governor and scholar to build a labyrinth for over a decade. On his death, the relatives discovered nothing but chaotic manuscripts, but they were actually the intended labyrinth of symbols, "an invisible labyrinth of time," upon which nobody came in space. The author left a confusing note: "*I leave*

[1] The Google query "Inception ending" offers an array of hundreds of websites, from which we can select these: http://www.inceptionending.com/theory/imdb-faq-for-inception/, http://marquee.blogs.cnn.com/2010/12/02/christopher-nolan-talks-inceptions-ending/ and http://www.dvdtown.com/messageboard/topic/9784/1/0.

to the various futures (not to all) my garden of forking paths" (Borges 2000: 50, original italics). The phrase "the various futures" suggests the forking in time, which also happens in *Inception* at a number of places, constructed more evidently through image sequences than by means of the written medium: the first scene (flashforward) where Cobb meets Saito in limbo features only the latter's speech, while the former keeps quiet all along, but in the second version (MM 135:32-137:17) they exchange some bits of conversation which are not aligned exactly as in the opening, so now Saito says: "Have you come to kill me? I'm waiting for someone." Cobb speaks for the first time in this interior, uttering Saito's words from scene 1: "Someone from a half-remembered dream," surprising Saito: "Cobb? Impossible. We were young men together. I'm an old man." Cobb takes his turn, saying what the Japanese exhortatively told him in reality at MM 21:13-21:24: "Filled with regret… – [*Saito*] …waiting to die alone…?" Certain fragments of language occur in the same or nearly the same form under different circumstances, pointing to the vicious circle of the labyrinth, causing the perception of plot to fork in time, as the words are spoken in real life or in dreams, in chronological or discursive order (as they really happened or were edited), by the original actants or by new ones. Before committing suicide in limbo together, Cobb soothed Mal by saying "you're waiting for a train, a train that will take you far away…," which is the very phrase she uses to allure him to repeat the action in real life, and a riddle she entices Ariadne with in a dream. The complex dream is another model of the labyrinth, just as the novel in Borges's text is the sought-for garden. As the story has it: "In the work of Ts'ui Pên, all possible outcomes occur; each one is the point of departure for other forkings. Sometimes, the paths of the labyrinth converge: for example, you arrive at this house, but in one of the possible pasts you are my enemy, in another, my friend" (Borges 2000: 51). While the film's main action is unfolding, anything can happen at the dream levels and cause the future to diverge into unpredictable directions – Saito gets wounded at level one, which makes him fall into limbo, and is saved by Cobb eventually. The Sinologist's claim that an infinite book can only be of circular form, continuing indefinitely due to its last page being identical with the first, concurs smoothly with the almost identical scene opening and closing the film. Perhaps it is inaccurate to say 'almost,' but whereas in the first version Cobb yearns to reach out to his children playing on the beach, by the time he is seen waking on the shore again, he has firmly resolved that his children are merely projections.

The idea-planting team from the film needs the subject to accept the desired command naturally, with no coercion, just like in the story Yu Tsun has to communicate the target to his commanders indirectly; the Chinese text treats the problem of time, but never mentions the noun, and Albert leads Yu Tsun to the answer: "In a riddle whose answer is chess, what is the only prohibited word? – I thought a moment and replied, "The word *chess*." – "Precisely," said Albert. "*The Garden of Forking Paths* is an enormous riddle, or parable, whose theme is time; this recondite cause prohibits its mention. To omit a word always, to resort to inept

metaphors and obvious periphrases, is perhaps the most emphatic way of stressing it" (Borges 2000: 53). After the audition (the test of Cobb's ability), Arthur tries to explain to Saito the impossibility of inception (planting an idea in somebody's mind) in similar phrasing: "I say, 'Don't think about elephants.' What are you thinking about? – Elephants. – Right. But it's not your idea because you know I gave it to you. The subject's mind can always trace the genesis of the idea" (MM 19:36-19:47). In both works the key concept is intimated through a complicated process of deploying a batch of associated concepts around it, i.e. by constructing a favourable environment to conduce to the solution.

The new architect of the dream world, Ariadne, bears a name as identifiable as is Stephen Dedalus's surname – so attached is this name to the classical story that we might even consider it an aptronym separate from the other names, which belong in a less collectively familiar category. It occurs in the short story "The House of Asterion," but only at the end, since the action is mostly communicated through the defamiliarised confession of the Minotaur; in the last paragraph, the narration shifts to the Greek hero: "Would you believe it, Ariadne?" said Theseus. "The Minotaur scarcely defended himself" (Borges 2000: 172). To test her architectural skills, Cobb gives her the assignment to draw a maze in two minutes that it takes one minute to solve. After two unsuccessful attempts with common rectangular labyrinths, Ariadne draws a circular maze, which Cobb finds impossible to solve in the appointed time. (MM 25:11-25:45) To list all Borges's works which treat circularity would be a demanding task, as the circle can be readily found in much of his fiction or non-fiction: "The Circular Ruins," "The Library of Babel," "The Doctrine of Cycles," "Circular Time," etc. A careful reader would hardly fail to notice the topos of the mirror appearing in some scenes where Ariadne is featured: in a training session, she manages to change the topography of Paris so dramatically that certain blocks of flats fold in and mirror the buildings below spot-on, calling M.C. Escher's prints to mind. In the following scene, she and Cobb come to a bridge where she constructs a mirror hinged on a column, walks to the adjacent column, and turns the other mirror so that it faces the former, making an infinity of images of Cobb and herself (MM 29:50-32:27). Borges gave a series of lectures (*Seven Nights*) in 1977, one of which was entitled "Nightmares," and discussed two forms that he found typical of his case: the labyrinth and the mirror. Among other things, he said of those phenomena: "Let us enter into the nightmare, into nightmares. Mine are always the same. I have two nightmares which often become confused with one another. I have the nightmare of the labyrinth. […] My other nightmare is that of the mirror. The two are not distinct, as it only takes two facing mirrors to construct a labyrinth (Borges 1984: 32-33). If there is a single scene in *Inception* that draws on Borges's oeuvre for inspiration, this should be the most likely candidate to confirm the hypothesis – it is sufficiently cerebral, mythological, labyrinthine and multiplied.

4. Conclusion

This article does not aim to be an exhaustive and definitive analysis of Jorge Luis Borges's direct influences on Christopher Nolan, but rather a survey of certain techniques that the writer recurrently exploited in his works, which turned into his trademark, leaving an indelible trace on the film discussed; the director of such a complex spectacle is naturally expected to have taken greater care of the cinematic rather than verbal art, of editing a clever summertime thriller rather than copying Borges's lucid logic verbatim from the Argentine's evanescent and uneventful universes of the library (or libraries of the universe, which to him had the same meaning). James E. Irby summarised Borges's crucial themes in his introduction to *Labyrinths*: "Borges once claimed that the basic devices of all fantastic literature are only four in number – the work within the work, the contamination of reality by dream, the voyage in time and the double" (Irby 2000: 18). With the possible lower frequency of the last topos, all the others have numerous manifestations and form the ubiquitous forking paths of this refreshing and demanding celluloid adventure.

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"MY PHONY ROLE AS HUSBAND AND FATHER": PERFORMING MASCULINITIES IN DON DELILLO'S *UNDERWORLD*

Abstract Discussing the ways in which masculinities are acted out in the central and parallel plots of Don DeLillo's *Underworld*, this paper tries to explore a wide range of presented masculine psychologies, showing that these roles are largely developed as constructs of the changeable socio-cultural setting of post World War II America. The characters in *Underworld*, especially men, are all too aware that they must perform the fixed parts well if they are to be accepted as a good parent, lover, child, colleague and friend, and they feel incompetent and ill-at-ease as they come to realize that they can never fully comply with the imposed ideals.

Key words: masculinity, performance, fantasy, anxiety, manliness, imitation, repression

1. Introduction

According to Judith Butler, gender is always "assumed in relation to the ideals that are never quite inhabited by anyone", it is an imaginary identification based on fantasy (Butler 1995: 32). Don DeLillo, one of the most praised American authors, seems to be particularly sensitive to this phantasmagoric construction of gender identity. Indeed, in a number of his novels both male and female characters have problems conforming to the normative heterosexual masculinities and femininities, the dominant fantasies of manhood and womanhood, which they find rather repressive and confining, as we learn from long introspective paragraphs. Strangely enough, what is evident is their struggle to live up to these roles, since most of the characters are anxious to keep up the appearances of being a "real" woman or a "real" man, so they act like ones. However, this performance and repetition of stereotypical patterns of behavior rarely prove to bring satisfactory results.

DeLillo's *Underworld,* which was deemed the second best work of postmodern American fiction in the past twenty-five years by The New York Times, is particularly rewarding in this respect. The readers learn very early in the novel that "there is a law of manly conduct" (DeLillo 1999: 22) in *Underworld*, and this paper primarily focuses on masculine psychologies in the novel, on how male characters cope with the socially constructed ideals or hegemonic masculinities. However, as ideas of manhood change, today masculinity is perceived as a "social construction that assumes different forms in different historical moments and contexts" (Nylund

2007: 5). DeLillo's *Underworld*, which roughly covers the second half of the 20th century in the USA, presents the readers with shifting ideas of masculinity: with the macho ideal of the 50's, the confusion brought by the civil rights and gay liberation movements in the 60's and 70's, and finally, the creation of "new man" and "new lad" in the 80's and 90's (Nylund 2007: 9).[1]

2. What makes a "real" man

Underworld presents a myriad of different characters, but it could be described as somewhat centered around the character of Nick Shay, whose storyline involves practically everyone else's. Nick's life story is quite simple and indicative of these changing ideas of manhood – he was born in the Bronx in a mixed family – between an Irish mother and Italian father who committed the "unthinkable Italian crime" (DeLillo 1999: 204) when he left his wife and children. Nick grew up to be the most handsome and desirable young man in the neighborhood, prone to petty crime and random sexual encounters with women, one of whom was many years his senior. Then, when he was in his late teens, he accidentally murdered a man, which haunts him through much of the novel together with thoughts about the missing father. Finally, he went to correction, finished Jesuit school, became an executive manager, got married and had two children. Thus, the mentioned changes in the perception of masculinity in the 20th century can also be seen in the development of the character of Nick Shay, who grows from a macho juvenile delinquent from the 50's into an executive manager, married with two children in the 90's.

Moreover, the idea of manhood as a socially imposed construction can also be recognized in some scenes with historical personages from the subplots, like in those featuring J. Edgar Hoover and Clyde Tolson, showing that hypermasculinity often goes hand in hand with homosexuality in deeply conservative regimes like that of the USA at the time of the Cold War. In *Underworld* both Edgar and Clyde are shown as intent on hunting down, exposing and severely punishing all "non-straight" citizens of the USA. However, the relationship between these two characters is dubious and whereas Clyde is presented as burning with desire for Edgar, the latter never openly declares himself a homosexual, but it is clear that the two men are very close - they not only work together, but even travel and attend social events in each other's company. In these parts of the novel DeLillo might have mocked the rumors about two of the most powerful men of the USA and the fact that this type of male bonding outside pubs and sports events immediately plants suspicion that there must be something "wrong" with the two of them. In any case, the novel presents Clyde as a really tragic figure of his time, doomed to

[1] Whereas the "new man" accepts new commitments – to fatherhood and household, the "new lad" is a reaction to "new man" and tries to "reassert hegemonic masculinity" by preferring to drink, party and watch sports, viewing women as sexual objects (Nylund 2007: 9).

perform the stereotypical role of a "tough guy" and imitate the patterns of typical manly behavior, without even dreaming of fulfilling his desires and fantasies one day.

However, despite the wide range of presented masculine psychologies, both heterosexual and homosexual male characters appear to show some common anxieties and fears concerning masculinity and their performance throughout the novel. The typical role they are expected to play at all times is that of a successful, powerful and sexually apt provider interested in "manly things" such as sports, cars and weapons. A "real" man is a reliable husband and father with a nine-to-five job, in perfect control of his emotions, which he is never to display. Indeed, in the USA men have long been defined through the typical role of a family provider, a "breadwinner". However, according to Ruth Heyler, Nick Shay believes that this ideal of working ethic is somewhat "false and restricting" (Heyler 2008: 126), "Nick didn't think it was necessary to have one job for life and start a family and live in a house with dinner on the table at six every night" (DeLillo 1999: 724), or when he says, "It's not the work. It's the regular hours (…) the same time every day. Clocking in, taking the train (…) Going in together, coming home together" (DeLillo 1999: 685). Similarly, Nick's brother Matt feels immense relief when he quits his job in the weapons industry to become closer to his family, something one would traditionally expect the wife and mother to do, "He wasn't made for this kind of work (…) No, he wasn't a weaponer." (DeLillo 1999: 461) Indeed, this hegemonic masculinity is seen as restricting since, according to Judith Kegan Gardiner, it "narrows the options of the male characters" by forcing them into confining roles and all this is coupled with a "humiliating fear of failure to live up to the masculinity mark" (Kegan Gardiner 2002: 5-6). However, whereas Matt decides to quit the job, Nick's wishes for a commitment-free life linger in the domain of fantasy, and in the novel only a couple of characters are willing to give up the reputation of a "real man" in exchange for what they consider to be true happiness.

As it appears, a number of male characters find it difficult to perform the imposed masculine identity, which frequently results in feelings of inadequacy and failure. Most of the time they "strive to appear manly" (Heyler 2008: 126), like Nick's colleague Brian, who expresses a hypermasculine love for cars, "Brian went into a state of body rapture over a lime Chevrolet, a '57 Bel Air convertible with white upholstery. He draped himself over the hood and pretended to lick the hot metal." (DeLillo 1999: 165). However, even if one is not as fascinated by cars as Brian, one is supposed to pretend to be so, to play or mimic the "real man". For example, at one point in the novel we learn that Nick's brother "Matt did not like to drive. He'd been driving only six months and knew he'd never feel natural at the wheel. The best he could do was mimic a driver." (DeLillo 1999: 409). On many instances in the novel we see him as he drives his car holding the instructions booklet in his lap, and yet he is reluctant to give up the driver's seat to his wife who "liked to drive aggressively whatever the surface." (DeLillo 1999: 455).

3. A "demon" husband

Another aspect of a manly man is his sexual ever-readiness, and Nick, when presented as a young man, is one of many DeLillo's protagonists who constantly feel the need to display their sexual power. In his youth, Nick is an "ever-ready" male whom everyone admires, a macho who does what most of his neighbors only fantasize about. "Who's better than him?" is the comment other characters make when they see him. Even later in life, Nick is envied his physical strength, savvy, position and allure by his colleague Brian Glassic. In effect, this type of male envy is common according to Ethel Specter Person, as a man feels sexual anxiety believing that "other men are actually living what for him are only fantasies" (Specter Person 2009: 17), and in case of *Underworld*, Nick is looked up to as a "demon husband" (not in the sense of evil, but possessing immense sexual, intellectual and physical power) both by his wife and her lover Brian, Nick's colleague, who believe he has tremendous strength and a will of steel.

Nevertheless, Nick does not really feel the way one would expect from a demon husband when he finds out about his wife's affair with his colleague and friend Brian. Quite the opposite, he feels relieved rather than betrayed,

> "When I found out about him and Marian I felt some element of stoic surrender (…) I was hereby relieved of my phony role as husband and father, high corporate officer. Because even the job is an artificial limb. But it was also satisfying, for just a moment, to think of giving it all up (…) the children (…) the grandchild, they could keep the two houses, all the cars, he could have both wives (…) None of it ever belonged to me except in the sense that I filled out the forms" (DeLillo 1999: 796)

Evidently, Nick is completely aware of the artificiality of the roles he is to perform,[2] and he sees marriage, children, the job and his social position as a burden, something artificial attached to him, and often fantasizes about his past freedom. This should come as no surprise, as according to Tim Edwards men often perceive themselves as "machines that perform functions" rather than as human beings who need care and attention. (Edwards 2006: 12). So, there is no jealousy or anger on his part. However, as it has already been stated, it is vital that a man keep up the appearances of manly behavior, so Nick knows he is expected to deal with the

[2] John Updike has criticised DeLillo for being "a concept-driven writer, whose characters spout smart, swift essays at one another" (Updike 2003). In other words, unlike Updike's characters like Harry Armstrong, who is only remotely, intuitively aware of the constraining roles he is to perform (Dojčinović Nešić 2007: 132), DeLillo's male characters are very much self-aware, almost to the point of artificiality.

adultery "like a man"[3] and challenge Brian on a sort of a duel. Strangely enough, the violence displayed in the scenes where Nick archetypically fights with Brian to restore his wife's honor is performed, Nick delays before he attacks him, clearly reluctant to start a fight. There are rehearsed blows, overreaction, these are "token" blows, and according to Ruth Heyler, the violent act here is only "part of the performance" (Heyler 2008: 134).[4]

4. Filling in the blank spaces

Fatherhood is another important issue in this novel, especially the connection between fathers and sons, since fathers are seen as role-models, they are expected to teach their sons masculinity, the mentioned "law of manly conduct". Contrary to this, Nick's missing father, who "went out for cigarettes and just kept walking" (DeLillo 1999: 698) is the reverse of a role model, "something not to imitate" (Heyler 2008: 127). Matt says, "He left because of us basically. He didn't want to be a father. Being a husband was bad enough, you know, what a burden, full of obligations and occasions he couldn't handle." (DeLillo 1999: 203) So, in order not to behave like his father, Nick tries to do everything his father failed to do, to be a loving, reliable husband and parent, and yet he struggles to accept these roles as natural. Strangely enough, despite trying to be the reverse of his father, Nick still perceives himself as "a country of one" (DeLillo 1999: 275) even later in life, feeling the role of a husband and father to be constraining, and indulges in fantasies of becoming a free young man again, "I long for the days of disarray (…) I long for the days of disorder" (806-10).

In the novel Nick's father remains a "void" (Heyler 2008: 127), "a man whose narrative is mostly blank spaces, date of birth uncertain", a "ghost father" (DeLillo 1999: 276-7), "the missing heartbeat" (DeLillo 1999: 700). Of course, mere presence does not account for a father, and *Underworld* features another missing father figure in the subplot, that of Manx Martin. Unlike Nick's father Jimmy Constanza, the lapsed husband who is always remembered as walking out of his home, Manx Martin is usually shown as coming in, much to the chagrin of his children and wife. He fails in his father role miserably when he sells the priceless baseball his son got from the historic game between the New York Giants and the Brooklyn Dodgers. Moreover, it is ironic that Manx Martin betrays his son's trust on a baseball stadium, the place where the father-son relationship has traditionally been built and strengthened in the USA.

[3] David Savran finds the phrase "take it like a man" particularly interesting for the exploration of masculine identity. In his opinion, it suggests that masculinity is "a process, a trial through which one passes". The word "like" denotes imitation, suggesting that one cannot simply be a man, but always struggle to behave in a manly manner (Savran 1998: 38).

[4] Violent behavior is also encouraged by gory media images like the video of Texas Highway Killer, which is played and replayed throughout the novel.

In brief, it is evident that neither Jimmy nor Manx feel comfortable in their father roles. Nevertheless, the novel also features certain fatherly figures some of whom do not function as real, biological fathers. Indeed, it could be a matter of some debate whether Nick subconsciously identifies with other male characters who might be analyzed as his "surrogate" fathers – principally with Albert Bronzini, a science teacher and a family friend, and George Manza, the man Nick accidentally shot. Contrary to Nick's father Jimmy, Albert is "resistant to separation" from his ex wife Clara, perceiving divorce as "a hindrance to living" (DeLillo 1999: 234). He is shown as a loving and caring father who plans his evening around phoning his daughter "waiting for the hour of the rate change and then placing a chair by the telephone (…) his face in the rotary dial", sending her "a little money now and then, out of his teacher's pension" (DeLillo 1999: 231). Albert is perceived as "the story voice, the play voice" (DeLillo 1999: 714) by his ex wife, as a good friend and teacher by Matt and Nick, and as an old eccentric by his neighbors, which is largely due to his "unmanly" love for opera and lack of any aspirations to behave "like a man". When Matt and Nick's father left, Mr. Bronzini was there for them, especially for little Matt, whom he taught how to play chess – another activity usually reserved for fathers. What complicates their relationship in the novel, though, is Nick's brief love affair with Albert's wife, making Nick something of an oedipal figure in these scenes.[5] A similar idea is implanted in the reader's mind in the scene of Nick's appointment with the prison psychiatrist Dr Lindbland, who tells him that his father was "the third person in the room" (DeLillo 1999: 512) on the day when he shot George Manza, and that this was a symbolic murder of his own father. Indeed, we learn that George the Waiter often advised Nick not to leave school and had a protective attitude towards him, but Nick's half-ironic comment about Dr Lindbland's remark, "She told me that one way or another the two events were connected, meaning that six years after Jimmy disappeared I shot a guy who didn't know my father, or barely knew him, or saw him on the street (…)" (DeLillo 1999: 512) could serve as a warning not to jump to this conclusion too readily. At any rate, the murder may, in symbolic terms, underline Nick's disappointment at seeing another failed role model, "master poolshooter", indulging in substance abuse, not even remotely interested in what would become of his "protégé".

5. Conclusion

Ideas of masculinity are given a prominent place in *Underworld* and DeLillo seems to be particularly interested in the way male characters cope with the

[5] In the room where Clara and Nick made love there was a painting of Whistler's mother "Arrangement in Gray and Black", which might support the idea of Nick sleeping with a motherlike figure. Similarly, in the chapter "Arrangement in Gray and Black" Nick's mother is one of the most prominent characters, which reinforces the connection between these two women.

dominant fantasies of manhood. As it appears, male characters in the novel share certain common anxieties concerning masculinity and their performance, largely seeing themselves as victims of American culture and perceiving the proscribed masculine roles as alien and confining as "artificial limbs". The stereotypical patterns they are expected to follow at all times feel unnatural and socially constructed, especially due to lack of role models in the shape of fatherly figures on the one hand, and abundance of demands to behave like "real men" - successful, powerful and sexually apt providers interested in "manly things" - on the other, so imitations of the imposed masculine identity frequently result in feelings of confusion, inadequacy and failure. Nevertheless, most of the characters believe they need to "take it like a man" and keep their anxieties and fears at bay, to abide by the "law of manly conduct" lest they should be marked as unmanly and become socially marginalized.

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IDENTITY IN ARUNDHATI ROY'S THE GOD OF SMALL THINGS AND KIRAN DESAI'S THE INHERITANCE OF LOSS: AMBIVALENCE AND MIMICRY

Abstract The paper discusses the issue of identity and its rethinking within the frames of postcolonial literary theory with the focus on ambivalence and mimicry, as proposed by the critic Homi Bhabha. The characters of Pappachi in TGOST and the judge in TIOL reproduce the colonial cultural norms and in doing so are produced as colonial subjects, fixed in the relationship of subordination. The posibility of resistance of such colonial subjects does not reside in an overt opposition but in the inherent ambivalence of the dominant colonial discourse which needs, but simultaneously rejects its colonized Other. By mimicking the cultural norms of the colonizer Pappachi and the judge contest the colonial subject construction.

Key words: postcolonial literary theory, identity, discourse, ambivalence, mimicry, resistance

1. Introduction

Since a decade ago, Indian writing in English has been thriving in the number of books published per year and the variety of represented genres. Andrew Buncombe, in the article 'Golden age of Indian writing: How a new generation of writers is making waves in South Asia' published in *The Independent* singles out genres such as crime novels, comic-strip books, and memoirs along with the Indian adaptations of Chick-Lit ("sari fiction"). He quotes a young writer's view on the subject:

> There are few better places to be a writer than in the subcontinent. The 21st century co-exists with the 19th here, and tradition clashes with modernity all the time, around us and in the choices that we make. It's a time of great change and conflict, and this is fascinating for any writer to document. There is no shortage of compelling human stories around us to inspire us. (Buncombe 2009)

Among these stories, two writers stand out. Arundhati Roy and Kiran Desai's literary accomplishments resonate across the wider readership as well as in academic

circles. Both writers are, to a varying degree, turned towards social reform and alternatives to the victimization of the oppressed. In *The God of Small Things* and *The Inheritance of Loss* Roy and Desai explore the construction of subjectivity within different cultural frames contesting their mechanisms and opening up different possibilities for the rethinking of identity.

2. Theoretical framework: postcolonialism and identity

The term Postcolonialism/Post-colonialism[6] was first used by historians of the Second World War to designate, chronologically, the post-independence period of the former colonies. Broadly taken, Postcolonialism/Post-colonialism deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies, Ashcroft and associates write (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 186). More specifically,

> Postcolonialism/Post-colonialism is now used in wide and diverse ways to include the study and analysis of European territorial conquests, the various institutions of European colonialisms, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects, and, most importantly perhaps, the differing responses to such incursions and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre- and post-independence nations and communities. (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 187)

Postcolonialism understands identity and human nature as 'products' not 'causes' of certain social and cultural factors which include ideology, discourse and language and it discusses the various degrees of resistance that a subject formed in such a way can engender.

Edward Said was the first postcolonial theorist to deploy Foucault's concept of discourse to analyze the notion of colonial subject construction. In Foucault's definition "discourse produces a subject [...] dependent upon the rules of the system of knowledge that produces it (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 223)". His analysis of the production of subjects such as 'criminal', 'pervert', 'lunatic' within the discourses of criminality, sexuality and psychiatry shows that "these discourses are always a function of the power of those who control the discourse to determine the knowledge and truth" (Ashcroft et al. 2002: 224). Said's theory of Orientalism proposes that colonial domination involved not only physical but also discursive domination of the forms of representation through which it distorted knowledge about the colonized, justified the physical domination, and actually produced the "Orient". Bhabha's critique of a discourse defined in such a way is aimed at the fact

[6] Bill Ashcroft explains: "The hyphen in 'post-colonial' is a particular form of 'space-clearing' gesture (Appiah 1992: 241), a political notation which has a very great deal to say about the materiality of political oppression" (2001:10).

that it is too totalizing and that it does not allow for diversity of experiences, ambivalence and the possibility of resistance.

Ambivalence is important for Bhabha as it causes a disruption in the colonial domination thus challenging the binary oppositions upon which the colonial domination was predicated. The need of the colonial discourse for the simultaneous presence and absence of its Other is the starting point of Bhabha's interpretation of colonial identity construction and agency. The colonial articulation of signs of cultural difference also points to the fact of 'partial presence' of both the colonizer and the colonized – since they operate in fixed stereotypes, colonial identities can never achieve full presence; they always strive for 'authenticity'.

As Bhabha sees it, the aim of the colonial discourse is to create the kind of subjects who would reproduce colonial values, norms and tastes but not become their exact replicas. Lord Macaulay in his text "Minute on Education" from 1835 articulated the need for an 'interpreter' class "between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (qtd. in Ashcroft et al. 2002: 140). However, the reproduction of cultural norms is never simple as it leads towards a 'blurred copy' which can appear to mock that which it mimics. Thus mimicry, according to Bhabha, is the site of resistance of the colonized - it destabilizes the domination of the colonial discourse. Bhabha writes:

> Resistance is not necessarily an oppositional act of political intention, nor is it the simple negation or the exclusion of the 'content' of another culture, as difference once perceived...[but] the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominating discourses as they articulate the signs of cultural difference. (Bhabha 1994: 110)

Mimicry, Bhabha contends, "a difference that is almost nothing but not quite, turns to menace, a difference that is almost total but not quite" (Bhabha 1994: 91) thereby unsettling the colonial discourse. In their search for authenticity, the judge and Pappachi mimic and simulatenously mock the cultural norms of the colonizer turning the ambivalent colonial discourse upon itself.

3. The judge's journey

The reader first encounters the judge (real name Jemubhai Popatlal Patel) on the verandah of his decrepit mansion playing chess against himself, a scene symbolic of his whole life. His present home was built and later sold to him by a Scotsman who, like the rich white elite, chose to retreat into the lush and tranquil hills of Kalimpong. The judge's intention is to retire and live isolated in this place of former colonial prestige. The house, Cho Oyu, is now in a state of disrepair reflecting the psychological state of its owner - "microscopic jaws saw-milling the house to sawdust"(Desai 2006: 34) are the jaws of time eating away at the judge's

literal and metaphorical hideout. The surfacing of his suppressed memories is triggered by the arrival of Sai, his granddaughter, who comes to Cho Oyu after her parents die in an accident. The book opens with a raid by Nepali insurgents in which he gets humiliated and his guns (a symbol of former colonial stature) stolen. This marks the beginning of the end for the judge - the start of the irretrievable disintegration of his identity at the dawn of the political and cultural change.

The opening scene reveals the judge's bitterness and irritation at not being served his tea properly. The concern for the symbol of colonial power, teatime, and it not being 'enacted' properly ironically underscores his own condition and proves unsettling to the colonizer. His habit of going hunting despite the fact that he never shoots anything represents a site of resistance that mimicry opens.

In his exaggerated copying of cultural norms the judge is disrupting the domination of the colonial discourse. His departure for England marks the beginning of an attempt to do the impossible - to bridge the gap between the two fixed opposites. The departure dock has benches with "Indians only" and "Europeans only" written on them, the band are playing "Take me back to my dear old Blighty" underlining the deep rift of the judge's world:

> A journey once begun, has no end. The memory of his ocean trip shone between the worlds. Below and beyond, the monsters of his unconscious prowled, awaiting the time when they would rise and be proven real and he wondered if he'd dreamt of the drowning power of the sea before his first sight of it. (Desai 2006: 111)

He wants to leave behind the contradiction of his existence but what he is entering is the realm of another contradiction, which wears the elusive mask of opportunity. Moreover, he excises the Indian part of himself and tries to start anew by despising all things Indian all the more fiercely. "Undignified love, Indian love, stinking, unaesthetic love" was far worse than "the stink of fear and loneliness" (Desai 2006: 38). Indian love understands the contradictions (his mother packs some food for him for the voyage in case he should hesitate to go to the dining hall since he doesn't know how to use knife and fork) while the future judge, guided by ambition, wants to cancel it out, to cancel humiliation out by becoming the power holding opposite. "Jemu watched his father disappear. He didn't throw the coconut and he didn't cry. Never again would he know love for a human being that wasn't adulterated by another, contradictory emotion" (Desai 2006: 37).

For the judge, England is fraught with loneliness, humiliation and desperate attempts to belong, even as a shadow, to this new world. When he arrives in 1939, England is still an empire and not used to having their colonized Other in their midst. The difficulties of bridging the gap between the worlds are manifold, not least of which is the color of his skin. He finds out that he is powerless in the face of rejection so he withdraws from the world in all things but one – studying, "the only skill he could carry from one country to another." [...] "He retreated into a solitude

that grew in weight day by day. The solitude became a habit, the habit became a man, and it crushed him into a shadow" (Desai 2006: 39). His existence as a shadow supports Bhabha's view of partial presence discussed above.

When he meets Bose, an Indian student and his only friend in England, the judge's attitude changes. Bose seems to have bridged the gap between the worlds and he opens the door of western art, history, philosophy, music, and "pronunciation" to the judge. While trying to maintain their own world of constructed Britishness, the judge's success in being accepted as something that he is not is problematic:

> Thus it was that the judge eventually took revenge on his early confusions, his embarrassments gloved in something called "keeping up standards," his accent behind a mask of a quiet. He found he began to be mistaken for something he wasn't—a man of dignity. This accidental poise became more important than any other thing. He envied the English. He loathed Indians. He worked at being English with the passion of hatred and for what he would become, he would be despised by absolutely everyone, English and Indians, both. (Desai 2006: 119)

Upon his return to India, he is confronted with his original culture. "He was a foreigner-a foreigner-every bit of him screamed" (Desai 2006: 167). On the surface, he has achieved his goal – he rejected the traditional 'backward' ways of his culture and came back as a learned man, the "first son of the community to join Indian Civil Service" (Desai 2006: 165), a judge. But, his mask of whiteness is ridiculed by the original culture which becomes an additional reason for him to stick to this image all the more fervidly – he powders his face every morning. [7] His mimicry is never a presence but a veneer over his self- and other-directed hatred.

It is more than a little ironic that the judge is in charge of distinguishing between right and wrong while his own father, just a generation ago, made a living by procuring false witnesses. In an attempt to immobilize his colonial identity he even names himself James Peter Peterson for Jemubhai Popatlal Patel but he is most often identified by his function – the judge. His mimicry is best portrayed by the following passage: "the man with the white curly wig and a dark face covered in powder bringing down his hammer, always against the native, in the world that was still colonial" (Desai 2006: 205). The system of justice he is serving is foreign to his culture which is why it often borders on mockery. When he retires, it is with the thought that "India was too messy for justice" (Desai 2006: 264) . Bhabha writes: " [...] the colonial presence is always ambivalent, split between its appearance as

[7] Sai and the cook inadvertently insult him many years later when they chuckle in the kitchen with their faces white from flour – like the English, they say.

original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference" (Bhabha 1994: 107)[8].

Although in the position to judge others, he is not exempt from being judged. However, regardless of the contradictions of the system, the judge is not blind to his own mistakes. The heavy burden of a life-long pretense and wrongdoings starts to trouble him when Sai arrives. Initially, he is hoping for an easy escape:

> When you build on lies, you build strong and solid. It was the truth that undid you. He couldn't knock down the lies or else the past would crumble, and therefore the present. . . . But he now acquiesced to something in the past that had survived, returned, that might, without his paying too much attention, redeem him—. (Desai, 2006: 209)

The judge sees this moment as the beginning of some sort of repentance for his sins, as Desai says: "[...] he hoped an unacknowledged system of justice was beginning to erase his debts" (Desai 2006: 308). This thought indicates that the belief in human justice is starting to disintegrate together with his constructed colonial identity. The agony of losing Mutt the dog pries open the cracked shell releasing the old prayers learned before he was taught to despise them. Defeated, the judge reverts back to the original culture's script in that he offers sacrifices for Mutt and eventually takes everything out on the cook. In this scene, which is the epitome of the master-slave relationship, both characters make one last desperate try to find some other signifiers of identity, but there are few left.

4. Pappachi's moth

Benaan John Ipe derives a lot of his superiority from being an Imperial Entomologist, part of the colonial elite in Kerala and generally India. Apart from this, his family belongs to the Syrian Christian denomination, a religious minority who pride themselves on being the descendants of Brahmins converted to Christianity by St Thomas in 52 CE. Benaan's father, Reverend E. John Ipe "was well known in the Christian community as the man who had been blessed personally by the Patriarch of Antioch, the sovereign head of the Syrian Christian Church–an episode that had become a part of Ayemenem's folklore" (Roy 1998: 22).

Even though this should make them foreign to the caste system, it is not in fact the case because the early converts were Brahmins[9]. Alex Tickell explains:

[8] In *The Location of Culture* (1994) Bhabha discusses the ambivalence of the colonial discourse using the example of how the Bible was first perceived in colonial India. The high circulation of the Bible was not to result in a high number of Christian converts, as the colonizer had intended, since it was used for different purposes – as wrapping paper, for barter, shown around as a curiosity in return for money (1994:124-125).

"Traditionally, the community has preserved its high social standing by a custom of strict endogamy (marriage within the community) and a careful observance of many of the social restrictions of upper-caste Hindus" (Tickell 2007: 20). In their power to ostracize and excommunicate their members they resembled a caste, which is the reason why the Syrian Christians survived in Kerala - because of their selective assimilation with the local Hindu expectations and customs. As Roy writes: "Pappachi would not allow Paravans into the house. Nobody would. They were not allowed to touch anything that Touchables touched. Caste Hindus and Caste Christians" (Roy 1998: 73).

Educated for an entomologist in Vienna, Pappachi's work "of collecting, preserving and indexing India's fauna puts him at the heart of colonial enterprise" (Mullaney 2005: 3). The same contradiction of two opposing positions, the one of the colonizer towards which he strives and the other of the colonized to which he always returns applies to Pappachi:

> Until the day he died, even in the stifling Ayemenem heat, every single day Pappachi wore a well-pressed three-piece suit and his gold pocket watch. On his dressing table, next to his cologne and silver hairbrush, he kept a picture–of himself as a young man, with his hair slicked down, taken in a photographer's studio in Vienna... (Roy 1988: 49)

In this photograph which Mammachi reverently displays in the drawing room after his death, he is represented as a colonial subject fixed in the colonial discourse – wearing jodhpurs "even though he had never ridden a horse in his life" (Roy 1998: 51) with an ivory handled crop and his head high "but not so high as to appear haughty" (Roy 1998: 51). A detail on his upper lip, "a fleshy knob" (Roy 1998: 51), which makes him look like he is pouting, further undermines the authoritative pose. The small disfiguration is also connected to children's thumb sucking which complicates Pappachi's status even more in that he is represented as potentially childlike, someone in need of protection and guidance. This photograph shows the power of the colonizers over the means of representation, the aim of which is to reduce the complexities of identities on both sides to two mutually exclusive opposites. This is precisely where the resistance of the colonized lies since mimicry can never be separated from mockery which exposes the contradictions of the colonial discourse.

Pappachi's ambivalence is perceived by his family thus:

> Ammu said that Pappachi was an incurable British-CCP, which was short for *chhi-chhi poach* and in Hindi meant shit-wiper. Chacko said that the correct word for people like Pappachi was Anglophile. He made Rahel and Estha look

[9] Knott defines a Brahmin as the "...one who recites Vedic hymns and performs the sacrifice; priestly caste" (Knott 2008: 18)

up Anglophile in the *Reader's Digest Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary* . It said: *Person well disposed to the English* . Then Estha and Rahel had to look up dispose.

It said:

(1) Place suitably in particular order.

(2) Bring mind into certain state.

(3) Do what one will with, get off one's bands, stow away, demolish, finish, r~ settle, consume (food), kill, sell.

> Chacko said that in Pappachi's case it meant (2) Bring mind into certain state. Which, Chacko said, meant that Pappachi's mind had been brought into a state which made him like the English. (Roy 1998: 52)

The oppression caused by such epistemic violence in Pappachi's, like in the judge's case, breeds more violence. Ammu witnessed the elaborate destruction of her favorite gumboots because her father came home 'out of sorts'. Other scenarios include double standards and the fact that Ammu's brother's education is a good investment, but not hers and the inequality of brothers and sisters with regard to inheritance laws.[10] Mammachi's violin lessons stop once Pappachi learns that she is exceptionally good at it. When she starts the pickle factory, he does everything in his power to get in the way and further discourage her being relatively independent by beating her constantly and by pretending in public to be neglected. When he is unable to take it out on Mammachi any more, he smashes his rocking chair (a symbol of his position). He compensates by acquiring a Plymouth only for himself ("Pappachi's revenge"). His cruelty is calculating, playing out the colonizer/colonized script.

As Mullaney writes: "Pappachi has so internalized the values, beliefs, and ideologies of the colonizers that he cannot countenance criticism or question of anyone he sees as representative of that system"(Mullaney 2005: 37). This applies particularly in the case of Ammu and the reason why she left her husband which is something Pappachi rejects as even a possibility "not because he thought well of her husband, but simply because he didn't believe that an Englishman, any Englishman, would covet another man's wife" (Roy 1998: 24).

Ammu's term for people like Pappachi situates her firmly within the Hindu context whereas Chacko's scientific approach ("the correct word") and a Latin term (Anglophilia) echoes Pappachi and Western contexts. He further stresses their cultural mimicry going back to the twins' great grandfather:

> Chacko told the twins that, though he hated to admit it, they were all Anglophiles. They were a family of Anglophiles. Pointed in the wrong

[10] ...as Chacko comments "what's yours is mine and what's mine is also mine" (Roy 1988: 57)

direction, trapped outside their own history and unable to retrace their steps– because their footprints had been swept away. (Roy 1998: 52)

With the departure of the British, Pappachi's identity changes, not only in the title (from Imperial Entomologist to Joint director and later just Director) but also in substance – after Independence, he is "caught between masters" (Mullaney 2005: 34) just like the judge and Chacko. Most of all, his predicament is symbolically represented by the moth he discovers but which is not named after him. His high hopes about being recognized by the center come to nothing because the center is constantly moving away and in post-Independent India, the social roles are being recast. As Mullaney writes:

> In the same way that the whirlwind of post-Independence creates a space for the evolution of new and alternate social orders and dynamics of power (Communism, Marxism) that threaten to transform the role of his class generally, the specific rearrangement of the classifying systems in Pappachi's chosen profession, entomology, transform and eclipses his role in the discovery of a new species of moth. (Mullaney 2005: 33)

The moth represents the delicate and shifting nature of meaning, which is of no use to the imperial enterprise unless it is classified and fixed as an object of study. When its meaning is immobilized, a thing can be possessed. The fact that the moth was not named after Pappachi is significant in that it underscores his failure to write himself into the dominant culture and become a part of it. The moth which haunts his descendants is the journey that haunts the judge's.

5. Conclusion

Mimicry as a form of resistance is a possible reading of the construction of the colonial identities of the judge and Pappachi which defies the victimisation of the oppressed. Following Bhabha's theory of the ambivalence of colonial discourse, the judge and Pappachi embody the inherent crack within the colonial discourse and challenge it. Since they cannot choose signifiers of their identity other than the ones provided by the dominant discourse, their challenge is seen as subversive. The more subversive of the two is perhaps Pappachi's mimicry as he appears to remain trapped in his cocoon while the judge lets the shell crack when he becomes aware of the constructedness of his identity. Mimicry reverses the gaze, exposing the contradictions of the colonial discourse, and points to the unstable nature of all identities.

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READING THE IRISH NOVEL: A GOTHIC 'ENCOUNTER OF TREMULOUS SIGNIFICANCE'

Abstract The modern Irish novel will be explored in terms of an Irigarayan 'dwelling place' and the reader / writer relationship as an active process of Irigarayan intersubjectivity. The Gothic is viewed potentially as a means by which we may 'return behind or beyond all our discourses and knowledge…' (Irigaray 2004: 3), thus facilitating an engagement within the intersubjective relationship. This active relationship also highlights how the acts of reading and writing ultimately become Gothicized. Described as 'made of our flesh, our heart, our thinking, and our words…' (Irigaray 2004: 7), how far can these theoretical tactile spaces help us to view the novel as a credible place of healing and as 'a haptology of the heart'? (Derrida 2005: 251). If love has been 'thrown… to the dark worried margins of…sufficient reason' (Marion 2008: 1) we might reclaim it in the novel, with help from the Gothic.

Key words: Gothic, the Irish novel, health, Deleuze, Banville, Morrissy, Deane, Irigaray.

1. Reading as an 'enterprise of health'

I came across a line in a journal article recently that has been haunting me. A Liverpool writer Pauline Rowe, speaking of a friend and mentor who instilled in her a love of literature at an early age, describes how he taught her to "write the words of others in my heart so that, in deep crisis, they came back to save me" (Rowe 2009: 76). Rowe's depiction of words being inscribed on the heart, and travelling within the body like invited fellow-explorers, recalls Denis Donoghue's comment that sometimes, after reading, "a word, a phrase, a sentence" lingers and "presents itself as though it had broken free from its setting and declared its independence" (Donoghue 2008: 44). Drawing upon these ideas, I want to consider the notion that the simple act of reading fiction, of reading the words of another person, has the capacity to offer help and emotional sustenance in times of crisis.

Any literary form has the potential to offer such a resource, but my interest in this article lies with the novel. Focusing specifically upon the Irish novel, I would like to consider the role that literature may have as a potentially tactile "enterprise of health" (Deleuze 1997: 3). Gilles Deleuze's notion of health in this instance does not refer exclusively to the physiological sense of the term. His intention is to focus

upon the acts of reading and writing as means of instilling vitality and creativity into the processes of thinking. This is a form of health whose timbre is discovered in tandem with movement, invention and creation. Inspired by Nietzsche's belief that "[e]very art, every philosophy can be considered a cure and aid in the service of growing, struggling life" (Nietzsche 2008: 234), Deleuze sees philosophy entering into diverse, unpredictable and non-privileging relationships within the spheres of art, literature, medicine and science. Like philosophers, writers are creative thinkers and if we engrave others' words in our hearts in the way Rowe recounts, so too are readers.

Deleuze has questioned how we can nurture our growth and transitions through life if we do not have the courage to "enter into regions *far from equilibrium*" (Deleuze 1997: 109). This is where the Gothic may have a productive role in literature. Donoghue's idea about words escaping their settings, lingering only to emerge in our presence at another time, has already introduced a Gothic spectrality into the act of reading. Gina Wisker has suggested that the Gothic is "layered with meaning, demanding interpretation and engagement from readers" (Wisker 2007: 402), furthermore it employs "strategies of estrangement and engagement to explore and challenge cultural, social, psychological and personal issues (Wisker 2007: 404). In other words, the Gothic not only makes us think but can also enable explorations of emotional pathways that allow us to challenge beliefs about the world we inhabit. By stimulating and provoking emotions with tactics of displacement, the Gothic can assist our ability to interpret our environment. Erika Kerruish, also drawing upon the philosophy of Nietzsche, remarks: "emotions incorporate a passive capacity to sense the world in the context of a person's efforts towards persisting and thriving in the world" (Kerruish 2000: 123).

The emphasis on processes of "persisting" and "thriving" takes us back to the idea of health, specifically through the galvanizing of emotions. If the challenges delivered by the Gothic are cultivated by exploring "feelings, desires and passions" (Smith and Hughes 2003: 1) together with a "seeming celebration of the irrational, the outlawed and the socially and culturally dispossessed" (Smith and Hughes 2003, 1), then Gothic readings can take us to those "regions *far from equilibrium*" (Deleuze 1997: 109).

If, as Jerrold Hogle suggests, the Gothic "shows us our cultural and psychological selves and conditions in their actual multiplicity" (Hogle 2002: 19), then the potential for creative thinking is extensive. Moreover, if there are vestiges of the Gothic within the act of reading itself, we might similarly conceive of reading as a means by which we can undertake journeys that directly challenge our emotions and beliefs. Such challenges provide incentives for resourceful and radical thinking and consequently open opportunities to unearth innovative ways of dealing with life's crises.

It might be objected that reading and thinking can only be of minor import in the face of crisis. To answer this objection we might consider Deleuze and Félix Guattari's comment on the volatile and transformative mobility of "nomad thought"

(Deleuze and Guattari 2008: xiii). Nomad thought is dynamic; it looks to the future without attempting to erase the past, and enables the assimilation of "a multiplicity of elements without effacing their heterogeneity" (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: xiii). Furthermore, by not impeding the flow of such multiplicities we may possibly encounter a source of inventive energy that can "break constraints and open new vistas" (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: xiii). If we view reading and subsequent thinking in this flexible and open way it becomes a form of creative empowerment; indeed, as Brian Massumi argues in his foreword to Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*:

> The question is not: is it true? But: does it work? What new thoughts does it make it possible to think? What new emotions does it make it possible to feel? What new sensations and perceptions does it open in the body? (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: xv)

These questions encourage the reader to focus deeply upon the ways in which feelings, emotions and thoughts can offer journeys in syncretic perception, where words and tactile experiences interweave. But how does the act of reading acquire Gothic attributes?

2. The Gothicised tactile encounter

A few lines from Alan Bennett's play *The History Boys* capture something of the essence of what I am trying to work towards here. In an effort to communicate what we encounter at the very heart of the experience of reading, Bennett says:

The best moments in reading are when you come across something, a thought, a feeling; a way of looking at things that you'd thought special, particular to you. And here it is, set down by someone else, a person you've never met, maybe even someone long dead. And it's as if a hand has come out and taken yours. (Bennett 2004: 56)

The manifestation of this "hand" carries with it a sense of haunting, a benevolent haunting, from a textual, maybe even spectral, presence. Furthermore, if we view the Gothic, in the sociologist Avery Gordon's terms, as an "encounter of tremulous significance" (Gordon 2008: 134) that "speaks of phantoms" (Punter 2004: 3), we might even say that it evokes the idea of a meaningful union, a thoughtful conversation, between the Gothic and the act of reading.

Crucially, however, Bennett's words introduce the idea of reading as a form of touch. Jean-Luc Nancy offers a stimulating rationale for this idea in his declaration that "[b]odies are in touch on this page, whether we want it or not" (Qtd. Derrida 2005: 225). What remains in the book after it leaves its creator is described by Jacques Derrida as "a small, stubborn, and tenuous grain, the minute dust of contact"

(Derrida 2005: 225). The appearance of the hand imparts an awareness of the body; flesh and phantom form a symbiotic relationship with thoughts and feelings.

Bennett's words carry with them what might be at the very *heart* of reading: they suggest a heartfelt relationship between reader and writer. So it is to the heart I wish to turn. A vivid symbol of flesh and spirit and an ancient centre of emotion and thought, the heart is located by Derrida as our place of "secret interiority" and even likened to a "crypt" (Derrida 2005: 267). Derrida thus creates an instant link with the Gothic which, in David Punter's words, makes "the crypt the cornerstone" of its diverse landscape (Punter 2004: 3). In keeping with the whole idea of reading as touch, Derrida intimately links heart, hand, and body with reading, thinking, memory and writing when he asks: "Isn't the heart memory? Isn't it thinking of memory? Thinking as memory? We shall safeguard the recollection […] as it also writes itself or is written on the heart and on the hand" (Derrida 2005: 35). Thus hand, heart, thinking and memory are inextricably entwined in a choreography that becomes a heartfelt reading. We might also consider that when we read, it is a form of rewriting, even an inscription on the heart. On this note Nancy adds,

> we clearly have to understand reading is that which is not deciphering, but rather touching and being touched, having to do with body mass and bulk. Writing, reading, a *tactful affair*. (Qtd. Derrida 2005: 127; emphasis added)

For Derrida then, there is no doubt that we read with our bodies. In Rosi Braidotti's words, bodies are "portions of living memory that endures by undergoing constant internal modifications following the encounter with other bodies and forces" (Braidotti 2008: 99). Derrida and Braidotti effectively challenge the notion that a sense of immediacy is absolutely necessary to the act of touching. Reading, then, can indeed be a form of touch.

One of the recurring and diffuse transmissions that occur between writer and reader involves the relationship developed with individual characters encountered within a narrative. Once the privilege afforded to immediacy in the act of touching has been challenged, there opens a potential for a more profound sense of communication with characters within the spaces of the text. Such conceivably tactile interaction, as Derrida suggests, "yields *presence*" (Derrida 2005: 121). Furthermore,

> [w]e could then touch what is not! Which is to say, not only intelligible beings—beyond the senses—but also what does not even present itself any longer as a being, a being-present. (Derrida 2005: 121-122)

Derrida's words also resonate with Michel de Certeau's notion of the "presence of diverse absences" (de Certeau 1984: 108) which, for him, haunts the everyday as well as innumerable texts. These observations help to further connect ideas of reading and the body with the Gothic. We have already seen that the "hand" that Bennett speaks of as accompanying the act of reading carries with it both a spectral

and a material presence. In such a light, de Certeau's depiction of the Gothicized body thriving within Gothic spaces is quite enthralling:

> [F]rom the nooks of all sorts of "reading rooms" (including lavatories) emerge subconscious gestures, grumblings, tics, stretchings, rustlings, unexpected noises, in short *a wild orchestration of the body*. (de Certeau 1984: 175; my emphasis)

De Certeau also suggests that, rather than being a mere "impertinent absence," reading has the potential to constitute "the network of an anti-discipline" (de Certeau 1984: xv). Reading can be confrontational and audacious, or maybe just startling, as references to the words "unexpected noises" and "wild orchestrations" imply—can be, in fact, just like the Gothic. Indeed, for Fred Botting the Gothic is "associated with wildness" (Botting 2001: 3).

The essentially tactile elements of the reading experience are further elaborated upon by Vladimir Nabokov. He has written about the reader-writer relationship in a way that speaks from, to and about the heart and body. Nabokov likens the writer's craft to an arduous mountain climb up towards the summit where,

> […] at the top, on a windy ridge, whom do you think he meets? The panting and happy reader, and there they spontaneously embrace and are linked forever if the book lasts forever. (Nabokov 1983: 2)

A "tactful affair" indeed!

3. The novel: brimming with 'plastic possibilities'

Before I move on to give some examples of "tactful" readings, I should clarify why I have chosen to focus on the novel. After all, Pablo Neruda said that poetry should contain the stuff of life that is "steeped in sweat, smoke, smelling of lilies and urine" (Neruda 1974: xxii), and the sheer physicality of drama speaks for itself. It is the novel, however, which provides that rambling sense of space in which to tell a story, to set out on an adventure across its generous landscapes. I agree with Franco Moretti's description of the novel as "a phoenix always ready to take flight in a new direction" (Moretti 2007: ix), with Mikhail Bakhtin's notion that it is like "a creature from an alien species," full of "plastic possibilities" (Bakhtin 1996: 4). Similarly, John Banville has described the novel as "some enormous intricate thing dancing, in sadness, brief happiness, pain" (Qtd. Imhof 1989: 17). For me, the novel is intriguing; it speaks of emotion, mystery and regeneration, and is full of what Margaret Doody has called a "rich, muddy messiness" (Doody 1997: 485).

The journeys we embark upon in a novel may be comfortable and undemanding. However, they can also involve more deeply challenging and thorny paths. Walter Siti, in an article that reinforces this sense of divergence, uses an

interesting metaphor. Holding Flaubert's description of Emma Bovary's poison as tasting "like ink" up against Judge Woolsey's famous 1934 declaration that *Ulysses* had a "somewhat emetic" effect on the reader, Siti sees the novel as both poison and medicine. Paradoxically, the "ink," lifeblood of the novel, becomes both poison, like Emma's draft, and medicine, like the emetic *Ulysses*. In this light the novel becomes the multi-faceted *pharmakon* which, by exploiting its powers of seduction in tempting us to read "makes one stray from one's general, natural, habitual paths and laws" (Derrida 1981: 70). Indeed we might further concur with Derrida and affirm the dynamic relationship between "writing, the pharmakon, the going or leading astray" (Derrida 1981: 71). To avail of any sense of an "enterprise of health" (Deleuze 1997: 3) we may have to negotiate this "leading astray" (Derrida 1981: 71), the upheaval of the *pharmakon*. The novel may be the reader's vessel for a journey which offers the potential, in the words of Hélène Cixous, for us to "experience the end of the world […] to lose a world and to discover that there is more than one world and that the world isn't what we think it is" (Cixous 1993: 10). Cixous here echoes Deleuze's challenge to journey to those "*regions far from equilibrium*" (Deleuze 1997: 109).

4. Tactile reading: a "haptology of the heart"

To tease some of these ideas out a little further, I would like to explore examples from three contemporary Irish novels: Mary Morrissy's *Mother of Pearl* (1996), John Banville's *Ghosts* (1993), and Seamus Deane's *Reading in the Dark* (1996). An exploration of memory and place in the contemporary Irish novel is a meaningful exercise, especially in relation to reading as an "enterprise of health" (Deleuze 1997: 3), given Ireland's traumatic past, its extended history of colonialism. The continuing emphasis on these themes in Irish fiction indicates the way in which "memory recovers and re-covers, it hurts and it heals, it haunts and it empowers" (Friberg, Gilsenan-Nordin, Yding-Pedersen 2007: xvi); the potentially healing powers of memory and narrative can become what Banville expresses as a necessary "tender burden" (Banville 1998: 178). All three of these writers have conveyed a sensual textual geography in their work, while incorporating a sense of physicality and spirituality that the reader can engage with on a deeply intimate level. Each novel demonstrates what Derrida has called a "haptology of the heart" (Derrida 2005: 251). The word haptology (from Greek *haptesthai* "to touch" or *haptikos* "to come into contact with", "to lay hold of") expresses a perception of our environment or location that exceeds visual experience. There is an intermingling of a wide range of senses, including memories of earlier experiences of people or places or acute perceptions of place, sensations of touch, sound, smell and so forth. This meld of sensations may allow for experiences that are not easy to articulate, not easy to name, but are nevertheless distinctly *felt* – they may *touch* the reader deeply. As I will go on to suggest, the difficulty of verbalising such events with concrete

accuracy may open up the reader's awareness of entering a Gothicized "ordeal of the undecidable" (Derrida 1994: 87).

In *Mother of Pearl*, Morrissy depicts Irene's longing for and reflection upon a baby who has been removed from her care, and who can now only exist for her in exquisite memories. Taking out her box of mementos, Irene touches a little lock of hair that belonged to the baby girl, a small bright green mitten that was once attached to a coat the wriggling child wore, and a book with the baby's tiny teeth-marks in the corner of the pages. Irene's physical, tactile and emotional "reading" of this small treasure trove offers a means by which she can honestly say that "[s]he sees her every day […], a child skipping ahead of her on a dusty street, arms spread wide greeting the future" (Morrissy 1996: 223). For Irene, the child "is not lost but merely waiting to be found again" (223).

In Banville's *Ghosts*, there is a scene in which one of the characters stands within an oak ridge. The air, permeated by the fresh smell of rain-soaked grass and wild flowers, carries an awareness of what might be called ancestral voices. The character becomes intensely aware of "living among lives […] they speak of the past and, more compellingly, of the future" (Banville 1993: 101). The voices communicate a yearning to be remembered, and the sensual geographic description enhances the impression of human physicality, offering a palpable, earthy, and yet spectral sense of place. The past, both personal and collective, is likened to "a melody I had lost that was starting to come back, I could hear it in my mind, a tiny, thin, heartbreaking music" (67). The haptology of place incorporates an example of what Svetlana Boym calls "reflective nostalgia" (Boym 2001: xviii) in that the sense of *longing* does not aspire to reconstruct some lost place of origin; instead, the longing allows critical thought processes to thrive, however disturbing that activity may be. The therapeutic potential of such reading resides in an unsettling "upheaval of the internal" (Derrida 2005: 2) which is indeed a "tender burden" to bear (Banville 1998: 178).

My last example is from Seamus Deane's *Reading in the Dark*. Here, a young boy finds his way into an underground secret passage of a great ancient stone ring. Such constructions are early medieval or iron age circular fortified spaces that can frequently hold sacred significance or hold narrative connections in myths and folklore. As the boy gradually descends into the passageway, "it simply became blackness" (Deane 1996: 57). He begins to feel his way around in the dark, touching "the wet walls," feeling "the skin of slime" and "the wrinkling moss." It becomes "a bronchial space" where sight does not help to negotiate the environment. Sounds and floral scents are interweaved into myth: the wind becomes the breathing of ancient warriors, the floating perfume of heather and gorse is a signal of Druid spells, and the sounds of underground water transform into the ancient "emaciated ghost sounds" of women sighing. The cold of the place is described, with a physical metaphor, as "marrow deep." The boy is afraid, but when he has escaped from the darkness, he looks back at the site and feels the experience to be "even worse in retrospect, more chilling and enclosed" (57). While the experience itself is described

in highly tactile terms, the retrospective abstraction of the memory deeply intensifies the experience.

Each of these examples illustrates the idea of a haptology, that weaving of the senses which can produce vivid, tactile and, emotional responses in the reader. Each also displays its own kind of Gothic haunting. The characters negotiate their environments, read places and objects as we might read the novel, hearts and hands trembling with emotion, thoughts forming, memories playing as writer reaches out to reader, "as if a hand has come out and taken yours."

5. Creative thinking: "a body animated with intentions"

So, what does all this add up to? How can these ideas be taken to constitute an "enterprise of health" (Deleuze 1997: 2-3)? Firstly, let us consider something Derrida says about touch:

But no living being in the world can survive for an instant without touching, which is to say, without being touched. Not necessarily by some other being but by something = א […], for a finite, living being, before and beyond any concept of "sensibility," touching means "being in the world." (Derrida 2005: 140)

For Derrida, "[t]here is no world without touching" (Derrida 2005: 140); touch is intensely connected not just to our sense of health and wellbeing, but to survival itself. Derrida's assertions are reinforced by Sylvie Thorel-Cailleteau's suggestion that the novel strives towards "depicting the human in a strictly human framework" and is "rooted in the depths of the body" (Thorel-Cailleteau 2007: 94). Reading is, as Derrida suggests, "*a tactful affair*" (Derrida 2005: 127).

Secondly, I would resist the classical interpretation of aesthetic emotion as merely a cathartic release of excess feelings. The intense emotions involved in the kind of reading that I have described can, paradoxically, encourage an engagement in coherent, reasoned thinking. Erika Kerruish has read Nietzsche in a way that shows that he "does not view reason as conflicting with emotion but as integral to it" (Kerruish 2009: 18), thus determining that "[t]he growth and flourishing of a self in an environment requires the ability to passively suffer the emotions that monitor its condition" (Kerruish 2009: 23). By becoming what Irigaray has called "actively receptive" (Irigaray 2004: 187) to these senses of touch, emotion and creative thinking in the act of reading, we might also navigate a path, to borrow again from Irigaray, from "corporeal inertia to a body animated with intentions" (Irigaray 2004: 188).

Finally, we might consider the potential importance of a form of thinking which engages with the reading of a novel in light of Deleuze and Guattari's caution that "the less people take thought seriously, the more they think in conformity with what the state wants" (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: 415). Thinking and reading can

be radical; it can cultivate a sense of radical vitality. As Rosi Braidotti puts it, "[t]hinking is about change and transformation. Thinking is enfleshed, erotic and pleasure driven" (Braidotti 2008: 124). With this in mind, the pleasure we derive from reading a novel becomes a critical part of the reading process. The novel becomes a dynamic "dwelling space" which is, in Irigaray's words, "made of our flesh, our heart, our thinking, our words" (Irigaray 2004: 7). This is just the kind of creative thinking which, for Jane Bennett and William E. Connolly, affords a thrilling, breathtaking movement which weaves its way in, across and around the body:

Thinking bounces in magical bumps and charges across multiple zones marked by differences of speed, capacity and intensity. [...] It is above all in the relations between the zones that possibilities for creativity reside. For thinking is not harnessed entirely by the tasks of representation and knowledge. Through its layered intra- and inter-corporeality new ideas, theories, identities are propelled into being. Thinking is creative. (Bennett and Connolly 2002: 158-159)

It is just these resourceful "magical bumps and charges" that can exceed the mere rational explaining away of crisis, arousing the reader to focus instead upon "*feeling your way deeper and deeper . . . until you do feel what is at stake"* and move towards "a profane illumination" (Gordon 2008: 134). Such reading and creative thinking can offer what Irigaray assigns to the reading of philosophy: it "sometimes stimulates, even cures"; at the very least, it "sends us back to our daily existence with our spirit a little more alive" (Irigaray 2008: 4).

6. Configurations of emotion: maps, matter and elemental forces

It might also be deeply disturbing, rendering our thinking a "configuration pregnant with tensions" (Benjamin 1969: 262). Using Benjamin's concept of configurations I'd like to further elaborate upon some of the ideas already broached in this article with particular reference to Banville's novel *Kepler* (1981). Banville employs the configurations of emotion, thought, nature and reality, further extending the concept of haptology by creating a textual "map of tenderness," a term used by Madeleine de Scudéry to describe a map which accompanied her novel *Clélie* (1654). The *Carte du Pays de Tendre*, or "map of the land of tenderness," offers a journey through the narrative of emotions to "countries" of tenderness and intimacy. Banville's textual cartography does not simply represent reality but uses the map as a poetic means of communication which seeks to offer a tool for the production of meaning. Such a map embraces, to borrow Giuliana Bruno's words, a "haptic route" and a "tender tactics" (Bruno 2002: 208). Furthermore it displays itself as a "mapping of *transito"* and an "emotional map of transport" (Bruno 2002, 208); a thought-provoking topoi with locations akin to "congealed 'suddenlys'" (Bakhtin 1996: 102).

In *Kepler*, flowing maps connect the four cosmological elements of air, earth, water and fire which extend their influence throughout the text by permeating the body, mind and the external environment. The elements materialize in the form of storms, sunlight, tears, loss, deep sadness, love, urine, sweat, clouds, illness and fever, wind and bodily functions as well as connecting rainfall with ink, writing and creative instincts. Fire interweaves its physical and metaphysical forces within emotional fervour, sexual energy and the sparks of an energetic mind as well as in the violence imposed upon those considered to be different. Banville shows that the same fire which spurs the writing of challenging texts can equally inflame the censorship that seeks to burn them. Within such an intricate cartography of syncretic perception movement and the possibility of change is evident. Banville presents a map of tenderness which acknowledges the importance of emotion in the pursuit of knowledge, questioning the certainty of "truth." By weaving the elemental forces into the equally changeable milieu of emotion and thought, Banville has created a "map of *transito*" which recalls the Deleuzian notion of "becoming," that displays reality as a state of flux. Constant stability and fixed identities are shown to be illusory.

There is an incident in *Kepler* which especially exemplifies the sheer force of creative thinking, presenting it as a potent transformative force in times of crisis. In a highly volatile environment of religious persecution, political turmoil, discrimination, witch-burning, enforced exile, death, war, legal and financial battle, Banville shows Kepler realising one of his most important scientific theories in the most unexpected of circumstances. Stumbling drunk out of a tavern accompanied by a number of women and drinking pals, Kepler vomits into a drain. In a Dionysian mapping of alcohol and intoxication, gambling, uninhibited dance, wild music, revelry, sexual abandon, vomit and human waste matter, Kepler experiences creative thinking that reveals one of the laws of planetary movement—that of the elliptical rather than circular movement of planets. Watching the women, who are described with a Gothic nuance as "goatish dancers" (Banville 2001: 363), move in an elliptical pattern in the light of the tavern window triggers Kepler's epiphanic moment. Thus the configurations of scientific, astronomical and geometric knowledge are grounded within the human cartography of Dionysian earthly pleasures. Mapping new configurations of reality can emerge from the most difficult of circumstances, and the most human.

Deleuze and Guattari's ideas of nomadic space as heterogeneous, seeking to break through existing frameworks (or mappings) and creating a space for becoming, reinvention and change, is compatible with Banville's cartographies. Reading such spaces may prove a crucial process in times of crisis. Banville's tender mapping is comparable to nomadic space where we might encounter

an extraordinarily fine topology that relies not on points or objects but rather on hacceities, on sets of relations (winds, undulations of snow or sand, the song of the sand or the creaking of the ice, the tactile qualities of both). It is a tactile space,

or rather "haptic," a sonorous much more than a visual space. (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: 421)

This haptic space is determinedly "of the rhizome type" (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: 422).

And so we return to the haptologies that enable pathways into these nomadic tender maps. The Gothic thrives as we experience textual locations that are at once strange but yet perplexingly familiar. Deleuze and Guattari, citing the ideas of Nathalie Sarraute, discuss a way of writing that "liberates the particles of an anonymous matter allowing them to communicate through the "envelope" of forms and subjects" (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: 295. This emancipatory act subsequently enables us to "perceive the imperceptible" (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: 295). Sarraute herself describes this "matter," bringing us back again to the body, as "a substance as anonymous as blood, a magma without name or contours" (Sarraute 1963: 94). Such "matter" may well flow though Banville's writing, but these tender cartographies can communicate an even deeper import, as Stuart Aitken argues: "The notion of a tender mapping is hugely appropriate to moving in and beyond imperial cartographies of today and we believe emotional geographies help us to get to that place" (Aitken 2009: 1).

Reading and creating maps of tenderness can have much wider, global implications. In times of crisis we might, through the act of reading, do as Deleuze and Guattari suggest and "[m]ake a map" (Deleuze and Guattari 2008: 13), a map that transgresses borders, uses multiple entryways and uses multiplicitous processes of thought, feeling and being, in other words—is rhizomatic. In this way tender mapping avoids concepts of conquest and appropriation and seeks to "caress the earth, stroke its contours, without asking for a reward" (Hassan 2005: 1).

7. Reading: an enfleshed and spectral embrace

In closing, I would like to return to the idea of reading as a benevolent haunting, about something far more active than a mere "deciphering" of text. Hélène Cixous reminds us that reading and writing are not simply frivolous pastimes, but rather activities that contain at the core a "hunger for flesh and tears" (Cixous 2005: 97). Cixous also suggests that when we become adults we habitually forget how to read, however "we used to read when we were children and knew how violent reading can be" (Cixous 1993: 20). Indeed, as Nietzsche said, true maturity "means to have acquired the seriousness that one had as a child at play" (Nietzsche 1997: 48). To treat reading with a sense of complacency ignores the violence and passion that is integral to the process, and subsequently to a Gothicized "enterprise of health" (Deleuze 1997: 2-3). By daring to acknowledge the intensity of reading, hand, heart, memory and thinking inscribe themselves in an enfleshed and spectral embrace that can nurture us through challenging times and inspire us towards possible futures. This is a connection which Cixous has clearly grasped, and there

could be no better way to draw together the ideas I have suggested than to close with her defiant words:

The harpooners or harpists of the ultimate hours are occupied with this challenge: to fish in the space between the lines beyond the heart for what must return to the heart, and to make it sound once more. It is this hunger for flesh and tears, our appetite for living, that, at the tip of forsaken fingers, makes a pencil grow. (Cixous 2005: 96-97)

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MORAL EQUATIONS OF THE KILLING OF HARRY LIME IN *THE THIRD MAN*

Abstract In the much-celebrated British 1949 movie, based on a scenario by Graham Greene, *The Third Man*, the main villain, Harry Lime (played by Orson Welles) is shot and killed in a famous denouement scene in the sewage tunnels under the war-damaged Vienna. We analyze what happens in those last few minutes of Harry Lime's life, and in the film as a whole (and in Greene's subsequent book, the novella *The Third Man*). We find a carefully measured moral balance between friendship and crime, responsibility and evil, and other ethical factors; a purposefully built moral equation. This conclusion leads us also to speculate that perhaps in thousands of other works of art, from trivial to highest-valued, there are similar moral equations, in fact very firm and deliberate, deeply rooted in the Christian civilization of the West, even though the casual reader, or film-watcher, might not notice them.

Key words: Graham Greene, Carol Reed, film *The Third Man*, moral equations

1. The unfortunate probable consequence of reading this

Perhaps the reader should be better advised *not* to read this paper, and here is why:

Knowing the narrative strategy, which we are about to reveal, will let our reader see through the manipulative narrative strategies involved in the setting up of moral equations in *many* movies, and, so, he or she will never again be able to watch such a movie with innocent eyes; thousands of movies (and, similarly, books) will become, in this sense, transparent to him, he will understand how they were constructed, and he will not be able to enjoy them. Specifically, our reader will never again be able to enjoy the film *The Third Man* as directed by Carol Reed. This our text will very probably spoil the fun, even in books and films that have yet to be made, the future ones. This makes our paper a sort of permanent "super-spoiler". So, maybe it would be wiser *not to read* this paper.

2. Moral equations, what they are, in novels and films generally

Moral equations are of crucial importance in any genre, realistic or fantastic, and in any medium, including literature, but in film they are of especially great

importance. They are closely related to, but not identical with, the ancient notion of poetic justice (Latin: *justitia poetica*). Basically they exist so that each protagonist will get what he deserves, but also, what the general moral reference-frame of our civilization requires; and this will contribute and assist towards the desired (by the film-makers, and by the audience) overall moral effect; ultimately, the audience will be satisfied, pleased, but also, perhaps, will be taught a moral lesson. This moral-instruction, ethical-guidance function of film is extremely important in our rather atheistic and rather non-literary times, when most people in the West and in many other countries do not get their guidance either from going to church or from reading books. – *Dulce, et utile*.

The principle sounds simple, but its application in practice is quite complex, branching out into many extensions and combinations, with many nuances, which change and evolve over time; some talented writers of books, and of scenarios, may have an intuitive grasp of this, a spontaneous feel, from the heart, but some true professionals probably look at the job also in another manner – with cold, calculating eyes, very deliberately and coolly, under the watchful eyes of the producers. The audience are supposed to remain blissfully ignorant of this.

3. Are we discussing film, or literature, here

In the much-celebrated British 1949 black-and-white movie, *The Third Man*, a classic, based on a text written by Graham Greene but with major input from Carol Reed and probably some input from the producers Alexander Korda and David O. Selznick, and directed by Carol Reed, the main villain, Harry Lime (played by Orson Welles) is shot and killed in a famous denouement scene in the sewage tunnels under the war-damaged Vienna. That scene, actually the moral equation of it, is what our paper is mainly about.[1]

Later, after the film achieved a huge, planetary success, Graham Greene published the text, as a novella. So is this our paper about film art, or, about literary art?

The answer is: both; they are, in this case, inseparable.

The actual truth about this entwining of the two media is a bit complicated. In his Preface to one of the many editions, Graham Greene (1904-1991) himself gives this testimony:

[1] The film is legendary also for its wonderful, nostalgic, melancholy music (known as "The Third Man melody" or "the Harry Lime theme"; the soundtrack was recorded in London), played by the Viennese musician Anton Karas on a zither; the legend has it (at least in Serbia, at that time, this was believed by many.) that a number of residents of Vienna, depressed and poor in the post-war years, killed themselves after listening to that music. Interestingly, during all the six years of Second World War, Karas was a loyal soldier of Adolf Hitler, in the anti-aircraft units, and for this he was never accused or prosecuted in any way.

> The Third Man was never written to be read but only to be seen. … To me it is almost impossible to write a film play without first writing a story. … *The Third Man*, therefore, though never intended for publication, had to start as a story before those apparently interminable transformations from one treatment to another. … On these treatments Carol Reed and I worked closely together, covering so many feet of carpet a day, acting scenes at each other. (Greene: 9-10)

As destiny would have it, *The Third Man* turned out to be Greene's greatest success. Twenty two years ago, today's full professor of English literature at Belgrade University, Dr. Zoran Paunović, wrote, in his M.A. work:

> Neither is Graham Greene the only example of a writer whose reputation and status were influenced by film (which is, undoubtedly, the most popular art form of the 20th century), nor is *The Third Man* (1950) Greene's only work transferred to the movie screen. A number of Greene's novels have been filmed – starting with the *Stamboul Train*, and including also the novels *The Honorary Consul* and *The Human Factor*. Some of those films were failures, and some were quite successful, but, without doubt, the greatest fame went, quite deservedly, to the film made by Carol Reed, *The Third Man*, the only story which Greene wrote specifically for a movie. In the same package with money and fame, this film brought to the writer something which he most definitely did not want: *The Third Man* became, and not only for the movie audiences, one of the first thoughts that come to mind when the name of Graham Greene is mentioned. (Paunović: 65)[2]

We think that this is still so, today; and, probably, just as Mary Shelley will never step out of Frankenstein's shadow, so will Graham Green never separate from the moving, slanted shadow of Harry Lime.

If we examine exactly what happens in those last few minutes of Harry Lime's life, and in the film as a whole (and in Greene's subsequent book), we see a carefully measured moral balance between friendship and crime, responsibility and evil, and other ethical factors; a purposefully built moral equation. This leads us to

[2] We translated this paragraph into English, for our purposes here; the law required, then, that all M.A. works be in Serbian. The Serbian original is: "Niti je Gream Grin usamljeni primer pisca na čiji je ugled i status uticao film, nesumnjivo najpopularnija umetnost dvadesetog veka, niti je *Treći ćovek* (*The Third Man*, 1950), jedino njegovo delo preneto na filmski ekran. Veliki broj Grinovih romana je ekranizovan – počev od *Voza za Istanbul*, pa do romana *Počasni konzul* i *Ljudski faktor*. Bilo je među njima i promašaja i vrlo uspelih filmova, no najveću slavu sasvim zasluženo uživa delo Kerola Rida, *Treći ćovek*, jedina priča koju je Grin napisao specijalno za film. Zajedno sa slavom i novcem, film je piscu doneo i nešto što ovaj ni u kom slučaju nije želeo: *Treći čovek* je postao, i to ne samo kada se radi o širokoj publici, jedna od prvih asocijacija koja se javlja na pomen imena Greama Grina."

speculate that in thousands of other works of art, from trivial to highest-valued, there are similar moral equations, in fact very firm and deliberate, deeply rooted in the Christian civilization of the West, even when the casual reader, or film-watcher, might think that the plot is propelled by pure accident and coincidence.

4. Digression: the moral justification of beating them in a Bruce Lee movie

To turn momentarily away from *The Third Man*, here is an example of a moral equation, much more simple, elementary, a naïve one. In a Bruce Lee fighting movie, a girl, peaceful, good, pretty, and definitely not rich, is selling flowers in the street. Comes a group of bad young boys, bullies, and they start to harass and insult her, toss her flowers, etc. But then comes, walking, by pure accident arriving just then, exactly there, a character played by Bruce Lee, and tells them not to do that. At first they look at him and at each other in surprise and disbelief: is he suicidal? To tangle with *them*? Then they attack him. But he is a master of fighting skills, and soon they are horizontal, beaten up, properly punished for their evil doings. The audience cheer for him and are happy. But that is a minor episode at the beginning of the movie. Bruce Lee walks away, to much more important things in his destiny (in this film), and all is good, and the flowers incident is soon forgotten. – In reality, this would probably not end at that, the hoodlums would recover, stand up again, and (now that Bruce Lee is gone) would attack the girl, perhaps there would be police, arrests, lawyers, Bruce Lee would be summoned by the court to testify, the bullies' lawyers would resolutely claim that Bruce Lee in fact "brutally" attacked the "peaceful good boys" *first*, without any provocation or cause or right; in consequence, Bruce Lee would be sued, then maybe the witnesses would be intimidated, etc., a whole sordid mess of real life. Lawyers would find fifty ways to obstruct and sabotage justice, and to earn extra money for themselves, in a case like that. That's real. But it would spoil the fun.

Both sides in the fight, in such a film, ought to be Asian (because Bruce Lee is Asian), so there will be no question of racism, black-vs.-white, etc.; the movie should remain politically correct. That is also part of the strategy.

5. Another Digression: why they confess so easily, in a typical Hercule Poirot episode

Here is another example, less naïve: consider how in Agatha Christie, the detective Hercule Poirot often induces the bad guy, the criminal, near the end of the story, to become emotional, and to confess (in an outburst of bitterness or resentment) the crime. This seals the story satisfactorily. If the culprit should "lawyer up" and totally refuse to admit anything, the accusations (made by Poirot), however brilliant, would have to be dragged through the courts, the public prosecutor would take over the case, Poirot would be reduced to a mere witness, or

illegal busybody who had no *right* to interfere, perhaps he needed a search warrant but did not have it, he would be sued, lawyers of the perpetrator might claim that Poirot's "tampering" with the evidence made the entire evidence "inadmissible" in court, etc. – the whole real-life thing, definitely messy, enormously long, boring, sordid, and unsatisfying.

6. Third digression: why did Jamie Lee Curtis drop the sub-machinegun down the wooden steps

In the 1994 film *True Lies*, where Arnold Schwarzenegger plays a secret agent and Jamie Lee Curtis plays his wife, they sort-of together fight against the Arab terrorists (Muslim extremists) who plan to detonate a nuclear bomb in an American city. The moment comes when the two descend into the very den of the terrorists; there, a Russian-made nuclear bomb is on the floor; our big male hero starts to kill the "baddies", as expected. Then his wife drops a sub-machinegun (a rather small one; it could be called an automatic pistol) and the pistol tumbles down the stairs, which are made of rough wooden planks. But, amazingly, the trigger of the pistol remains pressed, somehow stuck in the firing position (!) and during the fall it is shooting and shooting automatically, and hitting, and killing the bad guys! This is extremely improbable. And if it by some miracle could happen, the gun would probably shoot her, first, because she is very near. However, this shooting event fits perfectly into the moral equation. The man, the husband, is carrying the main burden of the fight; but his wife, the female, could not be (for reasons of gender-political correctness) just a useless follower; it was imperative that a female should *also* contribute, in the fight. The inverted case, in which she would descend among the Arabs and do the main fighting, while he would remain on top of the stairs and only accidentally drop the automatic pistol and then watch with a horrified face as it tumbles down – would have been *unthinkable*. As it is, reason tells us that her loose gun might also have killed her husband, perhaps, but that, too, would have been unthinkable, and it would utterly ruin this part-thriller-part-comedy film. So she had to *also kill* some enemies of America. But the makers of the movie did not want to present her with directly bloodied hands, it would be un-ladylike; nor to let her take the dominant role in the fight; so, the gun itself, by itself, shoots the enemies, but the woman who dropped it also wins some moral points, with the happy audience, some credit (but not too much) in the good fight. This is a clear example of moral equations, plus gender-political correctness, at work. It may seem trivial but it is not, if the same principles are used in the making of thousands of other films – and in prose works, perhaps.

7. Academic status of *The Third Man* today

In the *Critical Quarterly* magazine of Manchester University Press about thirty years ago, Miriam Allott writes that "Ph.D. theses labeled 'The novels of Graham Greene' burden the shelves of university libraries the world over"[3] and she adds that

> Discussion frequently modulates into engagement with the hugely paradoxical question of his enormous success. No really good or serious writer, it has at times been felt, could possibly be as popular as *that*. … the unbridgeable gulf between 'popular' and 'serious' writing, believing that to be popular it is necessary to be frivolous and vulgar and that in any event there can be no changing of one's spots. The serious author can't write badly enough to become a best-seller and the popular author can't make himself write well enough to win his coveted *succès d'estime*. Our last 'popular-and-serious' writer, it is said sufficiently often, was Dickens. (Allott: 9-12)

Times have changed, definitely, in the sense that this post-Victorian British class-consciousness (in the Marxist sense) which she describes, this separation into *upper* and *lower* social classes of writers, and readers, by now has evaporated, largely; it now sounds like an oddity, an old and forgotten burden. (But it does partly explain the low academic status of science fiction genre in those times: it was *popular*. Also, it places in brilliant light the puzzling question as to why Greene again and again spoke dismissingly of his own popular works, including *The Third Man*, as mere "entertainments" – there was a strong reason: he had to demonstrate, especially to the academic circles, that he is an upper-social-class, high-quality writer who despises even his own popular works, works loved by masses. It meant something like: "I am elite, *crème de la crème*, here in this England, really, I am intellectually and socially far above my own popular works and above those millions of low-brow readers". Such a cheap gimmick, but, apparently, it worked.)

8. The collective decision-making

Today's critic Kim Newman says that a crucial part of the dialogue on the Prater wheel "was written by Welles on the spur of the moment as an addition to

[3] Which reminds us of the academic status of Danilo Kiš in Serbia today, in 2011: about 3,000 articles, essays, reviews, dissertations etc., already published, in our growing science of "Kiš-ology"! Authors of similar but perhaps more modest status are Borislav Pekić, and Milorad Pavić with his *Dictionary of the Khazars*, and Ivo Andrić with his *Bridge on the Drina*, etc. We encountered a claim that, by now (year 2011) about 225 serious academic studies about Samuel Beckett have been published so that we can speak of Beckett-ology (Vlajčić) as a branch of Literaturwissenschaft. So there are still such literary caryatides available for academic study, filling many shelves, though perhaps partly electronic shelves, today; colossal figures which no one can call trivial, which is why a researcher is well-advised to turn to them from time to time.

Greene's script, filling out the character and perhaps securing the picture's lasting greatness" (Newman: 246). The film, really shot in Vienna and only four years after the war, got one Oscar (for photography) and was nominated for two more Oscars (for directing and editing).

Greene located his novella in "the precarious, 'smashed, dreary' and partly subterranean Vienna", as the literary historian Andrew Sanders says in his *Short Oxford History of English Literature*, because "the Second World War sharpened certain of Greene's fictional perspectives and preoccupations" and it is generally recognized to be among his finest work (Sanders: 583).

Of more direct interest to us, in this paper, is the statement of Graham Greene himself, in the same Preface to *The Third Man*: "One of the very few major disputes between Carol Reed and myself concerned the ending, and he has been proved triumphantly right". (Greene: 11) From Greene's own testimony, and from other sources, we get a firm impression that this film was scripted with major, and carefully considered and argued, input from the film director; and there was the influence of Alexander Korda; so, Greene's greatest work (in the sense of: largest success) was not only an inseparable mix of film-and-literature, literature-and-film, it was also a *collective* work, to some extent. But then film *is* a collective work, inevitably, although in some distant future that, too, might change, if computers available to a lonely artist become much more powerful than they are today. This film, *The Third Man*, certainly was a collective work, in 1949.

9. The crime, confession, and shooting of the villain in *The Third Man*

Here we, finally, come to the point of our research.

In *The Third Man*, Harry Lime, the villain, had to die at the end, because the court case against him, especially in the difficult conditions of the immediately-post-war Vienna, would have dragged the film into complications and postponements of the denouement. And if the Russians caught him and immediately executed him by firing squad, without much-a-do, which was their manner with such[4], the film would acquire a propagandistic and political character. So he had to die among his own, English-speaking folks, but, in some dramatic and immediate manner. No lawyers.

But first he had to confess.

The scene with the Prater wheel, which takes the writer Holly Martins and the criminal Harry Lime 65 meters high up in the air above the liberated but also occupied-by-Allies Vienna, with citizens down on the ground supposedly looking like insignificant dots (which is a bit of exaggeration: people do not really look that small, from that distance), is the scene in which the villain practically admits that he

[4] Serbs knew of this, and the Serbian word in 1945 for such Russian instant justice was "пристрељати" ("pristrelyati") which translates as "to do a quick-little-and-insignificant shooting by firing squad".

did sell, for profit, watered-down penicillin, in non-sterile ampoules, because of which many children died after suffering terribly in hospitals. The use of Prater wheel, which was for many years one of the most famous (if not *the* most famous) symbols and tourist destinations in Vienna, for this dramatic purpose, is very intelligent and creative, as part of the narrative strategy. But of course Harry Lime would not have confessed so easily to a police inspector, for instance. Or to any stranger. So, the confidante had to be a good, trusted, close, long-time friend. This makes the confession more probable: we are more likely to *believe*, and accept, that the criminal would so easily confess.

In retrospect, then, we see that Greene had to introduce such a character, as Holly Martins is, into the story; a believable confidante; so that (as in Hercule Poirot stories, and in a number of Sherlock Holmes stories in fact…), the villain would confess. One of the main pillars of the story, Holly Martins, was needed, in the narrative strategy of the story, and had to be introduced, *for this reason*.

But in the legendary final sequence of the chase in the sewage tunnels under Vienna, first we see that Harry Lime shoots and kills a pursuing police officer. This, in the moral equation, now gives full right to the police to shoot and kill him: in self-defense, more or less. And they do shoot. The leading policeman, Calloway, fires, once, and hits Harry Lime with that one bullet.

Actually, the ranks of the police seem to thin out and diminish rather miraculously. Hundreds of them encircle Harry Lime, initially; then small groups remain in sight; then somehow only two or three, precisely the ones already best known to the audience. Harry Lime is not shot by some anonymous "uniform", as we might say today, not by a faceless nameless *soldat* (soldier, in German, and in Russian, and in several other languages), but, by Calloway.

And the police, in this action, only wound, not kill, Harry Lime.

If the police killed him immediately, it would have been the victory of a large, impersonal armed force over one lonely man (the criminal) on the run. However guilty he is, and however justified the police are to shoot, it would not have the quality of personal moral judgment. Besides, if a large, impersonal social mechanism is crushing a lonely fugitive, we instinctively tend to side with him; that would have spoiled the desired moral effect.[5]

Oddly, a civilian, the writer Holly Martins, now takes a pistol, from the limp hand of the dead policeman, and proceeds to chase, alone (!) the wounded Harry Lime. He did not shoot at Harry, yet. The police have by now been reduced, miraculously, to one man, Calloway, who allows Holly Martins to proceed forward

[5] This is why the baddies in *Die Hard* films and in many similar movies get nabbed by a quirky loner, an undisciplined, odd, personally motivated detective, fantastically brave and enduring, whose superior officers have no clue of what is really going on, while he disobeys or ignores much of what they are ordering him to do or not do; that is emotionally satisfying; the bad guy is *not* defeated by battalions of professionally cool, vastly superior, rich, perfectly organized police. Not in such films. The final fight is often between the leading, most evil villain, who is also the last gangster standing, and this peculiar, rebellious detective, and it is very *personal*.

alone, almost like an envoy or best combatant. Calloway, very British in appearance and manners, a tall man with small moustache, now lags behind, and seems to doze off, as if lost in thought, or hypnotized, for quite a while. He is gazing, almost motionless, at his dead colleague on the ground. Time passes.

That's where the construction shows through, rather drastically: this long, silent interval of "meditation" by Calloway. An interval totally unlikely.

This is where plausibility is sacrificed for the sake of a desirable moral equation.

Graham Greene himself was obviously aware of this glaring, vast implausibility, and so, in the (subsequently) published version (the novella) he defends this point: "Martins said: 'Let me come in front. I don't think he'll shoot at me, and I want to talk to him'. … 'Get flat against the wall. He won't shoot at me'." (Greene: 115) But this is not so in the movie. And, ultimately, what Lubomir Dolezhel in his *Heterocosmica* calls "authenticating power" rides in this case (we believe) more with the movie than with the novella: so, ultimately we are talking here about a film. More. And, about the literary work, less.

Harry Lime, wounded, climbs, with great difficulty, up an iron staircase and stretches only his fingers (another legendary scene, in the 101st minute of the film, four minutes before the end) through an iron grid, a street grating, up, into the higher moral regions which are no longer reachable for him. Then he turns his head. His friend Holly Martins has caught up, pistol in hand, and is within reach of him. What now? The police, a huge number of them, cannot be more than fifty steps (or so) away. Harry Lime looks his friend in the eye, and, with a sad and somber expression of the face, nods once, twice.

This means, "Kill me". Behind this meaningful nod are three further implications: "Kill me because I am guilty and I do deserve to die for the crime I committed", "Kill me because I do not want to be dying for days in some hospital, wounded as I am, or to survive but only to spend the rest of my life in jail, or to be ultimately sentenced to death; all-in-all, it is better I go now", and, "Kill me because it is better and more proper and honorable to die from the hand of a friend, my confidante, who has the right to judge me, and who basically had the right to betray me, than to be shot or grabbed by this angry mob of faceless cops".

This is one of the most overlooked, but most important, nods, in all history of film; it condenses the moral equations of this film, and book, into one slight motion, slow, minimal, perhaps two seconds of time.

So, Holly Martins kills him.

10. Again, why from a friend's hand

If a crowd of police rushed in, guns blazing, they would surely hit and kill Harry Lime, but it would be an opportunity for him to shoot back, too. They did not seem to have any armored bullet-proofed vests on them, nor helmets, nothing like the American "SWAT" teams of today. It was a rather British-style, old-times

pursuit. In fact, Harry might have shot a number of them, to the great shame of such a police force (or military). And, very clearly, he, a professional gangster now, presumably practiced with guns, could have shot his friend, Holly Martins. But that would be a sordid end. Or, Harry Lime could have escaped, in the night, in the maze of tunnels. But that would frustrate the poetic justice, and the film would seem to teach the people (the young, especially) that it is good, and desirable, and profitable, to be a gangster and to cause the death of hundreds of children. Again unsatisfactory; in fact, unacceptable. This villain had to be punished appropriately, sternly.

Harry Lime[6], apparently, did not *want* to shoot his friend Martins. So this is a moment of his profound, moral transformation, his rise to a kind of moral greatness, after all: aware of the vastness of his crimes, he *allows* Martins to shoot him. But he would, perhaps, not allow some faceless stranger to do the same.

Possibility of escape was cut off by a rather improbable trajectory of the police bullet (Calloway's): it hit Harry Lime *exactly* in the lower spine, paralyzing his both legs. So he drags himself up the metal stairwell, and up to the grating, by a huge effort of his arms and hands alone. In the rush of the movie denouement, the audience are not likely to ponder about the small probability of such a (dramatically effective) hit from a pistol. Of course it is contrived. But cinematically effective.

There is a strong possibility, in the film, that the last nod of Harry Lime also contained an unspoken suggestion about the future destiny of Anna Schmidt, something like "It is all right if you now take care of her, she is yours now". Obviously she could not be the girl of both of them; a sex-partner of both; it would have been unthinkable, then. One of the two men had to be totally, radically, removed from the relationship. But the audience probably feels this, even today, on a *subconscious* level, rather than telling this to themselves explicitly. This subconscious feel would have been ruined and catastrophically trivialized if Harry Lime, dying, said any specific words about it.

11. Gender aspect: why not shot by Anna, and why does she demonstratively walk by Holly Martins

Now, changing into the discourse of the gender studies, we must conclude that the final shooter had to be a male, not female, because women were not expected, in those times, to do such things; it would be un-lady-like, and unconvincing to the then-audiences; and, besides, the woman-man friendship and then confrontation and shooting would have potential love-hate, or sex, implications; this would have

[6] The name perhaps hinting at "slime" which would make it a symbolic name, meaning "a bad man, un-ethical". This was suggested to us by a young man, Adrian Nedeljković, who watched the movie but did not read the book. Greene, though, insisted on a quite different explanation of the surname Lime (Paunović: 67).

blurred the moral issue. There is also the question of chaperone: who knows what a young woman, unmarried, might do, without an older woman beside her, in the city, at night, with some man… this would make her, in the post-Victorian morality, a problematic woman, potentially immoral. So, for a number of reasons, Anna Schmidt (played by Alida Valli), the beautiful, intelligent, liberal young woman (apparently undamaged by war) could not descend into the tunnels and shoot the villain. It would have wrecked the film. Besides, Anna was, previously, Harry Lime's girlfriend, or one of his girls; she is no saint, rather she is one of many poor black-marketeers in the city; this makes her technically a criminal, although we may presume that she did not initially know of his crime with the watered-down penicillin. Before the penicillin scam was revealed to her, she, apparently, loved Harry Lime. In Greene's literary work, the novella, the Prater dialogue between Holly Martins and Harry Lime is partly about her:

> "I was at your funeral."
> "That was pretty smart of me, wasn't it?"
> "Not so smart for your girl. She was there too – in tears."
> "She's a good little thing", Harry said. "I'm very fond of her."
> (…)
> "She hasn't told them anything about you."
> "She's a good little thing", Harry repeated with satisfaction and pride.
> "She loves you."
> "Well, I gave her a good time while it lasted."
> "And I love her."
> "That's fine, old man. Be kind to her. She's worth it. I'm glad." He gave the impression of having arranged everything to everyone's satisfaction. "And you can help to keep her mouth shut. Not that she knows anything that matters." (Greene: 103-106)

But there is a very famous, and rather odd, scene, in the last, 105th minute of the film. Before it, we see, in a peaceful sunny day, the very modest but decent burial of Harry Lime. Present are only eight people: Martins, Anna, Calloway, and five disinterested men who work professionally every day, all day, at the cemetery: a priest, his two assistants, plus two indifferent and casual gravediggers.

The priest seems to condemn the deceased man: he does his duty, the Christian religious ritual, in a perfunctory manner, off-hand, grumpily and obviously without good will. He seems to be passing a final moral judgment on Harry Lime. But, in taking this attitude, the priest in fact marginalizes himself, too, and perhaps the entire role of religion. His attitude may mean that he dislikes to bury such an evil man in a respectful manner, or, perhaps, that the entire priestly job of religious ceremony at burials has become irrelevant in our world, a meaningless formality, no matter whom they are burying, although this was probably not what Carol Reed and Graham Greene meant here; but the film *The Third Man* is deeply atheistic, non-

religious, in any case. And yet, the denouement, with Harry Lime's downfall and capitulation, may be a reaffirmation of underlying basic Christian moral values.

But this final scene happens in a very civilized environment, at a great, spacious, neat cemetery in Vienna, and perhaps there will be a headstone with Harry Lime's name, later, some day, on his grave, although we do not see it yet (we see only the rectangular hole in the ground; too small to be a collective, mass grave for the anonymous dead). Basically, only the main persecutor of Harry Lime (Calloway) and Harry's two best remaining friends in the world (Holly Martins, and Anna Schmidt) attend this quick, no-sorrow funeral.

Then Anna leaves, and the final minute of the film begins. It has moral, and also gender, implications.

In the very long, perfectly straight, street-like alley of the cemetery, Martins gets into Calloway's jeep, and they drive past Anna, and overtake her by a hundred meters or more, but then Martins gets out of the jeep, and waits for Anna, in a friendly stance, presumably hoping to escort her home, maybe still liking or loving her, or just wanting to be her friend in a difficult time; but she pointedly, demonstratively ignores him, and walks right by him, without a word or a look; this might be understood to mean, "Why did you kill my man?", or, "Why did you kill your friend?", or, most likely, "I do not entirely condemn you for killing him, but I will not have anything to do, any more, with the whole thing". Or her snub of him might mean: "I do not want anyone to think that we betrayed and destroyed Harry Lime so that we, us two, could get together", or, even (but this is a distant possibility), "I will not be 'given' by one man to another man, as a piece of property; my ex-boyfriend can not 'give' me to you". Or, if we want to go really far with this line of thinking, she might be already pregnant, with Harry Lime's child, etc.

Definitely, though, her walk affirms her as an independent person, who, although a woman, can so distance herself from a male; this was very important and big, in the time when post-Victorian view of female gender still lingered around (and post-slavery attitude to blacks still existed in the United States, and Hitler's kind of patriarchal domination over women still reverberated through Europe). Martins, a man, cannot control her, a woman; he can only *hope* for her attention, and stand and wait very decently; she is upright, free, equal, and not weak or servile to the males, in this new, free Europe; that was probably the main point and the main reason why this scene was so adored by the audiences. Her attitude is certainly a part also of the over-all moral equation, although a somewhat more enigmatic part, open to many possible interpretations.

12. Why a woman at all? Why is Anna there?

Narrative strategy (and the realities of the marketing strategy, too) dictated that in the film there must be "something for the women", as some producers, and publishers, tend to say. The female audience wants to see a female in the movie, and, in modern times, the woman ought to be doing something relevant, too, not just

sitting and looking pretty. Besides, the presence of Anna makes both the men who are close to her (Holly Martins, and Harry Lime) more manly, more masculine; she provides the gender-contrast; they are, in a way, struggling for the love of a young woman, so they are *reconfirmed* as real, true males. And, finally, without her the movie would have been much more drab and flat, simply unattractive. It seems that Alida Valli as Anna in the movie is actually much more beautiful than Anna in the novella ("It wasn't a beautiful face", Greene: 40). That was a good film-making move, smart and effective in the more-visual medium.

13. Conclusion

Moral equations, we now know, are there, in the film and subsequent eponymous novella *The Third Man*, equations deeply rooted in the Western civilization as it then was, although the casual reader, or film-watcher, might think that the plot is propelled to the end by the genuine logic of real life plus a quantity of pure accident and coincidence. We have shown that the denouement scene of the death of Harry Lime is, to a serious extent, artificially constructed, against plausibility and real-life logic, just so that a set of moral equations should be satisfied. This was part of the over-all narrative strategy, collectively worked out by the strong team of the film's makers. We have also mentioned, in passing, some reasons to believe that in many other films, perhaps in thousands of films, similar moral equations may have been utilized and followed. This may allow us to "see through" these works of art, those already made and similar ones that will be made in the future; we will be able to understand and criticize their contrived inner construction, their secret ethical architecture, but, it may also be a major "spoiler", denying to us the possibility to ever again watch movies with naïve and happy eyes.

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DESIRE IN HEMINGWAY'S *THE SUN ALSO RISES* AND FITZGERALD'S *THE GREAT GATSBY*

Abstract The concept of desire is complex and has been dealt with extensively within the field of psychoanalysis. Two most prominent psychoanalysts, Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan, have defined desire in different ways, as predominantly sexual and predominantly cultural, respectively. The aim of the paper is to present how each of these two concepts plays off in literature, more precisely in the novels of Ernest Hemingway and Francis Scott Fitzgerald. While Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* depicts Freudian, sexual desire as the motivating force of one of the main protagonists, Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* focuses on desire as a culturally determined factor in human life.

Key words: desire, psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, Hemingway, Fitzgerald

1. Sexual desire and Lady Brett Ashley

Taking one of the dictionary definitions of the term desire as a starting point, one learns that desire is a "conscious impulse toward something that promises enjoyment or satisfaction in its attainment" ("Desire"). Freud's notions on desire cannot be defined so straightforwardly, not just because this concept involves the wholeness of human psychophysical development, but also because Freud's ideas about the human psyche altered through the stages of his work. However, in his work "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" (1920), Freud explains the notion of the pleasure principle whose function is similar to this simplified definition of desire and our concept of it:

> we believe that any given process originates in an unpleasant state of tension and thereupon determines for itself such a path that its ultimate issue coincides with a relaxation of this tension, i.e., the avoidance of pain or with production of pleasure. (1990a: 639)

Although the pleasure principle "dominates the operation of the mental apparatus from the very beginning" (Freud 1990b: 772), it also "reigns supreme in the id" (Freud 1990e: 702). The *id* is the part of the human psyche that we are born with and is entirely submerged into the unconscious. To Freud, the *id* represents the

primitive mind (like that one of an infant). “It is the obscure inaccessible part of our personality” (Freud 1990d: 873), connected to the irrational and emotional, and the source of sexual energy. The pleasure principle dominates a child during the pre-Oedipal stage of life, when it is entirely dependent on its parents (mostly the mother). By entering the Oedipal stage, a child must learn to repress “his incestuous desire” (Eagleton 1983: 155), abandon the “anarchic, sadistic, aggressive, self-involved and remorselessly pleasure-seeking” (Eagleton 1983: 154) stage and adjust to the ‘reality principle’ in order to become “a citizen who could be relied upon to do a hard day’s work” (Eagleton 1983: 154). Therefore, Freudian desire is connected to “some kind of *loss*” (Klages 2006: 77).

Ernest Hemingway in his first novel *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) depicted an unforgettable character - Lady Brett Ashley. She is an extremely attractive woman, and most of the men in the novel (Jake Barnes, Robert Cohn, Michael Campbell, and Pedro Romero) either try to seduce her, or are seduced by her. Although she is engaged to Campbell, Brett and Jake have a special relationship, and we can argue that both are somewhat in love with each other. However, they cannot consummate their love, not just because of Jake’s war injury, which left him impotent, but also because Brett is a type of a woman who cannot commit to only one man. Through a selection of several key passages, we will try to illustrate that her actions indeed correspond to the notion of Freudian sexual, libidinal desire, because for Freud, “all pleasure is sexual pleasure” (Klages 2006: 65).

The narrator in *The Sun Also Rises,* Jake Barnes, offers a description of Brett’s physical appearance in only a few words that are, however, packed with meaning and images: “Brett was damned good-looking. . . . She was built with curves like the hull of a racing yacht, and you missed no of it with that wool jersey” (Hemingway 1954: 22). Her behavior as well as her stunning looks, place her in the company of many different men, from a Count to the “nigger drummer” (Hemingway 1954: 62), whose company and admiration Brett very much enjoys. In spite of her feminine curves, Brett changed one part of her body that she could – her hair. She likes to wear a short bob and on top of it, she likes to wear a hat. “She started all that” (Hemingway 1954: 22), Jake comments. In that sense, we learn that Brett is no ordinary woman, and she wants to make everybody sure of that at the first glance. When Pedro Romero, the nineteen year old Spanish bullfighter falls in love with her and wants her to grow her hair long in order to make her look „more womanly“ (Hemingway 1954: 242), Brett chases him off, proving that she will not and cannot change for anybody.

When it comes to her behavior, Brett acts more like a man than a woman, let alone a lady, as her title would suggest. She socializes only with men, drinks heavily, and even refers to herself as a man: “I say, give a chap a brandy and a soda” (Hemingway 1954: 32). Also, Brett is promiscuous; she does not just enjoy admiration on the part of other men and flirt, but she seduces them constantly. Although aware of her behavior, she does not care what others will think or say about her:

Dancing, I looked over Brett's shoulder and saw Cohn, standing at the bar, still watching her.

"You've made a new one there," I said to her.

"Don't talk about it. Poor chap. I never knew it till just now."

"Oh, well," I said. "I suppose you like to add them up."

"Don't talk like a fool."

"You do."

"Oh, well. What if I do?" (Hemingway 1954: 22-23)

When it comes to Brett's personality, she is completely dominated by the 'pleasure principle' which means that she searches instant gratification. Every idea, wish, or desire she has, has to be fulfilled immediately. For example, when Jake and Brett are dancing at the beginning of the novel, all of a sudden she feels bored and leaves the bar, not even saying goodbye to the friends she was with (Hemingway 1954: 23). When there is no taxi to drive them to the hotel, she goes to the bar next door for a drink because she has no patience to wait for it (Hemingway 1954: 24). That same night, after Jake and Brett parted, she shows up at his hotel at half-past four because she "Just wanted to see you [Jake]" (Hemingway 1954: 33). One can notice from these examples that the *id* (the selfish and pleasure-oriented part of the psyche) tends to dominate in Brett's case, which consequently makes her inconsiderate of other peoples' feelings. There is a scene in the novel that illustrates just how much Brett cares and respects nobody but herself and thinks only how to indulge herself: "The count was looking at Brett across the table under the gaslight. She was smoking a cigarette and flickering the ashes on the rug. She saw me notice it. 'I say, Jake, I don't want to ruin your rugs. Can't you give a chap and ash-tray?'" (Hemingway 1954: 57).

The situation is pretty similar concerning Brett's libido. When she wants do be kissed she practically orders Jake to do that (Hemingway 1954: 27). In addition, she sleeps with every man she wants, in attempt to satisfy her sexual appetite. Even though Brett is not interested in Cohn, she goes with him to San Sebastian for a couple of days. After the trip, she does everything to avoid him. Although Cohn is now in love with her, looking at her with amazement and following her around "like a poor bloody steer" (Hemingway 1954: 142), it is obvious that she does not want to see him again, that she is even "sick of him" (Hemingway 1954: 181) so ultimately, she becomes extremely rude to him. Their affair presented an unimportant event in Brett's life which she proves by saying: "He can't believe it didn't mean anything." (Hemingway 1954: 181). Her actions in treating other men in the novel are similar to those of a spoiled brat - a striking similarity in the pronunciation of her name. Most of the time Brett is driven by impulses and it indeed seems that she cannot control her feelings:

I can't help it. I'm a goner. It's tearing me all up inside."

"Don't do it."

"I can't help it. I've never been able to help anything."
"You ought to stop it."
"How can I stop it? I can't stop things. Feel that?"
Her hand was trembling. (Hemingway 1954: 183).

In relation to Romero, a nineteen-year-old bullfighter, Brett admits that she is mad about him and also thinks that she might even be in love with him (Hemingway 1954: 183). However, it is also obvious from the start that Brett is only sexually interested in him: " 'My God! He's a lovely boy,' Brett said. 'And how I would love to see him get into these clothes. He must use a shoe-horn' " (Hemingway 1954: 177). After all, Brett is almost twice his age (she is thirty-four), which makes it difficult to believe that she will find the love of her life in a teenager. Brett decides do go back to her fiancé Mike Campbell not because she loves him but because he knows all about her affairs and is willing to put up with it.

The only man in the novel whom Brett actually might love is Jake. Even so, the relationship is impossible due to Jake's injury that has left him impotent. Being unable to consummate their love, a condition that Brett cannot and will not accept, Jake will forever be her friend, the one she will call or send a telegraph to whenever she is in trouble. Even though their relationship is special to them both, even though Jake accepts her as she is, Brett is unwilling to change her nature:

"Couldn't we live together, Brett? Couldn't we just live together?"
"I don't think so. I'd just *tromper* you with everybody. You couldn't stand it."
"I stand it now."
"That would be different. It's my fault Jake. It's the way I'm made." (Hemingway 1954: 55).

However, we learn something from Brett's past that might offer some explanation and cause for such a behavior. During the war she worked as a nurse and "her own true love" (Hemingway 1954: 38) died of dysentery which must have left some scares on Brett. Her present husband (from whom she is in a process of a divorce), is a PTSD sailor who threatened to kill her and slept with a loaded gun under his pillow (Hemingway 1954: 203). And Brett's present fiancé is a bankrupted war veteran with serious drinking issues. Splika in his article "The Death of Love in *The Sun Also Rises*" explains that:

the war, which has unmanned Barnes and his contemporaries, has turned Brett into the freewheeling equal of any man. . . . For Brett those blows are the equivalent of Jake's emasculation; they seem to release her from her womanly nature and expose her to the male prerogatives of drink and promiscuity. (1961: 83)

The loss of love that Brett experienced is the only plausible explanation for her behavior. In Hemingway's novel we learn so little of characters' past, let alone childhood, which Freud considered to be a personality defining stage of one's life. Nevertheless, the fact that Brett experienced a great trauma later in her life might also suggest that she developed a coping mechanism by having superficial and merely physical relationships with unknown men. Freud stated: "In women who have had many love-affairs there seems to be no difficulty in finding vestiges of their object-cathexes in the traits of their character" (1990e: 704). That would explain why Brett took up those "male prerogatives of drink and promiscuity". Further, the term object-cathexis means the investment of (libidinal) energy to an object. Still, as "the id does not distinguish between a mental image and reality, it may not lead to direct action to satisfy a need. Instead, the id may simply form an image of the desired object that is satisfying in the short-term, but does not fulfill the need in the long term" (Cherry 2011). Therefore, it would seem reasonable to assume that Brett experienced a change of character not when she lost her first love to dysentery, but when she found out that Jake is impotent. We learn from Jake (who is an unreliable and ironic narrator) that Brett was in love with that soldier, but he can rerely be trusted. Both in her sober and "tight" moments, Brett exclaims love to Jake, but her love is Freudian, that is, connected to the libido: "The nucleus of what we mean by love naturally consists . . . in sexual love with sexual union as its aim" (Freud 1990c: 673). Since Brett cannot achieve that aim, she finds on outlet for the built up energy in carnal pleasures with men with whom she has no future. She receives from other men only that what she cannot attain from Jake, and she gains from Jake that what she can never find in any other man.

It is a well known fact that Hemingway wrote on the "iceberg principle" and it is interesting to note that Freud's psyche is devised on the same principle. The *id* is that part of our psyche buried deep into the unconscious and therefore always out of reach. For that reason it is difficult and ungrateful to analyze Hemingway's characters from the psychoanalytical point of view. Nevertheless, the case of Lady Brett Ashley seems a clear one when she states: "I have always done just what I wanted" (Hemingway 1954: 184). Saying that, Brett reaffirms the fact that she leads her life following the 'pleasure principle' which is illustrated in her need to satisfy her desires for drinks, dance, and sex immediately and at all costs. Her impulsive, irrational, and emotional behavior is a consequence of her dominant *id*, the place of origin of her desire, which forces her to behave like a selfish, pleasure-oriented child, unable (and unwilling) to postpone gratification or control her desire in any way.

2. Cultural desire and Daisy Buchanan

Unlike Freud who links desire with physical or sexual pleasure, Lacan makes clear that desire is in fact culturally determined. In his theory, Lacan moves away from the physical and examines the human subject as a social and linguistic

being. The minute we are born, we become immersed into the Symbolic Order, that is the Other, and by learning the language we become susceptible to desire. Desire is of a linguistic nature, according to Lacan, because, language always signifies that which is absent, and desire results from a lack which it wishes continually to fill (Eagleton 1983: 167). The ontological separation, either caused by Zeus's splitting of the original hermaphroditic human being into two, as presented by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*, or by a mother giving birth to a child, as suggested by Lacan, is what confirms that both the Lacanian subject and his or her desire are "a fragment of something larger and more primordial" (Silverman 1981: 153).

Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* displays Lacanian cultural desire through motivations and actions of most characters, but the focus of this analysis is on Daisy Buchanan as the epitome of the concept of Lacanian desire which is cultural and unattainable. To understand how Daisy came to represent it, it is necessary to take into account the immediate cultural context. As Pidgeon suggests, the "snobbery in American life" (2007: 178) is derived from the Puritan ethic that shaped American view of the world and their desires. Since wealth was perceived as a sign of goodness

> A person who was not well-to-do and who did not belong to the right club or attend the right school was considered not only poor, but sinful. The pursuit of wealth came to have a meaning which transcended the mere desire to be more comfortable. It served in an attempt to erase original sin and earn eternal salvation. Striving for wealth has become a way for Americans to ease their consciences, while one's morality is often measured by the ability to acquire material possessions. (Pidgeon 2007: 178) [1]

Emphasizing the cultural nature of desire, Foucault asserted that "the law is what constitutes both desire and the lack on which it is predicated" (1990: 81). Similarly, Silverman explained that cultural representations supply the standard and that the subject *learns* what to desire. We are taught to value objects which are culturally designated as full and complete, whereby it becomes clear that our desires originate from the place of the Other (1981: 177-8). Gatsby's urge to strive toward wealth and money at any price in order to prove himself worthy is therefore a result of what Lacan refers to as "man's cultural subordination" (2006: 96), that is an irresistible need to follow certain preestablished patterns.

Gatsby's mythologized and romanticized love for Daisy is in fact a predetermined infatuation with her social status and wealth symbolized by her mermaid voice. According to Settle, who bases his argumentation artfully on the examples of classical literature and criticism, Daisy is a classical siren temptress, a deadly being of nature. Settle's interpretation can, however, be broadened by

[1] For details on the Puritan ethic, see also: Morgan, Edmund S. *The Puritan Family. Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England*. New York: Harper, 1966.

reading Daisy as a "social siren", desirable first and foremost for her money and background. She lures men with her irresistible "siren" voice, which is attractive and almost hypnotic simply because it is "full of money" (Fitzgerald 1994: 126). While Nick, who was brought up in a rich family, cannot pinpoint why Daisy's voice is so attractive, Gatsby, dedicated to climb up the social (and financial) ladder, unmistakably recognizes money as the source of attraction. "The recognition for Nick approaches the tension of initiation: that the voice of Daisy should have, in a commercializing-cashiering society where friendships, families, values, and even a World Series can be bought, a new world charm such as this" (Settle 1985: 122). What is more, just like a siren, Daisy is deadly, both symbolically and literally. Symbolically, she commits the act of ultimate social betrayal by not attending Gatsby's funeral (Settle 1985: 118), after having already renounced her love for him upon realizing that he might have earned his money in a socially unacceptable way. In the literal sense, she accidentally kills Myrtle Wilson driving Gatsby's car and causes Gatsby's murder by leading Myrtle's husband to believe that it was Gatsby who drove the car. Both Myrtle Wilson and Jay Gatsby are annihilated by their desire to climb up the social ladder, which, embodied in the character of Daisy, turns out to be unattainable.

The voice with which desire speaks – Daisy's irresistible mermaid voice – is in fact the voice of Lacan's Law which we cannot avoid nor escape, but according to which we are forced to live. Lacan's subject accepts Wittgenstein's idea that "learning is based on believing" (1969: 25), and so as we learn the language (the Law) we also learn to accept the unconditional authority of a body of convention, which for Gatsby is the law of money echoing in Daisy's voice and in her casual attitude to being enormously wealthy. Even though his desire is embodied in a woman, her allure is not physical (sexual), but is based on the fact that she belongs to a specific social class, possessing thus both luxurious objects and the ease in handling them, which is only available to those brought up in wealth: "It amazed him – he had never been in such a beautiful house before. But what gave it an air of breathless intensity was that Daisy lived there – it was a casual thing to her as his tent out at camp was to him" (Fitzgerald 1994: 154).

The social nature of his desire is further emphasized by Gatsby's attempts to win Daisy over with a lavish display of his possessions, not because he enjoys them, but because he believes that other people do. Felluga explains that "Desire … has little to do with material sexuality for Lacan; it is caught up, rather, in social structures and strictures, in the fantasy version of reality that forever dominated our lives after our entrance into language" (2003: 1). Therefore, Gatsby does not try to arouse Daisy's emotional or sexual interest. Instead, proving how essential the cultural factor is, he spends five years of his life accumulating wealth in order to prove true what he had led her to believe: namely, "that he was a person from much the same stratum as herself – that he was fully able to take care of her" (Fitzgerald 1994: 155). What is more, Daisy does not seem to mind the lack of what could be termed as "typical" romance, but responds to Gatsby's materialistic attitude. She is

moved to renew her relationship with Gatsby only after she has witnessed his colossal mansion with a pool and a hydroplane, his exquisite shirts, and library full of real books.

Once Daisy visits his mansion, Gatsby is not concerned with what she will think of him, but whether his possessions will impress her, which they do. Daisy's amazement grows as they

> wandered through Marie Antoinette music-rooms and Restoration salons … through period bathrooms swathed in rose and lavender silk and vivid new flowers …[and] his bedroom [which] was the simplest room of all – except where the dresser was garnished with a toilet set of pure dull gold. (Fitzgerald 1994: 98)

As Nick notices, "I think he revalued everything in his house according to the measure of response it drew from her well-loved eyes. Sometimes, too, he stared at his possessions in a dazed way, as though in her actual and astonishing presence none of it was any longer real" (Fitzgerald 1994: 92). But the extent of his affirmation-seeking is best visible in the famous, touching but mostly ridiculous scene in which he opens his wardrobe for Daisy and throws his shirts before her and this makes her sob because they're the most beautiful shirts she ever saw (Fitzgerald 1994: 99). For both of them, the spiritual, the emotional or the personal is insignificant. What matters is the external, the material, that which can be appreciated by others, by anyone who knows what is fashionable or expensive, because such things can only be possessed by those at the top of the social ladder. Despite her readiness to forsake her husband for a richer man, Daisy and Gatsby's relationship has no future, because they are merely blinded by each other's prospects. There is hardly any real emotional involvement or even sincerity between them. It is because of this utter lack of loyalty and real love that, once she realizes that Gatsby does not conform to her cultural and social standards, because he got his money in ways that are not quite socially acceptable, Daisy is able to make a "clean cut", turning suddenly against Gatsby, and indirectly causing his death.

Gatsby's desire springs from a very specific lack: a lack of social recognition. To compensate, he first changed his name from the ordinarily sounding James Gatz to the stylish Jay Gatsby, then he acquired money and possessions, and now he tries to fill up his house with famous people: "I keep it always full of interesting people, night and day. People who do interesting things. Celebrated people" (Fitzgerald 1994: 97), as if they, too, are a sort of commodity that would bring Gatsby the recognition of others. Because, as Lacan claims, "The satisfaction of human desire is possible only when mediated by the other's desire and labor" (2006: 98), Gatsby appreciates the fact that Daisy, as a symbol of social success, is desired by many: "It excited him, too, that many men had already loved Daisy – it increased her value in his eyes" (Fitzgerald 1994: 154). The fantasy version of Daisy, "High in a white palace the king's daughter, the golden girl" (Fitzgerald 1994: 126), shows that for Gatsby (and for her previous suitors) her greatest

attraction lies in her pedigree. The "white palace" is a sort of an ivory tower, a symbol of both her social excellence and her isolation. She is the epitome of Lacanian desire "Because desire is articulated through fantasy, [and] it is driven to some extent by its own impossibility" (Felluga 2003). Daisy is therefore not to be had, but only admired from afar. It is because of this that Gatsby buys a house across the bay from Daisy's and stares at the lights of her house at night, desiring her from a distance. He creates a specific image of Daisy, a fantasy version of his desire, impossible for Daisy to live up to:

> There must have been moments even that afternoon when Daisy tumbled short of his dreams – not through her own fault, but because of the colossal vitality of his illusion. It had gone beyond her, beyond everything. He had thrown himself into it with creative passion, adding to it all the time, decking it out with every bright feather that drifted his way. No amount of fire or freshness can challenge what a man will store up in his ghostly heart. (Fitzgerald 1994: 102-103)

That Daisy should "tumble short of his dreams" was inevitable, because, as Butler explains, "the fulfillment of desire would be its radical self-cancellation" (Butler 1995: 381), since "desire is most interested not in fully attaining the object of desire but in keeping our distance, thus allowing desire to persist" (Felluga 2003: 1). This is precisely why, as Jay lets Daisy know that he spent many nights looking at the green light at the end of her dock, "the colossal significance of that light" vanishes forever, diminishing his "count of enchanted objects" (Fitzgerald 1994: 100).

To conclude, Gatsby's (and Myrtle Wilson's) tragic destiny proves that desire is unattainable because it "is directed toward ideal representations which remain forever beyond the subject's reach" (Silverman 1981: 176). Due to the narcissistic nature of Lacanian desire which implies "a form of self-love" (Silverman 1981: 177) and a strong urge to persist, Daisy, as the embodiment of that desire, manages to continue her life as if nothing happened. Unlike Brett Ashley's Freudian (sexual) desire, Jay Gatsby's desire is Lacanian. It is embodied in the character of Daisy, who both as a woman and as the realization of cultural and social expectations remains not only unavailable, but proves deadly to him.

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CRITICAL APPROACHES TO FAIRY TALES FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT

Abstract Extensive scholarship on fairy tales has been accumulated over the long period of more than two centuries. Since the advent of folklore as an academic discipline in the late eighteenth century, scholars have adopted numerous methods and methodologies in order to shed light on various aspects of folk traditions. Tales have been scrutinized from different angles, ranging from folkloristic, mythological, anthropological, and ethnographic, to psychological, linguistic, literary, socio-historical, and feminist. The sheer abundance of approaches to the study demonstrates the complexity of the matter at hand and the richness of layers underlying the tales. The aim of this paper is to present an overview of these approaches and the key figures, as well as to provide a representative bibliographical list in order to aid further scholarly efforts.

Key words: fairy tales, criticism, approaches, methods, folklore

1. Introduction

Fairy tales are a genre of literature with a long history. As early as the eleventh century, a potential ancestor of the well-known fairy tale 'Little Red Riding Hood' was presented in Latin verse by the medieval teacher Egbert of Liège in his schoolbook *Fecunda ratis* (1022-1024) with the purpose of religious instruction. Its plot only vaguely resembles that of the modern tale, but, according to Jan M. Ziolkowski, Egbert "remains a folklore collector of the only sort who could have been encountered around the millennium – a male member of the literate class who, to indoctrinate youths, drew upon material that had currency among common people" (1992: 559). Although tales existing in manuscripts are relatively rare before modern times, towards the end of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century a fashion for collecting them developed, and with the first collector's attempts, first scholarly attempts at studying them appeared as well. Nevertheless, it was not until well into the nineteenth century that these attempts became more organised and the first scientific methods and scholarly approaches came into existence, spurred by the newly-established interest in folklore.

2. Early scholarship on fairy tales

In the nineteenth century, German Romantic nationalism thrived on the ideas of Johann Gottfried von Herder, whose argument that folk literature was deeply embedded in cultural and social context of its origin, inspired the Grimm brothers to collect 'pure' and 'authentically' German fairy tales in order to establish a national body of tales in a collection that would capture 'the spirit of the folk'. Their efforts served as an impetus for others to undertake similar projects – the English folklorist Joseph Jacobs, for example, considered his own two collections "a kind of English Grimm" (1894: vii). Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, however, were not only compilers and editors, but also scholars of importance, whose third volume of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children's and Household Tales*, 1819-1822) contains annotations to the tales in the manner of the comparative method[1] as well as an overview of international tales, a list of other editors and collectors (from Italy, France, Spain, England,[2] Scotland and Ireland, Denmark and Sweden, Germany, Slavic countries, Hungary, Greece, and the Orient).

The comparative approach is the essence of the *historic-geographic method*, developed by the Finnish folklorist Julius Krohn and his son Kaarle Krohn with the aim of reconstructing the original versions of individual tales, the *Urform*. The theory of *monogenesis*, i.e. single origin of a tale on the hands of an individual, then subject to diffusion in space and time, was strongly supported by Joseph Jacobs in his article 'The Problem of Diffusion' (1894), as well as Theodor Benfey and Emmanuel Cosquin, who both considered India to be the place of origin of the majority of the tales circulating in their time. The greatest contributions of the historic-geographic approach to the study of folktales are the tale-type and motif indexes, indispensable tools for many today's scholars. In 1910, the Finnish scholar Antti Aarne published his 76-page-long *Index of the Types of the Folktale,*[3] creating a system for classifying folktales (or 'märchen', as was his term), as well as a tale typology. Each tale-type was given a name, a number (e.g. Aa 500) and an abstract of the plot, distinguishing between actors and incidents. In 1927, the American folklorist Stith Thompson translated and revised the catalogue, enlarging it by 203 pages. His second edition added another 309 pages to the existing corpus, as well as new categories. Due to various insufficiencies (e.g. gender bias in naming and describing the types (Lundell 1986)), AT numbers turned into ATU[4] in 2004, with yet another revision of the catalogue, by the German scholar Hans-Jörg Uther, whose 2-volume, 1155-page-long catalogue gives a much more detailed division

[1] providing parallels from other countries, e.g. Jacobs's tale 'The Well of the World's End' is given as a variant of 'Der Froschkönig oder der eiserne Heinrich' ('The Frog King or Iron Henry', KHM 1) (Grimm and Grimm 1822: 6).

[2] including 'Jack the Giant-Killer' and 'The Life and Adventures of Tom Thumb' (396-405).

[3] Original title in German: Anti Aarne. (1910). *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*. FF Communications No. 3. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia.

[4] Aa stands for Aarne, AT for Aarne-Thompson, ATU for Aarne-Thompson-Uther.

into categories and subcategories as well as improved titles and descriptions of tale-types.[5] In addition, Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, a massive work of six volumes first published from 1932 to 1936, organizes numerous motifs appearing in tale-types into twenty-three categories, marked by letter headings (e.g. F. Marvels) and subcategories, marked by numbers (e.g. F54.2. Plant grows to sky; Jack and the Beanstalk).

Swedish folklorist and philologist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow was opposed to the historic-geographic idea of spreading tales through abstract transmission, claiming that the dissemination was performed by individual 'tradition bearers'. This standpoint also contrasts the one of romantic nationalists since he claims that tradition does not have its roots in 'the spirit of the folk' in general within a community, but most often lies with a member of a minority within a society – a gifted individual. In addition, he was also against the concept of only one existing *Urform*, believing that tales had multiple original forms, and in 1934 he introduced the term 'oicotype' into the science of folklore, to denote tales characteristic for an area, either in terms of geography, or culture. Thus, he was a supporter of the *polygenesis* hypothesis, though he did not exclude the possibility of diffusion of folktales. The most prominent proponent of polygenesis was Andrew Lang (1844–1912), who argued for the 'independent invention' of similar fairy tales due to "the existence of similar ideas in similar minds" (1893: 415).

3. Psychological approaches

This claim for psychic unity is remarkably similar to Carl Gustav Jung's theories of the collective unconscious and its archetypes. The collective unconscious, according to Jung, manifested itself through archetypal characters, some of which he analysed in 'The Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales' (1948) (e.g. the old man as helper, animal as helper) and in 'On the Psychology of the Trickster-Figure' (1954). His disciple, Marie-Louise von Franz focused much of her work on the matter of fairy tales, emphasizing their symbolic meaning. Her numerous books on the subject cover a wide range of topics: from the concept of the shadow, the anima, and the animus, specific motifs (e.g. motif of redemption, bird motif, cross-cultural motifs) to the problem of evil in fairy tales and the representation of feminine images (e.g. mother as an archetypal image). She was opposed to the nationalistic ideas about fairy tales, because, in her opinion, fairy tales "migrate and [thus] cannot be linked up with national collective consciousness" (1986: 6). Jung's insights were combined with comparative mythology[6] in the work

[5] For a more detailed discussion, see Prošić-Santovac 2010.

[6] Some of the *mythological approaches* have been discredited in the course of folklore studies. Such is the case with *solar mythology* of Friedrich Max Müller, whose search for 'genealogical identifications' for 'historical purposes' (1899: 447) and his use of the insights of comparative

of Joseph Campbell, who sought to prove the existence of one archetypal pattern within the universal monomyth, "the one, shape-shifting yet marvelously constant story" (2004: 3). In addition, there is a striking similarity between *Jungian approaches* and the *anthroposophical theory* of Rudolf Steiner, who also employs archetypal imagery in his lecture 'The Poetry and Meaning of Fairy Tales' (1908) and who, just like Jung, believes that "the starting point of all true tales lies in time immemorial, in the time when those who had not yet attained intellectual powers possessed a more or less remarkable clairvoyance," unmarred by civilization.

Jungian approaches constitute a branch of *psychological approaches* to the study of fairy tales. *Freudian approaches* are another, and they, as the name implies, revolve around ideas of Sigmund Freud, the 'rejected' mentor of Carl Gustav Jung. Freud borrowed from folklore when formulating his prominent theory of the Oedipus complex, using a classical version of the ATU 931 tale-type. His writings on the topic of fairy tales focus on their connection with dreams (e.g. ATU 500 (1997: 103), wish fulfilment and symbolism within fairy tale motifs. His ideas were further developed by his followers Franz Riklin, Ernest Jones, Otto Rank, Erich Fromm, and Géza Róheim, who even goes so far as to suggest that fairy tales originate in dreams. The latter is an outstanding figure among the psychoanalysts in that he was a trained folklorist as well, and he recognized the importance of taking into account different variants of a tale and tale-types.

Another important scholar, though of controversial reputation, was Bruno Bettelheim, the neo-Freudian author of the influential bestseller *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (1976). Although a valuable contribution to the psychoanalytic study of fairy tales in some of its aspects, Bettelheim's study has been criticised on numerous accounts. For example, feminist readings have uncovered sexist undertones in his writing (Oliver 1977; Stone 2008); in addition, Jack Zipes argues that Bettelheim's work is a "betrayal of the radical essence of Freudianism" and that he "has contributed to the banalization of Freudian theory by blandly applying its tenets without rethinking and reworking them in the light of social and scientific changes" (1979: 164-5). Among other things, he was even accused of downright plagiarism in the article 'Bruno

philology lead him to the conclusion that modern myths and tales are a corruption of the pure primeval myths – "the radical meaning of the word is forgotten, and thus what was originally an appellative, or a name, in the etymological sense of the word . . . dwindled down into a mere sound – a name in the modern sense of the word" (1872: 72). Severely criticized by many scholars, most fervently by Andrew Lang, solar mythology remains, however, significant "for the role it played in the history of [folklore]," since, as Lang himself admitted, without Müller's "provocation he and his fellow-folklorists might never have stirred into existence" (Dorson 1955: 393).

Another devolutionary approach to the study of folk and fairy tales is the *myth-ritual theory* of Lord Raglan, according to whom "rites and myths arise in more civilized and spread to less civilized societies, where they often degenerate . . . [and] may survive as a sacred, and later as a secular, story when the rite has ceased to be performed" (1957: 173). He considered the practice of defining myths, sagas and fairy tales as completely separate categories to be 'hair-splitting', thus putting "all traditional narratives as regards their origin into one category" (1955: 460).

Bettelheim's Uses of Enchantment and Abuses of Scholarship' (1991) by Dundes, who quoted many examples of 'borrowings' without acknowledgement from his predecessors.

Alan Dundes was a psychoanalytic folklorist of international fame who combined morphological and structural approaches with folkloristic theories and Freudian psychology in much of his writing. He introduced the terms 'motifeme' and 'allomotif' in the study of folk and fairy tales, in an effort to merge structuralist and historic-geografic approaches. A *psychostructural approach* was also adopted by Steven Swann Jones and defended fiercely in his article 'On Analyzing Fairy Tales' (1987) against Robert Darnton's attack on psychoanalyst readings of fairy tales. Bengt Holbek was a Danish psychological structuralist, who combined psychoanalytic reading of fairy tales with Dundes's motifemic analysis and his own adaptation of Propp's functions into five 'moves'.

4. Anthropological approaches

Vladimir Propp was a predecessor of *structuralism* as practiced by Claude Lévi-Strauss. In his *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928), Propp devised a system of thirty-one 'functions', which are characteristic of the narrative structure of fairy tales and usually occur in the same order.[7] Lévi-Strauss, on the other hand, advocated a different kind of structural analysis, based on his theory of binary opposition, where raw is opposed to cooked, black to white, wet to dry, rational to emotional, etc. Another movement among the *anthropological approaches* which also makes use of linguistic devices is *ethnopoetics*, shaped by Dennis Tedlock and Dell H. Hymes. Tedlock's aim was to capture the quality of oral performance by "constructing multivocal discourse" and telling "the story of what performers have said and done while at the same time letting their performances go on telling a story" (1990: 141), while Hymes analysed language-specific means of achieving an aesthetic form and emphasized the importance of the communicative context of tale performance.

The practice of collecting tales in context is the basis of *ethnographic approaches.* The American anthropologist William Bascom defined the 'social context of folklore' through the medium of the following factors:

> (1) when and where the various forms of folklore are told; (2) who tells them, whether or not they are privately owned, and who composes the audience; (3) dramatic devices employed by the narrator, such as gestures,

[7] Propp's functions are: absentation, interdiction, violation of interdiction, reconnaissance, delivery, trickery, complicity, villainy and lack, mediation, counteraction, departure, testing, reaction, acquisition, guidance, struggle, branding, victory, resolution, return, pursuit, rescue, arrival, claim, task, solution, recognition, exposure, transfiguration, punishment, wedding; he also defined eight general character types, or dramatis personae: the hero, the helper, the villain, the false hero, the donor, the dispatcher, the princess, the princess's father (Propp 1968).

facial expressions, pantomime, impersonation, or mimicry; (4) audience participation in the form of laughter, assent or other responses, running criticism or encouragement of the narrator, singing or dancing, or acting out parts in a tale; (5) categories of folklore recognized by the people themselves; and (6) attitudes of the people toward these categories (1954: 334).

Folklorists such as Linda Dégh immersed themselves into the communities whose folktales they collected; as a result, in *Folktales and Society: Story-Telling in a Hungarian Peasant Community* (1969), she discusses "the correlation of oral folk narratives, their creators and performers, and the participant audience as a complex whole in the expression of culture" (vii). In 1971, in cooperation with Andrew Vázsonyi, she developed the *conduit theory* of transmission, which accounts for the perseverance of folklore items and the existence of variations stemming from different contexts that are influenced by the similar mindsets of conduit members, both the senders and the receivers of the message.

5. Socio-historical approaches

Social, historical and cultural contexts play an important role in interpreting the meaning of tales within the scope of *socio-historical approaches*. Specific variants of tales[8] are considered to be reflections of the conditions within a society at the time of their production and reception. The German folklorist Lutz Röhrich was an advocate of this view, although he did allow for the fact that "ideas from various ages may merge in a single folktale" (1991a: 57). In his essay 'The Quest of Meaning in Folk Narrative Research' (1991b), he also warned against dogmatic interpretations of the meaning of a text, since it is "determined by the development of culture and ideas, fashions and trends, and dependent on rulers and ruling ideologies, [as well as] the education and cultural awareness, the sex, age, religion, and ethnic group of the consumer" (2). Nancy L. Canepa relies on Röhrich's work in *From Court to Forest: Giambattista Basile's Lo cunto de li cunti and the Birth of the Literary Fairy Tale* (1999) in referring to the tales in question as "a text that is openly engaged with the culture in which it was created" (1999: 23); for example, she identifies certain 'mechanical automatons', extraordinary in the early-seventeenth century Italy, that found their way into Basile's tales as wonders that help heroes overcome obstacles (27). In a similar vein, cultural historian Robert Darnton tries to uncover the world of the eighteenth-century France in 'Peasants Tell Tales: The Meaning of Mother Goose' (1999) in order "to show not merely what people thought but how they thought – how they construed the world, invested it

[8] As opposed to tale-types, which are considered to be more universal due to their appearance within different communities and geographical areas.

with meaning, and infused it with emotion" (3).[9] Maria Tatar has "kept Darnton's caveat in mind when reading the tales in the Grimms' collection," combining the socio-historical approach with Propp's 'legacy' and her own interpretation of Bettelheim's 'provocative readings' (1987: xix).

German fairy tales are also frequently focused on by Jack Zipes. In his first essay on the topic, 'Breaking the Magic Spell: Politics and the German Fairy Tale' (1975) he applied 'the Marxist method' in order to come closer to "a historical clarification and a total view" of folk and fairy tales (116). His socio-historical approach to fairy tales has been further developed in his subsequent work, enriched by various insights from fields as far apart in interests as those of linguistics, genetics, psychology, and memetics, to name just a few. His discussions are by no means restricted to the tales of the Grimms; Charles Perrault's, Hans Christian Andersen's and other more recent writers' tales, for example, have an important place in his analyses, as well as the cinematic adaptations of fairy tales. His consideration of the impact of modern media on the fairy tale genre has culminated in *The Enchanted Screen: The Unknown History of Fairy-Tale Films* (2010), where he delves into the matter much more deeply than in his previous frequent examinations of Walt Disney's films.

Like many others studying the history of the fairy tale, Zipes considers it a fact that "the literary fairy tale developed as an appropriation of a particular oral storytelling tradition that gave birth to the wonder folk tale" (2006: 44). Ruth B. Bottigheimer questions this widely accepted 'truth' in her *Fairy Tales: A New History* (2009) and argues for the opposite view, i.e. a replacement of "an anonymous folk with literate authors who are city-oriented people" and substitution of "human mouths and ears [with] printed books as the route of dissemination" of fairy tales (113). Her predecessor in this line of thought was the German scholar Rudolf Schenda, whose ideas of printed texts as 'tradition bearers', expressed in *From Mouth to Ear: Elements of a Cultural History of Popular Storytelling in Europe*[10] (1993), have only recently been made available to the English-speaking scholarly community in the form of an article. Other scholars have not been so exclusive in their views on the issue; Jan M. Ziolkowski, for example, supports a much milder view, stating that "in describing the relationship of these tales, we are not confined to a harsh dichotomy between literary and oral" (1992: 553). Similarly, Propp[11] discusses the distinction between "pure folklore, that is, folklore both by origin and by transmission, [and] folklore of literary origin, that is, folklore by transmission but literature by origin," but is satisfied to conclude that "ties between

[9] See also Dorothy R. Thelander 'Mother Goose and Her Goslings: The France of Louis XIV as Seen through the Fairy Tale' (1982).

[10] Original title in German: Rudolf Schenda. (1993). *Von Mund zu Ohr: Bausteine zu einer Kulturgeschichte volkstümlichen Erzählens in Europa.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

[11] Although he is renowned for his structuralist approach, in his later work (*Historical Roots of the Wondertale* (1946), parts of which are published in *Theory and History of Folklore* (1984)), Propp seeks the roots of fairy tales in historical reality and social institutions of the past.

literature and folklore, as well as the literary sources of folklore are among the most interesting subjects both in the history of literature and in folklore" (1984: 9).

6. Literary and linguistic approaches

Establishing the difference between oral narratives and their literary counterparts was the aim of the Danish folklorist Axel Olrik, whose article 'Epic Laws of Folk Narrative'[12] (1908) presents an effort to uncover universal regularities in traditional tales, and, as such, can be viewed as a precursor of Propp's study of fairy tales' structure. A *literary approach* has also been adopted by the Swiss scholar Max Lüthi, who chose searching for regularities in style of the folktale as the focal point of his work. His goal was "to establish the essential laws" (1982: 107) and "delineate the principal formal traits of the European folktale" (3) which, according to him, are one-dimensionality, depthlessness, abstract style, isolation and universal interconnection, and sublimation and all-inclusiveness. Unlike Olrik, Lüthi does not lay a claim to universality; his stylistic features are deemed culturally specific, restricted to Europe. Furthermore, in *The Fairy Tale as Art Form and Portrait of Man* (1984), he combines aesthetic with an anthropological approach, considering fairy tales to be expressions of a certain worldview.

Alessandra Levorato undertook the task of uncovering a "close, reciprocal relationship [of a] text to the social reality that produces it" (2003: x), using a *linguistic approach* to take an objective look at "the extent to which language choices may work in the interests of particular categories of people" (196). Her study focuses on the sexist use of language in fairy tales and the ideological motivation behind different adaptations of a tale, which, in their own right, further serve the purpose of socialization by influencing the readers' worldview in terms of gender relations. Similarly, Bottigheimer's 'Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: The 'Fit' between Fairy Tales and Society in Their Historical Context' (1986) analyses the language of the tales in relationship to power, viewing 'discourse as domination'. She examines silence on three levels in the tales: "the muteness which grows out of the narrative, . . . the silences within the text resulting from the author's or editor's distribution of direct and indirect speech, [and] the manner in which lexical context colors what is said" (119).

[12] Olrik's 'epic laws' are: The Law of Opening, The Clarity of the Narrative, The Unity of Plot, The Law of Concentration on a Leading Character (The Law of Centralization), The Law of the Single Strand, The Logic of the Narrative, The Law of Two to a Scene, The Law of Twins, The Law of Contrast, The Law of Three, The Law of Repetition, The Law of Patterning, The Ideal of Epic Unity, The Use of Tableaux Scenes, The Law of Final Stress, The Law of Closing (1965: 129-141, 1992: 41-82).

7. Feminist approaches

Feminist approaches to fairy tales grew out of the seed planted by the early 1970s debate of Alison Lurie and Marcia R. Lieberman. Lurie's two articles 'defended' fairy tales as stories which "suggest a society in which women are as competent and active as men, at every age and in every class" (1970: 42). Lieberman countered her view, stating that popular fairy tales "serve to acculturate women to traditional social roles" (1972: 383) and represent a significant factor "in forming the sexual role concept of children and in suggesting to them the limitations that are imposed by sex upon a person's chances of success in various endeavors" (383). She dismissed as unimportant Lurie's argument that the best-known tales, with passive and pretty heroines, present an 'unrepresentative selection' because they "reflect the taste of the refined literary men who edited the first popular collections of fairy tales for children" (1971: 6). However, later scholars found this insight significant and built upon it by analysing differences between successive editions and the implications of the changes introduced (e.g. Stone 1975, 1981; Bottigheimer 1987; Tatar 1987).

In 'To Spin a Yarn: The Female Voice in Folklore and Fairy Tale' (1986) Karen E. Rowe argues that, although male appropriators of texts had "controlling power of retelling, of literary recasting, and of dissemination to the folk" (61) in the past, tale-telling is essentially a female art; the editors just "reshaped what they could not precisely comprehend, because only for women does the thread . . . create a tapestry to be fully read and understood" (70-1). Marina Warner further developed this observation in *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairytales and Their Tellers* (1994), a history of female story-telling, ranging from the archetype of Mother Goose to the twentieth-century novelist Angela Carter, with great attention paid to the writings of the French *conteuses*. Thus, a new perspective enriched folkloristic studies as it became undeniable that "by the end of the eighteenth century . . . women were not only writing, they were conceiving fictional worlds in which patriarchal images and conventions were severely, radically revised" (Gilbert and Gubar 1984: 4).

Discussion of gender issues is also combined with a socio-historical stance in Bottigheimer's 'Tale Spinners: Submerged Voices in Grimms' Fairy Tales' (1982). She claims that the tales "can be seen as a sourcebook for the mentality not only of the 19th century but also of former ages" (141), and concentrates on the tales connected with spinning. She argues that the ambivalent attitude towards 'this archetypically female employment' is the result of female production and male editing of the texts. Her ascribing generally negative connotations to spinning from the female point of view is criticised by Zipes, who asserts "that women historically cherished [it]" because it provided them with an opportunity to improve their social position, in terms of marriage, and, even more importantly, it provided them with an 'autonomous' area of female productivity; he does acknowledge, however, that "attitudes toward spinning underwent major shifts on the part of both men and women," though only after industrialization took place (1993: 57).

Joan Gould's *Spinning Straw into Gold: What Fairy Tales Reveal about the Transformations in a Woman's Life* (2006) illustrates the connection between fairy tales and the stages in a woman's life, which are defined as Maiden, Matron, and Crone. Gould disagrees with the assertion that fairy tale heroines are "passive creatures who wait for a deliverer" (409) and reserves this characterization only for Disney's female protagonists. She disregards the motif of sleep as an indication of passivity; rather, she qualifies it as "one of the natural paths of inner development, . . . [an] escape from situations that overwhelm [a woman], while protecting her from the need to make decisions" (411). Kay F. Stone shares the opinion about the Disney's heroines, but strongly disagrees on the point of sleep, characterizing them as "barely alive . . . [in that] two of them hardly manage to stay awake" (1975: 44). In her early work, she conducted research to ascertain to what extent popular fairy tales influence the outlook of modern women and teenage girls in North America, and found that a majority of her informants "were completely unfamiliar with Anglo-American heroines, most of whom appear in scholarly collections not often found in children's sections of libraries [but] could easily recall tales popularized through the numerous Grimm translations and the Disney films" (1975: 43).

8. Conclusion

Generally, a large body of scholarship concentrates on the analysis of the Grimm's tales; for example, a majority of studies mentioned above focuses on them, at the expense of other writers, both male and female, from Germany as well as other countries. In addition, Charles Perrault and his Mother Goose tales take up a significant portion of fairy tale scholarship. Thus, it was only recently that the genre of the literary fairy tale in the early eighteenth-century France started receiving more scholarly attention, most of all tales published between 1690 and 1715, two thirds of which were written by women and only one third by men. A revival of interest in these tales took place not among French or European scholars, as one might suspect, but among North American ones, and mainly from the feminist and socio-historical point of view (Seifert 2004, 1996; Hannon 1998; Tucker 2003; Duggan 2005). Anglo-American scholars contributed to attracting attention to German female writers, as well. However, English fairy tales have received surprisingly little attention, although there are several representative collections. This is, therefore, a relatively neglected field and one largely open to study.

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THE AESTHETICS OF SURVIVANCE IN GERALD VIZENOR'S *HIROSHIMA BUGI: ATOMU 57*

Abstract This paper discusses Gerald Vizenor's 2003 novel *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* within the context of identity construction in post-World War II Japan and the Native American community of the White Earth Reservation. Through analysis of Vizenor's *kabuki* meditation on "survivance" after nuclear devastation, the paper will explore the cross-cultural link between the Ainu, the indigenous natives of the island of northern Japan, and the Anishinaabe, the Native American tribe to which the writer belongs.
The aim of this paper is to focus on a sense of native presence over Vizenor's notions of absence, victimry and nihility in both the traditional and the contemporary world of *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57*.

Key words: the aesthestics of survivance, Gerald Vizenor, Hiroshima, the identity construction

1. "Survivance" in Gerald Vizenor's native stories

"Survivance" is a word coined by Gerald Vizenor, a "crossblood" or a "mixedblood"[1] Anishinaabe writer and scholar born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1934, who follows his family through many generations on what is now the White Earth Reservation in northern Minnesota. Vizenor identifies his work with the native oral tradition and moreover, he describes his style of writing as a visual experience. Reading his work is a difficult journey. As an original and experimental literary artist whose work departs radically from traditional forms and techniques, he challenges existing conventions in every literary genre. His native stories of survivance are an active presence of indigenous people, and therefore an act of resistance to dominant cultural narratives. Survivance for him means survival and endurance, and is used to describe existence of minority cultures through storytelling, ceremonies and way of thinking as well as acting in the community or in the world that refuses domination and position of the victim. In the sense of native survivance, it is even more than survival, more than endurance or mere response,

[1] A "crossblood" or a "mixedblood" in Vizenor's terminology means to be of mixed Indian and European heritage.

since survivance in the native context is not only passive survival for Vizenor, but active resistance as well. As the continuance of stories, the writer explains that native survivance is an active presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion, where the character of survivance creates the sense of native presence over nihility and victimry. Vizenor points out that the nature of survivance is unmistakable in native stories, natural reason, remembrance, traditions, customs, and clearly observable in narrative resistance and personal attributes, such as his notions of the native humanistic tease, vital irony, spirit, cast of mind, and moral courage.

2. "Survivance" within the context of identity construction in Vizenor's *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57*

One of Vizenor's stories of survivance, 2003 novel *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57*, which he calls a *kabuki* novel, stands for an aesthetic act of resistance to dominant cultural narratives. The novel gives voice to voiceless people's history, putting the history of the native peoples in the U.S. in parallel with the history of the native peoples of Japanese archipelago. In other words, *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* makes an explicit link between the Ainu, the indigenous natives of the island of northern Japan, and the Anishinaabe, the Native American tribe to which the writer belongs. The protagonist, Ronin Ainoko Browne, is a "hafu", hybrid or "mixedblood" orphan son of Okichi, a Japanese boogie-woogie dancer who is probably an Ainu from Hokkaido, and of Nightbraker, an Anshinaabe from the White Earth Reservation who served as an interpreter for General Douglas MacArthur during the first year of the American occupation in Japan. Ronin is the human peace contender whose name means a "samurai" with no lord or master during the feudal period (1185-1868) of Japan. The word literally means "wave man", and it is by definition used for a wandering samurai, or a masterless warrior. Vizenor's protagonist is sometimes called "a ronin" by definition and not just by his given name. Hence, as a mixedblood wandering warrior, Ronin functions as a metaphor for cross-cultural encounters and cultural hybridity rather than for ethnic or racial mixing. In addition to this, Elvira Pulitano in her 2003 study *Toward a Native American Critical Theory* links all Vizenor's crossblood characters by this feature. Moreover, Ronin, by his origins, his way of thinking and acting in contemporary world as well as by his name, embodies contradiction and ambiguity, and mediates between supposed contradictory worlds of the spiritual or tribal and the real or modern existence. He is in a constant fight for balance between opposite poles, interconnecting aspects of both; still, he upsets the balance of dominant contemporary culture in its inability to grasp fully the presence or legacy of nuclear devastation in Hiroshima. Thus, Vizenor's protagonist, like the writer himself, resists boundaries and singularity in many ways. All this also suggests a categorical rejection of the notion of blood as a marker of identity. Ronin's very identity reflects contradictions and resists any absolute definition, not in a position of victim, but celebrating survivance of his

marginal individuality. His marginality is a type of existence, and state of being as well as way of being.

In Vizenor's conception, energy of such a figure cannot actually be captured in academic theory, but appears as the trickster identity. The trickster is itself subversion of any mode of classification representing liberation and multiform. It is the figure simultaneously old and new, which mediates between oppositions, plays on the edge of metaphors, and who in his or her wandering, just like Ronin, makes a spiritual balance between the forces of good and evil through humor in the urban world. The unnamed third person narrator of *Hiroshima* tells the reader that "Ronin… is the animal of his mind, a spirit by stories not by the possession of sorcerers. He is a unique and ironic healer, a trickster by stories, not by character simulations." (Vizenor 2003: 64) In a story within a narrator's story Ronin says: "I am hafu, a ronin trickster by chance of my conception." (Vizenor 2003: 64) Like the protagonist of *Hiroshima Bugi*, the native trickster has many names. In Vizenor's survivance narrative a name is a metaphor for a new personality or a different and new social function. The trickster is not actually a specific character, but a figure which Vizenor calls "a comic holotrope". It is a chance and a figure of speech which can manifest the creative force within individuals that allows them to liberate themselves, break the rules, and move beyond the boundaries. Ronin, as the trickster, distinguishes himself from identification with the culture he challenges, makes or remakes, and therefore is simultaneously both central and marginal to his either the U.S. or Japanese culture. This is why the trickster, including Ronin, is never simply "a character", but a figure of deliberate anomaly of language, or a function of language's self-reconstructive power that can only be realized through speech of an individual, so as to accommodate to changing natural or social circumstances. Ronin even creates a new calendar that starts with the first use of atomic bomb, on Atomu One. This means that his practice of survivance as natural reason strives not toward loss but renewal and continuity of an active sense of presence in the future rather than memorializing the past, especially if that past is captured in simulation of dominance in museums, such as the Peace Memorial Museum in Hiroshima. Besides, Vizenor writes the trickster tales that are imaginative stories, discussion, engagement, discourse, liberation, and moreover, they are energy and life; however, they are not theory, and they are not monologue by his definition. The trickster is a language game with infinite range of possibilities including satire, parody and travesty in a comic narrative. Therefore, as much as Ronin is the trickster figure, *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* is the trickster narrative.

Vizenor's *Hiroshima* is a meditational discourse and a dialogue between postcolonial theory and Native American paradigm with an intensely political, or better, anti-political message. He incorporates a documentary collage into his imagination, and offers two versions of the same story, where the first account is given in the first person, and the second in the third omniscient person. Both the protagonist and the narrator establish a literary dialogue between oral and written, tribal dream songs and modern prose, myth and reality. The novel starts in the ruins

of the Atomic Bomb Dome, a new Rashomon Gate, and from its very beginning upsets comfort of a contemporary world in supposed peace. On the one hand, Vizenor criticizes the present political system wherein peace is maintained by the threat of nuclear power; on the other hand, he seeks to articulate a vision that is grounded in his tribal experience and American Indian mythology, incorporating the oral into the written in order to set people free. His *Hiroshima* builds its story across cultures, weaving Japanese culture and history with the Anishinaabe and using a satirical deconstruction of a simulated construction made on immediate atomic destruction in Hiroshima. The narrator informs readers that "the Ainu and the *anishinaabe* told similar stories about natural reason, their creation, animal totems, and survivance." (Vizenor 2003: 51) In stories within stories within stories, which is a technique that Vizenor calls "word cinemas", lies the meaning between the stories about both cultures that are based "upon a world view which presumes that everything in nature, be it tree, plant, animal, bird, stone, wind, or mountain, has a life of its own and can interact with humanity." (Vizenor 2003: 51-52) The Ainu "tease their origins in the presence of *kamuy* spirits,"(Vizenor 2003: 137) what the Anishinaabe call *manidoo*, and both indigenous peoples "create in their stories a culture of survivance." (Vizenor 2003: 137) In *Hiroshima* Vizenor, through Ronin, shows that cross-cultural dialogue does not destroy traditional beliefs and tribal existence but rather is essential for survivance and new consciousness of co-existence. In this context, Ronin tells the narrator, "The Shino kami and the anishinaabe manidoo are common ancestors in my dreams." (Vizenor 2003: 64) Ronin is a dreamer with creative memories and visions, whose primary source are animals and birds. The presence of animals and birds is a trace of natural reason, while their creation in his visions and memories reveals a practice of native survivance. Like Vizenor, Ronin communicates between myth and reality, between tribal oral expression and contemporary written narrative. As the trickster, he mediates between man and nature, and ends up nothing without representational values. That is what he or it is; it is liberation. It is his or the trickster's figure identity. Ronin, or a ronin, who as a mixedblood, as Vizenor says, loosens the seams in the shrouds of identities, and as a trickster whose very identity reflects contradictions, challenges individuals and the whole humanity to re-imagine who they really are, victims or survivors, after the dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. At the end, both the protagonist of *Hiroshima Bugi* and his story become a shadow that has a special meaning for Vizenor. In his conception, the shadows are active memories of stories heard in silence that he tries to bring into being with his writing as the imagination of tribal experience. He says that in Native literature shadows do not need a source. Therefore, a story and its meaning can be discovered only in the shadow spheres of oral tradition. In this context Kimberly M. Blaeser in her study *Writing in the Oral Tradition*, published before *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57*, recognizes Vizenor's quality that into the telling of history he brings imagination, which can also be recognized in his 2003 *kabuki* novel. In the last chapter of *Hiroshima*, the narrator tells the reader that the protagonist:

> … has died many times over the manners and proprieties of an empire nation that would not embrace the hafu children of the occupation… Ronin is loyal to the kami spirits of thousands of children who died when the atomic bomb destroyed Hiroshima. He has resisted, countered, and accosted those who endorsed notions of fake peace, as you know, and he has obstructed museums in the name of war and peace… There were times when he seemed convinced that by shouts, encounters of the kami spirits, and trickery he could create stories of human dignity and survivance, rather than the dead letters of tradition, obedience to the emperor, and peace poses. (Vizenor 2003: 206)

As the narrator of the novel closes the story that in the light of all possibilities of the trickster narrative could actually signify its opening, Ronin, a wandering warrior of survivance, truly vanishes at the waterfront park, as it is said with an explanation that the roamers and the veterans sensed his eternal presence. The novel ends up while Ronin's lover Miko, whose name is a Japanese word meaning "shaman of the ruins" (Vizenor 2003: 76), in her visit to the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota shouts Ronin's names, *atomu hafu*, and *hafu*, the invisible tattoos turn to bears. According to Kenneth Lincoln, trickster resists the boundaries of any given species, and is likely to appear at any time in any image. Therefore, a ronin as the trickster has an ability to be human or animal, individual or multiform, not wholly human or deity, but simultaneously none and all of these because this figure inhabits more than one region of being, and is also the face of the other(s).

Vizenor's *Hiroshima*, in a sense of his *kabuki* novel, attains its own blend of reality and unreality as well as balance between the sensuality and the ritual. This *kabuki* play is a continuous performance tradition, in which, as narrator says, "Ronin, by his presence in the ruins, created a ritual, a nuclear kabuki theater that teased and defied the preservation of peace." (Vizenor 2003: 13) *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* is also a creative satire of cultural, historical and religious notions where birds, animals, and any transformation of the natural world are used as natural reason to critique human sensibilities of the time. In this context, Ronin explains what Hiroshima is for him, "Hiroshima is my bugi dance, the peace pond my fire, origami cranes my tease, the park roamers, ravens, mongrels my strain, and the Peace Memorial Museum is my *Hiroshima Mon Amor*." (Vizenor 2003: 119) He lectured some tourists that the new museum is named after the movie *Hiroshima Mon Amor*. It is his bugi movie, as he says, "because the new war on simulated peace starts right here in the museum. The nuclear nights never end in a diorama of victimry." (Vizenor 2003: 120) His opinion is if you see only the museum, you have seen nothing in Hiroshima because museums bear the simulation of dominance that both Ronin and Vizenor want to overcome by the simulation of survivance.

In Vizenor's view, survival is keenly dependent on identity, which he creates through language and literature. His Ronin is a mixedblood, and as the writer calls it, a postindian wandering samurai. Vizenor explains that the identity of the Indian is an absolute fake because the word has no referent in tribal languages and culture. On the contrary, he recognizes "postindian" identity, which replaces the Indian

invention, and celebrates "postindian warrior(s)", like Ronin, who creates a new tribal presence in stories. Although both categories still function through simulations, their theatrical performances through simulation of survivance can become a recreation of the real. It is also the case of the protagonist of *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57*, whose perfect memories arise from natural reason, experience, communal wit, and native trickster stories linking post-World War Japan and Native American Community of the White Earth Reservation. The narrator often explains who Ronin or a ronin is, and he tells the reader:

> Ronin is a storier of death, and by the evocation of bushido, his many deaths are magic, an eternal end and trickery resurrection by another name, in another character and presence. Death is his kabuki theater, his native giveaway spirit.
>
> Ronin creates words, names and turns combinations of words, some native words, to intimate desire and the critical thrust of new ideas. "Survivance," for instance, is not merely a variation of "survival," the act, reaction, or custom of a survivalist. By "survivance" he means a vision and vital condition to endure, to outwit evil and dominance, and to deny victimry. Ronin told me that survivance is wit, natural reason, and "perfect memory." Dominance, he said, is inherited, "a dead voice pursued by trickster stories." Tragic wisdom is heard in stories of survivance, not dominance.
>
> Dominance, he declared, honors victimry. (Vizenor 2003: 36)

3. Conclusion

In cross-cultural dialogue of *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* between the Ainu and the Anishinaabe after nuclear devastation, Gerald Vizenor shows that survivance is invariably true in native practice and community in the U.S. as well as in Japan. He writes to heal, creating irony, aesthetic of sentiments and survivance. The *Hiroshima* dance between indigenous peoples and colonial powers develops natural concept of new consciousness about their co-existence in a contemporary world. As well as the trickster figure of Ronin or "a ronin", the novel itself is liberation; it is an active imaginative story written in an oral tribal context in which the reader becomes the listener, and the trickster mediator, who actually makes the (hi)story. Thus, the reader brings *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57* into being, and can experience the words as events in both the U.S. and Japanese oral tradition. As long as the readers listen to the story, it will live in its own energy and aesthetics of survivance.

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POSTMODERNIST 'FORMLESSNESS' AS UNCOMMITTED COMMITMENT IN DONALD BARTHELME'S AND ISHMAEL REED'S FICTION

Abstract In contrast to critical observations that denied postmodernist literature any serious oppositional quality with reference to the late twentieth-century western culture (e.g. F. Jameson or T. Eagleton), and in line with critical acknowledgement of its adversarial potential by a more sympathetic group of critics (e.g. L. Hutcheon, L. McCaffery, P. Maltby, or S. Trachtenberg), the fiction of Donald Barthelme and Ishmael Reed perfectly illustrates the ability of postmodernist literature to provide a convincing and poignant cultural critique without ever becoming a socio-politically engaged literature in a traditional, programmatically unequivocal sense.
In this context, the paper interprets formal experimentation in Barthelme's and Reed's fiction as a significant aspect of a typically postmodernist stance of uncommitted commitment that enabled these authors to be simultaneously detached from and drawn into the wider social, political or ideological debate. The paper aims to show that both Barthelme and Reed, in operating with the pastiche, the collage, the inclusion of low culture forms, the absence of easily traceable plots, the avoidance of psychological depths in characterization and the deliberate dwelling on the surface, successfully foreground the problematic aspects of the late capitalist culture and in so doing point at the inextricable connection between art and the world, text and context.

Key words: postmodernism, late 20th century, oppositional literature, cultural critique, uncommitted commitment, formal experimentation

1. Theoretical context

Donald Barthelme and Ishmael Reed are associated with what might be called the first wave of postmodernism in American literature during the 1960s and the 1970s i.e. the so-called *experimental postmodernism* whose distinctive mark was formal experimentation that some welcomed as a refreshing literary renewal, some as annoying and unnecessary pretensiousness. Post-Marxist or pro-leftist critics such as Fredric Jameson or Terry Eagleton have generally denied any serious oppositional potential of such literature that they viewed as eccentrically obssessed with its own metafictional procedures. In contrast to that line of criticism, I align with a more sympathetic group of critics, such as Linda Hutcheon, Larry McCaffery, Paul

Maltby, or Stanley Trachtenberg, who have acknowledged *adversarial* or *dissident* potential of experimental postmodernism. Thus, I will argue that the fiction of Donald Barthelme and Ishmael Reed perfectly illustrates the ability of postmodernist literature to provide a convincing and poignant cultural critique, even if that critique is far from the traditional socio-politically engaged (and enraged) response. Rather than being a deadly serious and programmatically unequivocal social or political manifesto, postmodernist fiction of the period promoted a paradoxical and typically ambiguous attitude of *uncommited commitment* that enabled the authors such as Barthelme and Reed to be simultaneously comfortably detached from and sufficiently drawn into the wider social, political or ideological debate.

2. Barthelme's 'midfiction'

Furthermore, formal experimentation in this kind of fiction may serve two different purposes, and frequently within the same short-story or novel and at the same time: on the one hand, it may reinforce a detachment from the outside world thus defining the given work of art as pure metafiction, on the other, the very form frequently serves as a social or political commentary. In this context, Donald Barthelme occupies a peculiar position, insofar as a recognizable metafictional dimension of his work aligns him with major American postmodernist authors of the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. John Barth, Thomas Pynchon, Ishmael Reed), but at the same time the metafictional dimension in Barthelme is just as often overshadowed by the typically Barthelmian form that points to the outside reality of which his fiction is part (Pynchon termed it *Barthelmismo*). For this reason, Stanley Trachtenberg differentiated Barthelme's style from that of other postmodernist *metafictionists* of the period and placed him between the extremes of traditional literary realism and the full-blown postmodernist metafiction. Likewise, Larry McCaffery applied the term *midfiction* rather than metafiction to Donald Barthelme and Robert Coover in order to stress that their fiction does not abandon attempts to deal with the outside world. Michael Hudgens used Barthelme's fiction as an example of postmodernist fiction that includes a reaction to "society and economic order, especially as reflected and shaped in a mass media where confusion reigns, and incoherence and hysteria are the norm" (Hudgens 2001: vii). Finally, Barthelme himself stated in an interview: "there's a consistent social concern in my stories from the 1960s to the present, slipped in while your attention is directed toward something else…but it's there" (Roe 1992: 110).

Throughout his seven short-story collections, from *Come Back, Dr. Caligari* to *Great Days* and in two novels, *Snow White* and *The Dead Father*, all published between 1964 and 1979, Barthelme polished to perfection his style of deliberate formlessness as an expression of uncommitted commitment which enabled Barthelme to combine the seriousness of a revolutionary with the complacency of a bourgeois, the delicateness of an artist and the anarchism of a street hustler. His 'formless form' equally undermined the realist and the modernist narrative

conventions, either as the instrument of fiction about fiction, or as both the carrier and the very mode of the socio-political commentary. Frequently, it was the very form, manifested as minimalism, fragmentation, disruption of linearity and chronology, suspension of logic, the inclusion of the absurd and the surreal, flat characterization, the use of the collage and the pastiche, that made Barthelme sound ambiguous, that is, both involved and aloof, or neither passionately dismissive nor sympathetic. If it somewhat blunted the edge of his satire or sarcasm, or mitigated the fury with a touch of sympathy or humor, it also suggested that his sympathy and humor cannot be entirely trusted, always containing a poisonous sting that leaves the naïve reader stranded.

3. Fragmentation as the mirror-image of postmodernity

In "Florence Green Is 81" from his first short-story collection *Come Back, Dr. Caligari* (1964), as in many other stories, Barthelme uses fragmented form and formally dwells on the surface thus turning the very form into a commentary on the age bound to the surface and plagued by the sense of absurdity and futility. The setting is a birthday dinner party of a rich and whimsical Mrs. Green who has just turned 81. She repeatedly falls asleep at the table and the content of the story is a disorderly combination of her stories about the past (travels with her late husband) or about her everyday trivial pursuits (repair of the upstairs bathroom leak), told during her occasional waking intervals, intertwined with the narrator Baskerville's disconnected thoughts moving back and forth from one content to the next and with his occasional participation in the absurd and boring table talk. Thus, useless geographic data (e.g. about the river Ob or the smallest town in California) randomly mingle in Baskerville's mind with his assessment of a new girl at the table round, his feeling of tension, his appreciation of Andrew Jackson's historical role, his fondness of weightlifting, his thinking of his incomplete novel, his analysis of Florence Green's personality, his memories of unfavorable remarks of his former schoolteachers about himself, his ironic inner comments on other guests at the party, or his phantacizing about Mandrake the Magician. Diverse fragments of thought and/or conversation are neither logically ordered, nor visibly separated or marked, superseding one another without any signal to the reader, which results in a text that turns the potential frame-event of a party into a cacophony of voices and observations. Importantly, Barthelme deliberately hinders suggestions that the disparate elements might still be harmonized into some over-riding pattern or plan, mocking the modernist search for symbolic meanings or the apprehension of some hardly communicable yet possible unity. Instead, Barthelme upholds the tension between the fragments, leaving them non-reconciled next to one another, suggesting the surface made up of disparate parts is and must be sufficient, while *depth* becomes a highly suspicious term, unrevealed and unrevealing, perhaps even another illusion or at least something that may not exist at all as a neatly extricable category, independent of and superior to the surface. As Jerome Klinkowitz has

pointed out, the innovation is not merely in disrupting linear sequences or a single plot, but in having several narrative lines "themselves disrupted by apparently random information, second and third stories, and references to entirely different things" (Klinkowitz 1991: 21). The co-existence of several stories alongside one another slows down the reading, draws attention to action itself, namely the talking and the thinking, and prevents the search for meaning: in the end there is no reordering after disorder, no conclusion and no synthesis.

The narrator and protagonist Baskerville is alternately presented in the third and the first person, which hinders our 'suspension of disbelief', because the third-person passages undermine the intimacy of the first-person accounts reminding us that Baskerville is only a character in a story. Baskerville seems both incapable of and disinterested in producing a coherent story, and thus becomes an authentic representative of the late-20th century's skepticism. Deprived of last traces of belief in the higher purpose of life, Baskerville suffers from a desperate smartness that prevents him from believing in the reliability of any knowledge. In a story revealing a frustrated and skeptical anti-hero through a series of disconnected fragments, fragmentation at once becomes characterization and a social commentary, because Baskerville is clearly a product and a symptom of his age.

Self-conscious thirty-seven-year old Baskerville reflects and reproduces the sense of postmodern alienation and absurdity regardless of the direction which his jumbled mind takes. He is equally insecure about his artistic talent, his role as a narrator, his manliness and the significance of his life or life in general. As a would-be writer, he attends a creative writing course at the "Famous Writers School in Westport, Connecticut, […] with the object of becoming a famous writer" (Barthelme 1964: 3), while his unfinished novel has been eleven years in the making. As a narrator, he is upset about possible reaction of the readers, aware that he somehow betrays their expectations and fails to satisfy their intellectual needs. Baskerville's sense of artistic deficiency is accompanied with his personal anxieties related to chronic money shortage, drinking, and to a series of failed relationships with women to the effect that his love life resulted in him being "the father of one abortion and four miscarriages" (Barthelme 1964: 5) all of which suggest incompleteness and incoherence. That Baskerville edits a magazine called *The Journal of Tension Reduction* in which he plans to publish an article entitled "Alcohol Reconsidered" adds to the image of anxiety and insecurity that determines him. Humbled by elusiveness of both success and truth, unable to make sense of situations and events around him, he practices self-scrutiny that only amplifies his passivity and makes him relapse into a position of reluctant acceptance. During the party, his interest in the girl does not move beyond a brief and uninteresting conversation, as if both he and she lack the will power to continue the worn-out game of the sexes. When she skeptically answers she doesn't know why she has two children as an answer to his equally skeptical question: "Why did you do it?," he merely acknowledges "the modesty of her answer" (Barthelme 1964: 15) and moves on. Thus, Baskerville represents the age resigned to incompleteness and utterly deprived of solemn gestures, grand projects or reliable conclusions. Yet, all the time,

the disillusionment is reinforced through the very form of the story, an incoherent sequence of fragments emanating from a confused postmodern anti-hero Baskerville.

4. The failure of language

Beside fragmentation, Barthelme introduces characters paralyzed by the vulgarization and inflation of language that has lost its ability to communicate authentic experience. Baskerville (as well as other guests at the party) is affected by this decay of language both as a would-be-artist and a citizen. Numerous Barthelme's characters (e.g. the Snow White and the dwarves in *Snow White*) are exposed to the meaningless language flow, phrases and clichés – the verbal garbage of the age that they mindlessly reproduce all the while mistrusting words, symbols or the very communication rules. Baskerville too wrestles with language, acutely aware of its arbitrariness, e.g. when he tries to accurately describe the eccentricity of Mrs. Green: "Surely Florence Green is a vastly rich vastly egocentric old-woman nut! Six modifiers modify her into something one can think of as a nut" (Barthelme 1964: 14), while his mistrust of language again becomes a sign of general inability of the postmodern man to live naturally and innocently. In this story as in many others characters talk little and their communication with others results in misunderstanding or hostility or it just reconfirms the distance. Importantly, the characters' solipsism is of a less sophisticated kind than that of famous modernist introverts (Joyce's Stephen Dedalus or Mann's Gustav von Aschenbach, or Proust's characters), and their trains of thought never spill over into epiphanies or intimations of transcendence of any kind. Instead, both the spoken and unspoken dilemas and frustrations of characters such as Baskerville only underlie the chaos of postmodern living, while their confused response to a range of issues reveals disorientation. Thus, "Florence Green Is 81" appropriately ends with Baskerville alone in his car driving "in idiot circles in the street" singing *Kyrie Eleison* (Barthelme 1964: 16).

5. Metafiction

On the metafictional level, this is another story that contains Barthelme's aesthetic views which serve as a justification and an explanation of the very form in which they are embedded. Thus, Baskerville connects literature with remarks, because, when asked what he has written so far, he answers "I mostly make remarks", which is immediately dismissed by the girl's reply "Remarks are not literature" (Barthelme 1964: 10), and it becomes clear that she represents the traditional reader. Barthelme used a similar procedure in "See the Moon?" from the collection *Unspeakable Practices, Unnatural Acts* (1968), where the skeptical protagonist of another fragmented story declares: "Fragments are the only forms I trust" (Barthelme 2003: 100), which simultaneously describes Barthelme's

aesthetics, contributes to the characterization and serves as an indirect commentary on the age. In "Florence Green Is 81" Barthelme made another typical metafictional remark annoying the critics who in the early 1960s had dismissed postmodernist experimentation as nonsense, in having Baskerville reply to his teacher who claims that discursiveness is not literature: "The aim of literature is the creation of a strange object covered with fur which breaks your heart" (Barthelme 1964: 14).

6. Metafiction and its socio-political context

Apart from general disorientation and disillusionment of postmodernity, Barthelme's fiction comments on a variety of concrete issues that have defined the social, cultural and political reality of the late 20th century, and frequently he operates with the form which is itself a commentary. Barthelme's commentary is frequently intertwined with the metafictional theme, e.g. when he is unmasking the arbitrariness/fictionality of various systems, theories and disciplines - from government over religion, journalism, media, marriage, to Freudian theory, existentialism, literary criticism or psychiatry. Among recurrent themes that he targets is the profanization of love in the postmodern age. Generally, marital and extramarital relationships in Barthelme's fiction are temporary, invariably bleak, stifling and unhappy, testifying to emotional numbness and the mistrust of romantic clichés among the skeptical and neurotic urban population. Marriage is shown as a largely unfortunate institution, a ridiculous residue of old times that inevitably leaves the partners entrapped. Yet many meaninglessly tarry until the next marriage or relationship that soon turns equally dreary. The form reinforces the theme in "To London and Rome" (*Come Back, Dr. Caligari*). In this story, the emptiness of married life is placed in the higher class context, where Alison and Peter spend their time trying to compensate for the frustration by spending money on expensive hobbies, such as a racing horse, houses, pianos and airplanes, or Peter's occasional visits to his mistress. The most exciting event in their life becomes the stomach poisoning of the horse that has been overstuffed on fried clams. However, the entire story is written in two parallel columns in such a manner that the left-hand column resembling stage directions indicates pauses, silences or short and long intervals during or between the minimalist, boring conversations between husband and wife, thus underlying their mutual estrangement and hostility as well as boredom and pointlessness of their life together.

In "The Rise of Capitalism" (*Sadness*), Barthelme focuses on a more concretely political theme, namely consumerism as a weapon of the state in the creation of submissiveness of the masses or, to use Chomsky's phrase, in the manufacturing of consent. Here, Barthelme explores how the man-created systems conspire to shape public consciousness into accepting the existing order by presenting it as natural. In this story, Barthelme presented consumerism as the main capitalist weapon in the maintenance of the system of economic, political and social inequality, stating that

the purpose of deliberate encouragement of mass consumerism is "cultural underdevelopment of the worker" (Barthelme 2003: 201). Capitalist ideology is thus unmasked as another fictional system that, no less than religion, journalism or science, tries to represent its conclusions as natural and 'normal' to the effect that "the false consciousness created and catered to by mass culture perpetuates ignorance and powerlessness" (Barthelme 2003: 201). At the same time, the protagonist Rupert, despite his clear understanding of the workings of capitalism, remains passive (in the beginning he describes his attitude as one of 'melancholy sadness'), which illustrates that awareness alone is insufficient for a social change. Thus, Rupert is fully integrated in the social and economic order with investment and credit, so his analysis of capitalism lacks conviction, reducing a Marxist discourse whose elements it borrows to a "parrotlike invocation of maxims" (Maltby 1991: 67). Here, Barthelme demonstrates the assimilative potential of late capitalism that disables serious oppositional action and his fiction by virtue of this demonstration becomes oppositional. The story is written in bulleted fragments clearly separated from one another, which reinforces the sense of the protagonist's paralysis and passivity.

To conclude, Barthelme's experimentation includes fragmentation ranging from the unmarked collage as in "Florence Green is 81" over separated but marked fragments as in "The Rise of Capitalism" to extremely short, one-sentence fragments marked by dashes where the entire stories consist of nothing else but a series of dashed one-liners. This line of experimentation possibly culminated in the "Sentence", a story written as a single long sentence. Barthelme also used a variety of other devices not considered here, e.g. beside the abovementioned parallel columns, he inserted drawings, photos, or black boxes in the text, or borrowed from popular culture (comics or film). Yet, Barthelme's formal playfulness does not serve exclusively his metafictional concerns, but itself repeatedly functions as a direct or indirect commentary on the given social or political theme. In many ways it is because of its form that Barthelme's fiction can be viewed as both a hilarious distortion of the late 20th-century reality and its somewhat overblown reflection, and in many ways his formal innovation defines Barthelme's paradoxical (and as such almost naturally postmodernist) attitude – the celebration of postmodern life's vitality despite its absurdity and the condemnation of its absurdity despite its vitality.

7. Reed's rewriting of the dominant discourse

Ishmael Reed's experimentation with form in *Mumbo Jumbo* (1972) is tied to a similarly playful and lucid critique of the white western culture, more specifically of its stifling obsession with order and form. In this masterfully handled historiographic metafiction, Reed rewrites Western history as the history of systematic repression of the non-white, irrational Other. Moreover, he shows that Western civilization (the Atonist Order) has deliberately established an artificial dichotomy between itself and

the African (American) culture, embodied in various forms of black music (Jes Grew) and voodoo, suggesting that the western obstinate insistence on rationality and the persistence in banishing the irrational and the intuitive into the realm of the Other resulted in an inhibited and dead culture that has cut itself off from the very source of vitality and freedom. However, *Mumbo Jumbo* celebrates the Atonists' failure to contain the Other – e.g. Jes Grew epidemics in New Orleans – that they see as "the end of the Civilization As We Know It" (Reed 1988: 4) and shows that the hope for the future lies in the overcoming of construed binary oppositions: rationality-irrationality, reason-intuition, restraint-freedom, or order-chaos. Atonism promotes the dictate of reason and "its institutions and apparatuses guard the status quo, repressing the Other – the instinctual, the differences, the mysterious, the multiple, the nonrational, the non-European, Woman, and the animal" (Hogue 2009: 154.) On the other hand, the forces of voodoo and the allies of Jes Grew gathered around the voodoo detective Papa La Bas and his Mumbo Jumbo Kathedral counter the moves of the Atonists by promoting improvisation, flexibility, adaptability, heterogeneity, creativity. Nevertheless, Reed modifies the old story about the clash between the forces of evil and good in that he breaks a rigid binary opposition by showing that individuals on both sides are capable of accepting at least some characteristics associated with the other value system, revealing cracks in the professed monolithic uniformity of the opposed blocks. Consistently, Reed blurs the boundaries showing that voodoo and jazz are but another face of Atonism, i.e. its repressed Other that resurfaces during the Jes Grew pandemic, and refuses to construct a reversed binary opposition that would one-sidedly favor Jes Grew culture. Instead, he emphasizes the advantages of cultural openness and fluidity, not only to affirm the alterity of the devalued Other (Jes Grew), but also to accentuate the liberating force of cultural delimitation that ridicules all attempts to capture the fixed identity of any 'periphery' or 'center'. Like Barthelme, Reed uses the open form to illustrate and reinforce his agenda.

8. Disruption of traditional narration and the cultural critique

Therefore, *Mumbo Jumbo* is a novel whose very form challenges all the basic assumptions of white, Eurocentric, Western rationality. As with many other postmodernist authors, Reed's undermining of novelistic conventions means the rejection of the ideological and cultural framework that engendered them. In other words, since, in his opinion, white, Western novel is a reflection of white, Western epistemology and metaphysics, Reed decides to challenge the traditional concepts that have dictated the writing of novels for centuries, such as those of linearity, chronology and closure, but in so doing he uses African-American cultural signs (jazz and voodoo) and starts his deconstruction from what the white culture had been long confining to the cultural periphery. Therefore, the action in the novel is non-linear, and the novel itself is a collection of numerated fragments that include quotations, photographs, drawings, epigrams, facsimiles of letters, copies of

handbills, pseudo-academic footnotes and a bibliography at the end. Ultimately, the novel represents a blend of jazz, voodoo, necromancy, romance, detective story, myth, Egyptology, hagiography, Western church history, American history, and the fantasy tale. Reed aptly compared his collage technique to the Cajun gumbo, thus referring to the eclecticism of the same New Orleans culture of voodoo and jazz that in the novel becomes the main stronghold of the creative opposition to the constrictions of white, western rationality. Indeed, *Mumbo Jumbo* is as eclectic as voodoo, as improvisational as jazz: the story about the outbreak of the Jes Grew epidemics in New Orleans of the 1920s, the Atonist attempts to contain the 'virus' and the search on both sides for the sacred Book of Thoth (Jes Grew's sacred text) jumps back and forth following, or more precisely, introducing, abandoning and reintroducing several other 'stories' along the way. Jazz becomes the novel's main structural paradigm to the effect that characters and patches of stories disappear and reappear in the manner of musical *leitmotif*. Consciously imitating a jazzman, Reed improvises, 'plays' every recurrent theme slightly differently, or combines themes imitating the call and response technique in jazz playing. Thus, he creates a unique novelistic texture consisting of stories and themes that are fragmented yet intertwined, disrupted yet reconfirmed, resulting in the polyphonic simultaneity of 'melodies' and views. The history of the competition between the Wallflower Order and that of the Knights Templar, one among many 'melodies' Reed 'plays', is a good illustration of his technique. In the opening section of the novel in which Reed borrowed from film, introducing the situation and characters in several brief 'shots' before moving to the novel's title page and the impressum, the Wallflower Order is briefly mentioned for the first time, being identified as the main Atonist antagonist of Jes Grew. The next reference to the order is found several sections later (section 3), this time enlarging on the basic theme by virtue of a fleeting remark about the splitting of the Wallflower Order with another knightly order in the past that left the former as the sole protector of "the cherished traditions of the West against Jes Grew" (Reed 1988: 15). By and by the background of this conflict that turns out to be of central importance to the story about Jes Grew frenzy in the 1920s will be clarified in the subsequent sections in the manner of musical improvisation, combining repetition with the enlargement and expansion of the well-known theme. Gradually, more and more details are revealed with every successive mention as we move towards the novel's end. Thus, we learn that the rival order is the Knights Templar and we are introduced to its history that explains why it had been discredited by the Atonists in the past, why almost all its members were executed and how it came that Hinckle Von Vampton, a former librarian of the order who had come into possession of the sacred Book of Thoth in the Middle Ages and "the Grand Master of the surviving Knights Templar" (Reed 1988: 67) in the novel's present, became a key player in both the resurgence and the (temporary) dissolution of the Jes Grew virus in the American South during the 1890s and 1920s. Occasionally, Reed's improvisation includes the introduction of an apparently new element first and its subsequent embedding in the previously developed theme.

Thus, when Vampton is first introduced in section 14, the reader has no clue as to his real significance in the story, but it is revealed soon enough in the following discontinued sections. However, the story of the Knights Templar is a melody among a variety of other melodies with which it weaves a magnificent improvised jazz-like tune of *Mumbo Jumbo*. In this manner, Reed created a work whose very form reinforces his main theme about the necessity of overcoming the rigidity and constrictions of white cultural forms by achieving a fusion that would enrich all. Moreover, in the novel's epilogue Reed operates with metafiction, suggesting that *Mumbo Jumbo* might be a symptom of the new Jes Grew revival in the 1970s, embodied in the white culture's belated appreciation of blues, the rise of rock'n'roll and other "Pagan Mysteries" (Reed 1988: 216). Still alive and well in the 1970s, PaPa LaBas rejoices that "the 20s were back again" and concludes, undermining western humanist teleology: "Time is a pendulum. Not a river. More akin to what goes around comes around" (Reed 1988: 218). This is followed by a poetic voice that ends the novel with reference to time and place of its completion: 1971, Berkeley, California, suggesting Jes Grew has come around with *Mumbo Jumbo* in the reader's hand as its latest incarnation.

9. Anti-logocentrism, the open form and the cultural critique

Similar to Barthelme and other postmodernist authors, Reed uses fragmentation and disruption of linearity to undermine another Western humanist assumption – that language is the instrument of efficient mastering of knowledge. He challenges the liberal-humanist optimism regarding the efficiency of language to accurately describe life, anchored in western logocentrism, by creating in *Mumbo Jumbo* a postmodern plot focused on the phenomenon of Jes Grew that exemplifies and confirms poststructuralist and postmodernist theories of language. Jes Grew comes in different shapes and in different historical periods, however its exact meaning or definition remains elusive, as it resists any systematic categorization. Rather than a single phenomenon, it is a sum of temporally or spatially separated and seemingly unrelated phenomena, yet again, upon a closer look, the connection does exist. In the latter part of the novel it becomes clear that the New Orleans Jes Grew pandemic of the 1920s is only the most recent manifestation of the ancient Egyptian cults associated with the myths of Osiris and Isis, just as the dichotomy between white culture of rationality and the African-American culture of intuition in the early 20th century can be traced back to the original opposition between worldviews embodied in the rational, stern and repressed Set and his passionate, exalted, theater-loving brother Osiris. In this alternative world history, Reed again denies teleology and the idea of linearity, suggesting a cyclical view of history represented as an eternal site of struggle of principles, calling to mind Nietzsche's philosophical and Yeats' poetic and esoteric extravagancies. Set, as the inventor of discipline, drill, military marching and commanding is shown in the novel as the father of all future cultures based on repression of emotions, including Christianity or generally monotheism,

and capitalism. By the same token, the tradition of Osiris lives on even before it revamps much later as Jes Grew, namely in the Osirian and Dionysian cults of ancient Greece and thereafter in cultures, such as African and Southern European, in which Egyptian paganism got partially assimilated in the triumphant Christianity to the effect that "they kept on Isis as Virgin Mary", and Mary in turn became "the mother of the Atonist compromise Jesus Christ" (Reed 1988: 170), i.e. of a feeble version of Osiris (and Dionysus).

Nevertheless, the outlining of Jes Grew's origin further mystifies rather than clarifies its exact nature, because Jes Grew repeatedly fails in reconnecting with its essence and the key to all meaning – the sacred Book of Thoth. The story about the failed attempts of the Atonists and Jes Grew avatars to come by the Book to ensure the ultimate defeat or victory of their respective philosophy illustrates postmodernist view of language as a provisional device characterized by constant deferral of meaning. The eternal elusiveness of the signified (The Book of Thoth) is thus reinforced through and substituted by a play of signifiers (diverse manifestations of the principle that the Book symbolizes). Furthermore, even the Book itself, the scribe Thoth's record of the dance steps demonstrated by Osiris, is non-dogmatic and open in that it allows for permanent modification of dances in dependence on the geographical and climatic environment. Therefore, Jes Grew lives only in the actual performance that builds upon the supposed ur-text, i.e. it owes its spell to improvisation and modification in the manner of bluesmen or jazzmen. Thus, Reed abolishes the hierarchy that privileges the original text as an indisputable source of truth in contrast to interpretations, showing that interpretation and improvisation is all, e.g. that the meaning hovers somewhere at the intersection of all the past and future interpretations. Therefore, Reed's Moses is a character who illustrates devastating consequences of rigid adhering to the written wisdom of the Book. Since his soulless and flat performance of the songs and dances from the Book lacks improvisation and spirit, "the ears of the people began to bleed" (Reed 1988: 183), while the Osirians outplay him without the Book because they feel the spirit of the Osirian music. Overly rational and inhibited Moses prohibits wild dancing, failing to see that the Book turns into a lethal weapon in the hands of all who like himself set to reproducing merely its naked core or shell, the recorded form of songs. Inevitably, his dealing with the Book of Thoth therefore brings about nuclear destruction in ancient Egypt, setting the pattern for future disasters that will be brought upon the world by the western civilization which is to walk in Moses' footsteps. At the same time, Reed ridicules anyone's attempts to claim the Book for a specific ideology, in the manner of the Book's translator and African-American islamist Abdul Hamid, who finally burned it, frustrated over his inability to adjust it to his ideas, unable to purge it of "the evil serpent of carnality" (Reed 1988: 202). Rather than pinning down the meaning, Reed recommends openness toward constant improvising and reinterpretation of tradition that will open unprecedented possibilities for both white and black culture and show the way toward the fusion of voices and melodies. The open form of *Mumbo Jumbo* proves that this is possible precisely at the point when

‘mumbo jumbo’ stops being a meaningless language of the Other, but the expression of creative and cultural freedom that transcends myriad unnecessary distinctions between Self and Other, black and white, new and old…(to be completed by the reader).

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WORD AND IMAGE IN DOROTHY RICHARDSON'S *PILGRIMAGE*: PICTORIALISM AND GENDER IDENTITY IN *POINTED ROOFS*

Abstract Working on the connection between the pictorial presence and the act of memory in Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage*, I tried to show that the act of memory, the primary force in this thirteen-volume novel, opens the text to the pictorial and leaves pictorial proofs onto its body. Using the typology scale of Liliane Louvel, I have traced down a substantial part of the *effets tableaux*, the picturesque views, the aesthetic arrangements, the pictorial descriptions, the *tableaux vivants*, the ekphrasis, and various substitutes of the pictorial in *Pointed Roofs,* the first of the thirteen volumes. In this paper, I would like to put an accent on the connection between the pictorial presence in *Pilgrimage* and the theme of identification and acceptance of the gendered self through textual analysis of *Pointed Roofs*.

Key words: Dorothy Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, *Pointed Roofs*, word and image, pictorialism, gender identity

1. *Pilgrimage*, an act of memory

Alongside with the personal pilgrimage of the protagonist, *Pilgrimage* incorporates the pilgrimage of painting. This artistic pilgrimage is the pilgrimage of the pictorial presence in the text itself. The novel abounds in *effets tableaux*, picturesque views, aesthetic arrangements, pictorial descriptions, *tableaux vivants*, ekphrasis, and in the many substitutes for the pictorial. The textual presence of paintings and pictures, and other examples of the visual arts make *Pilgrimage* a text-image.

The starting point of this pilgrimage of painting is the act of memory which is crucial for many aspects of the novel thus to its pictorialism as well. First, its circular form is memory's merit; the protagonist, Miriam Henderson, commences her pilgrimage in *Pointed Roofs*, the starting point of her journey but also the beginning of her becoming a writer. Second, through memory, the protagonist experiences the awakening moment - the moment when 'the strange, independent joy had begun' (Richardson 1979: 316) and accomplishes ultimate autonomy by realizing the 'Now, the eternal moment' (Richardson 1979: 65). Memory unites the past, the present, and the future and enables Miriam to liberate and embrace herself.

The act of memory, the primary force in this thirteen-volume novel, opens the text to the pictorial and leaves pictorial proof onto its body.

Paul Ricoeur (Ricoeur 2000: 7) in his work *Memory and Imagination* noted that the past is represented by images. According to him, the only possible way for a memory to be retrieved is through its becoming an image. Furthermore, he argues that language makes memory a source of imagination as well. *Pilgrimage,* an act of memory, an account of the protagonist's pilgrimage rendered through her memory, consequently becomes a gallery of images moulded by real paintings and pictorial representations. *Pilgrimage* evinces the power of memory but also its magic; the magic and the art of remembering. In *Pilgrimage*, art i.e. literature calls on another art i.e. the visual art and between *Pilgrimage's* lines these two artistic expressions interlace. The act of memory creates a complex syncretism, yields an additional aesthetic value to the novel, and celebrates its pictorial aspect making it a text-image.

In this article I will analyze the pictorial aspect of *Pilgrimage* through excerpts from *Pointed Roofs*, the first volume of the sequence, a starting point and a destination of this circular novel; a chapter which speaks about the central theme of identification and acceptance of the gendered self. The analysis of the pictorial aspect of *Pointed Roofs* provides a new perspective in the exploration of Miriam's quest for feminine identity and will show how its pictorial aesthetics is linked to the theme of gender identity.

2. *Pilgrimage*, a text-image

Jean Hagstrom in *The Sister Arts* notes: 'In order to be called 'pictural' a description or an image must be in its essentials, capable of translation into painting or some other visual art' (Hawkins-Dady 1996: 891). The nature of the image can be purely pictorial or more allusive like the mnemonic or oniric image. So, is *Pilgrimage* translatable into a kind of visual art? Are there pictorial manifestations, references to visual arts, textual images translatable into paintings in *Pilgrimage*? Undoubtedly, *Pilgrimage* can be translated into a grand mosaic, into a film, in Carol Watts' reference into a text-image and it is clearly brimming with the pictorial as I will try to demonstrate using *Pointed Roofs*.

The pictorial aspect in *Pilgrimage* has not passed unnoticed by the critics but it has not been studied systematically yet. Carol Watts, for example, talks about the play of light in *Pilgrimage* using the expression 'kaleidoscopic impressionism' (Watts 1995: 36). John Cowper Powys finds in her work Rembrandt's play of lights as well (Powys 1965: 19). However, the criteria for these analogies are mainly subjective. They depend on the cultural background of the critic and they are a matter of interpretation. What interests me are the textual indications to visual arts, fragments or entire paintings, and other examples of visual arts embedded in the text itself. The pictorial saturation of the 13-volume novel varies but it is in general very strong in every one of them. In order to examine the pictorial aspect of *Pointed*

Roofs, I will not refer to pictorial manifestations outside the text (various biographical elements, such as her marriage to the painter Alain Odle etc.). I will not make any semantic or thematic parallels either inside or outside the text with any artistic movement. I am purely interested in the pictorial characteristics of *Pointed Roofs* which are part and parcel of the text. Thus I will first analyse the act of translation or transformation of a text into an image. The logical question that comes to mind is how can a text be transformed into an image?

The relation between the text and the image can be described as a "twinkling" (Louvel 2002: 316). It is a kind of an oscillation, a constant process of coming and going, a two-way switch between the text and the image that makes the act of reading unstable and plural. So, how can an iconic representation be transposed into a text? How can a text become an image? How is the transfer between these two semiotic systems made?

In her book *Texte/Image,* Liliane Louvel notes that in order to make the transfer from the visible to the readable and vice versa, it is essential to find the 'right distance' between the object and the spectator (Louvel 2002: 287). The process that occurs in that space is oscillation, oscillation between the act of observing from close and afar. She distinguishes three indispensable elements for the transfer to take place, the detail or the result from looking from close, landscape and enframing - the result from observing from afar and the observer or the focalizer. I shall analyse each of these elements in relation to *Pilgrimage*.

Pilgrimage abounds in detailed descriptions of rooms, pieces of clothing, faces, sounds, colours, odours etc. Their connection with the plot and the characters is seldom straightforward. Regarded as either merit or fault by the critics, it is difficult to relate the detail to the structure of the novel. This 'mosaic of particularities', Radford notes, 'makes it hard to see the overall pattern' (Radford 1991: 17).

The detail can have many roles; it slows down the reading, suspends the meaning, and gives the reader time to ask questions. It gives voice to the text and leads to contemplation and interrogation. Having in mind the quest for religious, gender, and personal identity that *Pilgrimage* embodies, it is important to state the revelational function of the detail. It makes the traces of a presence that needs to be discovered visible. It gives evidence that enables the quest. The detail is a scriptural manifestation of the narrator's memory and it participates in the encoding of the text.

It is evident that the detail can be examined from various standpoints; as an expression of Richardson's hermeneutic quest; her wish to connect with the reader and give him/her an opportunity to attach his/her own associations to the text; or as a sign of her effort to attain a reality effect.

Roland Barthes noted that the detail is unnecessary and superfluous for the structure of a novel (Radford 1991: 18). However, in the case of *Pilgrimage* the detail is indispensable for the sake of its very structure.

In *Pilgrimage*, a novel where the structure fits the way memory works, Richardson's microscope does not spoil her writing, on the contrary. It represents a

viewpoint, as Mieke Bal defines the detail in relation to the work of Proust (Bal 1997: 65), without which the process of translation from visible to readable is impossible. The detail makes room for art, for paintings, for images. It transposes the words into brushstrokes. Connected to image and iconotextuality, it enables expression.

Jean Radford defines the detail in connection to *Pilgrimage* as a device that serves to 'delay or impede meaning-construction, to slow up the reading and "hold up the development of the whole" ' (Radford 1991: 11). By slowing down the action, the details make a painting. In this synesthesia of the readable and the visible, the details paint.

There are many examples of landscapes in *Pilgrimage* as well; most of them framed by a window. The window is regarded as a device of the iconotext and a device for abstraction which leads to representation. The framing helps and points to the process of dismemberment and regrouping of the past. The landscape, on the other hand, directs the view towards infinity. It opens the text to painting and reveals the hidden presence. Thus painting and literature mediate between the subject and his/her perception and teach him to observe. The narrator transforms the landscape into a painting; hence the landscape in *Pointed Roofs* is at the same time a perspective, a painting, a memory. It reinforces the meaning of the text; it saturates it, and gives it a hybrid status.

The pictorial saturation of a text is incomplete and sometimes impossible without an intercessor or a focalizer. The narrator and the protagonist can take this role of a focalizer. The narrator details the view of the protagonist, decomposes it and then recomposes it trough the power of memory. This is the case in *Pilgrimage* even though it can be debated whether the narrator and the protagonist in Richardson's work are the same entity represented at different point in time only. Furthermore, one often has the impression that Miriam wants to enter the image she created and merge the boundaries of space and time. According to Liliane Louvel, the wish to enter the painting makes a union between space and time due to the aesthetic experience i.e. when sensibility produces aesthetics, space and time unite (Louvel 2002: 207). The gradual liberation of the protagonist's fantasies signals her desire to be in the painting and enables her to project her fantasies on the painting's, image's or landscape's screen. It marks the attempt to make the mnemonic image (the memory) coincide with an image (the landscape seen as a painting, an image-seen-as-a-painting, a painting) thus enabling the return of suppressed memories and repressed feelings; Paul Klee notes 'Art does not reproduce the visible rather it makes visible' (Louvel 2002: 207).

3. Pictorialism and gender identity in *Pointed Roofs*

According to Liliane Louvel's typology, there are several devices that point to the pictorial aspect of a novel and they are: the *effet tableau*, the aesthetic arrangement, the pictorial description, the *tableau vivant*, and the ekphrasis. Placed

on this typology scale according to their intensity, they all saturate the text with the pictorial. There are many examples of these devices in *Pointed Roofs*. However, in this article I would refer to the ones that deal with the theme of gender identity and Miriam's quest for genuine femininity.

The aesthetic arrangement, also called artistic arrangement, is the result of the conscious intention of the narrator or the protagonist to create an artistic effect. The narrator in *Pointed Roofs* creates the following image:

> The sky was a vivid grey-against its dark background the tops of heavy masses of cloud were standing up just above the roof-line of the houses beyond the neighbouring gardens. The trees and gray roofs and the faces of the houses were staringly bright. They were absolutely stiff, nothing was moving, there were no shadows. (Richardson 1979: 105)

In this excerpt the aesthetic arrangement is a landscape. The trees, the gay roofs, and the houses are portrayed on a dark surface: 'against its dark background the tops of heavy masses of cloud were standing up just above the roof-line of the houses beyond the neighbouring gardens'. The static effect ('They were absoulutely stiff, nothing was moving') gives the narrator the status of a painter. Moreover, the image corresponds to the narrator's contemplation. It is a double of Miriam's look in the mirror. This image of a landscape created through the device of aesthetic arrangement points to Miriam's new perception of herself. The narrator uses pictorial vocabulary which refers to characterisation. The 'gay roofs' and the bright 'faces of the houses', can be read as metonymic allusions to the new face Miriam sees in the mirror.

At the beginning of her journey, while Harriett is doing her hair, Miriam clearly states that she doesn't like what she sees in the mirror. Away from home, her new mirror, 'lower and twice as large as the one in the garret, larger than the one she had shared with Harriett', renders a reflection that pleases her: '"How jolly I look," she thought, "jolly and big somehow. Mother would like me this morning […] I look jolly. She looked gravely into her eyes…. There's something about my expression." Her face grew wistful. "It isn't vain to like it. It's something. It isn't me. It is something I am, somehow. Oh, do stay," she said, "do be like that always." (Richardson 1979: 151).

I will move on to the *tableau vivant*, an intentional textual reproduction of a famous painting or a famous historical scene (Louvel 2002: 41), where the narrator reproduces a painting, at this point unknown to the reader and even to the protagonist. On the other hand, the narrator is familiar with it and will soon reveal the original behind this *tableau vivant*.

Miriam is having dinner with the students, Faulein Pfaff, and the new housekeeper. There is textual enframing, (a new paragraph opens up), a focalizer, and play of light as well: 'Miriam met eye after eye- how beautiful they all were, looking out from faces and meeting hers- and her eyes came back unembarrassed to

her cup, her solid butter-brot and the sunlit angle of the garden wall and the bit of tree just over Fraulein Pfaff's shoulder.' (Richardson 1979: 140). The description of the housekeeper, her hair, her face, her clothes and the position of her body is meticulous, the details paint, the colours are vivid, and the narrator indicates that this image corresponds to something that Miriam had already seen:

> Mademoiselle was almost invisible in her corner near the door; the new housekeeper was sitting at her side very upright and close to the table. […] The way light shone on the housekeeper's hair, bright brown and plastered flatly down on either side of her bright-white-crimson face, and the curves of her chocolate and white striped cotton bodice, reminded her sharply of something she had seen once, something that charmed her … something in the way she sat, standing out against the others… (Richardson 1979: 140)

After the musical evening, the new housekeeper walks in with a snack. The girls start talking about her but they are silenced by Fraulein Pfaff and sent to bed. The next paragraph opens to Miriam in bed not being able to fall asleep. Suddenly, she remembers seeing the painting of a woman at 'The Academy' that resembled the housekeeper:

> The Academy… a picture in very bright colours… a woman… a woman sitting by the roadside with a shawl round her shoulders and a red cheeks and bright green country behind her … people moving about on the shiny floor, someone just behind saying, 'that is plein-air, these are the plein-artistes'- the woman in the picture was like the housekeeper …. (Richardson 1979: 145)

The protagonist and the reader become aware of the painting even though the title and the artist are not provided. The reader can guess whether Miriam knows it, and can try to find out which *pleine-artiste* she is referring to, and whether the painting was a part of an exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London. However, it is a painting of a woman; one of the many pictorial representations of women Miriam is trying to compare with. The woman in the paining is like Miriam, on the road. Miriam is away from home as well; she has set off on pilgrimage, in search for her gender identity.

I shall proceed with one ekphrasis whose presence indicates high pictorialization of the text (Louvel 2002: 42) but it is also connected to Miriam's gender identity. Roland Barthes defines the ekphrasis as a description of an artwork in a literary text with a clear reference to the artwork in question. It represents a representation; it opens up a path for the transition from the visible to the readable; it points out the distance between theory and the reflexivity; it is the non-natural sign of a non-natural sign that imitates a natural object (Louvel 2002: 42). Its role in the text can be interpreted differently. It can represent 'the discourse of the other'

(Hamon, 1994: 36). It can also embody a 'self-contained passage'(Barhes, 1982: 84), a luminous passage existing only for its own sake. The ekphrasis influences the text in several ways. It can slow down the tempo of the text to various degrees. It can create a dreamlike, contemplative effect. It can also create the impression of a memory brought to life again. In this excerpt, the ekphrasis appears as a vision.

In the previous paragraph, Miriam considers the possibility of staying with the Bergmanns after the end of term. She imagines what it would be like to be married to Emma Bergmanns' brother and in general, what it would be like to have a German husband. She concludes that adopting a 'German manner' is not for her, that all German men have offended her with their attitude towards women. The next paragraph opens with Miriam in bed running a fever and having visions of illustrations she has seen in various books back in England:

> She turned about in bed; her head was growing fevered.
>
> She conjured up a vision of the back of the books in the bookcase in the dining room at home…. *Iliad* and *Odyssey* … people going over the sea in boats and someone going over the sea in boats and someone doing embroidery … that little picture of Hector and Andromache in the corner of the page … he in armour … she, in a trailing dress, holding up her baby. Both, silly… She wished she had read more carefully. She could not remember anything in Leckey or Darwin that would tell her what to do … Hudibras … the Atomic Theory … Ballads and Poems, D.G. Rossetti …. Kingslake Crimea … Palgrave's Arabia … Crimea … The Crimea … Florence Nightingale; a picture somewhere; a refined face, with cap and strings … She must have smiled…. (Richardson 1979: 168)

At the beginning, the narrator gives a short description of a pictorial representation of Hector and Andromache, the famous scene of their parting before Hector goes to war. Andromache is considered to symbolyse a loyal and devoted mother and wife. Hector on the other hand, is a symbol of a strong, brave man and a reliable husband. In the previous paragraph, Miriam describes Emma's brother as big and tall, with 'a great, strong solid voice' with 'strong kind arms and shoulders', 'strong and sure about everything' (Richardson 1979: 168), a devoted and reliable husband like Hector. Imagining their life together she guesses that by his side, she wouldn't have to worry about anything, she would be protected and secure. She would become a "real" woman, a happy woman, a devoted wife (like Andromache). Still, she admits to herself that it would be fake: 'Never. She could not pretend long enough.' (Richardson 1979: 168). Even though she seems to have made up her mind, she wishes she knew 'what to do'. This narrative image of Hector and Andromache points at her anguish and hesitation, and at her quest for feminine identity. Subsequently, a description of a picture of Florence Nightingale follows ('Florence Nightingale; a picture somewhere; a refined face, with cap and strings … She must have smiled….') an independent, strong-willed, modern woman who devoted her life to a cause. Miriam, imagining her students as ordinary wives busy

with ordinary things, contemplates the role one should have in life, 'the importance of life'… [one should try] 'improving the world…leaving it better than you found it […] making things better, reforming… being a reformer…' (Richardson 1979: 95), says Miriam to herself.

Her quest for feminine identity continues beyond these two short ekphrasis. Fraulein Pfaff, the school mistress is another woman she tries to identify with. In this excerpt, the description of Fraulein Pfaff resembles a painting. Fraulein is standing against the window which provides the frame for the narrative image reminding Miriam, the focalizer, of the illustrations of heroines in the *Girl's Own Paper*, a woman's magazine mainly giving advice on style and career:

> When breakfast was over and the girls were clearing the table, Fraulein went to one of the great windows and stood for a moment with her hands on the hasp of the innermost of the double frames. […] Miriam, standing in the corner near the companion window, wandering what she was supposed to do and watching the girls with an air – as nearly as she could manage- of indulgent condescension –saw, without turning, the figure at the window gracefully tall, with a curious dignified pannier – like effect about the skirt that swept from that small tightly fitting pointed bodice reminding her of illustrations of heroines of serials in old numbers of Girl's Own Paper. The dress was of dark blue velvet- very much rubbed and faded. Miriam liked the effect, liked something about the clear profile, the sallow, hollow cheeks, the same heavy bonyness that Anna the servant had, but finer and redeemed by the wide eye that was so strange. She glanced fearfully, at its unconsciousness, and tried to find words for the quick youthfulness of those steady eyes. (Richardson 1979: 52)

Oscar Wilde notes: 'Life imitates art' (Radford 1991: 75). Miriam copies not from an original but from a copy, from an illustration, from art. Miriam, in search for identity, tries to create her own image. She identifies herself with many women looking for her double, searching for a reflection in the mirror that would be acceptable, satisfying, and her own. The pictorial aspect of the novel embodies this quest. Jean Radford has discussed the protagonist's difficulty in making a distinction between original femininity and imitation noting that these 'difficulties in drawing the line between "genuine womanliness and the masquerade" are staged in a series of scenes involving representations of women – in literature, paintings and photographs, opera and theatre' (Radford, 1991: 75). The presence of the pictorial indicates the presence of the other, the hidden feminine identity that is yet to be discovered.

Miriam's thoughts ramble on as she is lying in bed with a fever:

> Darwin had come since then. There were people… distinguished minds, who thought Darwin was true. No God. No Creation. The struggle for existence. Fighting …. Fighting …. Fighting….Everybody groping

> and fighting …. Fraulein …. Some said it was true …. Some not. They could not both be right. It was probably true … only old-fashioned people thought it was not. It was true. Just that – monkeys fighting. But who began it? Who made Fraulein? Tough leathery monkey …. (Richardson 1979: 170)

At first, the monkey may seem to be mentioned only in relation to Darwin's Theory of Evolution. However, the monkey is very much connected to iconotextuality. Miriam's feverish state is due to the fact that she is at a crossroad. Fraulein Pfaff gives her a chance to stay in her school for another term provided she loosens up in order to be a good teacher: 'You have too much of chill and formality. It makes a stiffness that I am willing to believe you do not intend […] If you should fail to become more genial, more simple and natural as to your bearing, you will neither make yourself understood nor will you be loved by your pupils. […] The teacher shall be sunshine, human sunshine, encouraging all effort and all lovely things in the personality of the pupil.' (Richardson 1979: 160). That night, the same night that ends in Miriam's feverish state, Miriam wakes up and leads an imaginary conversation with her sister Eve and explains why she couldn't stay in the school and teach. She cannot pretend and be someone she isn't, smile and 'grimace' like everyone else: 'Fraulein talked about manner, she simply wanted me to grimace, *simply*. You know- be like other people.' (Richardson 1979: 165). She cannot pretend to be something she isn't; she cannot fake her identity in order to fit in.

The monkey in iconotextual terms is a substitute for the pictorial, along with the mirror, water, glasses, various reflective surfaces and optical devices, maps, screens, and photographs. Indeed, the monkey and the mirror (which also occupies a crucial place in the novel) are metaphors of the painter and artistic creation as well. The monkey symbolises the artist as an imitator (Pommier 1998: 146). Miriam in search of 'genuine womanliness' (Radford 1991: 75) realises that she cannot identify herself with Fraulein Pfaff (or with anyone else for that matter). 'Who made Fraulein?, [asks Miriam. Fraulein's femininity is the result of an imitation.] 'Tough leathery monkey', [but Miriam is] 'something new … a different kind of world' (Richardson 1979: 260) [and "an imitation" does not meet her needs]. She cannot stay in the school, become a governess, and be 'jolly and charming' [and] 'idiotic.' (Richardson 1979: 166). Miriam fears the possibility of becoming like Fraulein: 'a lonely, old teacher, worried and awaiting cancer.' (Richardson 1979: 172). She can neither devote her life to a German husband nor stay alone and devote her life to her students. She leaves the school and continues her pilgrimage in quest of her true self, discovering in Germany what she does not want to be, discovering the uncanniness of nature and music, and the happiness they offer, her national identity, and freedom as her only choice: 'She was English and free. She had nothing to do with this German school.' (Richardson 1979: 180).

The substitutes for the pictorial play an important part in the saturation of a text with the pictorial, hence they cannot be omitted. There are many examples of them throughout *Pilgrimage* but one of the most revealing connected to the theme of feminine identity is the mirror. The substitutes for the pictorial are symbols. They are considered as indications of a presence. They provide hybrid examples of iconic signs (Louvel 2002: 120). The mirror, this device of the iconotext, according to Liliane Louvel, belongs to the diegetic universe and it is closely connected to the movement of the subject (Louvel 2002: 44). Furthermore, the mirror both represents and reveals the present giving out an image, a reflection of the self that the others see. In the narrative process, the mirror reinforces the power of the visual. It creates a triangular system consisting of the subject, the painting, and the mirror (Louvel 2002: 58).

In *Pointed Roofs*, the mirror is a recurrent image. At the very beginning of the novel it helps us discover Miriam's attitude towards herself, introduces the central theme of gender identity, and contributes to the he pictorial quality of the novel. In the following scene, Miriam is about to leave for Germany. She is with her sister Harriett in their room. Miriam observes her sister as she does her hair in front of the mirror and compares their clothes. Harriett comments on Miriam's hair and in her answer we can see that she perceives herself as plain. Her sister disagrees and Miriam is more than surprised to hear that:

> Miriam's amazement silenced Harriett. She stood back from the mirror. She could not look into until Harriett had gone. The phrases she had just heard rang in her head without meaning. But she knew she would remember all of them. She went on doing her hair with downcast eyes. […] 'I'm pretty,' murmured Miriam, planting herself in front of the dressing table. 'I'm pretty-they like me-they *like* me. Why didn't I know?' She did not look in the mirror. 'They all like me, *me*.' (Richardson 1979: 23-24)

This excerpt shows Miriam's fear of the mirror, of the reflection it projects. She is practically rejoicing at the discovery that her family thinks she is pretty. Still, she does not dare to face the woman in the mirror. She kept away from the mirror and did her hair not looking at her reflection in it. It is as if she refused to acknowledge her body and face as her own; as if she perceived herself from both the inside and from the outside, not being able to accept her looks and still not fully aware of her own self as if she thought she exceeded what the mirror reflects.

Throughout her pilgrimage, not only does she try to find her feminine identity, but she also has to accept her looks. Being beautiful, being perceived as beautiful is an important stage in the process of defining one's womanliness. Dana Self argues in her article "The Spectacle of Beauty*"* that one of the aspects of beauty is its link with the body: 'its emersion from the body or our ideas about the body- from the Greek idea of man as the measure of all things, to the male gaze directed at the body of woman, which has been loaded with ideas about what constitutes beauty,

decency, and/or normalcy. Thus beauty has become burdened with the weight of religious, gender, sexual, cultural, and social politics, making its appreciation a tricky endeavour' (Self, 1996). Miriam finds it difficult to appreciate her own beauty. She needs to be reassured, she needs to accept the reflection of herself in the mirror but also discover the hidden meaning behind the visible. Her pilgrimage unifies her quests for religious, cultural, national, gender and sexual identity as well as her quest for a social role. The search for womanliness includes all these aspects along with the physical beauty and Miriam tries to learn how to embrace herself in her unity. The mirror, a barrier between her inner and outer self, points at her effort to do so. The following pictorial manifestation shows the two dimensions of Miriam's search for 'genuine womanliness' and the mirror's role as a substitute for the pictorial in the search for feminine identity.

In the middle of the day, without notice, the girls in the school were ordered to wash their hair. Miriam goes to the basement unwillingly and has her hair washed by Frau Krause. Then, she joins the other girls in the coffee mill, again, at Fraulein Pfaff's order. Not having time to dry and do her hair properly, dissatisfied with the way she looks, Miriam starts observing Gertrude's, Clara's, Mina's, Judy's, the two Martins', Bertha's, Emma's, and Jimmie's hair. They all, so it seems to her, have done a better job than her.

They 'were sitting round the table in easy attitudes and had the effect of holding a council' (Richardson 1979: 62). The reason for the gathering was the new rule in the boarding school; they all must wear their hair in 'a classic knot'… [Miriam tries to picture it] 'Miriam tried to make a picture of a classic knot in her mind.' (Richardson 1979: 63). What she sees is rendered in a short pictorial representation of a distant memory:

> Miriam's mind groped… classic – Greece and Rome- Greek knot … Grecian key … a Grecian key pattern on the dresses for the sixth form tableau- reading Ruskin … the strip of glass all along the window space on the floor in the large room – edged with mosses and grass – the mirror of Venus …. […] Only the eldest pretty girls… all on their hands and knees looking into the mirror…." (Richardson 1979: 63-64).

The device used in this excerpt cannot be easily classified. Miriam, trying to picture a classic knot in her mind, probably remembers a *tableau vivant* or a living image preformed by 'the eldest pretty girls' from the Sixth Form School. This kind of live performances of paintings were common in English schools in the Victorian era. Miriam refers to John Ruskin several times throughout *Pointed Roofs*. Miriam went to a school where the teachers had either met Ruskin or were considered his disciples, and Miriam was familiar with his work. In Ruskin's *Pre-Raphaelitism* (1851), among the other painters, we find Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898) - a pre-Raphaelite painter, Ruskin's protégé and a close friend. I believe that the enlivened painting or the *effet tableau* is *The Mirror of Venus* by Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1877), even though the reference to the painting is not written in capital

letters as a title of a painting should be. Nonetheless, the description completely coincides with the painting itself. Therefore, I would say that this pictorial manifestation is a short ekphrasis of an *effet tableau* that serves to raise the question of interior and exterior selfhood, of woman's identity, and 'the abundance of images that define femininity' (Nead 1992: 11) and the mirror as a constraint in the process of unifying the woman's reflection, her physical beauty as well as her inner-self.

Edward Burne-Jones' *The Mirror of Venus* was first exhibited in 1877 at the Grosvenor Gallery. Seven years later, the work was displayed again along with other of E.B. Jones' paintings at Sir Coutts Lindsey's exhibition and drew a significant critical attention, so it is quite possible to be the choice for the *tableau vivant* performed at the school. The painting shows a woman referred to as Venus with her nine maids. Venus is standing while the other girls are either on their knees or bending in front of a pond edged with grass. Without any reference to any specific work of art, the mirror of Venus necessarily suggests the theme of reflection. In Roman mythology, Venus is the goddess of love and beauty. She is also an allegory of self-centered beauty. However, Venus transcends the mythological framework and represents beauty itself. Her image in the mirror points at the effect that her beauty causes; it suggests the act of being observed and self-observance. In Edward Burne-Jones' paintings, Venus is a common subject matter. She is represented as a meditative, introspective woman but she is sexual and erotic as well. Burne-Jones's descriptions of Venus embody a compromise between Venus, the Goddess of love and beauty, vegetation and nature, and the pre-Raphaelite representations of erotic but still real women. In this painting, the position of the girls puts Venus in the focus. The reflection of her face cannot be seen in the water as opposed to the reflections of the other girls who seem very much engaged in looking at their faces in the pool. Venus seems uninterested, as if she were looking beyond the visible. Thus the accent is put on Venus' introspective nature and she is turned into a paradigm of a meditative, self-observing, distant, and sexual woman. Her long, bright red hair, brighter than the other girls', and her tight-fitting bright blue dress, different from the other dresses, speak about her passion and sexuality but also put forward her individuality. In contrast to her body is her pensive face. The somber landscape in the background additionally emphasizes Venus' statuesque figure, her strayed look, and her singularity. The absence of her reflection in the lake can indicate that she is symbolically lost; she may not be unable to see or find her self. She also may not be interested in looking at her physical reflection regardless of her obvious beauty. Venus is looking away from the pond, within herself and at the girls that surround her as if searching for answers. Kate Flint in her article on Edward Burne- Jones's *The Mirror of Venus* argues that the similarity of the other girls in the painting indicates not only lack of individuality but also a superfluous 'generic femininity': 'The multiplication of similarly styled, similarly featured women may further be read as signifying an excess of generic femininity and a concomitant erasing of individuality.'(Flint 1999: 152). Miriam sees herself as Venus in the paining: egocentric, analytical, different, and aware of the false femininity that

surrounds her. The feminine identity she feels she has to accept, does not suit her. She tries to find her true face in the mirror and embrace that reflection. In the excerpt, Miriam analyses how the other girls did their hair. She cannot handle hers. Her 'old wool' (Richardson 1979: 23) seems different to her compared to the other girls' hair. She constantly fights it and tries to tame it. Her rebellious hair is a metaphor for her rebellious, non-conformist nature. She is on her way to independence, complete autonomy, and freedom. She has set on a pilgrimage in search for authentic femininity always comparing and contrasting attitudes, manners, style, detecting false womanliness, trying to distinguish between the 'genuine womanliness and the masquerade' (Radford 1991: 75). Her pilgrimage towards self-discovery and true feminine identity continues in the subsequent volumes of the novel along with the magnificent pilgrimage of painting to which it is so closely intertwined.

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TWO ANTHOLOGIES OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH POETRY IN THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE

Abstract The aim of this research is to analyze the image of modern English poetry offered through the selections and translations in two capital anthologies in Serbian: *Antologija savremene engleske poezije* (*Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry*), edited by Svetozar Brkić and Miodrag Pavlović (Belgrade, 1957; revised edition in 1975) and *Antologija engleske poezije 1945-1990* (*Anthology of English Poetry 1945-1990*), edited by Srba Mitrović (Novi Sad, 1992). The 1960s started a new era of English-Serbian literary connections, since a generation of newly established poets developed an interest in the English culture. Significant reception of modern English poetry began with the first edition of the *Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry*. Nevertheless, between this book that marked the entire enthusiastic period, and the anthology of Srba Mitrović, when it comes to individual poetry books, the number of translations of English authors remained relatively small. Further translations show that these anthologies decisively designated the reception of modern English poetry in Serbian literature.

Key words: anthology, English poetry, mediation, representative survey, programmatic anthology, translation

1. Introduction: anthology as an element of literary mediation

As a representative selection within given criteria, anthology has a very significant role in the mediation process between two literatures. In earlier epochs it preserved both individual achievements and the authors themselves from oblivion and ensured their place in the history of literature, even if they were not too famous or if they wrote only a few books. Likewise, in modern times, anthology is an important means used to establish, evaluate or subvert the canon of a literature. It is always important who the anthology speaks to, what kind of reading public it is meant for. The selection of texts is, to a great extent, based on aesthetic values, but other cultural values and value systems are inevitably included. As Barbara Korte (2000: 4) put it, "[T]he selection in an anthology is indicative of the anthologist's culturally channeled system of aesthetic, ethical and ideological values, and some – though certainly not all – types of anthologies can be explicitly counted among their culture's "institutions of evaluative authority". If evaluation, discrimination and structuring are basic dispositions of the human brain and an elementary human need,

the selectedness of anthologies may also be claimed to serve this need – which is aggravated by an exploded universe of texts marked by diversities, pluralisms and anti-essentialisms of postmodernity.

As elements of literary mediation and cultural memory, anthologies distribute and preserve poetry; they also preserve selection principles, so that they show the change in poetic techniques, topics and poetic taste. Barbara Korte points out that anthologies also reveal affinity for certain authors, periods or subgenres, or, which is even more indicative, aversion, resistance towards them. So, for example, in Serbian anthologies of English poetry, there are no prose poems. If that were a lonely case, we could see it as the editor's evaluation of English prose poetry. However, prose poetry is almost not present at all in our foreign poetry anthologies (American, French, German, Russian...), even though it is well-known that that is a very influential genre in some literary traditions. All this can suggest that Serbian literary studies are not aware enough of prose poetry. However, they were already included by the author of our first modern, most influential and most studied anthology, Bogdan Popović, in his *Antologija novije srpske lirike (Anthology of Newer Serbian Lyric Poetry)*. This problem is a subject of study in itself, but from such an example it is clear how the anthologist's selection excludes an important part of production, regardless of whether they are unaware of the place and importance of the genre, or they ignore it consciously.

2. Different types and goals of the anthologies

In Serbian literature, as well as in other environments, anthologies have often been the subject of harsh criticism and debates. As a rule, the closer the period they refer to is chronologically, the more questioned the criteria are, since then anthology shows its function of canon mediation more openly. Anthologies preserve a poem in cultural memory, so the selection of poems is the subject matter most often criticized by the poets themselves, who are, then, the most frequent and fierce critics of anthologies, because they believe that the given selection does not represent their opus in a nutshell, does not represent its phases or poetic oscillations. However, when it comes to anthologies of contemporary poetry, as Barbara Korte points out, they can, according to two key criteria, be representative surveys and can represent new types of poetry. Representative surveys depict a period, cultural context, school or movement, and are characterized by generality and representativeness (Korte 2000: 15-17). Among them, the most influential are the ones that include the longest period, but they do not necessarily have to stabilize canon. Programmatic anthologies, which discuss the current situation, are largely conditioned by the relationship with the previous generation, even if they do not point to the key characteristics of a school or a group of poets they represent. There are many of those in English anthologies of the 20th century, and they were the most influential and most criticized ones; it can also be said they came as replies to each other.

Standard selections such as Oxford or Norton most often offer representative surveys, while Penguin anthologies are slightly less academic and therefore characterized by greater freedom. However, when it comes to anthologists such as Philip Larkin, the presence of the academic environment's limitations and deep-rooted notions cannot be felt, so these divisions are conditional. Representative anthologies could include the famous *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse 1892-1935* by W. B. Yeats, *The Oxford Book of 20th Century English Verse* by Philip Larkin (1973), *The Oxford Book of Contemporary Verse 1945 –1980* by Dennis Joseph Enright (1980), *The Oxford Library of English Poetry* by John Wain (1986), as well as *The Penguin Book of Contemporary Verse* by Kenneth Allott (first edition 1950), and *The Penguin Book of Contemporary British Poetry* (1982) by Blake Morrison and Andrew Motion. The ones closer to the second type of anthology would be *British Poetry since 1945* (1970) by Edward Lucie-Smith, while true examples of programmatic anthologies would, for instance, be *New Lines* by Robert Conquest (1956), *The New Poetry* (1962) by Alfred Alvarez, or the slightly differently conceived *The Mersey Sound* (1967), which gathered the poems of Liverpool pop-poets Rodger McGough, Brian Patten and Adrian Henri.

3. Two anthologies of English poetry in the Serbian language

The authors who selected and edited the works of English poets for the Serbian language anthologies were guided, above all, by the representative selections made in the original culture; however, due to previous weak reception of English poetry, they also felt the need to present the English poets' ideas as best as they could, or at least suggest the context of their work. Two key domestic anthologies of English poetry are *Antologija savremene engleske poezije* (*Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry)*, compiled by Svetozar Brkić and Miodrag Pavlović (first edition 1957; extended edition 1975) and *Antologija engleske poezije 1945-1990. Britanska poezija engleskog jezika* (*Anthology of English Poetry 1945-1990. British Poetry in the English Language*) compiled by Srba Mitrović (1992). One of the main models and guides for the *Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry* was evidently *The Penguin Book of Contemporary Verse* by Kenneth Allott. The latter's editors, however, did not specify which English anthologies were relevant to them. On the other hand, in his afterword to the *Anthology of English Poetry 1945-1990,* Srba Mitrović clearly points out the anthologies he considered important, though this should not imply that his selection necessarily corresponds to theirs. As he says:

> The most important post-war anthologies are certainly *New Lines* (1956) and *New Lines II* (1963) by Conquest, as well as *The New Poetry* (1962) by Alvarez. Conquest's anthologies (for which he had also written forewords) established the poets of The Movement and were a subject of literary discussions for a long time. Alvarez's anthology is actually a general anthology

> of Anglophone poets, although it includes only four American authors. The anthology includes English poets of The Movement, poets of The Group, and several independent authors. Another important anthology is that of the poets of The Group, published in 1963 by Edward Lucie-Smith in collaboration with the poet Philip Hobsbaum. In 1970, the same author published a comprehensive anthology (*British Poetry since 1945*), interesting especially for its classification of poets. (Mitrović 1992: 263-264)

As these anthologies are mostly programmatic, Mitrović refers to another critical overview of English poetry, which he obviously sees as a guideline. The book in question is *Poetry Today. A Critical Guide to British Poetry 1960-1984* (1985) by Anthony Thwaite, a concise overview which attempts to give a deeper, yet brief insight into the opus of the poets of the period. Mitrović obviously respected Thwaite's selection of poets and this can be seen in his selection in the *Anthology of English Poetry 1945-1990.* When it comes to later anthologies, he mentions Larkin's, but places greater importance on two other, as he says, complementary, anthologies: *The Penguin Book of Contemporary British Poetry* by Morrison and Motion and *Some Contemporary Poets of Britain and Ireland: An Anthology* (1983), selected and prefaced by the professor, poet, publisher and critic Michael Schmidt.

3.1 Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry by S. Brkić and M. Pavlović

Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry was published in 1957 by the influential publishing house Nolit. It was compiled by the university professor, translator and essayist Svetozar Brkić and the newly established poet and critic Miodrag Pavlović, while the editor of the entire book series was the famous literary critic and anthologist Zoran Mišić. The previous void in the reception of English poetry largely defines the use-value of this book. The translation of selected poems by 34 English poets was carried out by eight translators and writers, including the editors: Isidora Sekulić, Miodrag Pavlović, Svetozar Brkić, Jovan Hristić, Dragoslav Andrić, Milica Mihajlović, Jugoslav Đorđević and Luka Semenović. A handful of translations were published before, but the majority was made for this book. The generation gap between the translators, as well as their previous work, provides an obvious reason for the *Anthology*'s incoherence in terms of currency, language and style of the translation and the understanding of the given poetic orientations. On the other hand, the foreword by Svetozar Brkić demonstrates his remarkable insight into modern English poetry and stands as a very useful guide through a previously under-explored material. The anthology starts with Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889), a poet who did not live in the 20th century, but whose poems were published – to a remarkably warm reception – only in 1918. The *Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry*'s 'Editor's note' states that the anthology's editors considered it important to give as much space as possible to "the poets who, like Hopkins, Yeats, Eliot, Auden, Dylan Thomas and E. Sitwell, marked the crucial changes in contents, form and

technique" (Brkić-Pavlović 1957: 89) of the 20th-century English poetry. These names also form the framework of Brkić's extensive foreword to the *Anthology*, which contains the sections "New currents in English poetry reflected in the language and structure of the poems", "W. B. Yeats and his developmental phases", "Ezra Pound: an eclectic and founder of poetry movements", "T. S. Eliot: development of a poetic sensibility", "Poets of WW1", "Appearance and significance of G. M. Hopkins", "Poets of 1930s", "Dylan Thomas – a reaction to the intellectual poetry by the "Auden Group", "Edith Sitwell" and "Conclusion." The foreword to the second edition of the anthology was supplemented by a section on contemporary poetry, i.e. the poetry that came after 1950.

As Serbian literature had no poetry as linguistically and discursively varied and layered as the one in this anthology prior to its publication (it would enter Serbian literature only in that very decade, the 1950s), it is no surprise that the anthology's main problems concerning the translation and selection are those of linguistic nature. The poems selected often do not include those that most often represent any given poet in English or other European selections, which might be said to be due to the editor's concept, but is obviously caused by linguistic and poetic obstacles. Another problem is versification, for Serbian poetry simply does not have such a long and rich metric tradition to easily find solutions within the target versification, so that they are metametrically marked and that innovations can be seen. That is why some poets' representations are limited by the translator's abilities, which can best be seen in the selection of Ezra Pound's works. It is simply not representative enough, even though Brkić, in his foreword, shows wide insight into Pound's most important works, which are not present in the selection. Eliot's *The Waste Land* is also absent from this selection; the editors would compensate for that in the second edition. Due to the scope of the previous overlook, Svetozar Brkić is aware of the fact that the introduction into the domestic literary scene of the poetically most diverse period of both English and world literature has to be gradual. It was only in the first half of the 20th century that the English Romantics were translated into Serbian, so it is safe to say that English poetry did not significantly impact Serbian avant-garde poetry. There was a visible gap between the two poetic nations, so the editors and translators had to create opportunities for a better understanding of modern English authors and their closer connection with the domestic audience. As Brkić puts it:

> In the last fifty years poetry in England has included more poetic generations and shown more trends and sudden changes than it had in any previous period of the same length. Generations have shifted faster than ever before due to the great changes that affected the entire society; the poets have seen the world in different ways and expressed different experiences and world-views. (Brkić-Pavlović 1957: 7)

The two editions of the *Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry* clearly outline the paths of reception and influence of Pound and Eliot in Serbian poetry. In the second edition, *Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry 1900-1973* (1975),

there are more translators, who had, in the meantime, turned towards Anglo-American literatures (David Albahari, Milovan Danojlić, Ivan V. Lalić, Raša Livada, Mirko Magarašević, Aleksandar Nejgebauer). They would all translate a lot of Anglophone works in the periods to come and increase the popularity of English and American poetry and prose with the domestic audiences. Apart from smaller changes in the existing anthology corpus, the second edition included the poets of The Movement (Kingsley Amis, Philip Larkin, Donald Davie, D. J. Enright, John Wain, Elizabeth Jennings, Thom Gunn) and The Group (Philip Hobsbaum, Peter Porter, George Macbeth), as well as Ted Hughes and Geoffrey Hill. When it comes to the poets of The Movement, Elisabeth Jennings and Thom Gunn were allotted the largest number of poems, Larkin was represented very modestly, and the majority of the poems were translated by Milovan Danojlić, mostly in a very similar tone. Ted Hughes and Geoffrey Hill were accorded a larger number of poems and represented as leading figures of contemporary English poetry. Poems by Geoffrey Hill, the penultimate poet in Brkić and Pavlović, conclude Kenneth Allott's anthology, so it is obvious that the latter anthology was still a useful guide for our editors; though there are evident differences in the approach, analysis and informedness between the English and Serbian anthologists, given their different starting positions and points of view. In the appendix to the previous edition's preface, entitled "English poetry from 1950 to 1973 , Brkić explains why 1973 could be a milestone and quotes a number of contemporary studies which summarize modern English poetry and discuss the relationship between contemporary poets and critics and the great literary figures such as Yeats, Eliot, Auden or Thomas.

3.2 Anthology of English Poetry 1945-1990 by Srba Mitrović

In 1992 Srba Mitrović (1931-2007) published his *Anthology of English Poetry 1945-1990 (British Poetry in the English language)* for the Novi Sad-based publishing house Svetovi. The book gathered 17 translators (David Albahari, Svetozar Brkić, Zoran Bundalo, Milovan Danojlić, Milan Đorđević, Ljiljana Đurđić, Jovan Hristić, Vojislav Karanović, Miloš Komadina, Ivan V. Lalić, Raša Livada, Milan Milišić, Srba Mitrović, Tomislav Mišić, Miodrag Pavlović, Dušan Puvačić, Isidora Sekulić), and included 57 poets, from Arthur Waley to Michael Hofman. This anthology reflects the diversity of creative trends in post-war England, and particularly shows how new generations created poetry concurrently with the pre-war poets who underwent poetic transformations. Srba Mitrović points this out in his concise, but informative and useful afterword, "Poetry in Great Britain 1945-1990", supported by an overview of important references and anthologies. A certain conservatism, especially regarding linguistic and formal choices, makes the gap between *the old* and *the new* a minor one, as there is no radical rejection of the previous tradition or creative approach, not even on the declarative level of a manifest. Srba Mitrović used the existing translations whenever possible, but still translated a significant percentage of the poems (slightly less than eighty percent)

himself. This clearly makes for a balanced translation, as far as the linguistic and creative abilities of the translator are concerned, but is, doubtlessly, a tremendous challenge for the translator, as his creation might become too balanced, i.e. the poetic styles and expressions in question might become too similar. When it comes to the years framing the selection, the editor writes:

> This selection is marked 1945-1990. The first year gravitates towards the distinguished older poets who had to be given an honorable place, as they often finally shaped their opus only in the post-war years. The other year gathers the younger authors, and I might not have gone too deep there, being wary of too private a selection. This is still a translated anthology, only a sideways look, so I might have deprived the readers of a few important future names by trying not to be arbitrary. Maybe the non-existing critique of translated literature will say something about the translations themselves? The contents show that there were few available translations of modern poetry, which is why I had to do the biggest part of the job myself. The anthology comes after the *Anthology of Contemporary English Poetry* by Svetozar Brkić and Miodrag Pavlović, which includes the poetry between 1900 and 1973. That edition by Nolit is still a precise and reliable guide into the twentieth-century English poetry. I was less strict in my selection, for in poetry, at least, errors like these, while not deserving an excuse, might at least provide enjoyment. (Mitrović 1992: 277)

The *Anthology* opens with the poet, translator and orientalist Arthur Waley (1889-1966); he is, however, represented with only one poem, so that the beginning is truly marked by Robert Graves (1895-1985), another intellectual and translator. Mitrović aims mostly to represent any given poet with a larger number of poems, so as to provide better insight into their poetics or style, seeing how his anthology covers contemporary poetry and there still isn't enough distance for proper poetic evaluation. In that sense, being included in the anthology is an act of recognition in its own right; the poets included, therefore, are doubtlessly significant, while those allotted more space are really prominent. Unlike many other anthologies, this one includes quite a few women poets, which also announces the excellent contemporary female scene in England (Stevie Smith, Patricia Beer, Elizabeth Jennings, Sylvia Plath, Jenny Joseph, Anne Stevenson, Penelope Shuttle).

The poets accorded the greatest number of poems reflect the poetic curve of contemporary English poetry: R. Graves, W. H. Auden, R. S. Thomas, D. Thomas, P. Larkin, E. Jennings, P. Porter, T. Hughes, A. Mitchell, G. Hill, S. Heaney, D. Dunn, and P. Muldoon. The poets present in Brkić-Pavlović are here often represented in a completely different light, in accordance with their later, dominant poetic transformations. Mitrović insists on multiplicity of poetic voices throughout his anthology and right to its very end, despite entire generations of poets who couldn't escape the influence of great poetic figures and ended up simplifying many of the poetic guidelines bequeathed to them by those figures. The anthologist did not overlook the fact that he was compiling a selection of poetry of an island country

whose poetic movements are very often distant and diachronic in relation to poetry of continental Europe, and whose gaze is often directed towards tradition and continuity. As he concludes:

> It must be pointed out that a poetry stemming from a long, immense tradition, such as British, cannot break away from that tradition (which was Modernism's *idée fixe*). It often happens that young poets distance themselves from their immediate predecessors' poetry and look for models in recent or remote past. [...] Postmodern poetry, as critics sometimes call this new poetry, whose features are recognized in the previous generation (Larkin and others) and even in Dylan Thomas, is characterized by the stylistic qualities described differently by different authors. Most often, there is said to be a certain inclination towards narration, a collage-like narrative technique, disparity of adjacent passages, interruptions that ignore a poem's integrity; because the postmodern poet often enters more grandiose projects, sometimes creating a story parallel to an already familiar one. In that sense, Hill's *Mercian Hymns* are paradigmatic in relation to, for example, Auden's *Horae canonicae*. [...] Post-war British poetry has two openings, one into the past that gives it its real meaning and one into the future that can give it its real value. (Mitrović 1992: 273-274)

While compiling his anthology, Mitrović obviously consulted a number of critical works and essays which discuss the history of English poetry, as well as previous reception of English poetry and critical attitudes of its prominent authors, such as T. S. Eliot. The above quote from his afterword is based on Hristić's excellent interpretations of Eliot's critical principles and understanding of tradition and classics, explained in his foreword to Eliot's selected essays (*Izabrani tekstovi*). Mitrović always makes the work of his predecessors, Brkić and Pavlović, his starting point, and he takes into consideration the domestic audience's education and the reception of English poetry to date. His selection points to the existential, moral, ideological and linguistic themes common to all modern poets, but it also indicates the changes in an author's creative context – their status in a society, ways of communicating with their readers/audience, evaluating and marketing systems.

4. Conclusion

The two anthologies discussed essentially determine the reception of the twentieth-century English poetry in Serbian literature. They gathered the translators who went on to have a key role in the representation of certain poets and the domestic readers' familiarization with them. They also gathered the poets whose works correspond to the creative experience, thoughts and actions of the great English poets. It is important to point out that the poets such are Pavlović, Hristić, Lalić and Livada are among the most important contemporary Serbian poets and that

what distinguishes them the most is precisely their poetic awareness, erudition and reevaluation of tradition (both as an idea and as experience), which is an important legacy of modern English literature. In their forewords and afterwords, the editors of these two anthologies offer a context within which given works of poetry can be interpreted, and they try to find a balance in their approach – somewhere between the concept of anthology in the source language and original environment and the concept of anthology in the target culture. Considering the responsibility that is at stake, the responsibility of selecting and presenting a less known corpus of literature, it can be said that, when it comes to selection criteria, these two anthologies are significantly more open than many anthologies of domestic poetry. For that very reason they survive as important signposts in the communication between Serbian and English literatures.

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