ANNALS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CRAIOVA

CONTENTS

Literary Studies

The Victorian Gypsy: A Positive or a Negative "Other"?

Andreea Bălan[1]
University of Craiova, Romania

Abstract: Discussing 19th century cultural differences from a present-day perspective enables the researcher to look into the literary past of racial prejudices and stereotypes and explore the Victorian figure of the gypsy as *other* both exoticized and demonized. This ethnic group was depicted in Victorian literature either in a positive or negative way based on the 19th century cultural mentalities, and stereotypes. This article attempts to approach some works of the 19th century writers who designed a psychological context with a view to understanding the complex nature of human personality, focusing on the presence of this eccentric ethnic group. Our endeavour is to analyze the figure of the peripheral characters as a representation of racialism and cultural difference. In this way, in an attempt to figure out how Victorian authors designed the gypsy characters, we have looked upon some literary works of writers such as Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, George Borrow, and Gorge Eliot.

Keywords: the gypsy, otherness, Victorian literature, Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, George Eliot, George Borrow

Introduction

The structure of this paper follows not only the representation of the gypsy characters as a stereotyped "other" as seen by the non-gypsies, but also the depiction of gypsies by Victorian writers such as Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë and George Eliot. The answer to my first question came to my mind about the first gypsy figure that appeared in Victorian literature is given by Donald Kenrick. In his writing (*Gypsies from India to The Mediterranean,* 1998), he mentions that the first presence of a "foolish male fortune-teller" was in a "Swiss play" in 1450 (qtd. in Saul 2004: 79). As we can observe, the first gypsy was presented as a fortune-teller, a position that is bestowed upon gypsies nowadays as well.

So, from those times, the image of the gypsy as an individual related to mystery, supernatural or occultism has lead to the first

---

[1] balan.andreea95@yahoo.com

stereotype of an obscure and pagan ethnic group. However, even if they are marginalized, they always leave their periphery and cross the cities. Far from the modern civilization, the periphery is regarded as the outskirts of society and also as the natural place that encircles the areas inhabited by the non-gypsies. Therefore, the gypsies acquire a double status because they were seen not only as travelers under open skies and inhabitants of open spaces, but also as menacing human beings that step over the threshold of the society. These two opposite images, of both wandering and supposedly dangerous persons were clearly framed in the Victorian novels and poetry.

Victorian literature was produced in the age of Queen Victoria, who bestowed her name on the epoch, "an era of extraordinary complexity, change, enormous economic development", also marked by the outstanding "instances of experimentation in the flexibility of prose writing". The authors noticed that their writings could be the ideal manner in which they could convey their opinions "on a society in full swing" (Olaru 2016: 7), and some of them chose to stereotype the gypsies in a variety of different ways. When the gypsies showed up on the Victorian stage, they brought an air of difference; they were like a stirred fire on which the imagination of the writers poured more fuel. As the readers did not have too much knowledge of the ethnic representatives, through nonfiction prose they fortified the image of the gypsy as being a wandering stranger. Undoubtedly, several writers hinged their literary creations on a careful examination, but a predominant part of them created a negative representation of gypsies in their works. While George Borrow's experiences with gypsies influenced his literary writings (*Lavengro*, 1851, *The Roman Rye*, 1857, *The Zincali*, 1841), in her *The Spanish Gypsy (1868),* George Eliot rendered a romanticized representation of the gypsy condition. She designed Fedalma as being more than a tragic heroine, she was a gypsy character brought up by Spanish Christians and took back by her people. She was in the posture of not knowing her true origin, and then she had to abandon her Spanish identity in order to follow her ethnic roots.

Furthermore, the first thing a person does when meeting another individual is to offer him/ her a label of difference, especially when he/she has a different origin. Another prejudice is made when the skin colour is not the same, perceiving that person as being differently designed and having a malevolent or unknown personality. According to Deborah Epstein Nord (2006: 19), the

Gypsy turns into a "racial construct". Characters living at the periphery of industrialized cities, the gypsies are oppressed by the urban inhabitants and they are marginalized and unaccepted because of their racial differences and their denial to work as the rest of the Victorian people. For the first time, 19th century England was considered an entirely urban "topos" (Davis 2002: 13), which means innovation and evolution. For this reason, it was created a pronounced line, a social gap between the gypsies, the wild and free children of nature and the civilized people with ideals and desires for progress. Even Robert Knox in his work (*The Races of Men: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Influence of Race over the Destinies of Nations)* viewed the gypsy character as an uncivilized creature, different from the mannered Victorians. Thus, he promoted virulent racism, and we can observe rejection, even hatred, not only in Knox's words, but also in Lance Jason Wilder's work (*Dark Wanderers, 2004)* who showed no regret if the gypsies would disappear: "Wilder 2004: 188-189). What should we lose? - nothing (…) no inventions, nor discoveries, no sublime thoughts" (Wilder 2004: 188-189). Leland in his *The Gypsies* presents the same view related to this eccentric group. He believes that these "rags of old romance" (Leland 1924: 13) who are "living double lives" (Leland 1924: 274) will become extinct:

> The day is coming when there will be no more wild parrots nor wild wanderers, no wild nature, and certainly no gypsies. (Leland 1924: 15-16)

Nevertheless, when reading Queen Victoria's diary, we find out an important detail regarding the gypsies. Just before inheriting the throne, on 29th December 1836, Queen Victoria was profoundly affected when she met a gypsy camp and offered her help to those "poor wanderers":

> How I do wish I could do something for their spiritual and mental benefit and for their education of their children… in the admirable manner Mr. Crabbe in his "Gipsies' Advocate" so strongly urges; he beseeches and urges those who have kind hearts and Christian feelings to think of these poor wanderers, who have many good qualities and who have many good people amongst them, he says, and alas! I too well know its truth from experience, that whenever any poor Gipsies are

encamped anywhere and crimes and robberies occur, it is invariably laid to their account, which is shocking, and if they are always looked upon as vagabonds, how can they become good people? I trust in Heaven that the day may come when I may do something for these poor people. I am sure that the little kindness which they have experienced from us will have a good and lasting effect on them. (Esher 1912: 181-182)

In the passage above it can be noticed Queen Victoria's kindness, a value specific to the Christian belief. Religion played an important role at that time, and the Queen showed strong signs of following the Anglican protestant faith of the Christian religion. When she encountered the gypsies, she did not hesitate to exhibit her compassion for *the other*, a fact that presented her as a defender of the Christian faith.

Being regarded as "an object of fascination" (Deborah Nord 2006: 138) for the writers, the gypsy figure occupies a significant place in Victorian literature. As a representative of a mysterious and eccentric ethnic group, the gypsy is always seen as the alien, other or unknown human, being separated from non-gypsy characters. In the following lines, we will explore their representation in Victorian literature since some writers portray the gypsies negatively whereas others put them in a bright light. An interesting fact to take into account is how the writers create the image of the gypsies. Did they accurately observe the gypsy condition or did they just imagine it? We suppose both. We will see that when designing the portrayal of the gypsy, 19th century writers either use realistic details for a stereotyped and controversial aspect or present their own romanticized view.

1.   The Gypsy as a positive *Other*

In the preface to "Wind on the Heath" John Sampson describes the gypsies as being "the touchstone to the personality of man", also displaying an important role to humankind. In this way, the gypsy figure is used in writing to render the idea that modern people should remember how the times looked before the immorality of modernity perverted their souls. So, these Romani people, depicted as primitive in literature because they maintained their culture and traditions, exhibited an impressive resistance to the "strange disease of modern life" (Arnold, line 203).

Besides being positively presented as extraordinary keepers of tradition and maintainers of origins, the Romani people are closely tied to the idea of freedom, which is also part of their culture. They are ceaseless wanderers, careless travellers, who rove the streets, crossing territories and forever breaking conventions. The gypsies enjoy this state of freedom and love their lives at the same time. They appreciate every moment of being alive, regardless of always being on open roads and under open skies since "there's wind on the heath"; and they "could only feel that", they "would gladly live for ever" (Borrow 2006: 88-89). Only in this way, life is preserved in all its beauty, accepting ourselves as we are, and enjoying the everyday charm of our lives. To exemplify the positive gypsy image, we would mention a scene from George Borrow's work *Lavengro*, where a boy, Lavengro, meets the Petulengro tribe and he is extremely fascinated to see this eccentric group that the modern world always rejects and hustles towards the margins of their society.

As we have observed, some writers positively portray the gypsy by emphasizing the inborn goodness and state of freedom which are opposed to the non-gipsy. The writers also offer realistic descriptions of the authentic gypsy life in their literary works (as in Borrow's *Lavengro,* 2006 or *The Romany Rye, 2007),* where the readers get acquainted with the real gypsy character with all his/her delight and flaws. In his poem *The Gypsy Camp*, John Clare also exemplifies the idealized and romanticized *other* of a "pilfering, unprotected race":

> The snow falls deep; the Forest lies alone:
> The boy goes hasty for his load of brakes
> Then thinks upon the fire and hurries back;
> The Gypsy knocks his hands and tucks them up,
> And seeks his squalid camp, half hid in snow,
> And bushes close, with snow like hovel warm (…)
> Then feels the heat too strong and goes aloof;
> He watches well, but none a bit can spare,
> And vainly waits the morsel thrown away:
> "Tis thus they live – a picture to the place;
> A quiet, pilfering, unprotected race.
> (Clare 1984: 48)

The condition of freedom is also brought into discussion by John Ruskin (1819-1900), whose gypsy characters expose the

"perfect freedom" because they enjoy the liberty to which the other Victorian human beings could only aspire:

"All things that move on earth are swift and free,/ All full of the same fire of lovely Liberty/ This, this is their inheritance - (...)" (Ruskin 1903: 38)

So, before going on to analyse the positive image of a gypsy woman in Eliot's work, we fragmentarily mention that the progress of a nation strongly depends on the progress of the interaction between people. Only when the periphery will be seen as a part of society, not only as a margin, the people will be seen as non-racist and tolerant; and only then the gypsy's positive image will be put in a more visible light.

1.1. George Eliot's exotic Fedalma

As our research deals with the idea of *the other* related to foreign women in Victorian literature, we will look upon George Eliot's Fedalma, a complex gypsy heroine. When we employ the term "exotic" we make reference to a person different from nearby people or surroundings. In this case, "different" has a positive connotation because our feminine character, Fedalma, possesses good manners and beauty, and she immediately captivates the hearts of the Spaniards with her way of dancing. It was at The Placa Santiago where our beautiful, alluring character impressed the people with her delightful movements: "Swifter now she moves,/ Filling the measure with a doubt beat/ And widening circle; now she seems to glow/With more declared presence, glorified." (Eliot 1908: 53)

Moreover, George Eliot's Swifter now she moves Fedalma, an authentic dark-skinned woman, raised by a Spanish family, experiences two distinct cultures, being in the position to select from each of them only the principles and values she mostly admire. Another positive point of view is that Fedalma has the power to get over the social obstacles, as well as inner obstacles. Consequently, she is able to reveal her feelings for Don Silva, a non-gypsy, who, in the name of love, follows her even to her marginalized community. It does not mean that the clash of cultures and the presence of different mentalities are not obvious, but in spite of them, Don Silva continues to love her. Fedalma remains the exotic other, the fascinating gypsy woman who comes from a peripheral space and manages to mesmerize and allure the non-gipsy Spaniard.

2. **The Gypsy as a negative *Other***

When we discuss the complexity of the gypsy characters, we pay attention not only to their image of *otherness*, but also to the negative stereotypes and the conflict between the racial classes. During the centuries, the Romani people have been regarded as aliens, foreigners, and even as wrong-doers and immigrants who possess racial pride. The Victorians always reflected a discriminatory treatment towards gypsies and they also showed "xenophobic fear and mistrust of aliens" (Mayall 2004: 8).

Some writers demonize the gypsy representation, outlining their acts of robbery and negative traits. For instance, child kidnapping or swapping was always associated with gypsies out of the need to explain the dissimilarity of "blue-eyed, fair-haired Gypsy children, who simply did not fit the swarthy, raven-haired stereotype" (Epstein Nord 2006: 11).

Furthermore, negative evidence is found when analyzing Emily Brontë's Heathcliff. Readers may wonder why Catherine did not choose the refined Edgar and preferred Heathcliff instead. This race has won their disrespected and disreputable position because of their continuous wandering without a precise purpose, having no fortune and without being capable of having an organized lifestyle. Thus, these Romani people could not be trusted and, consequently, Heathcliff is viewed with mistrust by the people around him apart from Catherine.

Not only the gypsy man, but also the dark-eyed women with raven hair are associated with the devil, with atrocity and corruption. Frequently, the female gypsies were seen reading fortunes in people's palms, using tarot cards and sensually dancing in order to allure men, these practices often frightening and threatening the non-gypsies. As a consequence, it is created a negative image of the Romani people who represent, in this way, a fearful *other*.

2.1 Charlotte Brontë's Rochester as a practitioner of occultism

The answer to our question whether the gypsies are practitioners of occultism or not is given by Buckland in his *Book of Gypsy Magic*: *"Where Gypsies go,/There the witches are, we know"* (Buckland 2010: 13). So, sorcery is related to the dark-skinned people whose demonic representation is emphasized in many Victorian literary writings.

In Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre,* Mr. Rochester masks himself as a gypsy female fortune-teller with a view to approaching Jane. He

wished that Jane would relax and easily confess her feelings. From this scene of Rochester's disguise we understand that it was not only an act of identity covering, but also a display of male's authority to control the woman. Mr. Rochester decided to be a gypsy woman with the purpose of being credible for Jane, who knew the gypsies' habit to roam the streets and ask the girls to come for telling them their fortune. The participants of the party at Thornhill interrupted by Rochester (female gypsy in disguise) describe him as "troublesome" (Brontë 1900: 193), "a low impostor" (Brontë 1900: 194) and being "black as a crock" (Brontë 1900: 194). Even Frederick Lynn affirms that "she's a real sorceress" (Brontë 1900: 194). The young ladies seem a little bit troubled by the predictions of the "rigorous Sybil" (Brontë 1900: 196), and Jane, on the other hand, cannot resist falling into the magic of the fake gypsy woman where "one unexpected sentence came from her lips after another" until Jane "got involved in a web of mystification". (Brontë 1900: 201)

Conclusions

To sum up, we attempted to exhibit some ideas on the Victorians' fascination with this nation of wanderers, whose *otherness* currently remains a major discussion topic. Literary writings such as Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and George Eliot's *The Spanish Gypsy* are considered noteworthy works that employ the gypsy figure as an instrument to challenge the Victorian limitations and marginalized ideas.

References:

Primary Sources
Arnold, Matthew. *The Scholar-Gypsy*. www.poetry foundation. org/poem/172862, (accessed 1 April 2020).
Borrow, George. 2006. *Lavengro, The Scholar Gypsy-The Priest*, The Project Gutenberg, Theodore Wtts-Dunton, < http://www.gutenberg.org/files/20198/20198-h/20198-h.htm> (accessed 26 March 2020).
Borrow, George. 2007. *The Roman Rye*, The Project Gutenberg, Theodore Watts-Dunton, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21206/21206-h/21206-h.html (accessed 17 March 2020).
Borrow, George. 1907. *The Zincali*. London: John Murray.

Brontë, Emily. 1994. *Wuthering Heights. England:* Penguin Classics.

Brontë, Charlotte. c 1900. *Jane Eyre*. London: W. Nicholson & Sons.

Clare, John. 1984. *Major Works*, eds. Eric Robinson and David Powell, Oxford World's Classics.

Eliot, George. 1908. *The Spanish Gypsy*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press Cambridge.

Ruskin, John. 1877. *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*. London: George Allen.

Secondary Sources

Davis, Philip. 2002. *The Victorians*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Epstein Nord, Deborah. 2006. *Gypsies and the British Imagination 1807-1930*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Esher, Viscount. 1912. *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: a selection from Her Majesty's diaries between the years 1832-1840*. London: John Murray.

Kenrick, Donald. 1994. *Gypsies: from India to Mediterranean*. CRDP Midi Pyrenees.

Knox, Robert. 1862. *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Influence of Race over the Destinies of Nations*. London: Henry Renshae.

Leland, Charles Godfrey. 1924. *The Gypsies [1882]*. Boston*:* Houghton Mifflin.

Mayall, David. 2004. *Gypsy Identities 1500-2000: From Egypcians and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany*. New York and London*:* Routledge.

Olaru, Victor. 2016. *Early Victorian Nonfiction Prose-Writers- A Commented Anthology-*. Craiova: Sitech.

Sampson, John. 1935. *Wind on the Heath-A Gypsy Anthology*. Chatto & Windus.

Saul, Nicholas. 2004. *"Half a Gypsy: The Case of Ezra Jennings in Wilkie Collins's The Moonstone (1868)." The Role of the Romanies- Images and Counter-Images of 'Gypsies/Romanies in European Cultures*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Wilder, Lance Jason. 2004. *Dark Wanderers: Gypsies in Nineteenth-Century British Poetry*. A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Georgiain Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Degree, Georgia https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/wilder_lance_j_200408_phd.pdf (accessed 1 April 2020).

Silent/-ced Inscriptions of Race and Gender on the Architectural Skin of Atlanta

Estella Antoaneta Ciobanu[1]

Ovidius University of Constanţa, Romania

Abstract: This paper is an exploration of central Atlanta through the lens of psychogeography, as well as race and memory studies, aimed to examine how hegemonic power frames knowledge and memory of the past through symbolic architectural encoding. The feminist concept of intersectionality, which focuses on social differences and exclusions generated by the intertwining of race, gender and class, provides a meta-tool for analysing the cityscape to uncover urban race- and gender-blindness.

Architecturally, the black of glass-and-steel or glass-and-concrete skyscrapers of Atlanta's cityscape contrasts with the white of its *fin-de-siècle* European-looking buildings. This *aisthetic*, not just aesthetic, opposition between warmth and coldness ostensibly betokens different lifestyles and worldviews, even as both architectural styles belong together as landmarks of the white race, with its supremacist obliteration of the other races. Yet Atlanta's cityscape, like most others worldwide, also etches *women* out of sight and thus out of mind: through either commission or commemorative aim, edifices, statues and parks celebrate *male* achievement. Markers of ideological fracture, from the gender divide to the white/non-white-non-black divide, multiply in the city so that the urban skin becomes the architectural palimpsest of clashes past and present, whose *ghostly traces* in the present *perform* the early clashes anew, yet at so many discursive removes. Such dual obliteration of associations with race and gender from the architectural fabric of Atlanta is hardly new. Cities are, by definition, erected around the ancient concept of *civitas*, a patriarchal construct of the (implicitly) *white* community which celebrates the maleness of its citizen-*cum*-conqueror at the same time as it obliterates the toil and suffering of those coerced to ensure the city's subsistence.

Keywords: Atlanta, GA; race; gender; architecture; psychogeography; race studies; memory studies; intersectionality

What follows is a psychogeographical exploration of Atlanta, Georgia. I will map Atlanta's centre "according to paths, movements, desires and senses of ambience" (Pinder 2005: 389), yet also astonishment, which I experienced in 2008 during a research trip to the US. My recollections, aided also by photographs, yield to a

---

[1] estella_ciobanu@yahoo.com

psychogeographical explication enhanced with insights from race and memory studies as well as intersectionality theory.

Psychogeography – literally "the point where psychology and geography intersect" (Coverley 2006: 13)[2]– encourages one's subjective and empirical take on its historically premier object, the city. Initiated by writers,[3]psychogeography allows the neophyte to undergo a cognitive experience typically reserved – in other approaches – to the initiated. True, Guy Debord's celebrated definition, in his "Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography" (1955), appears rather off-puttingly scientific until he qualifies the adjective *psychogeographical* in somewhat sensuous terms:

> *Psychogeography* could set for itself the study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals. The adjective *psychogeographical*, retaining a rather pleasing vagueness, can thus be applied to the findings arrived at by this type of investigation, to their influence on human feelings, and even more generally to any situation or conduct that seems to reflect the same spirit of discovery.
> (Debord 2006: 8; alsoqtd. in Coverley 2006: 88–9; original emphasis)

In fact, by positing a "spirit of discovery" (Debord 2006: 8), Debord has committed psychogeography to the "search for new ways of apprehending our urban environment" (Coverley 2006: 13) whereby it "seeks to overcome the processes of 'banalisation'[4] by which the

---

[2] This intersection also affords an "understanding of our psychogeography – how our surroundings influence us" (Ellard 2015: 19–20).

[3] See Coverley on the history of psychogeography through writing about the city – specifically, London, as Daniel Defoe (*A Journal of the Plague Year*) and William Blake ("London"; "Jerusalem") did – and also on the emergence of *flâneurie* with E. A. Poe ("The Man of the Crowd"), Thomas De Quincey (*Confessions of an English Opium Eater*), Charles Baudelaire (*The Painter of Modern Life*) and Walter Benjamin (*The Arcades Project*).Coverley also studies the political shifts of the early and mid-20[th]centuryengineered by Guy Debord ("Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography") and the Lettrists turned Situationists in the aftermath of the *Potlatch* journal's experiments. Their writings suggest that "the very act of walking had to become subversive, a means of reclaiming the streets for the pedestrian" (Coverley 2006: 77). My own psychogeographic approach here is hardly politically innocent.

[4]Coverley's *banalisation* (2006: 13) echoes Debord's in *TheSociety of the Spectacle* when Debord criticises modern consumerist society, whose "more advanced

everyday experience of our surroundings becomes one of drab monotony" (Coverley 2006: 13). Psychogeography encourages "an active engagement with urban space where importance is attached to the act itself" (Pinder 2005: 400); furthermore, it "allow[s] encounters with apparently 'ordinary' and 'unimportant' activities in the city, against the grain of powerful discourses of the urban," viz. urbanistic, planning and geographical discourses, which dismiss any such particular experiences as insignificant (Pinder 2005: 400–1).

Given the exploratory nature of such practices, psychogeography has an unmistakeable political charge: coterminous as it is with the *colonial project*, exploration is entwined with relations of power/knowledge. The "language of imperial exploration" would script spaces – not only abroad but also at home – in terms of *social othering*, with "powerful material effects for mappings and constructions of the city and for projects of colonization and civilization" (Pinder 2005: 388); the "power of such scripting in the production of imaginative urban geographies remains evident in the colonial present" (Pinder 2005: 388; see also 398). Simply stated, present-day framing of "imaginative urban geographies" still follows the descriptive protocols and is grounded in the political assumptions of the colonial past. Psychogeography attempts therefore to undo this colonial legacy by evoking "the ghosts of place, the traces of those people that have been evicted or excluded" (Pinder 2005: 400).

Unavoidably, in my psychogeographical musings on Atlanta I will also examine how power frames symbolically knowledge and memory of the past,[5] yet I will do so, if only implicitly at times, in feminist terms with a strong intersectional edge. Intersectionality studies seek to unravel the complex intertwining of race, gender, class, as well as other -*ism* producing categories, which generate and perpetually renegotiate the fabric of our everyday social interactions, especially in terms of power, hierarchy and exclusion (Davis 2008: 67).[6] Accordingly, intersectionality affords a powerful meta-tool to

---

forms of commodity consumption have seemingly multiplied the variety of roles and objects to choose from" (qtd. in Coverley 2006: 102).

[5] "Control of a society's memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power" through *legitimation* (Connerton, *Societies* 1; see also 3). Postmodernism may have struck the death knell of master-narratives, but their force *persists* as "unconscious collective memories" (1).

[6]*Intersectionality* refers to "the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional

analyse any conceptualisation of the ocular intake afforded by "walking in the city" (in Michel de Certeau's terms).

In July 2008, I looked at Atlanta exclusively from below, from street-level, since my hotel room view was rather modest, while my strolling never landed me inside hotels like the Westin Peachtree Plaza (1976)[7] or the Hyatt Regency (1967)[8] to ride their scenic glass lifts for a panoramic view.[9] Cityscape meant therefore streetscape gazed at from street level more than anything else. Besides, my strolls never followed any theoretical coordinates or goals, for I meant to enjoy the *flâneuse*'s full privileges in her little spare time, camera in hand, rather than to regard the city purposefully through a theoretical lens. Yet aimless– as well as theoretically blind – walking at street level and at one's own pace (cf. Connerton, *Modernity* 24–5) has its merits too: it enables the visitor to experience the city, in Michel de Certeau's terms, if not as "a text that lies before one's eyes" (de Certeau 1984: 92), then at least as a *speech-act* which *acts* the city *out* (97–8), or *performs* it (in Judith Butler's sense).[10] The raw intake at the time has yielded, in the meantime, not to least enjoyment but to explication and analysis to produce a different kind of enjoyment, sensuous as well as intellective.

My retrospective journey starts in what, for me, was the (admittedly subjective and temporary) hub of Atlanta: the Residence Inn by Marriott. Located in the nationally-registered Rhodes Haverty

---

arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis 2008: 68). See Davis (68–71) on the history – and difficulty in assessing the epistemic status – of intersectionality, and McCall for a critical overview of intersectionality methodologies.

[7]210 *Peachtree St NW.*

[8]265 *Peachtree St* NE.

[9] See de Certeau's (1984: 92–9) distinction between the panoptical perspective of the *voyeur* and the street-level gaze of the *walker* within an "erotics of knowledge" (92) under which "the ecstasy of reading [the city] cosmos" can be subsumed (92).

[10] "The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered" (de Certeau 1984: 97). One of its *enunciative* functions "is a spatial acting-out of the place (just as the speech act is an acoustic acting-out of language)" (98). If "a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g. by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g. by a wall that prevents one from going further), then the walker actualizes some of these possibilities" (98). See, in this connection, Judith Butler's definition of gender performativity: "the body becomes its gender through a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time" (Butler 1990: 143).

office building (1929) turned in the mid-1990s into a 20-storey hotel, the Residence Inn has two entrances. My favourite was the grand entrance,[11] which opens onto Peachtree Street, Atlanta's historic central street, now curving like a spine through extensions accrued over time (Williford 1962: 4–5; cf. Connerton 2009: 24).[12] Here, at134 Peachtree St NW, the spine looks at its most fractured architecturally and aesthetically. Right opposite rises the nationally-registered Candler Building (1906),[13] whose Atlantes-flanked and faux caryatid entrance hearkens back to Europe. Opposite left, however, rise skyscrapers, the hallmark of US modernism subsequently hailed by Europe too: the pink marble half-ziggurat of Georgia Pacific Center (1982)[14] and further north the double-crown building of 191 Peachtree Tower (1991).[15] Virtually adjacent to the hotel is Margaret Mitchell Square, with its waterfall and fountain, a white-enhancing *lieu de mémoire*![16] Down Peachtree Street to the south, the hotel shares architectural space with the black all-glass Equitable skyscraper (1968),[17] further south-east with Atlanta's oldest standing high-riser, the Chicago style Flatiron Building (1897),[18] and with some Georgia State University buildings, all situated within the Fairlie-Poplar historic district.

---

[11] The back entrance overlooks the Fulton Public Library entrance.

[12] Peachtree Street overlays the Creek Peachtree Trail, as other early Atlanta streets, Whitehall and Marietta, did with the early Indian trade trails. See Williford (chap. 1) for a history of Peachtree Street, including its puzzling name (*pitch*, viz. pine, or *peach* tree?), and a brief history of Atlanta before and after the white settlement. Williford's is, not only through its historical focus, a book on the *white* history of the city: neither its original inhabitants, driven away along the Trail of Tears, nor the Africans brought in as slaves, could possibly be mentioned other than disparagingly (see Williford 29, 39–40).

[13] 127 Peachtree St NE; built for Asa G. Candler, the founder of the Coca Cola empire.

[14] 133 Peachtree St NE; built on the old site of Loew's Grand Theatre (DeGive Grand Opera House, 1893; Loew, 1923–78).

[15] 191 Peachtree St NE.

[16] Originally installed in 1986; revived in July 2012. I use Nora's phrase to indicate that by "insinuating their memory into public space, groups exert the cultural authority, express the collective solidarity, and achieve a measure of the permanence that they often crave" (Brundage 6) at the expense of non-hegemonic groups, whose collective memory they delegitimise and obliterate.

[17] 100 Peachtree St NW; built on the site of the Piedmont Hotel (1903–1966).

[18] 84 Peachtree St NW. The name changed several times: the original English-American Building was renamed Flatiron (1916–1920) due to the popularity of New York's 1903 building; following its purchase, the Atlantan building became

A caveat: I do not wish to claim, with Aldo Rossi, that the "city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places" (qtd. in Bevan 2006: 15). Rather, as Robert Bevan argues, the "built environment is merely a prompt, a corporeal reminder of the events involved in its construction, use and destruction" (2006: 15; cf. 16), ultimately what Pierre Nora (1989: 12–13, 18–24) calls a *lieu de mémoire*: a deliberate *repository* of collective memory, whether in material or ritual form.

Take Atlanta's public statuary: even if statues are typically commemorative or celebratory, they may also be able to *undo* memory work, especially apparent retrospectively when statues are regarded in tandem.[19]Such is the (admittedly, unwitting) neutralisation of racial hints due to the material used, bronze, in Gamba Quirino's *Atlantafrom the Ashes* (1969)[20], which symbolises Atlanta's rebirth from the ashes of the Civil War, and Patrick Morelli's *Behold* (1990),[21] which features Kunta Kinte (the slave protagonist of Alex Haley's novel *Roots*) performing a Mandinka ceremony for his new-born daughter, symbolic of the cosmic, not just social, pledge of the baby. Such is also the obliteration of the memory of systematic social responsibility in the "ghettoising" of the African Americans and Native Americans in terms of educational or health care opportunities, which undermines the positive message of *No Goal Is Too High If We Climb with Care and Confidence* (1995).[22] Donated to the city by Chic-fil-A, Inc., the US pioneer in quick-service mall food, *No Goal…*commemorates Chic-fil-A's "Team Member Scholarship program to encourage … restaurant employees to further their education," which in 1994 "reached its $10 million scholarship milestone" (<https://atlantaplanit.wabe.org/attractions/no-goal-is-too-high-if-we-climb-with-care-and-confidence>).[23] "Each

---

Georgia Savings Bank (1920–1974), and its Flatiron name was restored during the 1980s.

[19]See Connerton (2009: 29–30) on the reciprocal relationship between memorials and forgetting through the experience concealment they operate.

[20]In Woodruff Park at Five Points.

[21]In the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site.

[22] The bronze statue is situated at the intersection of Peachtree St NE and Poplar St NW next to the Georgia State University downtown campus.

[23] In 1994, the company "commissioned the art and sculpture students of Georgia State University to design a sculpture that would reflect the goals and achievements of the Chick-fil-A scholarship program"

person's destiny is not a matter of chance; it's a matter of choice. It's determined by what we say, what we do, and whom we trust": How do the words of Chick-fil-A's white founder, S. Truett Cathy, etched into the statue's plaque, sound to the blacks who gather daily at Five Points for the promise of odd jobs; to the African American I spotted foraging in a Peachtree Center litter bin; or to the black sitter of the anonymous bronze sculpture in Peachtree Fountains Plaza? (The Peachtree Fountains Plaza sculpture depicts an elderly homeless man seated on a ledge-like bench feeding a pigeon.[24])

Yet more stunning than the visual effects of bronze is to realise that, classic female representation of the city notwithstanding, none of these statues depicts women, whether to celebrate their achievements or to hint at their underrepresented existence. Chick-fil-A's homunculi climbing up the social ladder can hardly qualify as *also* female. True, a statue showing a highly stylised female silhouette presumably celebrates Gail Collins, the woman whose "creativity and determination" inspired, the plaque caption reads, the "resurgence of Fairlie-Poplar." Yet whom does the 2-D artefact depicting a fashionable lady with a dog on the leash *represent* in terms of both artistic *likeness* (*Darstellung*) and political *representativeness* (*Vertretung*)?[25]Gail Collins was the executive director of the Fairlie-Poplar Task Force heading the district's revitalisation at the turn of the millennium, and a woman with a nup-market, if feminine, take on it: "'We want this [Fairlie-Poplar] to be the Soho or the French Quarter of Atlanta,' Collins said, explaining

(<https://atlantaplanit.wabe.org/attractions/no-goal-is-too-high-if-we-climb-with-care-and-confidence>).

[24]When I started doing research on Atlanta's Public Art Collection in March 2012, Atlanta Office of Cultural Affairs, which manages and inventories public art, did not mention this artefact (<http://ocaatlanta.com/public-art/the-collection>); nor does it now in October 2017, indeed on a site (<http://www.ocaatlanta.com/arts-hub/#search/art>) which leaves artworks undocumented if names are not familiar to the user. Yet the low-profile statue virtually shares the same breath with Quirino's *Atlanta*: Woodruff Park at Five Points.

[25] See Spivak (1998: 275–9) on the two faces of representation and Gatens (1997: 81–3) on representation in the body politic. In Spivak's perspicuous analysis of representation, "the staging of the world in representation – its scene of writing, its *Darstellung* – dissimulates the choice of and need for 'heroes', paternal proxies, agents of power – *Vertretung*" (1998: 279). As regards *Vertretung* (political and legal representation, i.e. standing-for) in the body politic metaphor, Gatens demonstrates that both metaphorically and metonymically political representation favours men, traditionally white, unimpaired men organised within a natural(ised) hierarchy.

her vision of antique stores, bookstores and clothing boutiques, instead of empty storefronts, hair salons, quick print shops and convenience stores that sell beer by the bottle" (Hubbard 1999). Her three nominations for the 1997 Georgia Trust Preservation Awards suggest that Collins favours conversions of dilapidated historic buildings to apartment lofts (Georgia Trust). Is such revitalisation also capable of improving the lot of the unemployed, many *black*, perhaps by offering them employment prospects other than temporary? (Do these Atlantans have the right credentials, e.g. job qualification, to even hope so?)

Another landmark in central Atlanta, the Medical Arts Building (1927; henceforth MAB),[26] however, has been overlooked by revitalisation projects. I happened to pass by G. Lloyd Preacher's Beaux-Arts edifice as I was walking down Peachtree Street on 29 July 2008. The sight of a derelict brick and limestone construction (vacated after the 1995 fire) in the northernmost part of the city centre was unsettling enough for a quiet afternoon stroll. Yet, zooming in on the SunTrust Plaza from the north, I spotted the twofold graffiti crowning the MAB perfectly symmetrically: "SAVE THE WHITE RACE" on the left and "WHITE POWER" on the right.[27] The two racist inscriptions, which have been erased in the meantime,[28] speak volumes about a black-and-white divide deeply etched into the Atlantans' collective memory.

The scar on the façade of a building of the *white* medical establishment arguably transcodes a scar on the *collective memory*[29] of some whites, likely apprehensive of the outcome of the civil rights

---

[26] 384 Peachtree St NE, i.e. situated at the other end of the street from Fairlie-Poplar.

[27] Original capital letters.

[28] Given the image taken on 15 June 2006 by Chris P. (<http://www.emporis.com/en/il/im/?id=468845>), the *terminus ad quem* for daubing the racist graffiti is 2006. Stafford's article of 22 Aug. 2009 features Jason Getz's photo of the building, with the left-hand graffiti ("SAVE...") whitewashed. By April 2010 Google Maps satellite images showed the other one removed too. Obviously, an Internet search now no longer yields evidence similar to my 2012 research: the link to the 15 June 2006 photo is no longer active, and the description of the MAB by the Emporis.com site has been shortened (<https://www.emporis.com/buildings/155633/medical-arts-building-atlanta-ga-usa>).

[29] See Halbwachs, J. Assmann (1995: 128–133) and A. Assmann (2008: 52–56) on the social framing of collective memory, and A. Assmann (2008: 56–66), Megill (1998: 38) and Prager (2001: 2224) on the entanglements of collective memory with history.

movement, with Atlanta as its hub before Martin Luther King, Jr. moved away. Does the graffiti erasure signal the healing of Atlanta's racial scar? Elijah Anderson contends that only the *concept* of racial discrimination has lost its force, but not racial *feelings* too (2012: 12, 21–3; see also Amin 2010: 5).[30] As a corollary, the African Americans' upward socio-professional mobility is suspected to owe merely to affirmative action policies, and blacks constantly need to prove they deserve their position (Anderson 2012: 12, 17, 20; Appiah 1994: 131). Do some whites find their jobs threatened (Anderson 2012: 12–13)[31] or do they rather fear a tipping of the US demographic balance towards "the coloured races," as Lothrop Stoddard warned in *The Rising Tide of Color against White World-Supremacy* (1920)? As regards the former, seven states[32] have already banned affirmative action programmes. The black "ghetto" (Anderson 2012), alongside the "feminization of poverty" (Pearce 1978) in a racially unbalanced distribution of power and resources, gives the lie to Stoddard. Does "White Power," the white supremacist slogan (Bolaffi 2003: 329), voice such (combined?) apprehensions – like "Save the White Race" itself – symptomatic of the "white backlash" (Jedel and Kujawa 1976: 281)? Or is it rather a reminiscence of the KKK ethos manifested in 1920s Atlanta and in Atlantan Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1926–1936)?[33] Either way, did the White Power movement itself emerge to offset the revolutionary Black Power movement (Bolaffi 2003: 31–32) or is it, like the KKK and fascism, an inherently predatory, racist violence-monger?[34]

---

[30] See Anthony Appiah for a critique of the concept of race and a discussion of the social and psychological effects of racial identity ascription.

[31] Compare the recent white discreditation of putative beneficiaries of US affirmative action policy (Anderson 2012: 13–14; McCarthy 2004: 765) with the covert racism uncovered by Jedel and Kujawa (1976: 281–287) in 1972–1973 and by Bonilla-Silva and Forman in 1997.

[32] California (1996), Washington (1998), Florida (1999), Michigan (2006), Nebraska (2008), Arizona (2010) and New Hampshire (2011).

[33] The US White Power movement, which espouses nationalistic racism, has neo-Nazi origins and a National Socialist affiliation.

[34] Racial restorations activism and the white backlash strike me as a primarily masculinist arena of contestation, which testifies to the persistent gender disparities within and across racial lines: "Save the White Race" sounds like the battle-cry of a self-styled victimised avatar, through reverse discrimination, of the masculine KKK. Historically, the KKK charged that black men raped white women, yet it sought thereby to preserve white masculine privileges when faced with the ego-threatening emergence of black masculinity in the post-Restoration social arena.

To recapitulate: two racist inscriptions were painted on the cornice of the 62.84-metre-high Medical Arts Building prior to mid-June 2006, to be completely erased only by April 2010. At the time of its construction, the MAB virtually belonged with other, mostly white sheathed, high-risers in the white entrepreneurial centre of a segregation-riven city. Now the northernmost topographic border of Atlanta's centre in urban mapping, after 1927 the MAB as the hub of medical practice marked the professional border between life and death. In either capacity the edifice is a literal landmark (albeit not in the modern, "nationally-registered" sense) acting out the city's inner borders, if not the inner-city borders.[35] The now erased racist graffiti endorses Derrida's view that racism as a "system of marks, outlines space in order to assign forced residence or to close off borders" (1985: 292). Atlanta's centre, the graffiti screams out, is at once a jeopardised region ("Save the White Race"!) yet one clearly marking off "*White* Power" even through its modern *black* all-glass hotels (Westin; Marriott Marquis) and business centres (Equitable).

The racist graffiti may best testify, then, to the *persistence of racialised oppression*, albeit under new guises, e.g. via "aesthetic" (viz. sensual) values (Watts 2010: 217), in the aftermath of successful opposition to racism in the US (Amin 2010: 2; Holland 2005: 405–6; Appiah 1994; Squires 2010: 213). With the advent of *postracism* as not simply a "cultural condition" which "largely operates unconsciously," but also a "political strategy" (Ono 2010: 227) of *obliteration*, it becomes apparent that any optimistic proposition about the demise of racism is untenable.

21st-century American society faces a return of its repressed past – in fact, doubly repressed through the suppression of Africans' freedom and voice (through *enslavement*) and the *unchronicling* of a past of profound injustice against African Americans (Booth 2008: 688; Fong 2008: 660–1; Ono 2010: 228).[36] In endorsing slavery, the WASP founding fathers forged a divided American identity. Its

---

[35] I grew aware of Atlanta's inner city not in 2008 while walking in the centre, but in 2012 and subsequently in 2017 from online pictures, such as Atlanta History Center's photographs collated in "Atlanta 'Slums' before Becoming the 'Projects'" and recent snapshots, some from 2015 ("From Inside Atlanta, Georgia"), others from an unspecified date ("Atlanta-The Beginning and End of Public Housing.wmv"), taken by an anonymous Internet user, terminuszone1.

[36] Native Americans too have experienced social injustice (Holland 2005: 405). See Fong on Rogers Smith's influential *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (1997), which "document[s] the centrality of race in the nation's self-understandings" and American political discourse (Fong 2008: 666).

legacy, alongside disavowed colonialism and the denial of the *systemic* effects of racism (Ono 2010: 227–8; McCarthy 2004), is polarised between blackness as "a sign of otherness" and a whiteness which "remains invisible to itself, shrouded in a 'broad, collective American silence'" (Booth 2008: 689).[37] Accordingly, the "forgetful presentism of American life, born of its intertwining of amnesia, partial remembrance, and misplaced innocence, makes the past invisible" (Booth 2008: 689; see McCarthy 2004: 760), or rather a "haunting presence" (Booth 2008: 685). Picturing African Americans as, paradoxically, welfare-living citizens who wrest all decent job opportunities from diligent whites – now styling themselves, through recourse to post-racial discourse, victims of reverse discrimination – reshapes the whites' collective consciousness through the reshaping of collective memory,[38] with systemic social ramifications. How do African Americans experience the self-same haunting past and the painfully inescapable black-and-white *sutured wound* (Booth 2008: 690–1)?[39] Ash Amin (2010) argues that nowadays "the critical difference to the real experience of race, arbitrating the choice between accommodation and discipline of the racialized other" (2010: 4), is the interplay between *racial biopolitics*, viz. "explicit rules and practices of order based on bodily differentiation and discipline" (2010: 9), and "*vernacular habits* with long historical roots of reading racial and social worth from surface bodily differences" (2010: 3–4), viz. the "everyday doings of race" (2010: 7), "ingrained as a kind of historical force" (2010: 13). Segregation may have been rescinded, but racism cannot be uprooted by fiat.

---

[37] Such identity, moreover, is both gender blind and heavily subjectively appraised (Moya 2000: 1–9).

[38] Confino (1997: 1393–6) argues that (a decontextualised) political memory coincides with official memory, the opposite of, though often commingling with, collective memory, itself more implied and blurred than explicit, and with transmission and reception possibilities that range from silence to only partial visibility. See Brundage (2005) on the dialectic within collective memories of the American South "between the willfully recalled and deliberately forgotten" (5) as enforced by hegemonic groups to "secure broad recognition of their identities by colonizing public spaces with their version of their past" (5–6). Ironically, Prager is oblivious to the obduracy of white speech entitlement and the contested nature of the subaltern's speech (see Foucault 1980: 82; Spivak 1998: 280), viz. the kind of *social amnesia* which can explain certain attempts at redeeming slavery (along the lines of *Gone with the Wind*) and the relatively minor success of African American counter-narratives of historical slavery.

[39] See Landsberg (2004: 81–109) on the "interpellative power of the past" of slavery.

Indeed, in the light of Amin's persuasive analysis of the new racial biopolitics in the wake of 9/11, the two MAB graffiti may not even be so much about the historical black-and-white racial divide as about *othering*[40] racial/ethnic/religious/cultural difference and reading it from and into the body – the *raced body* of "threatening strangers, the new black" (Amin 2010: 9, 10). Whether "Save the White Race" cries out against the historical black or against *the new black as the raced errant body*, the historic(al) racist divide is still maintained[41] or, worse, bolstered in the claim of a threat to the hegemonic race. Under positive discrimination duress, whites clamour their prerogatives, first and foremost *speech* (and *thinking*) *entitlement*, honed over the centuries to a *homogenising* force.[42] Furthermore, the ultimate indeterminacy of the enemy from whose clutch whites must be saved (by whom?) renders indistinct, hence *colourless*, the implicit historical *other* of White Power, viz. Black Power, and with it the homogenised condition of blackness/colour – yet another face of displacement and dispossession. Ironically, all this seems to have been played out on a building deplored by residents and the local media as the *eyesore* which *ails* Atlanta.[43]

"We can understand buildings themselves as pieces of art, political statements, cultural artifacts, or simply as machines – generic containers for the conduct of human lives" (Ellard 2015: 218). Then, what do the early and high modernist buildings of Atlanta speak about, apart from technological prowess or the inexorable weathering away of stone and concrete? Atlanta's cityscape appears as the architectural palimpsest of clashes past and present, whose *ghostly traces* in the present *perform* the early clashes

---

[40] See Virginia Dominguez and comments thereon for a critique of the insidious (commodified) racialisation of difference that underpins a lot of "diversity" discursive practices (e.g. the "hyper-privileging" of "minority intellectuals" in the US academia in the early 1990s, or *tokenism*) which profess or genuinely intend to counter racism.

[41] Amin demonstrates "the consistency of race as a mode of responding to difference and uncertainty" (2010: 13). However, within a constructionist framework which avers that identities are always constructed, *black* is necessarily "a shifting signifier" (Kobena Mercer, qtd. in Laforest 1996: 118).

[42] In eliding the threatening stranger with the historical other as "the new black" (in Amin's terms), the West performs again its "hom(m)o-sexual monopoly" (Irigaray 171); such phallogocratic logic of "sameness-unto-itself" offers the metaphysical grounding of identity and knowledge alike through "reduc[ing] all others to the economy of the Same" (Amin 2010: 74).

[43] The source page of these posts from July 2009 is available at<http://www.city-data.com/forum/atlanta/715835-medical-arts-building-action.html>.

time and again, yet at so many discursive removes. Such discursive embedding, however, is hardly unbiased. Insofar as "control of a society's memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power" (Connerton, 1989: 1), the architecture of central Atlanta unfailingly points to *who* has had a stake in maintaining a streamlined modern cityscape of skyscrapers interspersed with a few nostalgic-looking, nationally registered buildings that in their heyday – coincidentally, during the Jim Crow laws' enforcement – showcased white entrepreneurial prowess while obliterating its foundation in racism.

If my musings so far have drawn on race and memory studies, they have also followed suit such studies' *gender blindness*, a patriarchally reinforced unwillingness to broach the (double) oppression of (*non-white*) *women*.[44] My Atlanta snapshots show middle-aged women among the unemployed black people gathered at Five Points to await the opportunity of odd jobs. Another photo records my amusement at spotting a tongue-in-cheek gender-conscious graffiti on a warning sign in the road: WO/MEN WORKING uses red paint to write women back in the cityscape and labour-scape – if, ironically, *underground* in both spatial and class terms. Yet Atlanta's cityscape, like most others worldwide, formally and earnestly etches women simultaneously out of sight and out of mind. Through either commission (the Candler Building) or commemorative aim (Woodruff Park; *Behold*), edifices, statues and parks celebrate *male* achievement. A central boulevard proudly bears the name of John Portman, the Atlantan architect-developer who designed Atlanta's Peachtree Center, commercial office buildings (SunTrust Plaza)and hotels (Hyatt Regency; Westin; Marriott Marquis), as well as countless other buildings elsewhere, among which Los Angeles's Westin Bonaventure Hotel, put on the theoretical map by Fredric Jameson after he had lost his way within. On the face of it, the black of Atlanta's glass-and-concrete or glass-and-steel skyscrapers contrasts architecturally with the white of its *fin-de-siècle* European-looking buildings. Soft-looking *Beaux-Arts* stone decoration and high modernist shimmering glass reflexes suggest an *aisthetic*, not just aesthetic, opposition between warmth and coldness betokening different lifestyles and worldviews. Yet deceptively so. Both architectural styles belong together as landmarks

---

[44]Incidentally, Georgia (along with Mississippi) was the first state to oppose ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment (Woman Suffrage) in 1920, so women could only vote in 1922; Georgia officially ratified this amendment in 1970 (Eltzrothn).

of the white race, hence as as many *lieux de mémoire* that "authenticate [mainstream] consensual notions of the past" (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004: 349), here by obliterating the memory of racism.[45] Nevertheless, Atlanta's pervasive black and white divide concerns, kyriarchically,[46] men alone.

My own account has screened out the invisible presence of other markers of fracture in Atlanta, from the gender divide to the white/non-white-non-black divide.[47] Take Five Points: formerly Atlanta's economic hub (now replaced by Peachtree Center), yet still the hub of the MARTA rail system, prior to the whites' arrival Five Points had been the intersection of Creek Indian trails, the Peach/Pitch Tree, the Stone Mountain and the Sandtown Trails (Williford 1962: 1). MARTA memorialises this in the name of its terminus station of the east–west Blue Line: Indian Creek. The name evokes the *white* beginnings of Atlanta in 1837 (Williford 1962: 2–4) as the *terminus* (hence its early white Anglo-Latin name until 1843, when it became Marthasville) of the Western and *Atlantic* railway (running southward from Chatanooga to Augusta), hence its present name, acquired in 1845. Yet the history of the white(s') Terminus/Atlanta is virtually coterminous withthe map of Georgia's stations along the Trail of Tears– of thousands of Cherokee and Creek Indian tears, male and female. The Indian removal enabled the clearing of both Indian space and Indian/European collective memory for colonisation (see Connerton, 2009: 10–13), with its unrelenting march to technological progress and collective oblivion.[48]

Such obliteration of associations with race and gender from the architectural fabric of Atlanta is hardly new, if typically

---

[45] Cf. López on the lingering presence of the "cultural remains of whiteness" in the postcolonial world "as an ideal, often latently, sometimes not" (2005: 1).

[46] *Kyriarchy*, Elisabeth Schüssler-Fiorenza's coinage, names the structuring of society around descending hierarchies of fatherhood, from Father God to the supreme authority of a king/a lord to *paterfamilias*. Unlike the more conventional *patriarchy*, *kyriarchy* thus calls attention to the interlocking structures of injustice based on class, gender, race and religion.

[47] Apart from being home to the US largest consortium of African American colleges, viz. Atlanta University Center in West End, Atlanta has sizeable Latino and Asian communities in the northeast (Stann 2008: 29; 35). I was unaware at the time of the then black female mayor of Atlanta, Shirley Franklin (2002–2010, two terms), now succeeded by a black male mayor, Kasim Reed (since 2010, two terms).

[48] Atlanta's Cherokee Avenue offers another case where the name commemorates as much as it conceals, the latter due to institutions located there: Atlanta cyclorama (the Battle of Atlanta) and the Civil War Museum.

overlooked. Cities are, by definition, erected around the ancient concept of *civitas*,[49] a patriarchal construct of the (implicitly) *white* community which celebrates the maleness of its citizen-*cum*-conqueror at the same time as it obliterates the toil and suffering of those coerced to ensure everyone's subsistence but especially *his* welfare: slaves and (if non-white, doubly enslaved) women. This subaltern other "fails" lamentably to belong within the praiseworthy parts of the body politic, and thus cannot engender aesthetic, ideological and socio-political *representation* (*Darstellung* and *Vertretung* alike).

References:
Amin, Ash. 2010. "The Remainders of Race." *Theory, Culture and Society* 27.1 pp. 1–23.
Anderson, Elijah. 2012. "The Iconic Ghetto." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 642, pp. 8–24.
Appiah, K. Anthony. 1994. "Race, Culture, Identity: Misunderstood Connections." *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values. Delivered at the University of California at San Diego*, 27–28 Oct, pp. 53–136. https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/a/Appiah96.pdf (Accessed 3 May 2012).
Assmann, Aleida. 2008. "Transformations between History and Memory." *Social Research* 75.1, pp. 49–72.
Assmann, Jan. 1995. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique* 65, pp. 125–33.
Bevan, Robert. 2006. *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. London: Reaktion.
Bolaffi, Guido et al., (eds.). 2003. *Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture*. London: Sage.
Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, and Tyrone A. Forman. 2000. "I Am Not a Racist But...': Mapping White College Students' Racial Ideology in the USA." *Discourse and Society* 11.1, pp. 50–85.
Booth, W. James. 2008. "The Color of Memory: Reading Race with Ralph Ellison." *Political Theory* 36.5, pp. 683–707.
Brundage, W. Fitzhugh. 2005. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*. Cambridge, Mass. And London: Harvard University Press.
Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York and London: Routledge.
Confino, Alon. 1997. "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method." *American Historical Review* 102.5, pp.1386–403.

---

[49] A "state (usu. a city)" as *organised community* to which individuals belong as *citizens* (*OLD*, s.v. *ciuitas*).

Connerton, Paul. 2009. *How Modernity Forgets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coverley, Merlin. 2006. *Psychogeography*. Herts: Pocket Essentials.

Davis, Kathy. 2008. "Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful." *Feminist Theory* 9.1, pp. 67–85.

Debord, Guy. 2006. "Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography" (1955). *Situationist International Anthology*. Ed. and trans. Ken Knabb. Rev. and expanded ed. Berkeley, Calif.: Bureau of Public Secrets, pp. 8–11.

De Certeau, Michel. 1984. "Walking in the City." *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 91–110.

Derrida, Jacques. 1985. "Racism's Last Word." *Critical Inquiry* 12, pp. 290–9.

Dominguez, Virginia R. 1994. "A Taste for 'the Other': Intellectual Complicity in Racializing Practices." *Current Anthropology* 35.4, pp. 333–48.

Ellard, Colin. 2015. *Places of the Heart: The Psychogeography of Everyday Life*. New York: Bellevue Literary Press.

Eltzroth, E. Lee. 2002. "Woman Suffrage." *Georgia Encyclopedia*. Original entry 5 Sept. 2002. Last edited by Chris Dobbs on 8 Jun. 2017. http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/woman-suffrage (accessed 9 October 2017).

Fong, Edmund. 2008. "Reconstructing the 'Problem' of Race." *Political Research Quarterly* 61.4, pp. 660–70.

Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*. Ed. Colin Gordon. Trans. C. Gordon *et al*. New York: Pantheon.

Gatens, Moira. 1997. "Corporeal Representation in/and the Body Politic" (1991). Rpt. In *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*. Ed. Katie Conboy *et al*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 80–9.

Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation. 1997. "Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation Recognizes Outstanding Preservation Efforts." *PRNewswire*, 24 Apr. 1997. https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/georgia-trust-for-historic-preservation-recognizes-outstanding-preservation-efforts-75305902.html (accessed 2 February 2015).

Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992. *On Collective Memory*. Ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Hoelscher, Steven and Derek H. Alderman. "Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship." *Social and Cultural Geography* 5.3 (2004): 347–55.

Holland, Sharon P. 2005. "The Last Word on Racism: New Directions for a Critical Race Theory." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 104.3, pp. 403–23.

Hubbard, Caroline. 1999. "Fairlie-Poplar Hopes Study Will Spark Area Renaissance." **Atlanta Business Chronicle**, 1 Feb. 1999 https://www.bizjournals.com/atlanta/stories/1999/02/01/ newscolumn8.html (accessed 3 April 2015).

Irigaray, Luce. 1985. *This Sex Which Is Not One*. Trans. Catherine Porter. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Jedel, Michael Jay, and Duane Kujawa. 1976. "Racial Dichotomies in Employment Perceptions: An Empirical Study of Workers in Selected Atlanta-Based Firms." *Academy of Management Journal* 19.2, pp. 277–90.

Laforest, Marie Hélène. 1996. "Black Cultures in Difference." *The Postcolonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizon*. Ed. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 115–120.

Landsberg, Alison. 2004. *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

López, Alfred J. 2005. "Introduction: Whiteness after Empire." *Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire*. Ed. A. J. López. Albany: SUNY Press, pp. 1–30.

McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs* 30.3, pp. 1771–800.

McCarthy, Thomas. 2004. "Coming to Terms with Our Past, Part II: On the Morality and Politics of Reparations for Slavery." *Political Theory* 32.6, pp. 750–72.

Megill, Allan. 1998. "History, Memory, Identity." *History of the Human Sciences* 11.3, pp. 37–62.

Moya, Paula M. L. 2000. "Introduction." *Reclaiming Identity: Realist Theory and the Predicament of Postmodernism*. Ed. P. M. L. Moya and Michael R. Hames-García. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, pp. 1–26.

Nora, Pierre. 1989. "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*." *Representations* 26, pp. 7–24.

Ono, Kent A. "Postracism: A Theory of the 'Post'- as Political Strategy." Squires *et al*. 2010. 227–33.

Oxford Latin Dictionary (*OLD*). 1968. Oxford: Clarendon.

Pearce, Diane M. 1978. "The Feminization of Poverty: Women, Work, and Welfare." *Urban and Social Change Review* 11, pp. 28–36.

Pinder, David. 2005. "Arts of Urban Exploration." *Cultural Geographies* 12, pp. 383–411.

Prager, J. 2001. "Collective Memory, Psychology of." *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Ed. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes. 26 vols. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 2223–7.

Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth. 2009. "Introduction." *Democratizing Biblical Studies: Toward an Emancipatory Educational Space*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, pp. 1–21.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1998. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. London: Macmillan, pp. 271–313.

Squires, Catherine R. 2010. "Running Through the Trenches: Or, an Introduction to the Undead Culture Wars and Dead Serious Identity Politics." Squires *et al.*, pp. 211–14.

Squires, Catherine R. *et al*. 2010. "What Is This 'Post-' in Postracial, Postfeminist (Fill in the Blank)?" *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 34.3, pp. 210–51.

Stafford, Leon. 2009. "New Purposes for Atlanta's Old Eyesores." *Atlanta News*, 22 Aug. 2009. http://www.ajc.com/news/local/new-purposes-for-atlanta-old-eyesores/KbrQd0LK0cfDRa5JsfWiFJ/ (accessed 5 May 2012).

Stann, Kap. 2008. *Moon Handbooks: Georgia*. 6th ed. Emeryville, Calif.: Avalon Travel Publishing.

terminuszone1. "Atlanta 'Slums' before Becoming the 'Projects.'" Atlanta History Center photographs. YouTube. Published on 6 Sept. 2009. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tpLIqZ4JJpg (accessed 11 October 2017).

---. "Atlanta – The Beginning and End of Public Housing." YouTube. Published on 20Nov. 2011. Accessed 11 Oct. 2017<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoq5-u69BoA>.

---. "From Inside Atlanta, Georgia." YouTube. Published on 8Jul. 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gf0BtG3qaME (accessed 11 Oct. 2017).

Watts, Eric King. 2010. "The (Nearly) Apocalyptic Politics of 'Postracial' America: Or 'This is Now the United States of Zombieland.'" Squires *et al.*, pp. 214–22.

Williford, William Bailey. 1962. *Peachtree Street, Atlanta*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

An Era of Responsibility: the Common Sense of Toni Morrison's Fictional and Non-fictional Legacy

Mirjana Daničić[1]
University of Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract: Toni Morrison, one of the most important American writers of the 20th century, died in August 2019 at the age of 88. This paper presents the legacy of Toni Morrison's fiction and non-fiction in an attempt to see how her literary and non-literary texts communicate with the contemporary American society. Focusing on the process of creating a particular belief instead of just giving its static description, Morrison's prose has shown how this belief may influence the entire community's attitude towards a person or an event. The responsibility to establish the relation between "those with the notion of superiority" and "the defenseless" therefore rests upon the necessity, much emphasized in Morrison's works, to differentiate *facts from truth*.

Keywords: Toni Morrison, literature, social criticism, marginalization, social responsibility.

1. Introduction

Toni Morrison's fictional and non-fictional prose can be and has been approached from many different angles: as the revision of history (perhaps most often), social criticism, the revival of African American mythology and cultural knowledge, feminist writing, black women prose, magic realism, post-slave narratives, to mention but a few. However, having in mind her recent departure, we find it adequate to write homage to the literary and social responsibility she felt for future generations. In the weeks following her death, countless editorials, obituaries, commendations were published in the newspapers and magazines with worldwide readership. What was rather striking was that most of these eulogies were focused not only on Morrison's tremendous literary achievement but also on her political vision. For instance, Angela Y. Davis wrote an opinion for *The New York Times* entitled "Toni Morrison, Revolutionary Political Thinker". In this tribute to the deceased writer, she insists that Morrison should be remembered for the sharp clarity of her social

---

[1] mirjana.danicic@fil.bg.ac.rs

vision, as well as for her gorgeous words. Furthermore, Kim McLarin, a contemporary American novelist, published "A letter to Toni Morrison" in *The American Prospect* in which she describes Morrison's writing as utterly human – "beautiful and murderous, powerful and spiteful, determined and broken and mean" (McLarin 2019).

This paper is an attempt to make an overview of Toni Morrison's sum of the artistic work, both literary and non-literary, with the aim to underscore that since the early beginnings of her writing career, Morrison profoundly believed that all art, like life, was both inherently political and beautiful. Apparently, for her there was no contradiction in her belief that art simultaneously must have aesthetic qualities and must be committed to the people. This can be clearly seen from her words said in the conversation with Alice Childress for *Black Creation Annual* back in 1974: "I think all good art has always been political. None of the best writing, the best thoughts have been anything other than that." (Taylor-Guthrie 1994: 3)

The dedicated reader of Morrison's prose will quickly grasp that the messages we get from her fiction are identical to the messages we get from her non-fictional writing. Her literary, as well as her non-literary legacy, reveals the aesthetic perfection and emotional power.

2. The legacy of Toni Morrison's fiction

Toni Morrison made a literary debut in 1970 with a ground-breaking novel *The Bluest Eye* which tells a story about self-hatred and incestuous rape in the black community. Through the harsh criticism of the Anglo-Saxon standard of physical beauty (blond hair, blue eyes), the novel tries to answer the question: how does a child learn self-loathing for racial purposes? Her second novel *Sula* (1973) defines the relation of mother and daughter as crucial for the psychological development of the daughter, talks of the female friendship, and questions the vital impact the social and economic circumstances can have on the formation of woman's personality. According to the critics, her first major novel is her third novel *Song of Solomon* (1977). Even though the novel can be interpreted as the classic example of the Bildungsroman, the foundation of the novel is a story of an African myth of flying Morrison learnt from her maternal grandparents. Morrison's grandfather was born to slavery. The Flying Africans myth was just one of the numerous legends

spread among the slaves about Africans who either 'flew' or jumped off slave ships, or saw the horrors of slavery and sought to fly back to Africa. Explaining why flying is a central metaphor in *Song* which tells a story of a young man's spiritual development, Morrison said that the meaning of the story was very specific: "It is about black people who could fly. That was always part of the folklore of my life; flying was one of our gifts. I don't care how silly it may be. It is everywhere – people used to talk about it, it's in the spirituals and gospels". (Taylor-Guthrie 1994: 122) Black people strongly believe in magic, it is part of their heritage, along with the belief in the supernatural and the power the dead have over the living. In *Song of Solomon's* storytelling African American mythology and folklore are abundantly applied. Decades later, she would admit that she suffers "from racial vertigo that can be cured only by taking what one needs from one's ancestors" (Morrison 2008: 8). Unsurprisingly, the departed dead taking the shape of ghostly visitors are important for Morrison's narrative not only in this, but in every subsequent novel.

The link between *Song of Solomon* and Morrison's most-renowned novel *Beloved* published ten years later (1987) is exactly the appearance of spirits from the world of the dead and their interaction with the living. In *Beloved*, the daughter whose throat was slashed by fugitive slave mother is reincarnated as a young woman who re-enters her mother's post-slavery life.[2] Beloved starts to invade her mother's household, makes her neglect the other (living) daughter and herself, tries to suffocate her, and incites sexual relationship with her mother's partner Paul D. At the end of the novel, the spirit is so powerful and quick at consuming Sethe's life that the whole black community has to unite forces to defend Sethe and save her from the ominous powers of the murdered daughter. They use "a ritual act of prayers and chanting" (Morrison 2005: 304), a form of exorcism, to chase the ghost away, thus making once again the supernatural a fact which cannot be dismissed. For the reader eagerly awaiting a rational explanation at the end of the novel, no revelation is offered in the last paragraphs where natural forces (wind in the eaves, ice thawing, weather) have now taken place of the supernatural. The epilogue explains Beloved as part of the natural atmosphere – as a critic clarifies it, Beloved is normalized into everyday atmosphere (Matus

---

[2] The novel is based on the true story of Margaret Garner (1833-1858), the fugitive slave mother who killed her two-year-old daughter when the slave-holders came to the house where they were concealed, because she didn't want to see her baby returned to slavery.

1998: 119). Morrison's revision of history is based on memory, personal and collective. Yet, she does not offer us another historiography book, but her unprecedented storytelling full of linguistic feats. "What the historian takes volumes, footnotes, and bibliography to convey, Morrison captures in a word or the turn of a phrase." (Taylor 1994: 327)

In the following novel *Jazz* (1992), set in Harlem in 1926, Morrison continues her reconstruction of the African American cultural legacy, this time focusing on the newfound form of the traditional oral spiritual songs – the jazz music which sprang up from the sorrow songs of the black people working in the fields. At the time, New York was a City of promise for many black people who migrated from the rural South to the industrial North. The novel describes the love of fifty-year-old Joe Trace for the eighteen-year-old Dorcas. This love ends tragically and Joe kills his young lover. The whole narrative is written in the quasi-detective format which is an excellent vehicle for the search for the self and spiritual recovery. Conceived as the second part of the trilogy which begins with *Beloved*, unsurprisingly *Jazz* is another ghost story, despite not having the incarnation of the ghost. Instead, the murdered girl Dorcas haunts the minds of other characters and their every action is fulfilled with the thought of her. Through the description of family histories of the three main characters (Joe, his wife Violet and Dorcas) *Jazz* focuses on dissecting the traumatic and humiliated memories that are an integral part of black experience.

Paradise (1998), the last novel of the so-called Morrison's Dantesque trilogy (*Beloved*, *Jazz*, *Paradise*), opens with the violent act of massacre. These mass murders we learn about from the opening sentences erase any possibility of attaining spiritual tranquility: "They shoot the white girl first. With the rest they can take their time. No need to hurry out here." (Morrison 1999: 3) The novel is set in Oklahoma immediately after the Civil Rights struggles in the 1960s. It most strikingly, through a wide repertoire of narrative techniques and skills, documents the development of Ruby, self-sufficient all-Black town in the American South. The story describes how a town which used to be a spiritual Mecca and sanctuary of community becomes "a festering sore, teeming with greed, rivalry" (Tally 2007: 66). In the vicinity of the town, there is the Convent, as it is called, a refuge and safe house for the forlorn women. If the town excludes someone considered unworthy, or strange, the Convent takes in members of all these categories and helps them to confront

their problems. The inevitable Morrisonian link between the past and the present (the dead and the living) is established through the character of Connie, one of the Convent women who has a supernatural gift – she can miraculously "step in" between the dying and death. Connie's mediations and interventions result in bringing consolation, relief from pain, and at least temporary salvation to the women in need. But, after a visitation of a spiritual presence, the Convent begins to tame the demons which terrorize its female occupants. Then, the townfathers, full of rage and anger, decide to scapegoat and massacre the women at the Convent. Their strategy to make an example of the murdered women complicates in a strange way since none of the bodies of the slain women are ever found. Moreover, all of the slaughtered women appear again to family members and on the shore of a mysterious ocean "down here in paradise" (Morrison 1999: 318). Magic, miracle and faith have a part in this novel, alongside history, memory and self-knowledge. The reader is, so repeatedly in Morrison's novels, exposed to the world beyond the ordinary. It is in *Paradise* that Morrison comprehensively depicts the process of creating a particular myth or belief instead of just giving its static description, thus showing how such a belief may influence the attitude of the entire community towards a person or an event. She finds it important to portray it as the same process has repeatedly been used in political campaigns to smear political enemies. Whereas *Beloved* insists on the collective memory, *Paradise* suggests that collective memory and tradition should be adapted so as to respond to the present. (Tally 2007: 161)

Post-*Paradise* novel *Love* (2003) tells a story of seven female characters but has a man as the cornerstone of the story – Bill Cosey, a charismatic hotel owner with a gregarious personality, now dead for twenty-five years. Similarly to Dorcas in *Jazz*, he still pervades the lives and thoughts of the women who shared his life. He is alive in memories of his women and readers can see him in their streams of consciousness when they struggle to tell the story of their inner lives. The novel, a postmodernist piece of writing, abounds with temporal disorder, personification of numerous voices, exchange of narrative and descriptive fragments, free associations, creation of the vicious circle the female characters are unable to exit. In the best Faulknerian method, it shows that past is not the past in the historical sense but has an epic impact on the present.

The next Morrison's novel *A Mercy* (2008) reveals what lies beneath the history of slavery. It is set in Virginia in the 1680s, at the

dawn of the slave trade. To the readers of *Beloved*, this novel comes as a prequel, describing a traumatic birth of slavery and racism. Some critics say the novel points to what could have happened if America had chosen differently at its early beginnings of the creation of the nation. Morrison wanted to show that a new nation might have made a different set of choices when everything was in flux and possible. Reviewing *A Mercy* in *The New Yorker*, John Updike referred to it as "another installment of her [Morrison's] noble and necessary fictional project of exposing the infamies of slavery and the hardships of being African-American" (Updike 2008).

Morrison's tenth novel *Home* (2012) exploits the theme of one of the traumatic experiences during the Korean War – biological and medical experiments conducted on African-Americans. Based on the literary criticism the book received, it seems that John Updike was right when he said that sometimes writing was just "another installment", especially so when trying to collect a huge debt owed to you. According to *The Guardian* literary critic, the major objection was that *Home* barely began before it ended (Churchwell 2012). "Home" is also the title of one non-fictional piece Morrison wrote – the introductory word of the volume of proceedings published back in 1997 after a conference held at Princeton inspired by Cornel West's seminal book *Race Matters*. In this essay, Morrison sets matters of race and matters of home as priorities in her work (Morrison 1998) and confirms some of the political dimensions ascribed to the context of 'race'. At the same time she recurrently talks of "the new space" (Morrison 1998) formed through human interaction and dialogue, space which she calls 'home' because it is "a comfortable space of encounter, beyond alienation" (Morrison 1998). The essay can be crucial for interpreting the novel because it articulates the notion of homelessness, dispossession and displacement. However, while writing about the inability to return home and define the place of comfort, in the novel *Home* Morrison abides by her enduring themes of generational legacies, persistent effects of the past on the present, racism and sexism in particular. Toni Morrison spoke about the subject of home again in her lecture 'Home' that she delivered at Oberlin College, near her native town Lorain, in 2009. Her talking of porous borders which are understood by some to be "the vulnerable points where one's concept of home is seen as being menaced by foreigners" (Morrison 2020) demonstrates that she tackled the topics of great social import like borders and belonging, migrations and displacement much before they became global phenomena.

In her last novel, *God Help the Child* (2014), Morrison once again addresses the issue of race and skin colour. The main character who calls herself "Bride" is black and stunningly beautiful, the kind of woman who turns heads wherever she goes. She is tall, elegant, and dresses only in white, the better to reflect her beauty. But Bride did not always know her beauty or how to wear it. As a child, her mother Sweetness punished Bride for her dark skin, which ended her marriage. Sweetness's husband Louis could not bring himself to love a child with skin as dark as Bride's. When Bride was born, he blamed the mother and treated the child like she was a stranger, even "more than that, an enemy." Bride grew up without love, tenderness, or apology. Sweetness made it clear that her role of the mother was to protect her child from a world that would be inclined to punish Bride for the darkness of her skin. Sweetness never apologised for raising her daughter to believe that the lighter is the better. In this novel Morrison makes a difference between race and colour, and tells how the legacy of slavery still directs the perception of the black identity in general, or black female body in particular, in the twenty-first-century U.S.

Toni Morrison tried her hand at playwriting when she authored a play *Dreaming Emmett* in 1985. She derived the theme from the case of Emmett Till, a black fourteen-year-old Mississippi youth who whistled to or made remarks to a white woman and was beaten and killed for that. His alleged all-white murderers were acquitted by an all-white jury, thus making this court case a worldwide symbol of Southern racism. The case happened in 1955 and was an early impetus for the Civil Rights Movement. Despite being well-aware that throughout history novelists who turned dramatists generally failed, Morrison wanted to re-imagine the plight of Emmett Till and many other young black men whose murders were much overlooked in the U.S. history. After its first run at the Capital Repertory Company's Market Theatre in Albany, the play was never produced again. The script has been unavailable to the public since. (Cusack 2020)

In addition to the mentioned eleven novels and one play, Toni Morrison created one more work of fiction. Namely, she took part in the popular global literary project where famous writers from different countries try to rewrite Shakespeare's works. Toni Morrison wrote a play *Desdemona*, in which she re-imagined the well-known story. This time the story is told from the graveyard where Desdemona gets to give her side of the story from the afterlife.

Similarly to her other works of fiction, this play too tells the story from a woman's perspective. Even though the book was published in 2012, the play was first staged in Vienna in 2011 and since then it has toured across the world over and over again.[3]

Without doubt, Morrison has proven to be an incredibly powerful writer of fiction who tackles the complex issues of generational legacies, metaphor-rich hauntings, ghosts, and the persistent effects of racism and sexism in American society. Her method of dissecting the American history and society may be painful, but common sense pervades it. Still, as the postmodernist writer, Toni Morrison distrusts the traditional sense of wholeness and completion in a narrative and prefers to leave some questions open. Such linguistic incompleteness may be complemented by the readers, but its primary purpose, invariably, is to shatter the myth of post-racial America and warn against the lasting effect of colourism.

3. The legacy of Morrison's non-fiction

Toni Morrison's non-fiction, similarly to her fiction, demonstrates the same absurdity of any position that would claim others "lesser than" or unequal. As a writer, both in her fiction and non-fiction, Morrison is shifting attention from the powerful ones to those over whom they exert power. If we look for the origins of her non-fictional work, we have to go back to the period after her graduation when she started her professional life as an editor at Random House. As Angela Davis contends, it is in Morrison's editorial work where her political project is perhaps the most explicit (Davis & Griffin 2019). Before her own writing career was established, Morrison edited the writings of some of the African American icons such as Toni Cade Bambara, June Jordan and Gayl Jones, and so many others on whose behalf she had challenged the publishing industry. Moreover, she is responsible for some of the pivotal works associated with the rising women's movement, like "Lesbian Nation" (1973) by Jill Johnston and the collection on "America's Working Women: A Documentary History 1600 to the Present". She also edited the voices of the Black Power movement, including Muhammad Ali, George Jackson and Angela Y. Davis. Not only did she champion the works of black writers, but she also helped to create a lasting record of the work of activists, marchers and

---

[3] The most recent staging was at the Sanders Theater, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in April 2019.

protesters long after their activity had subsided. Obviously, she was not an activist in the conventional sense of the word. Instead, and perhaps more significantly, she helped to forge a path for a longer struggle:

> You were not, in the small sense, a political writer: You did not march, did not campaign or appear in ads. But you were radically political, as any great writer must be. You knew damn well it was the artist's duty to take a stand. Long before the present moment, you warned us about rising authoritarianism. And in the aftermath of that disastrous 2016 presidential election you made it clear what path America had chosen, and why. (McLarin 2019)

McLarin's words state the obvious: Toni Morrison believed the writer had a duty to take a public stance. Decades ago, she cautioned against the upcoming tide of authoritarianism in a series of lectures and essays. In 1995 in a speech delivered at Howard University, her *alma mater*, she compelled us to heed the signs of people who "construct an internal enemy as both focus and diversion" (Morrison 1995) and who "isolate and demonize that enemy by unleashing [and protecting] the utterance of overt and coded name-calling and verbal abuse." (Morrison 1995) These, she warned, were the first steps toward "a final solution." (Morrison 1995) In this speech, which was later published, she concisely identifies ten steps of maintaining the architecture of authoritarianism in one society. This is what makes it as important today as when she wrote it.

Toni Morrison began writing social criticism at about the same time when she started to write prose. Her article "What black women think of women's liberation" was published in *The New York Times* in 1971 when she had already established herself as the writer of *The Bluest Eye*. Morrison's answer to the question asked in the title of the article is straightforward: distrust. Black women feel distrust in women's liberation movement(s) because "it is white, therefore suspect" (Morrison 1971). Perhaps boldly, she states that "Black women are different from white women because they view themselves differently, are viewed differently and lead a different kind of life" (Morrison 1971). This critique of white middle-class feminism appeared early in Morrison's writing career and enabled her to build a narrative space in her future prose with no white female

characters. When asked in an interview why she excludes white people from her books, she replies that she focuses on how black people deal with each other, because that is much more important than a posture taken against "the oppressor" (Denard 2008: 18).

In 1984 Morrison published an essay "Rootedness: The Ancestor as Foundation". In this text she maintains that "social machinery in this country at this time doesn't permit harmony in a life that has both [private and public] aspects" (Morrison 2008: 56). The essay is seminal because it introduces the notion that writing is class-conditioned: throughout history the lower classes preferred the art form of songs, dances, ceremony, gossip, celebrations while the aristocracy had the art they patronized (painting, architecture) and "they made sure their art separated them from the rest of the world" (Morrison 2008: 57). With the rise of the industrial revolution when the new class emerged they had no didactic art form to tell them how to behave. This original function of the novel Morrison now defies:

> It [the novel] should be beautiful, and powerful, but it should also *work*. It should have something in it that enlightens; something in it that opens the door and points the way. Something in it that suggests what the conflicts are, what the problems are. But it need not solve those problems because it is not a case study, it is not a recipe. (Morrison 2008: 58–59)

It is in this essay that Morrison proclaims that "the best art is political" (Morrison 2008: 64) and that literature has to be "unquestionably political and irrevocably beautiful at the same time" (*ibid.*). Her narrative and topical persistence to the ancestral tradition can be viewed as an attack in disguise of the contemporary trends in (Black) literature.

Morrison started to question the American literary canon in her lecture "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature" delivered at the University of Michigan in 1988 which appeared in print the following year. This text presents Morrison's daring analysis of the presence of Afro-American literature and its culture in the study of literature in the United States and debate of this study's standards (Morrison 1989). She continues with analyzing and deconstructing the multi-layered discrimination in the mainstream American literature in the printed collection of her Harvard lectures *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* published in 1992. In this book she exposes

how white American writers such as E. Hemingway, E.A. Poe, M. Twain, Willa Cather, rely on ideas of blackness in the construction of American whiteness. Her skepticism towards the American literary canon is rooted in her rejection of the division of anything, not only literary imagination, into white and black.

In the same year she returned to editing by choosing eighteen provocative yet powerful essays written by prominent academicians and intellectuals (black and white, male and female) to be published in the book *Race-ing Justice, En-Gendering Power. Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality* (1992). The contributions were made by Cornel West, Homi K. Bhabha, Toni Morrison herself, to mention but a few. Toni Morrison wrote an introductory chapter in which she demonstrates and justifies the need to evaluate and analyze the Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill hearings which took place in 1991. Just prior to confirmation of Clarence Thomas as the second black man to serve on the Supreme Court, Hill was questioned by the Senate Judiciary Committee (all-male, all-white) on the accusations of the alleged sexual harassment. Hill's testimony was televised across the U.S. and had a special significance as it was the first time someone publicly shared her account of workplace harassment. In this chapter Morrison elaborates on why it is important to make a distinction between "what happened" and "what took place" i.e. differentiate facts from truth (Morrison 2008: 72), a point that she would further in her later critical essay *The Site of Memory*. It could be therefore contended that her texts foresaw contemporary political practice of the marginalization of reliable statements and reliable news in a society whose opinion is much formed by the media and where the meaning is incessantly changed. Namely, in the contemporary society, largely influenced by the mass media, it can easily happen that the media construct a social reality which bears little resemblance to what really happened or to what really is (*ibid.*). At the time, the power of the media to construct the acceptable reality of those who hold power was seldom-written about subject and, in that context, Morrison's efforts to uncover many racial, class, gender and sex stereotypes that appeared in these hearings have an unprecedented historiographical value in documenting modern American society. Furthermore, throughout her works Morrison keeps emphasizing that language is part of human behavior and has enormous social relevance. In her introduction to *Race-Ing Justice, En-Gendering Power* she demonstrates in an almost haunting way how the language used to

characterize Clarence Thomas, the black nominee for the Supreme Court justice accused of sexually harassing attorney Anita Hill, was motivated by racist stereotypes, reducing him to his laughter, his body, and his sexuality. This classic case of "othering" is structurally contextualized by Morrison as dehumanizing racial stereotype. She titled her introduction "Friday on the Potomac", thus providing intertextual reference to Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe*. Once again she underlines the importance of one's language: Crusoe's account "suggests that before his rescue Friday had no language, and even if he did, there was nothing to say in it." (Morrison 1992: xxiv) Morrison wonders: "Did Friday forget completely the language he dreamed in?" (Morrison 1992: xxv) She uses the literary reference to compare Friday's having no voice before the colonizer came and taught him to speak English to Clarence Thomas who was left voiceless in the official story covering his hearings. Interestingly, though, her chapter ends on notions of "conversation", "serious exchange", "intense debates", "new conversations", a "dialogue" and a "new arena" of debate (Morrison 1992: xxx). Apparently, Morrison suggests that a way out of victimization involves people talking to one another, a plurality of voices, the circularity of language.

The next year (1993) Toni Morrison received the Nobel Prize in Literature, the first black woman who became a Nobel laureate for literary achievements and, oddly enough, to this day the last American to actually show up and deliver a speech to accept it.[4] As the motivation for this award, the Nobel Committee stated that Morrison was a literary artist of the first rank who delves into the language itself, "a language she wants to liberate from the fetters of race" (Morrison 1993). In her acceptance speech Morrison primarily talked about the power of language which she depicted as a door to the mind. "We die. That may be the meaning of our lives. But we do language. That may be the measure of our lives." (Morrison 1993) In this typically Morrisonean allegory of no less political import than her earlier oeuvre she explained why it was her calling to fill in an enormous historical gap in order to disrupt profound silence imposed on African American past. Furthermore, she specified the boundaries of offensive language: "Sexist language, racist language, theistic language – all are typical of the policing languages of mastery, and cannot, do not, permit new knowledge or encourage the mutual

---

[4] Bob Dylan was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2016 but declined the invitation to attend the ceremony.

exchange of ideas" (Morrison 1993). She ended this dense speech by insisting on the social nature of the language personified in the human *encounter*. Morrison continued her meditations on the language and its power and the political significance of art in the pieces published after the Nobel.

The first selection of interviews with Toni Morrison titled *Conversations with Toni Morrison* and edited by D. Taylor-Guthrie, a university professor of African American Studies, was published in 1994. Another book of interviews *Toni Morrison – Conversations* was published in 2008, edited by Carolyn C. Denard, a university professor and the founder of the Toni Morrison Society. Both books are a valuable insight into the writer's mind and make two mandatory references for Morrison scholars.

In 1995 Morrison's critical essay *The Site of Memory* came out based on a lecture she delivered at the New York Public Library at about the time she was writing *Beloved*. In this essay Morrison describes how writers of slave narratives often veiled the atrocities the slaves experienced so as to make slavery "palatable to those who were in a position to alleviate it" (Morrison 2008: 70). Morrison sees such an absence of the interior lives in the narratives as a highly motivating factor for her literary work. In this sense, she calls memory an essential source for her writing which she defines as a "kind of literary archeology" (Morrison 2008: 71). Expounding on her attempt to fill in the blanks in history that the slave narratives left, she states that "the crucial distinction is the distinction between fact and truth. Because facts can exist without human intelligence, but truth cannot." (Morrison 2008: 72) According to Morrison, establishing this difference is a prerequisite for establishing equality of rights in one society.

In 1996 Toni Morrison was awarded the National Book Foundation Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters. On this occasion she delivered acceptance speech *The Dancing Mind* in which she talks with passion about the necessity of reading and writing in our time. Her metaphor of the two people dancing together used to illustrate the interdependence of writer and reader is well-known. However, this joint venture is preconditioned by both writer's and reader's freedom, a most crucial factor. Reading is described as "the dance of an open mind when it engages another equally open one" (Morrison 2007: 7), which shows that here too Morrison repeatedly emphasizes *dialogue* as a model of human encounter. In her customary, allegorical way she explains how

reading and writing i.e. being literate, well-read and educated in today's world of "comfort or disturbance of telephone, radio, television" (Morrison 2007: 11) are essential for "creating and producing and distributing knowledge" (Morrison 2007: 17). In her concluding remarks, she instructs us to make sure that "no encroachment of private wealth, government control, or cultural expediency can interfere with what gets written or published" (*ibid.*). These words can be taken as the writer's warning against censorship and oppression and insistence on freedom. Throughout her critical writing Morrison asserts that the role of the reader must be active and that the reader must be engaged in the dynamics of searching for the meaning.

In 1995 American society was shattered by the O. J. Simpson trial and the public opinion on the case was largely divided along racial lines. In 1997, together with Claudia Brodsky Lacour, Toni Morrison co-edited *Birth of a Nation'hood: Gaze, Script and Spectacle in the O.J. Simpson Case,* a collection of twelve essays written by notable American intellectuals (black and white, male and female, writers and university professors from the fields of literature, legal studies, American studies) on the issues of race, sexual violence, money, and the media surrounding the case. In their keen analyses of America's insidious racial tensions the trial is seen as the defining moment in recent social history. The book therefore presents an examination of American racialized and classed consciousness. Morrison contributed the introductory chapter "The Official Story: Dead Man Golfing" in which she tackles the themes of deception and contradiction through the comparison of the court case and Herman Melville's short story. "Benito Cereno". Moreover, for Morrison, one of the most disturbing aspects of the Simpson case is the metanarrative created around it – the tendency of the media to include or exclude certain surveys, opinions, comments that might complicated thinking about the case. She further explores if there is a hidden desire (of the culture) to simplify societal issues emerging from the Simpson case: domestic violence, sexual assault, freedom of information, freedom of speech, police brutality. She identifies the denial of the "hidden" racism by the media-created metanarrative with the same denial by the captain in "Benito Cereno". The title of Morrison's chapter can be taken as social commentary as she calls the American society nation'hood i.e. *the hood* covers the face of the nation.

Toni Morrison collected more than fifty archival photographs which illustrate the historical events at the time of school desegregation in order to chronicle the hardships of black students during their integration in the American public school system. The book of images followed with her fictional accounts of the dialogue between children in the photographs appeared in 2004 under the title *Remember: The Journey to School Integration.* Written for children, this pictorial and narrative document opens the door to the world of heart-breaking, often hidden, but still inspiring history. For this work Morrison won the Coretta Scott King Award given by the American Library Association to the books that best exemplify African American life and culture.

A collection of her essays and speeches *What Moves at the Margin: Selected Nonfiction* introduced and edited by Carolyn C. Denard came out *in 2008*. The book is divided into three sections whose titles direct to its content: "Family and History", "Writers and Writing" and "Politics and Society". Along with emphasizing how important the matters of race, history, ancestors, and fellow writers were for her work, the book also shows that Morrison was deeply engaged in the contemporary political debates particularly if they implied the intersections of race and politics.

In 2009 Toni Morrison edited *Burn This Book: Notes on Literature and Engagement*, a collection of essays exploring the meaning of censorship. Published with the support of PEN American Center, the book gathers the views of some of the most revered American writers on censorship. Morrison wrote the introductory chapter Peril in which she asserts that writers disturb "the social oppression that functions like a coma on the population, a coma despots call peace" (Morrison 2009: 1). She warns against authoritarian rulers who persecute and suppress writers and free speech, stating that "writer's life and work are not a gift to the mankind; they are its necessity." (Morrison 2009: 4)

In 2010 Morrison was made an officer of the French Legion of Honour. At the ceremony of inducting her into the Legion, France's Minister of Culture Frederic Mitterrand told Morrison: "In our eyes you embody the best part of America, that which founds its love of liberty on the most intense dreams", calling her "the greatest American woman novelist of her time" (Page 2010). Two years later, in 2012, Morrison received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian award in the United States. On the occasion of awarding her with the highest state honour, Barack Obama called her

works "hallmarks of the American literary tradition" (Obama 2012), described her tone as "lyrical, precise, distinct and inclusive" (*ibid.*) and her prose as morally and emotionally intense.

In November 2016, after the result of the presidential election became official, she published an essay "Making America White Again" in *The New Yorker*. Here she states that the definition of "Americanness" is color and argues that Donald Trump's victory came as the consequence of "white people's conviction of their natural superiority is being lost" (Morrison 2016). In this clearly political article, Morrison mourns that "so many white voters embraced the shame and fear sowed by Donald Trump" (ibid.), enumerating examples of his often unlawful treatment of black people which resulted in his being endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan. Her commitment to the advanced ideas that would foster social dignity, justice and possibly happiness could never be obstructed. When in the same year Morrison was awarded Emerson-Thoreau Medal by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for her distinguished contributions to the field of literature, it was her formal admission to the American literary pantheon.

In 2017 Toni Morrison published a series of talks she had delivered at Harvard University the year before under the title *The Origin of Others*. As explained in the introductory chapter, the book is on belonging and it conducts its inquiry on the field of American history in terms of the identity politics of racism (Morrison 2017: x). Even though it is not overtly concerned with Donald Trump's rise to power and electoral victory, it is almost impossible to read this book without considering that turning point of the modern American history. As a writer and a thinker, she could not ignore the political moment she lived in.

In 2019 Morrison edited *The Source of Self-Regard: Selected Essays, Speeches, and Meditations*, a non-fiction collection of her own essays, lectures and speeches, spanning four decades. Her subjects are of social importance and they include culture, art, history, racism, femininity, and politics: the role of the artist in society, the literary imagination, African American presence in American literature, the power of language. With an eye to her own craft, Morrison includes her commentary on her own works of fiction (*The Bluest Eye, Sula, Tar Baby, Jazz, Beloved*, and *Paradise*). The collection of 43 ruminations is structured in three parts: *The Foreigner's Home, Black Matter(s)*, and *God's Language*, which present a surgical incision into Morrison's career. The first part

concerns itself with the threats of globalization, demonization of the Other. The primary focus of the second part is the historical and current role of Africanism while the final part illuminates Morrison's art of fiction, addressing matters such as cross-genre inspiration and the role of the artist. The book shows that the big topics of racism*, sexism and classicism have been accompanied in Morrison's thinking by no smaller concerns of migration and displacement, othering, dehumanization, the information age, the profit-driven media, trivialization as social phenomenon.

To make the overview of Morrison's non-fiction complete, a posthumously published collection of her essays, speeches, commentaries, eulogies, opinions *Mouth Full of Blood: Essays, Speeches, Meditations* (2020) is worth mentioning. The introduction to the collection is a prayer for the dead of 9/11 which the editor describes as "heart-stopping" (Morrison 2020). In addition to Morrison's all-pervading topics of race, gender and history, this gathering of ideas includes her thoughts on the current state of politics, the duty of the press, the role of the artist, the globalization.

4. Conclusion

All mentioned texts cannot be mistaken for anything else than straightforward social criticism. She was a literary giant, a political commentator, a tireless advocate of black authors, civil justice and civil rights. Nevertheless, Toni Morrison's social criticism is primarily preoccupied with the way in which *language* is used by human beings and how it shapes – as Morrison puts it – "the construction of social reality". (Tally 2007: 125) Therefore, it can be said that Morrison's criticism goes beyond the mere representation of facts. She connects *language* to the human beings who use it and she connects human beings' actions to the responsibility. Therefore, the rhetoric we use could move, obstruct or remedy our circumstances. Toni Morrison "has the ability to capture in language what most of us think but cannot seem to articulate. Moreover, she sees what most of us do not see until she lights our way." (Taylor 1994: 327) The power of language is epitomized in its ability to give shape to a certain topic or to deform it. When used in its extreme form, the language can annul possibilities, when used under the pressure of a trauma, it becomes broken, and when used by a failed politician, it turns into nonsense. In Morrison's writing, fictional or non-fictional, there is no narrative and temporal straightforwardness. Her powerful narrative

voice reverberates back and forth in her travels through history, sharp and merciless to all kinds of oppressors.

When thinking about Toni Morrison's legacy, it is doubtlessly going to outlive us all. Her enduring legacy, both as a writer and as an editor, is best described by her own words in her Nobel Lecture as "the measure of our lives" (Morrison 1993) – *the language*. For instance, *rememory*, *herstory*, American Africanism are her linguistic inventions that writers and scholars now use with ease. For Morrison, language is not as simple as what gets printed, or said. It is also what has been lived, what has been felt, and what lies between the words we write or utter. As Marlon James, the Booker Prize winner so adequately phrases, Toni Morrison made words "burn and cry" (James 2015).

References:

Churchwell, Sarah. 2012. "Home by Toni Morrison – review". *The Guardian*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/apr/27/toni-morrison-sarah-churchwell-home (accessed 3 October 2019)

Cusack, Katie. 2020. "Toni Morrison's First Play 'Dreaming Emmett' Was Staged in Albany and Abandoned after Its First Run. What Happened?" *The Collaborative*. Available at: http://collaborativemagazine.org/2020/01/22/toni-morrison-dreaming-emmett-albany/ (accessed 20 May 2020)

Davis, Angela & F.J. Griffin. 2019. "Toni Morrison, Revolutionary Political Thinker." *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/07/opinion/angela-davis-toni-morrison.html (accessed 20 May 2020)

Denard, Carolyn C. (ed.). 2008. *Toni Morrison – Conversations*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

James, Marlon. 2015. "My Hero: Toni Morrison by Marlon James". *The Guardian*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/oct/17/my-hero-toni-morrison-marlon-james (accessed 3 October 2019)

Matus, Jill. 1998. *Toni Morrison*. Manchester & New York: Manchester UP.

Mclarin, Kim. 2019. "A Letter to Toni Morrison". *The American Prospect*. Available at: https://prospect.org/culture/books/letter-toni-morrison/ (accessed 3 October 2019)

Morrison, Toni. 2020. *Mouth Full of Blood: Essays, Speeches, Meditations*. New York: Penguin Random House. Kindle edition.

Morrison, Toni. 2017. *The Origin of Others*. Cambridge, Mass. & London, UK: Harvard University Press.

Morrison, Toni. 2016. "Making America White Again". *The New Yorker*. Available at:
https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/11/21/making-america-white-again (accessed 20 May 2020)

Morrison, Toni. 2009. *Burn This Book: Notes on Literature and Engagement*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Morrison, Toni. 2008. *What Moves at the Margin – Selected Non-fiction*. Ed. C. C. Denard. Jackson: UP of Mississippi.

Morrison, Toni. 2007. *The Dancing Mind*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Morrison, Toni. 2005. *Beloved*. London: Vintage.

Morrison, Toni. 1999. *Paradise*. New York: Plume.

Morrison, Toni. 1998. "Home". *The House that Race Built: Original Essays by Toni Morrison, Angela Y. Davis, Cornel West, and Others on Black Americans and Politics in America Today*. Ed. Lubiano, Wahneema. New York: Vintage Books. Kindle e-book.

Morrison, Toni. 1995. "Racism and Fascism". *Questia*. Available at: https://www.questia.com/magazine/1G1-16907369/racism-and-fascism (accessed 3 October 2019)

Morrison, Toni. 1993. NobelPrize.org. *Nobel Media AB 2020*. Available at: https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1993/press-release/ (accessed 19 May 2020)

Morrison, Toni. 1993. Toni Morrison – Nobel Lecture. NobelPrize.org. *Nobel Media AB 2020*. https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1993/morrison/lecture/ (accessed 19 May 2020)

Morrison, Toni. 1992. *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power – Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Morrison, Toni. 1989. "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature". *Michigan Quarterly Review*. https://sites.lsa.umich.edu/mqr/2019/08/unspeakable-things-unspoken-the-afro-american-presence-in-american-literature/ (accessed 19 May 2020)

Morrison, Toni. 1971. "What the Black Woman Thinks about Women's Lib". *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/1971/08/22/archives/what-the-black-

woman-thinks-about-womens-lib-the-black-woman-and.html (accessed 7 October 2019)

Obama, Barrack. 2012. Edition CNN Com. Available at: https://edition.cnn.com/videos/us/2019/08/06/toni-morrison-obama-medal-of-freedom-orig-mg.cnn (accessed 20 May 2020)

Page, Benedicte. "Toni Morrison receives France's Legion of Honour." *The Guardian*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2010/nov/05/toni-morrison-legion-of-honour (accessed 19 May 2020)

Tally, Justine (ed). 2007. *The Cambridge Companion to Toni Morrison*. Cambridge: CUP.

Taylor-Guthrie, Danille (ed.). 1994. *Conversations with Toni Morrison*. Jackson: UP of Mississippi.

Taylor, Olive A. 1994. "Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality by Toni Morrison". *The American Historical Review*. 99, 1: 327–328.

Updike, John. 2008. "Dreamy Wilderness". *The New Yorker*. Available at: https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2008/11/03/dreamy-wilderness (accessed 3 October 2019)

A Streetcar Named Desire –
The Typical Lost Dream of the South

Ancuţa Ionescu[1]
University of Piteşti, Romania

Abstract: The 1960's was the decade in which Tennessee Williams saw his winning streak as a popular dramatist come to an end, and Arthur Miller, wearing a new philosophical look, returned to the theater. From the successful production of "The Glass Menagerie" in 1945 until well into the 1960's, Tennessee Williams averaged rather better than a play every two years, most of which had respectable New York runs – 100 performances or more. Working for the most part in Southern settings and presenting somewhat lurid surface events, Williams told again and again the story of an outsider, one of the fugitive kind, who by virtue of his /her differentness, his artistic inclinations, his sexual proclivities, his physical defects – becomes a victim of an uncongenial society. As the number of plays grew, it became clear that, for Williams, all men are outsiders and the enemy is the character himself or time eating at him or a godless universe, from which there is no escape, and the best he can do is to take what comfort he can from the temporary palliative, sex

Keywords: South, art, outsider, psychology, melodrama

Tennessee Williams is the major American playwright to emerge since Eugene O'Neill. He resembled O'Neill more than his contemporaries, with the Southern rather than mainstream outlook and setting, his interest in the personal realm and psychological themes and his concern with aberrant, neurotic personalities, who can trace their disturbance to a sexual origin.

Although a persistent strain of social comment remained in his work, by the end of the 1950's he had become a kind of existential melodramatist. From the beginning, Williams has been essentially an unrealistic dramatist, using everything from mechanical tricks (the television screen in *Sweet Bird of Youth*) to artificial soliloquies (set pieces in the same play).

Very much a child of his own time and place, Thomas Lanier Williams experienced personally the basic American tensions. Both of a *Puritan* mother, Edwina Dakin, and a *Cavalier* father who did

---

[1] ionescu9@gmail.com

not boast that he was descendent from the American romantic poet Sidney Lanier, Tennessee early retreated from his father's insulting gibes at the interiority to his mother's more comforting and protective security. His mother also retreated from the father into her own parents' home, an Episcopalian rectory. Here *his mother's delicacy and his grandfather's work…made him a little puritan.* In his parents Williams found wide personification of the basic imbalances he was later to exhibit in his characters: his mother, genteel and high-strung, still savored of the ante-bellum aristocracy; his father, cavalier and footloose, was the sensual epitome of the traveling salesman. His mother, though she denies literary, is Amanda, Big Mamma, Aunt Nonnie and the early Blanche DuBois. She is the pre-witch Williams' woman. His father is the drummer of *The Last of My Solid Gold Watches*; he is the sagging life-force of Big Daddy and the prototype of Boss Finley in *Sweet Bird of Youth*. He is the older man in Williams' plays. His clerical grandfather, unlike either of his parents, was never transferred literally by Williams to a play; nevertheless, Williams' intimate knowledge of both the ministry and of the parsonage contributed greatly to his clerical drawings: the Reverend Guildford Melton of *You Touched Me*, the Reverend Winemiller of *Summer and Smoke* and Eccentricities, and the defrocked Larry Shannon of *The Night of the Iguana.*

Tennessee Williams deplored the loss of the old Southern aristocracy and showed sympathy for the aristocrats. Someone once asked Tennessee Williams: *Why do you always write about frustrated women?* He answered that frustrated was almost exactly what the women he wrote about were not.

Speaking about Blanche DuBois, the heroine of *A Streetcar Named Desire*, Williams once said: "She was a demonic creature; the size of her feeling was too great for her to contain." (Tennessee 1976: 55; Baym 2003*)* In Williams' plays – he wrote and rewrote more than twenty full-length dramas as well as films and shorter works – his characters are driven by the size of their feelings, much as Williams himself felt driven to write about them.

The symbolic devices are obvious in Williams' plays. The gothic style deals with extremes of pain and joy and expresses them directly. If medieval symbolism seems sometimes subtle, sometimes obscure to the contemporary eye, it is because the key to it is no longer a living convention. Less overt symbols might pass unnoticed behind the violence in the foreground, and the plays would remain nothing but sensations.

Williams' own preoccupation with evil, directly expresses by the apology of one of the characters, "I am sorry, I never could keep my fingers off a sore" (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*), and indirectly by the vivid colors and sounds with which he decorates his catastrophes, is only too easily transferred to an audience sated by casual entertainment and the domestic problems of conventional realism; yet neither shock nor problem-solving is the intent of the artist.

Tennessee Williams' first success was *The Glass Menagerie*, a *memory play*, seen through the recollections of the writer Tom, who talks to the audience about himself and about the scenes depicting his mother Amanda, poverty-stricken but genteelly living on memories of her Southern youth and her *gentlemen callers*; his crippled sister, Laura, who finds refuge in her *menagerie* of little glass animals; and the traumatic effect of a modern *gentleman caller* on them.

The financial success of *Menagerie* was at first exhilarating, then debilitating; Williams fled to Mexico, to work full time on an earlier play, *The Poker Night*. It had begun as *The Moth*; its first image, as Donald Spoto said, was "simply that of a woman, sitting with folded hands near a window, while moonlight streamed in and she awaited in vain the arrival of her boyfriend": named Blanche, she was at first intended as a young Amanda. During rehearsals of *Menagerie,* Williams had asked members of the stage crew to teach him to play poker, and he began to visualize the play as a series of confrontations between working class poker players and the two refined Southern women. *The Poker Night* turned into *A Streetcar Named Desire*. When it opened in 1947, it was an even greater success than *Menagerie*, and it won the Pulitzer Prize.

Tennessee Williams represented the Old South's values into a new world; all his life he fought against vulgarity, against violence. The story of Tennessee Williams reveals him as a man more disturbing, more dramatic, richer and more wonderful than any other character he ever created. His sensitiveness and sympathies were broad, his experience of loneliness and loss made him responsive to other's lives. After his death, Elia Kazan said: "Tennessee's life is in his work."

One of the most significant phenomena in American culture has been the emergence in the middle decades of the twentieth century of a rich and varied literature about the South; writers from this area have distinguished themselves in poetry, fiction and drama. Southern writers have exerted an influence on the American literary

scene comparable only to that of the great New England writers of the nineteenth century.

Teachers critics – scholars like Randall Steward partly explain that Southern Renaissance by saying that the South has been less affected than other areas by the cultural and industrial changes which have tended to break down regional patterns.(Falk 1961: 12)

Tennessee Williams is a part of the rich and varied literary tradition. He became a name immediately after the extraordinary enthusiastic reception of _The Glass Menagerie_ in New Your City in 1945. The South obviously produced a winner; for since those halcyon spring days almost that he has said or written seems to have been set in type. He continues the Southern myth in deploring the loss of an old aristocratic culture and its replacement by gross mercantile values.

Tennessee Williams is America in his passion for absolutes, in his longing for purity…in the extreme discomfort with which he inhabits his own body and soul, in his apocalyptic vision of sex, which like all apocalyptic visions sacrifices mere accuracy for the sake of intensity. Intensity is the crucial quality of Williams' art and he is perhaps most an American artist in his reliance upon the mastery of surface techniques for achieving this effect. (Magid 1963: 34)

Williams' own creed as playwright is similar to the artist creed in Shaw's _The Doctor's Dilemma:_ "I believe Michelangelo, Velasquez and Rembrandt; in the might of the design, the mystery of color, the redemption of all things by beauty everlasting and the message of art that has made these hands blesses. AMEN"

"Art," Williams says, "is a blessing…and that it contains its message is also certain" (Williams 1964, 164)

His South with his ancient roots of Puritan and Cavalier is a metaphor for the whole of America, is even a display base for the universal human condition. The author considered himself a member of a school, which he terms the Gothic, uniting in a specific American combination, expressionist, surrealist, symbolist and naturalist elements. The disappointment, repression and poverty of the South have made it the natural ground for the _American gothic_. Tennessee Williams considers this movement akin to French Existentialism, except that the "motor impulse of the French School is intellectual and philosophic, while that of the American is more of an emotional and romantic nature." The common link between the two movements, he says, is a "sense, in intuition, of an underlying

dreadfulness in modern experience." This dreadfulness he finds impossible to explain. It is "a kind spiritual intuition of something almost too incredible and shocking to talk about." (Tischler 1961: 301-302)

Williams' plays are filled with fascinating characters and compelling dialogue. They are illuminated, even gilded, by verbal, visual and sound symbolism that is intended to convey meanings beyond those possible in what Williams has termed *the exhausted theatre of realism.*

His characters and their actions are often exaggerated. They are made to resemble the characters and events of the ancient myths. Certain character types recur frequently: the outsider, a man or a woman who differs from the mass of mankind by seeing clearly the frightening terror of life; the physically and emotionally deformed; the neurotic and the insane; victims and victimizers; real or would-be artists. His characters are commonly overwhelmed by one another and by a growing awareness that the universe is indifferent to their suffering.

The portrait of the anti-hero is not confined to the work of this playwright. Its fusion of pessimism and mysticism was the trademark of both the poetic realists and the early expressionists. The image of an anti-heroic man may be seen in the plays of Strindberg, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Chekhov, as well as in the writings of expressionist artists such as Oscar Kokoschka. Moreover, this same contour is apparent in the work of existential dramatists such as Jean Paul Sartre and Albert Camus. Albert Camus observes that much of existentialist dogma parallels the fundamental teaching of Jesus Christ. Expressionism, existential theory and *radical* Christian theology agreed that man may find salvation only in love, in sympathy for his fellow man. (Jackson 1957) Williams' anti-hero is the symbol of a widely recognized condition: *a sickness unto death.* Like the classical protagonist, the anti-hero searches for a mode of healing. But, unlike the earlier protagonist he does not expect to find it. That which forbids his immediate salvation is himself. For the anti-hero is possessed of a profound fault, not merely of a single flaw, but over a comprehensive condition of evil, an inner impurity far greater than the Greek hamartia.

Alberes describes this inner condition as *original sin*. Death is, after all, the ultimate visible expression of mankind's guilt at alienation from his Creator. In it the general sin of the race is revealed. It is small wonder, recalling Eve's role as a temptress in

introducing death that Williams' Lawrence comments wryly: "Women have such fine intuition of death. They smell it coming before it's started even…"

Williams' antihero is a man of many identities: his Tom is a *Hamlet*, his Catherine is a *Cassandra*, his Brick an *Orestes,* his Big Daddy an *Agamemnon.* The anti-hero of Tennessee Williams belongs to the lineage of Shakespeare, Goethe, Dostoevski, Gide, Kafka, Thomas Mann, as well as that of Hawthorne, Melville, and Faulkner. Like these writers, Williams explores one of the most persistent themes in modern letters: the significance of human transgression.

In order to examine this metaphysical problem Williams sets in motion an anti-heroic cycle of human experience. Like Dante's poet, his anti-hero traverses the downward way in his "dark night of the soul". In Williams' drama the anti- hero engages himself to suffer the agony of conscience, to confront hidden truth and to accept the heavy burden of metaphysical guilt. The anti-hero is not a man; he is a schematic presentation of extended moral possibilities. In each of his characters Williams presents a composite image, a montage of roles which together comprise the anti-hero character.

With the production of *The Glass Menagerie*, Tennessee Williams became a major figure in the American theatre. The story of a fading southern belle, her shy daughter and a restless son, this play transcended regionalism and brought to national attention Williams' rich understanding of human psyche.

Tennessee Williams reached to his sudden fame with shock. In New York after becoming more acclimated to the prosperity the play brought him, he moved to a first class hotel. Then Williams isolated himself by going into the hospital; from the hospital he went to Mexico to recuperate and begin work on a play originally called *The Poker Night*, known as *A Streetcar Named Desire*, winner of the Pulitzer Prize.

This success was followed by a long series of plays: *Summer and Smoke, Camino Real, Cat on a Hot Tin Roof, Orpheus Descending, Suddenly Last Summer, Sweet Bird of Youth, Period of Adjustment, Night of the Iguana, Small Craft Warnings* and the character plays: *Vieux Carre, Creve Coeur.* Williams also exhibited his talent in other genres; his short stories are available in several collections: *One Arm and Other Stories, Hard Candy, A book of Stories;* He also wrote novels: *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone, The World of Reason.*

61

In his writings, Williams talks directly to his readers about love, rejection, death, friendship, hate, art, social pretentions, the isolation of the individual, the nature of truth and numerous other feelings and concepts with which we all must deal in our lives on whatever level we can. In Williams' essays as in his plays, there is tenderness toward humanity, sympathy for human weakness. In addition there is a freedom of both form and content in these essays, not available to the artist in any other medium in essence, Williams interviews himself.

Williams, who was always reluctant to talk about his work ("a bird that will be startled away, as by a hawk's shadow") (Williams, 2006: 91), did not see himself in a tradition in American dramaturgy. He acknowledged the influence of Anton Chekhov, the nineteenth century Russian writer of dramas with lonely, searching characters; of D.H. Lawrence, the British novelist who emphasized the theme of a sexual life force and above all the American Hart Crane, homosexual *poete maudit* who, he said, "touched fire that burned alive," adding that "perhaps it is only through self-immolation of such a nature that we living, can offer to you the entire truth of ourselves." (quoted in Bloom, 2005: 12)

For him, Chekhov was a spiritual mentor and he saw Chekhov's life as a model for his own. After reading *The Cherry Orchard* and *The Sea Gull,* Chekhov's work gave him a sense of kinship with the great Russian fabulist and playwright. He admired deeply *The Sea Gull* for this was just the right time in his own life to appreciate its feelings for the sad extinction of youth and talent in an oppressive environment. Its sensitive characters moved him, and at the same time he absorbed the technique of using real objects symbolically in a play: the sea gull represents not only the triumph of the spirit over adversity but even the commoner effect of life there known to him, the killing of beauty ignorant of it.

Another writer that influenced him was August Strindberg. Williams' examinations book and class notes reveal more than just poetic empathies with Strindberg - they demonstrated a feeling of spiritual brotherhood. In Strindberg, Williams found a tormented life, especially with regard to his relations with women. He learned the dramatic potential of a harsh family background from Strindberg and in *The Link* one passage struck Williams: "There is room in me…for both love and hatred and while I love you one minute, I hate you the other one." (Wheelwright 1954: 89)

Williams found in Strindberg's life additional dramatic material that suggested links between art and reality: the emotional insecurity of a childhood and a connection with religion. Strindberg's mental crises almost led to madness and his revolt against society was accompanied by a mystic vision, periods of alcoholism and mental instability.

From Strindberg's *Miss Julie*, Williams inspired himself in *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Strindberg's play had a tone of sexual antagonism and class conflict and that marked Williams' mind. For Williams, writing meant life. He lived through every play he wrote, although that meant suffering again and again. Andry Wood said about Williams: "Wherever he went even then, as he has done all his life, he worked long and hard totally dedicated to his craft." (Stanciu 1985, vol. I)

Williams himself acknowledged: "My longer plays emerge out of earlier one-actress or short stories I may have written years before I work over them again and again."

His first attempt to reach Broadway was *Battle of Angels*, a lyrical play about memories and their loneliness. The range of characters suggests that Williams may have been trying to imitate Faulkner's delineation of the various levels of culture that are part of his Yoknapatawpha County, but Williams combined so many different elements and precipitated so much violence that allowed little time for the development of a dramatic sequence. The play is set in a mercantile store as *harsh and drab* as reality. This early play seems to adopt ideas the dramatist may have picked from D.H. Lawrence: the artist in disagreement with society; the artist as a proponent of sexual freedom. Williams developed several variations of these ideas in his later plays. He rewrote *Battle of the Angels* many times; he called a later version *Orpheus Descending* (1955) and the film script is *The Fugitive Kind (1958)*.

The Glass Menagerie is a memory play, a series of seven sharp scenes of the son who finally escaped from a nagging mother and from an exquisite sister whom he would leave but not forget. It represents Williams at his best in brief, highly charged scenes. But neither the incidents nor a well-developed plot holds the play together: the mood and the emotional excitement arising from the characters do so. Even though Williams expresses contempt for realism, his portrait of Amanda Wingfield, the mother, addicted to bromides and delusions, is incisively delineated and one of his very best. In a setting reminiscent of the broken walls and interiors of a

Chirico painting, Williams mounts his "tone poem" and underscores his theme in *Summer and Smoke* with two symbolic pieces: on the public square, a stone angel with wings lifted and hands cupped as for a drinking fountain; in the doctor's office, an anatomy chart. These are outward symbols of an inner conflict between soul and body, spirit and flesh; and these symbols in turn are represented not only by the Southern gentlewoman Alma Winemiller, a too faithful adherent to Puritan negations and the daughter of an Episcopalian minister, but also by a virile young doctor, John Buchanon Jr. This play is set in the years before 1916.

Cat on a Hot Tin Roof bears some resemblances to the story *Three Players of a Summer Game*, a study of the deterioration of Brick Pollit and the increasingly mannish domination of his wife, Margaret. Behind the complex of sensationalism lies the domestic problem of communication: the subtle and often abrasive antagonisms within a family that locks various members inside their own shells and prevents them from knowing one another.

The synthesis of Williams' conception about a cruel and male violent world, in which a sensible soul can't find his place, is the much disputed play: *Camino Real*, where the conception about a "plastic theatre" is exploited at maximum. *Camino Real* is built up after the expressionism prescription. In this play we meet Kilroy, the popular hero, the symbol of innocence and force. He is a lonely traveler, immersed in self-pity and sentiments of the sweet; of the *sweet-used-to-be* he faces a rough and sordid initiation into the so called life. Trusting and innocent, always asking why, he faces one defeat after another, but he remains good in spite of continuous humiliation. Kilroy is plundered, beaten by the policeman and forced to become Gutman's harlequin (Camino Real's tyrant). His freedom is reduced; finally Kiroy rises from the dead just when his body is dissected for a lesson of anatomy and follows Don Quixote in his wanderings, what means "*the violets in the mountains succeed in breaking the stone.*" (quoted in Clurman 1970: 81)

A curious, modern fable, *Suddenly Last Summer* is set in a wealthy old woman's living room which looks out upon an exotic jungle garden in the Garden District of New Orleans. The setting, suggestive of one of Rousseau's jungle paintings, gives a surrealistic impression of another kind of hell – another appalling glimpse into Williams' own southern Gothic. The symbolism implied in the exotic flowers compared to human entrails dripping with blood and in the destructive sounds of jungle creatures-hissing serpents, shrieking

birds, snarling beasts – gives another example on the way Williams imposes his personal interpretation on the art form, or a myth. Against this macabre setting the play *Suddenly Last Summer*, lays bare the story of a southern aristocrat and her forty year old son as it is reported by Catherine Holly, a girl who never resisted telling the truth. An uneven play of four short scenes, the first and the last are variations of an interrupted monologue. The second and third are developed slightly as if written to extend the play or to provide a necessary blank space between the two sharply different accounts. The recital is heavily orchestrated with jungle sounds; there are harsh bird cries for the brutal phases, sweet bird songs for honest statements or tender sentiments.

Tennessee Williams describes in *Sweet Bird of Youth* the desperate efforts of an aging actress and an unsuccessful southern actor to cling to their hopes and their youth and then confuses their plight with a racial theme and southern politics. The playwright, in attempting to fuse these wildly disparate elements, imposed upon himself an impossible assignment. (Falk 1961: 155)

If Eugene O'Neill had been able to write dialogue as natural and idiomatic as that to be found in some part of every play of Tennessee Williams, his stature as an American dramatist would have been secure. The greatest contribution of Williams, the mid-century playwright, is his handling of speech. Critics have noted from the beginning that Williams was clever in the way he combines cliché and original speech. Through words Tennessee Williams was repeatedly able to arouse emotional excitement, to increase, suspense and to enhance the understanding of character and emotion.

Tennesse Williams was brought up in the South and one can clearly see elements of the Southern literary tradition in his works. The first of these elements is his complicated feeling about time and the past. The past is usually looked upon with sadness, guilt or fear. Like many other Southern writers, he describes his society as a kind of "hell" of brutality and race hatred. Its sick spirit is present in all of his plays and often, the South's moral sickness is described in sexual terms.

Like Edgar Allan Poe, who was also a southerner, Williams specializes in "Gothic" tragedies. They happen in a reality distorted by the imagination of the playwright and they show the horrors of the soul. The World of Tennessee Williams is ruled by irrational forces. The disparity between soul and body pinpoints precisely what in the

heritage of moral imbalance which the Calvinistic tradition has bequeathed is a major part of the western world.

James Baldwin in his study of American identity, *Nobody Knows my Name*, focusses exactly on the tension between religion and reality in America, examining the relation in terms particularly Williamsian: "I... felt now how the Southern landscape – the trees, the silence, the liquid heat and the fact one always seems to be travelling great distances- seems designed for violence, seems almost to demand it. What passions cannot be unleashed on a dark road in a Southern night! Everything seems to be sensual, so lanquid and so private. Desire can be acted out here; over this fence, behind that tree, in the darkness there; and no one will see, no one will ever know. Only the night is watching and the night was made for desire....in the Southern night everything seems possible, the most private, unspeakable longings; but then arrives the Southern day, as hard and brazen as the night was soft and dark. It brings what was done in the dark to light. It must have...for these people who made the region what is today...caused them great pain." (Baldwin 1963: 93-94)

The South was the most concrete of all images of one meant when he claimed to be a southerner. For one thing, the war was a flat contradiction of the American mythology of continuing national success. The Unites States had known prosperity, but the South had suffered economic oppression during and after the Reconstruction, the Unites States had read about the war in the newspapers, but the South had been the battlefield and had endured the accompanying desolation, the South had had the agony. But, the South had also gained a myth. The literary myth of modern history is an important sense of modern literary vocation.

References:
Baldwin, James. 1963. *Nobody Knows my Name*. New York: Dell Publishing.Co
Baym, Nina. 2003. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*. Volume D. New York, London: W.W.Norton.
Bloom, Harold. 2005. *Tennessee Williams's A Streetcar Named Desire*. Chelsea House Publishers
Clurman, Harold. 1970. "Tennessee Williams: Poet and Puritan." *The New York Times*, 29 March, p.81
Falk, Signi Lenea. 1961. *Tennessee Williams,* Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Jackson, Esther. 1957. *The Anti-hero in the plays of Tennessee Williams,* New York.

Magid, Marion. 1963. *The Innocence of Tennessee Williams, Commentary, xxxv.*

Tischler, Nancy. 1961. *T. Williams: Rebellious Puritan,* New York, Citadel Press.

Stanciu, Virgil. 1985. O*rientations in the American South Literature,* Cluj Napoca, Dacia, vol. I.

Wheelwright, Phil. 1954. *The Burning Fountain: A Study in the Language of Symbolism,* Bloomington, Indiana.

Williams, Tennessee. 1964. *Afterword to Camino Real in Three Plays,* New York.

Williams, Tennessee. 2006. *Memoirs*. London: New Directions.

Sonmi~451 and the Image
of the Subservient Asian Woman

Alexandra Maria Ivan[1]
University of Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: In recent years, the narrative centering on Asian women, specifically of East-Asian descent, has become popularised in the media, where it has been received with great acclaim. However, in the adaptations of western-origin material into movies, where Asian characters are concerned, there was a noticeable process of exoticization of character. Focusing on the narrative of *Cloud Atlas*, particularly that of Sonmi~451 and the adaptation thereof, this paper aims to showcase the differences in the constructed image of Sonmi~451, and how discrepancies between the two media shift this image, and of how she perceives and participates in the universe encased by the novel.

Keywords: Adaptation, Cloud Atlas, David Mitchell, dystopia, intermediality, language

In recent years, the narrative centering on Asian women, specifically East-Asian, has become popularised, with the emergence of Asian culture in the Western world, where it has been received with great acclaim. Even in the music industry, Korean pop groups such as BTS have paved the way for this normalization of untranslated multiculturalism in recent years, winning several awards, among which a Billboard Music awards, MTV VMA awards, and American Tour awards (Cirisano 2018).

Outside of the music industry, several original works of Asian origin have started being adapted to westernized movies, though not without controversy and claims of appropriation (Ehrlich 2017). *Death Note* (2017) and *Ghost in the Shell* (2017) are recent examples of works which originated in and had strong ties with the culture of Japan, only to be adapted to a westernized variant that would cater to the Western audience. What is notable is the usage of American actors for the roles of the Asian main characters which were portrayed to have a great deal more agency than the stereotype allotted, a change which did not lack backlash in the media.[2]

---

[1] alexandram.ivan@gmail.com

[2] Several online newspapers have written on the whitewashing of East-Asian, and particularly Japanese works, from movies to *Anime,* a choice which was most often

However, concerning the adaptations of western-origin works into movies in which the Asian characters remained, there was a noticeable shift in their personalities, an exotization of character. For example, a phenomenon which has been pointed out in several circumstances is the fact that Asian characters, in particular women, in order to portray their rebellion against the imposed norms and traditions of Asian culture, have coloured or streaked hair. (Eidell 2014) This break from culture is seen as a way to bring them closer to the western world, while denouncing their Asian roots and upbringing. From Makoto Mori in *Pacific Rim,* to Yukio in *The Wolverine* and even Sonmi~541 in *Cloud Atlas,* East-Asian women have coloured hair to showcase their break from the traditional understanding of Asian women, rooted in stereotype.

As put by Hartnett, when it comes to the portrayal of race in dystopias, "in futures where cyborgs, aliens, and machine 'others' exist, what happens to the constructions of race? Will black and white still matter? Will these new beings become new races? These questions permeate as science fictional imagined worlds become more technologically advanced." (Hartnett 2018: 3) To what extent does the portrayal of Sonmi reflect this lack of race, and to what extent does the culture and ethnicity of the character affect the way in which it is perceived by the reader and the audience?

Focusing on the narrative of Sonmi~451 and the adaptation of this novel, this essay aims to showcase the differences in the constructed image of Sonmi~451, an Asian character, and how discrepancies between the two media shift this image of her, and of how she perceives and participates in her surroundings.

Cloud Atlas, published in 2004, and later turned into a movie bearing the same name in 2012, narrates the intertwining stories of people born in different times and circumstances, yet following a similar pattern, the characters influencing each-other beyond the barriers of time and space.

The narrative follows, in order, Adam Ewing, a lawyer sailing in the South Pacific to close a deal, Robert Frobisher, the amanuensis of a composer, Louisa Rey, a journalist following in the footsteps of her father, Timothy Cavendish, an editor for a publishing house,

---

motivated as an attempt at increasing the chances of success of the adaptation into the western audience. For more information regarding this issue please see: <https://www.allure.com/story/internet-reacts-western-media-asian-characters-neon-hair-streaks>

Sonmi~451, a fabricant working in a future pre-apocalyptic setting, and Zachry, the post-apocalyptic storyteller.

The story of Sonmi~451 begins with the interview conducted by the Archivist, asking her to recount information regarding her shifts, her life, and the events prior to her being captured. The story is shaped around the interview of Sonmi~451, her retelling of her life. It is thus that we find out that Sonmi~451, a character of East-Asian descent by virtue of her name, living in what is called Neo Seo Copros, a future pre-apocalyptic reimagining of nowadays Seoul, becomes a character of color, spends the majority of her narrated time as a character of color, and remains as such for the entire duration of the events until her last interview, where "Unanimity refaced [her] for [her] peaktime courtroom appearances. The star actress hard to look the part" (337).

The depiction of her body alterations, to gain perspective of both the changes and the original appearance, is as such:

> Madam Ovid angled my jaw, saying that she could alter my skin, color, hair, lids and brows. She would dye my irises a pureblood color. Dimples could be punched in, and my telltale fabricant cheekbones removed. (...) my ivory irises were hazeled, my eyes lengthened, my follicles ebonized. (337-8)

This difference in the portrayal of Sonmi does not stop at that point. There are parallels drawn between each individual story and the rest, the movie using visual cues to point out the relation between the parts of the movies, those cues being, among others, having main actors *racebend* as characters of different races in the narratives surrounding theirs. Thus the audience is presented with Doona Bae, the actress playing Sonmi, embodying, in turn, a Hispanic woman and several white women, all characters with a larger degree of agency.

Even the so-called love interest, the leader of the resistance Hae-Joo Chang (in the book known as Hae-Joo Im) is played by a Caucasian male actor made to look Asian by use of makeup. Thus, a white male actor racebends as Chang, the Korean leader of the resistance.

Sonmi~451, as such, by the use of her narrative, depicts a world in which *facescaping* — body modifications — is at the grasp of every member of the corpocratic population, where skin and eye

color are easily modified aspects that can be attributed to the style in fashion. The Papa Song fabricants have a dehumanised aspect to showcase this *inhumanness.* The "tell-tale fabricant cheekbones" point them out in society as being something other than human, and distance them from being identified with any certain race.

However, within the 2012 movie adaptation of the book, Sonmi is presented as a stereotypical image of the Asian woman, with traditional human features and a *fabricant* behaviour which is reminiscent of the traditional passive behaviour of Asian women portrayed in cinema. The traits emphasizing her and her sisters' status as servants in society are the two colored streaks in their hair, a stereotype in the portrayal of Asian women in media, perpetuating the image of the rebel Asian woman renouncing her roots. It is thus that Sonmi~451 and her sisters are all shown in the same image, similar in height, weight and appearance, blending together as images of depersonalised clones, deprived of agency. As David Mitchell himself has said on the matter of adaptation, there is a concern for the time and budget limitations, however this would not entirely explain the use of other actors portraying different races while Sonmi~451 herself remained her own race throughout the entire part.

Moreover, another aspect worth mentioning which influences the perception of the audience of the character is the presence of other types of *fabricants*, the genetically engineered clones designed to take over the jobs in the corpocratic world such as that of *diner server.* With the knowledge of other existing types of fabricants being erased, the pool of fabricants within the movie is narrowed down to the Asian characters, the women inside Papa Song diners, showcased later on as they are slaughtered, the only types of clones. The presence of solely female fabricants, a race perceived as sub-human, a narrow isolated group of women, surrounded by men and whose reactions come as responses to actions engendered by men, creates an overarching image of passivity, which instead of being attributed to the fabricants themselves, becomes attributed to the stereotype of the passive Asian woman.

As Mark Warschauer cited Appiah and Gates in his article *Language, Identity and the Internet*:

> As globalization and economic change blur traditional racial and ethnic boundaries, race and ethnicity increasingly intersect with other identity markers, related to religion, nationality, gender, and language in stimulating social

struggle. (Appiah and Gates, 1995 qtd. in Warschauer 2000: 152)

Thus, the racial struggle portrayed in the novel is not between the traditional races current society recognizes, but between humans and what is deemed by them sub-human, fabricated, as shown by their given monicker, *fabricants*.

> ... it seems unlikely that collective cultural attitudes on the subject of race will be overlooked if they are so deeply rooted. After all, sf writers depict futures of conquest, power-mongering, hegemony, greed, and the like. Race and racism are no less a constant than human greed or the desire for dominance. (Lavender 2011: 53)

However the book, given its rich portrayal of other types of fabricants, points to the existence of a different subculture of fabricants, among which those undergoing *ascension*, the process of gaining agency over their body and mind. "First, a voice began speaking inside my head. It alarmed me greatly, until I learnt nobody else hear it; the voice of sentience." (205) This helps the reader differentiate between the race of the main character of the part and the status bestowed upon her and those of her race. The book shows the existence of other nationalities of *fabricants* as well, even giving the information that Korea had annexed Japan, which became known as East Korea. Ma-Leu-Da, for example, is a fabricant gene with a name of Chinese origin, embodying one of the servers working alongside Yoona~939. The US version of the novel also presents a new *stemtype* of fabricant named Kyelim.

This points towards a lack of heterogeneity within the fabricant universe shown in the adaptation. The only women who are overtly shown to be servers, subhuman *fabricants*, are the Asian women of Korean descent.

Furthermore, even language comes into discussion, the movie portrays a far more prevalent Korean culture. Within the scope of this argument, the two fabricants, Sonmi~451 and Yoona~939 share a close connection, much more so than that protrayed by the book, and within the movie this closeness is emphasized through the use of the Korean vocative during their secret conversations on matters such as the outside world and what it could contain, and Yoona~939's

intention of escaping Papa Song. As Mark Warschaier presents in his paper,

> language has always played an important role in the formation and expression of identity. The role of language and dialect in identity construction is becoming even more central in the postmodern era, as other traditional markers of identity, including race, are being destabilized. (Warschauer 2000: 151)

Regarding the language of the novels and that used in the movie, when we speak about the part of Sonmi~451, there is a notable difference that can be very easily perceived. While the book uses brand names as replacement for certain words, (not unlike the Romanian cultural counterpart of ascribing the name of the most prevalent brand to a category of products it is most known for producing, e.g. the word *Adidas* to represent the category of sport sneakers) with examples such as 'sony' (Mitchell 2012: 192) to describe a handheld device similar to a smartphone, and 'ford' to describe all cars (Mitchell 2012: 209), the movie either replaces the words or erases them completely, for copyright reasons. Thus, the *sony* becomes a *kino*, a german-origin loan word for cinema, and the *ford* is erased from the narrative through the replacement of the spoken confession with the action itself. This erases the monopolistic hues of corporations as portrayed in the book and instead enriches the cultural facet of a globalised world on the brink of collapse.

To use examples from both the narrative of Sonmi~451 and the movie, we have Sonmi~451 describing the actions of her sister server, Yoona~939, first, in the book and later in the movie:

"Yoona mistook it for a broken sony." (Mitchell 2012: 192)

"A kino? We are not allowed." (Cloud Atlas 00:27-00:28)

The effect this use of stylistic language choice has on the movie is to erase the dystopian references to market monopoly and its effect on the society. As it stands, Nea So Copros is not a post-capitalist dystopia, but a universe which better resembles that of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-four*, with a Unanimity-imposed censorship upon the masses.

Thus, the language of Sonmi proves to be a defining characteristic of not only hers but also the other fabricants. Her language and Yoona's becomes the language of all fabricants within the scope of the movie.

A general description of Yoona~939 is not given within the novel, yet at a certain point Yoona~939 is described as looking 'thru her braids'. Yoona~939 has braids yet the movie gives the servers uniformity, somehow playing into the narrative of the servers being interchangeable, yet due to the fact that they are both similar in appearance and traits, what is achieved instead of a closely controlled genomic variation of the servers is this impression of expendability, of unremarkable subservient characters. (Mitchell 2012: 197) Mitchell describes the four genomic types of Papa Song servers by depicting them in the *Orison of Sonmi~451* as such: the Ma-Leu-Das, the Sonmis, the Yoonas, and lastly the Hwa-Soons. All female servers of different personality types and different appearance, as shown: "Ma-Leu-Das tend to awe freshfaceds; Hwa-Soons boss us; Yoonas seem aloof and sullen, and Yoona~939 was no xception. (...) Seer Rhee divided his stem-types evenly around the Hub tellers." (Mitchell 2012: 190). The US version also mentions Seer Rhee's penchant for dividing the stemtypes of the fabricants around the dinery for an 'aesthetically pleasing' effect, which points towards the heterogeneity of the fabricants, even within their own server subdivisions. (Mitchell US 2012: 187)

Shown in the first moments of the interview of Sonmi~451, it is clear that there is a discrepancy in the accents of the characters, given that the archivist's English bears an English accent, while Sonmi's English is heavily accented as to point towards an East-Asian heritage. The Archivist compliments her use of the "consumer" language, and Sonmi uses what they call *subspeak* in the form of the Korean language to say that "it is unfortunate that most of Unanimity can only speak one language" (*Cloud Atlas* 00:25-00:24) thus showcasing that Sonmi has a culture she prizes beyond her identity.

Yoona~939 herself refers to Sonmi~451 as 'Sonmi-ya' (*Cloud Atlas* 00:27) during their secret encounters, 'ya' being the Korean particle marking the plain vocative (Byon 277). As such, the characters, through the use of the Korean vocative particle, bring a cultural facet to the forefront of the narrative. Sonmi~451 and Yoona~939 are no longer just *genomed* clones, but instead they share another common trait: their heritage. They both become complicit in the fate of the other, and together they have a simulacrum of a *resistance* against Papa Song. By having their Korean heritage used only in the moments when Yoona~939 is conspiring to escape and rebel against Papa Song, a globalised, culture-devoid enterprise, it is shown in the movie that a trait depicting this awareness of the

heritage of the clones is a humanising act, setting them apart from the other clones, which do not have this awareness regarding culture and identity of self.

To quote Mitchell himself, in an article in the Wall Street Journal, "adaptation is a form of translation, and all acts of translation have to deal with untranslatable spots" (Mitchell 2012). He later adds that "in a film, however, detail cannot be suggested: it is either shown or it isn't. Something similar occurs to dialogue. There are no readers to 'hear' a particular line in their own way. The take used by the director becomes the one final version" (2012).

However, when concerning the adaptation of this particular installment, what the character of Sonmi~451 undergoes in the process is not only an adaptation for the silver screen, but also an adaptation into a stereotype that can be readily understood and processed. The untranslatable spot of Sonmi becomes her race, her status as a fabricant, and the impossibility of delineating between fabricated characters and the 'purebred'.

In conclusion, the constructed image of Sonmi~451 differs in the two media in terms of her perceived and showcased culture. It is perhaps solely for the reason of maintaining a purity in the main timeline for which her timeline-internal racebending was removed. However it cannot be overlooked that there is a great rift between the two characters, the *Sonmis* of the two universes being ascribed their own medium. The passivity of 'movie' Sonmi~451 can also be ascribed to the lack of time available to develop her plot, rather than a stereotype. Nonetheless the conclusion remains that there is a distinct passivity present in the film, with Sonmi being a recipient of the action, rather than the initiator, which is not unrelated to her remaining Asian throughout the whole sequence of her narrative.

References:

Appiah, Kwame Anthony, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., (Eds). 1995. *Identities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Byon, Andrew Sangpil. 2000. *"Teaching Korean Honorifics."* *The Korean Language in America,* vol. 5, 2000, pp. 275–289. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/42922325 (accessed 17 July 2019).

Cirisano, Tatiana. 2018. "BTS Wins Top Social Artist Award at the 2018 Billboard Music Awards." *Billboard*. Available at: www.billboard.com/articles/news/bbma/8456936/bts-wins-top-social-artist-2018-billboard-music-awards (accessed 20 May 2018)

Cloud Atlas, Directed by Tykwer, Tom, et al., Warner Bros, 2012.

Ehrlich, David, Hanh Nguyen. 2017. "Why 'Death Note' Is Guilty of Whitewashing, and What We Can Do to Prevent More Movies Like It." *Indiewire.* Available at: www.indiewire.com/2017/08/death-note-whitewashing-conversation-1201871811/ (accessed 31 August 2017)

Eidell, Lynsey. 2018. "The Internet Wants TV and Movies to Stop Using This Cliché Hair Trend on Asian Characters." Allure, Allure, 24 May 2018. Available at: www.allure.com/story/internet-reacts-western-media-asian-characters-neon-hair-streaks (accessed 28 July 2019)

Hartnett, Meghan. 2018. "The Future of Racial Classifications: Exploring Race in the Critical Dystopia." In *BSU Honors Program Theses and Projects*. Item 283. Available at: http://vc.bridgew.edu/honors_proj/283 (accessed 17 July 2019)

Lavender, Isiah. 2011. *Race in American Science Fiction.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mitchell, David. 2012. "Translating 'Cloud Atlas' Into the Language of Film." *Wall Street Journal*. Available at: www.wsj.com/articles/SB10000872396390443675404578060870111158076 (accessed 20 October 2012)

Mitchell, David. 2012. *Cloud Atlas.* London: Sceptre. Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.

Warschauer, Mark. 2000. "Language, Identity, and the Internet". In B. Kolko, L. Nakamura & G. Rodman (Eds.) *Race in Cyberspace*. New York: Routledge, pp.151-170.

Translation and Poetry. Poetry in Translation

Hussein Nasser Jabr[1]
Directorate General of Education, Najaf, Irak

Abstract: Our contribution is, first of all, an introduction to translation as a cross-cultural activity, a means to help establish international relationships, disseminate knowledge, and highlight cultural variety and intercultural understanding. We draw an outline of the development of translation across the ages, since the formulation of the fundamental concepts during the ancient times in Mesopotamia, India, and Egypt, to the first translations of the Bible, the classical age, the advent of Islam and the Prophet's desire to spread it to other peoples who did not speak Arabic, to the flourishing of translation in Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphates. We emphasize the great importance of translation in the Arab world, the work of distinguished representatives, as Al-Jāḥiẓ, an authority in the field. The translations of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment were characterized by fidelity and transparency, and the gradual replacement of Latin, the classical language of translation, by vernacular languages, while the main feature of Romanticism was either the domestication or the foreignization of the Source Text. We place a special emphasis on the language of poetry understood as a kind of discourse that motivates a response in its readers, including critics and translators. We exemplify with excerpts from Wordsworth, Coleridge, T. S. Eliot, Dylan Thomas, Sir Patrick Spens, Ernest C. Dowson, to show how poets react to the impact of two forces: the *experience force* and the *imaginative force*. Poetry translation is viewed as a specific domain of literary translation, and the language of poetry is a sort of a compact language that cannot be easily translated. To transfer it to another language means to perform some sort of *reconstruction* of the original text after analyzing its linguistic and extra-linguistic components.

Keywords: poetry, translation, cross-cultural, language of poetry, fidelity

1. Introduction

Translation is a cross-cultural activity that bridges two linguistic events belonging to two different languages to make communication possible. The need for it arises with any contact between different languages. It is the chief means to help establish international relationships, disseminate knowledge, highlight cultural variety and intercultural understanding, enhance trade throughout and contribute to the consolidation of social cohesion and peaceful

---

[1] hussainalibadi@gmail.com

coexistence in the wider world. It works on rendering texts from a given language, i.e. the source language, into another, i.e. the target one, depending on the need to that text and the significance it has to the readers of the target language.

Despite the great contribution of translation to the civilisations of the world in the various fields of knowledge, economy, and communication, it is regarded to have a secondary status in relation to the superiority of the original texts. Predominantly, translational processes are often described by theorists and even translators as "treachery", "rape", "violence", and "injustice" done to the original text, even though, the original comes first in terms of creation and the translation later (see Barbe, 1996: 330). Is it not a denigration of the work of translators?

It is generally known that a translation can never be like the original text. Obvious differences are there between the two, namely the source and target texts, manifested by the differences in their linguistic and cultural settings as well as the nature of the hearer/readers of each. Yet, many translations have been enjoyed though others have been rejected or criticised. They added to the written setup of the target language and culture, and gained plenty of readers throughout. It is noticed in this regard that many problems have been identified in translation, some of which are of a linguistic nature, others are cultural. It also depends on whether a text is literary or scientific because the nature of the text determines its accuracy, communicability, and authenticity. Literary texts are the most problematic due to various factors, on top of which is the subjective character of such texts. Each literary text has a personal touch of its author in addition to the specific cultural configuration it has. According to Rahimkhani and Salmani (2013: 1), "translating culture-bound elements in literary translations seems to be one of the most challenging tasks to be performed by a translator."

2. A historical overview of translation

Translation is crucial for cross-cultural communication. It helps establish firm relations and efficient contact among different nations and communities through the exchange of ideas and beliefs. It

has always been like a bridge reaching out among civilisations. In this sense, it gives a boost to the evolvement of world culture and interhuman communication. According to Kelly (1979), civilisation was carried across to Europe by European and Arab translators. In the same way, civilisation had been carried across to the Arabs, through the great works of the Greeks they would then translate.

Historically speaking, translation can be traced back long in time to the Mesopotamian era, around the second millennium BC, with the translation of the Sumerian poem, *Gilgamesh*, into Asian languages. This was a type of literary translation, or it might have been a religious one, which could have probably been preceded by other earlier attempts done, maybe, for business or other purposes.

Religious texts enjoyed a distinct status in the history of translation. One example of the early recorded translations in the West was the Greek translation of the Old Testament in the 3rd century BC. A number of 70 scholars worked on this translation, which itself became the basis for other translations. A Latin version of the Bible was made by Saint Jerome, the patron saint of translation, in the 4th century AD. This version of the translation was, for a long time, the preferred one for the Roman Catholic Church (Munday, 2001). As a matter of fact, the Bible has been translated into many languages, most privileged were Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. Until the end of 2020, "the full Bible has been translated into 704 languages …." (Wycliffe, 2020).

2.1 *Arab contributions*

Philosophers in the Islamic world enjoyed an extraordinary degree of access to the Hellenic intellectual heritage. In 10th-century Baghdad, readers of Arabic had about the same degree of access to Aristotle that readers of English do today. In the first half of the second century AD, Arabic translations were remarkable, whereby a large amount of pagan works had been translated into Arabic by the Syrians. According to Addidaoui, the Syrians came under the influence of the Greeks in the way they used to work: "Syrians' translations were more literal and faithful to the original". One of the best Syrian translators of the time was Jarjas, whose famous

translation of Aristotle's book *In the World* was very faithful to the original (Addidaoui, 2000: 8)

Then, with the advent of Islam and the need to spread as a new religion, which would result in increasing contact with non-Arab nations such as the Jews, Romans and others, it was necessary for the prophet to look for translators and speakers of foreign languages. Among the companions of the prophet were Suhaib Al Roumi (=the Roman) and Salman Al Farisi (=the Persian) who spoke Greek and Persian, respectively.

It is claimed that envoys were sent out by the prophet to the rulers of neighboring countries calling them to Islam. Those envoys rendered some verses of the Quran, the holy book of Islam, in the local languages of those countries as, for example, letters were sent to the Emperors of the Roman and Persian empires including some Quranic verses. Another example was set by Jaafar bin Abi Talib, cousin of Prophet Muhammad, on his immigration to Abyssinia, who is said to have recited before the Emperor a whole chapter of the Quran, Chapter 19, entitled "Mariam" (Arabic synonym of "Mary"). One of the most famous translators of the time was Zaid Ibn Thabet, who translated the Prophet's letters to kings of Persia, Syria, Rome, and also the kings' answers.

Between the later part of the seventh century and the first part of the eighth century, during the Omayyads' period, some texts of chemistry and astrology were translated for individual purposes from Persian and Indian by Christians and Jews. However, the Abbasids were the first who really instigated a translation movement of such a large scope that most Greek texts were, for the first time, officially sanctioned to be translated into Syriac and Arabic.

During this period, an institution of education and knowledge was established in Baghdād, which would later prove very important in the history of translation worldwide at that time. It was *Bayt al-Ḥikmah* ("the House of Wisdom"), the academy and its library founded in the ninth century under the Abbaside caliph, al-Ma'mūn, around 830 C.E. (McKensen, 1935). Scholars from all over the known world were invited to Baghdād by Al Ma'mun to study in there. The chief goal was to translate the great works of philosophy,

science and literature into Arabic from Greek, Hindi and Persian, respectively (De Blois, 2005).

This outflow of translation activity brought about new ideas that instigated a wide-ranging discussion among the intellectuals of the time about the potentials and problems of translation. Looking into the life and works of such figures as al-Jāḥiẓ, Ḥunayn ibn Is'hāq and Mattā bin Yūnus opens up a window into this theoretical discourse. Al-Jāḥiẓ, as an authority on Arabic rhetoric, sees that translation is not an easy task as a translator should be aware of the true meanings of the original and make sure that the status of the translation is the same as that of the original.

Furthermore, according to the Egyptian scholar Mona Baker (1997), director of The Centre for Translation and Intercultural Studies at the University of Manchester, translation in the Arab world can be classified on procedural lines into two methods; the first was the advocate of Yohana Ibn Al-Batriq and Ibn Naima Al-Himsi, and is characterised by literal translation, that is, a translator used to provide an equivalent Arabic word for each Greek word in the text, while the second belongs to Hunayn Ibn Ishaq; it is based on sense-for-sense translation as a way to create fluent target texts that preserve the meaning of the original. As a matter of fact, Cicero and Horace (first century BC) were the first theorists who distinguished between word-for-word translation and sense-for-sense translation. Their comments on translation practice influenced the following generations of translation up to the twentieth century.

2.2. *Renaissance Period: Fidelity and Transparency*

It goes without saying that Caxton's invention of printing in England during the fifteenth century led to the emergence of early thinkers by widening the scope of translation. Caxton was not only a printer, but also a publisher, and he benefited from Edward IV's patronage, tradition, and friendship. His true significance stems from the fact that the majority of the books he published after the invention of printing were in English. His significance lies in the fact that the majority of the books he published after the invention of printing were in English. His selection of books included a variety of topics,

among which were linguistic ones on grammar and rhetoric, translations of classics, and romances like *Le Morte d'Arthur* by Thomas Malory (Steinberg, 1996).

Scholarly work on translation in this era has traditionally been dominated by studies of Renaissance transmission or theological reformation. There have been studies of notable translators, such as Jacques Amyot, a French Renaissance writer and translator, and Erasmus, a Dutch humanist and great Renaissance scholar, whose publications of Greek literature in Latin remained popular for decades though a few went fast into oblivion. To consider the linguistic aspect of Erasmus' work, methods and practices in translation, it appears that problems confronting translators are not uncommon. They persist in conveying to the reader the cognitive content of the text as well as its formal features, i.e., thoughts and ideas of the text in addition to its aesthetic appeal. In this course, Erasmus proceeded on a twofold task: to ensure for his audience sound realization of the substantial content of the text and invoke in them an emotional response to the literary effect created by the producer. In doing that, he shares with translators in general the crisis of choosing between literal or liberal translation (Rummel, 1985).

Viewed differently, the most remarkable development that had an important effect on the history of translational publication was the "gradual replacement of Latin, the classical language of translation, by vernacular languages" (Rummel, 1985: vii). Martin Luther's translation of the Bible appeared in German during the first part of the 16th century. Though it was not the first attempt to make German versions of the Bible, it was considered the best one. Jerome's "sense-for-sense" mode is still dominant to the effect that the new texts in the vernaculars are more accessible to the "mother in the home, the children on the street, the common man in the marketplace" (Lefevere qtd in Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility* 2012: 16).

2.3. *Enlightenment Period*

In the seventeenth century, order and reason are the hallmarks of the age. A new mode of thinking has begun to dominate the scene: more emphasis is directed onto human reasoning and achievement,

and more interest would be laid on works of poetry, language, rhetoric, and history. With regard to translation, this era, according to Munday (2016), witnessed the early attempts at systematic translation theory; clear-cut, well-identified opinions were distinguished during this era. Faithfulness and transparency were two dual ideals characterizing this age.

On an act of translation, you have the option of maintaining the meaning of the original text with no or little deviation; this form of translation is referred to under "fidelity." You may, on the other hand, opt to translate in such a way that your translation would be very clear to your readers in the target language. Both types are relatively important according to the text type. In dealing with scientific texts where meaning is considered more important, fidelity is preferred; however, with literary texts in which style and effect are reckoned more prominent, transparency is more appropriate.

The spread of humanist writings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made it a tendency then that transparency and fluency were the mode of translation. Denham, Cowley, and Dryden made a significant contribution to translation theory in England. A considerable number of classics were translated in addition to the Bible. Sir John Denham was a well-known author on translation at the time. He thought that the writer and the translator were on an equal basis, and that the translator's job was to capture the meaning of the SL text and replicate it as effectively as possible in the TL. He had the opinion thatthe translator could be relatively free in dealing with the text. He describes free translation as "a new and nobler way" (Steiner, 1975: 63, qtd. in Venuti, 1995). He was adopting Horace's dictum that Word-for-Word translation should be avoided in translation, particularly poetry (Venuti, 1997). Almost at the same time, Cowley set an approach of free translation in which the spirit of the text would be reproduced by using our wit to create new beauty (Munday, 2016).

Already then, about the year 1616, Baren Holyday announced on the publication of his translation of Persius that he had not bound himself with a "ferularie superstition" to the letter: but with the "ancient libertie" of a translator, and that he had used a "moderate

paraphrase, where the obscurities did more require it" (Holyday, 1635, in Venuti, 1997: 47). Obviously, he was making clear the way he had formed his model of translation: he refused word to word translation and followed the freedom of ancient theorists, obviously Horace, in transferring the essence of the text in a way to make it fluent in the target language.

About the same time, Sir Thomas Wroth, expressed a freer mode of translation when he stated that "… I stray not from the scope and intent of the author: and so I leave you to read, to understand, and to increase" (Wroth, 1620, in Venuti, 1997: 47). However, the most important figure in this age was John Dryden, a prominent critic and poet. He outlined three basic translation techniques in an introduction to the translation of Ovid's *Epistles* in 1680 (Munday, 2016):

i. Metaphrase: Word for word translation, or rather literal translation

ii. Paraphrase: Sense   for   sense   translation,   or interchangeably, free translation.

iii. Imitation: This can be considered somewhat like *adaptation* where the Source text is recreated in the Target one.

Dryden disclaims this extremity in rendering a supposedly translated version of a text. Obviously he stated his advocacy of the free translation method of Denham in his attempt to translate Virgil (Venuti, 1997: 62-65). The technique of "paraphrase" was Dryden's personal favorite. He also had a set of standards for judging a translator's ability. He concluded that only a poet could successfully translate a poetical text. He or she must be knowledgeable of both SL and TL languages and have a thorough understanding of them.

Following the model of Dryden, Alexander Pope started his literary career as a poet and translator with the belief that "poetry advances by refining the achievement of the past" (Caballero, 2013: 3); he published his English translations of Homer's poems, *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* in the first part of the eighteenth century. It took him several years to complete this difficult task of reconstituting the classical works in line with the mode and style of his time. This way,

he introduced to the world the heroic couplet, a two-line rhymed form that would become very familiar in future translations as well as other epics. He was, in pursuit of making his translations fluent, i.e. readable, and looks natural to the target-readers of his time, "not less faithful than elegant" (Wilson, 1946:80).

According to Venuti (1995: 66), Pope's translations carries the "distinctive blind spot of domesticating translation, confusing, under the illusion of transparency, the interpretation/ translation with the foreign text, even with the foreign writer's intentions, canonizing classical writing on the basis of Enlightenment concepts of poetic discourse." Prior to Pope's translation, George Chapman had already published an English translation of the Iliad in long-line ballad meter. On the other hand, Nicholson (1975: 12) establishes that Pope reduces Homer to "porcelain and cameos", an assertion which is substantiated by the acclimatization of the age in which the translator worked and which allows Tomlinson (2003) to commend Pope's work for its mastery in translation and its faithfulness to the original. In line with this approach, William Guthrie, the Scottish writer and journalist, states in a preface to a translation of his (in 1741) that "it is living manners alone that can communicate the Spirit of an Original (sic)" (cited in Venuti, 1995: 67).

It is worth mentioning that "fidelity" (i.e. faithfulness) and "transparency" are best characterised as dual ideals. The degree to which a translation faithfully renders the meaning of the source text, without distortion, by considering the text itself (subject, form, and use), literary qualities, and the text's social or historical significance is referred to as having "fidelity". On the other hand, transparency requires you to translate in such a way that your translation should be very clear to your readers in the target language giving way to some deviation in meaning from the source language, when necessary. In this respect, Venuti (1995: 67) argues that translators are in "an equivocal relationship" with a target text; one cannot be quite faithful, but always free to a certain extent.

In general, whereas Dryden, Pope and some others, who are not as much theorists as they are translators with hands-on experience, tend to put forward what they think it has to be done in

order for successful translation to result, Tytler presents the first systematic study of translation in English in his essay published in 1791 on the principles of translation. For him, a "good translation" should be targeted towards the target text receiver. This goes contrary to Dryden's belief that good translation should be author-centered, i.e. write as the original author would have written if s/he had known the target language (Munday, 2016). In this respect, he outlines three principles: (1) a transcript of the ideas and "spirit" contained in the original should be rendered in the translated version; (2) It should resemble the original in style and manner; and (3) It should read easily like the original.

Obviously, apart from poetical translation, these rules do not allow translators a wide range of freedom. The first rule stipulates that a translator should have perfect understanding of the subject of the original, and be competent in providing a "faithful transfusion of the sense and meaning" the author would like to convey. The second rule entails fidelity of style, i.e. to be faithful in maintaining form. Furthermore, they suppose that any work of art has an energy or spirit, beyond its ideas and meanings, which can be reproduced. In terms of the third rule, some freedom is allowed when a translator is required to be at ease when dealing with a foreign text in order to make the resulting text read fluently. Nevertheless, these rules are arranged hierarchically in such a way that the first one is more important than the second, which, in turn, is more important than the third.

Simultaneously, in the first part of the eighteenth century, poetry was not approved to be reproducible. Owing to the Romantic belief in the sublimity of the artistic faculty; it was assumed to be divinely inspired and that the spirit of a poem lying between the lines, is not prone to translation. Generally so far, translation has been instrumental and "empirical"; it evolved mainly by means of immediate experience and practice rather than theories and observation.

2.4 *Romanticist Period: Foreignization vs. Domestication*

In 1813, in his lecture, "Über Die Verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens,"the German philosopher Fredric Schleiermacher, proposed that the translator had the choice to either take the writer to the reader or take the reader to the writer. In other words, a translator would either *domesticate* the text or *foreignize* it. These terms of *foreignization* and *domestication* were coined by Venuti, who was an advocate of the former. He argues that in terms of *foreignization*, a foreign text is approached "along lines which are excluded by dominant cultural values in the target language" (Venuti, 1995: 242).

In other words, *foreignization* focuses on preserving the culture-specific components of the original text, such as personal names, national food expressions, historical symbols, streets, or local institutions, while domestication is based on reducing the foreignness of the source text for target readers by adding common words used in the target language rather than supplying readers with foreign terms. Apparently, this method was not only concerned with the linguistic rendering of the text but also with its cultural tissue. Some important figures in the 19th century adopted this method, among whom were William Morris in addition to some Victorians like Carlyle and Arnold, and the pre-Raphaelites like Dante Rossetti.

The primary defect of this method was that this translation, owing to its "foreignness", would be of interest only to an elite minority. Matthew Arnold's observations on the matter are a good example of this. He is focused on the SL text with no regard for the TL reader. The aim was not to enrich the TL community culture, but to bring to attention another work. In this regard, two opposing views characterised the 19th century translation; the first regarded translation as a faculty of thought and the translator as a person endowed with the power of creation and genius, who would enrich the target language, whereas the second sees translation as a mechanical act that would make a foreign text readable to the TL readership (Bassnett-McGuire, 1980, in El-dali, 2010).

This time of the nineteenth century also saw the rise of Romanticism, which resulted in the development of numerous theories and translations in the field of literature, particularly poetic

translation. As an example we mention Edward Fitzgerald's translation of the Persian poems, *Rubáiyá*t [Quatrains] of Omar Al Khayyam, in 1858. In the last resort, it can be said that theoretical statements about translation, from antiquity to the late nineteenth century, fell into traditionally defined areas of thinking about language and culture: literary theory and criticism, rhetoric, grammar, philosophy.

2.5. *Twentieth Century Translation*
2.5.1. *Modernist Period*

With the beginning of the twentieth century, an outbreak of translations made the scene, both in the number of books and articles translated, and, more importantly, in the function translation began to have in consolidating the role and status of humanities and social sciences. The study of translation during the first part of this century has commonly attracted varying degrees of interest among scholars and translators. At this time, philology colored the way scholar theorized about translation, but, later on, philosophy of language began to dominate the scene, as it is evidenced by works of Wittgenstein and Russell. Generally speaking, translation, whether in practice or theory, has, from the very beginning, been approached with respect to other disciplines such as rhetoric, grammar, poetics, literature and hermeneutics. In this regard, one will expect to find a tremendously large number of theories and approaches to translation throughout the world.

In a nutshell, though it is not within the scope of this study to go into every detail about translation theories, it is worthwhile to hint at the most basic ideas and principles of some theories the are considered representational here with regard to the relation with the main topic of this study, that is, to reach a procedural model for the translation and quality assessment of poetry translation**.**

2.5.2 *Post-Modernist Period and beyond: Linguistic-Functional-Cultural Approaches*

During the 1950s and 1960s of the last century, linguistics was a highly appreciated discipline by scholars in Europe and the US

alike, when a number of revolutionary movements in linguistic thought heated the scene. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to see that linguistic-based theories of translation, like those above, focusing on equivalence, were influential and authoritative at that time. In this regard, studies of translation were, for a long time, embedded in the linguistic approach, and the focus was primarily on the source text.

However, translational activity is not an exclusively linguistic act; two cultural settings are involved: Source language culture and Target language culture. Emphasis on the linguistic structure of the ST has changed with the "cultural turn" in the 1980s. Now translational focus has changed from the ST to TT, approaching it from the point of view of function, culture, ideology, history, poetics and the like, involving even the textual historicity of the ST and TT.

2.5.3. *Structure-based Approach: Source-Text Modes*

In their endeavor to reach a solution to the problems of translation, scholars never stopped investigating the relationship between languages in terms of texts, contexts, and processes of translation. There has always been some controversy amongst translators and theorists about translation techniques. This controversy is not related to terms but also to concepts. In this respect, Vinay and Darbelnet were, according to Molina and Albir (2002), the first to classify translation techniques in their pioneer work, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* (1958, and translated into English in 1995). In this book, they investigated translation linguistically within their research of comparative literature in French and English.

"Contrastive linguistics" is presumably more applicable to Vinay and Darbelnet's work as they looked into the differences between English and French through the process of translation, aiming to deepen their understanding of these languages. Under this process-oriented translation study, a variety of translation strategies can be signalized, most of which are focused on equivalence, which is a central issue in translation that has been studied by many significant scholars and theorists, among whom are Jakobson 1959, Catford 1965, House 1977, Nida and Taber 1982, Newmark 1988, Vinay and

Darbelnet 1959, 1995 and Baker 1992). Nevertheless, the idea of equivalence has also not been approved by several researchers like Snell-Hornby, 1988, Nord, 1997, on account of being "asymmetric, directional, subjectless, unfashionable, imprecise and ill-defined" (Bolaños, 2005, Snell-Hornby, 1988, Nord, 1997), cited in Kashgary (2011).

Simultaneously, whereas equivalence is at the core and essence of translation, non-equivalence likewise makes a valid subject in the translation process. This is justified by the fact that languages approach and categorize the world differently because "languages do not simply name existing categories, they articulate their own" (Culler, 1976: 21). Moreover, non-equivalence, in translation is experienced and encountered,particularly at the word level, between languages that belong to two diverse cultural settings like Arabic and English, which provide a good example for the potentiality of translating what is sometimes considered "untranslatable" due to lack of equivalence. Arabic is full of culture-specific expressions and notions that have no English counterparts. These concepts, however, can be translated into English using one of the non-equivalence translation procedures to communicate their conceptual and cultural implications to English-speaking readership.

Equivalence-oriented translation for Vinay and Darbelnet is a procedure which recurs the same situation as in the original with different wording. It is also suggested by them that the stylistic impact of the original SL text can be observed in the produced TL text during application of the translative method they formulated. It is worth mentioning that they have formulated two models of translation: direct (or literal) translation and oblique translation. Under direct translation method, they signify three procedures of translation: literal, borrowing, and calque. Under oblique translation, they include: transposition, modulation, equivalence, and adaptation.

Jakobson (1959) contributed significantly to the theoretical research of translation. He brought about the notion of equivalence in difference. He states that "translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes" (Jakobson, 1959: 233). In other words, translators do their best to find equality in the source and

target messages in spite of the differences in grammar, lexis and semantic structure. According to Barghout (1990: 18), Jakobson sees translation as no more than "creative transposition".

In a broader mode, Jakobson (1959) identifies three types of equivalence: (i) *intralingual* (within one language, i.e. rewording or paraphrase), (ii) *interlingual* (between two languages), and (iii) *intersemiotic* (between sign systems). From another point of view, Jakobson sees that "all cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language, even though he excludes poetry being untranslatable" (1959: 232-236). More than five decades later, Hatim and Munday (2014: 15) argue that "translation is always possible and cultural gaps are in one way or another bridgeable".

Unsurprisingly, the translation techniques of Vinay and Darbelnet, on the one hand, and Jakobson's translation theory, on the other, have certain parallels. Both highlight the idea that a translator may consider other procedures when translating, including loan-translations and neologisms. Yet, whereas Vinay and Drabelnet see that translating from ST to TT is always possible however culturally and linguistically diverse those languages are, Jakobson adopts a semiotic procedure.

Nida (1964), whose linguistic approach towards translation came under the influence of Chomsky's generative syntax, distinguishes two different types of equivalence: formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence. The former observes the form and content of the message so that the TL text has the closest wording to the SL text. On the other hand, dynamic equivalence is a sort of translation in which the *effect* of the message is maintained (Nida and Taber (1969). Apparently, the first type of equivalence is structure-based while the second one is function-based.

Nida explains the concept of the "dynamic equivalence" in terms of the degree of equivalence of response of the receptors of a message in the TL and receptors of the message in the SL. They almost respond substantially in the same manner. He argues that although sameness of response is not possible between TL and SL, owing to the palpable differences in the cultural and historical settings between them, "there should be a high degree of equivalence

of response, or the translation will have failed to accomplish its purpose" (Nida & Taber, 2004: 24).

Likewise, Catford (1965) argues for equivalence when he puts it as a basis for functioning across two different languages in the same *situation* after having established the translation equivalence between them. Generally speaking, Catford (1965: 27) distinguishes between textual equivalence and formal correspondence. However, his main contribution is realized in the concepts of translation *types* and *shifts*. Catford defines *shifts* as "departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL" (Ibid. 73-80). He identifies two main types of translation shifts, i.e. level shifts, where the SL item at one linguistic level (e.g. grammar) has a TL equivalent at a different level (e.g. lexis), and category shifts, which are of four types: *class*, *unit*, *structure* and *intra-system* shifts (see Catford, 1965).

2.5.4. *Structural-Functional Approaches*

From another point of view, Newmark (1981), distinguished between semantic and communicative translation; the former stands for the lexical substitution of the words of a text, i.e. word-for-word substitution; it is literal and close to the source text. The latter is textual and free since it is not confined by the words and morphemes of the text, rendering sense-for-sense translation. He states that communicative translation aims at creating in its readers an effect that is as similar as possible to that obtained for the readers of the original text. Semantic translation renders, in correspondence to the semantic and syntactic systems the TL has, "the exact contextual meaning of the original" (1981: 39). In 1988, he tended towards analyzing the linguistic aspects of the text, namely lexis and syntax in addition to the aspects of style in his endeavor to observe the textual function and to dispose with the matters of equivalence.

Later, in *About Translation* (Newmark 1991) and many later publications, Newmark suggested a number of translational fundamentals in the form of sentential correlations, such as: (1) "The more important/serious the language (keywords, collocations, emphases) of the original, the more closely it should be translated,"

and (2) "the less important the language of a text, the less closely it need be translated" (Newmark, in Munday, 2009: 30).

Baker (2011) designates a set of four different forms of equivalence: word, textual, grammatical, and pragmatic equivalence. The first one that a translator faces during translating is word equivalence. In this study, it is believed that the last two ones are only sub-parts of the second one. They are textual aspects indeed. Grammatical structures usually vary across languages, causing correspondence problems in the TT. Textual equivalence is realized in the cohesion perspective of the texts while the pragmatic one is based on identifying implicatures and intentional meanings.

So far, the major emphasis in the above-mentioned approaches of Jakobson, Nida, Newmark, Vinay, Darbelnet, Catford, and Baker, among others, was on the verbal structural properties and the key issues of meaning of the text. However, shortly afterwards, some theorists realized that language was more than simply structure; it is tied to a certain social context in which language is used. Function of the text has begun to get more emphasis by now.

Apart from the structurally oriented concepts of equivalence, House (1977) argues for the semantic and pragmatic equivalence between ST and TT, stating that ST and TT should be functionally equivalent. For her, the situational dimension of the ST is significant in substantiating its function. That is, any text is, indeed, embedded in a specific condition that the translator must correctly identify and account for. Therefore, to help evaluate a translation, an analysis of the ST should be performed; if the original text differs substantially from the TT on situational features, hence, they will not be functionally equivalent, and the translation will appear clearly different. As a matter of fact, she admits that "a translation text should not only match its source text in function, but employ equivalent situational-dimensional means to achieve that function" (1977: 49).

In a more detailed way, House classifies translation into: *overt* translation and *covert* translation. As the term suggests, an overt translation refers to a target text that contains elements showing it is a translation. Contrastingly, a covert translation points to a target text

that seems natural as it is functionally similar to the source text, as the translator has exerted every effort to mitigate cultural differences.

Paradoxically, Mary Snell-Hornby (1988: 17) warns against "the treacherous illusion of equivalence" that exemplifies interconnections among languages. She goes on to describe it as fallacy (1988:18). She begins her argument with the basic idea that no absolute symmetry is there between languages. However, the concept of "equivalence" should be modified in order to apply onto a broader perspective. In her book, *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach* (1988), she provides an integrated concept of translation hinging on theory and practice. She tunes linguistic trends and procedures in such a way that they may be manifested in the theory, practice, and literary translation analysis.

Contemporarily, Pym, despite the calls for dismissing equivalence, still believes in the importance of the equivalence paradigm. He states that "the equivalence paradigm was and remains far richer than [what] the facile dismissals would suggest" (2007: 2). Elsewhere, he, in his commentary on equivalence, points out that one can never expect to find perfect equivalence from one language to another. Languages cannot be the same though they may have equivalence when an idea in the "start text" (=ST) has an "equal value" in the translation. This relation of equal value can be approached on the level of form or function, i.e., structurally or culturally. He, therein, classifies equivalence into Natural and Directional (Pym, 2007: 6-24).

About the last quarter of the twentieth century, Germany witnessed the decline of the concept of equivalence and rise of new trends centered on text types and text purpose. With Halliday, language ceased to be seen in a static structural perspective but a communicative act conducted in a sociocultural context. In this course, further theoretical approaches to translation, namely Skopos and Polysystem, have been suggested, signaling a turn in thinking from merely pursuing a linguistic action to searching for the functional appropriateness of a text in "specific situations and context of use" (Schaffner,1998:3).

In this regard, one can argue that the effect of a source text is not a faculty of the source text alone, nor is it contained in its meaningful components. In fact, it is the product of style plus meaning as it is interacted with the translator's mental state on the time of dealing with a text.

3. *Language of Poetry*

Poetry is a distinct form of language. It has its own features that distinguish it from other genres of literature like fiction and drama. The way it uses language is noticeably distinct from the so-called ordinary uses of language in social interaction. The language of poetry is characterised, among other things, by an intensified language, a relatively free word-order, and unusual associations of words. It is also distinguishable in the form (and punctuation) it has on the page. This special nature of poetry makes it a suitable bearer of the poet's peculiar responses to the world which are as intense and powerful as the language in which they are couched.

Due to the very nature of poetry, a poem is produced as a response to an inner call in one's self. The poet keeps answering that call as long as s/he is writing till the end. Therefore, the poetical text is dialogic in nature. It is a kind of discourse that motivates a response in its readers, including critics and translators. Every time a poem is recited or read, hearer-readers are supposed to understand the discourse provided that the enunciator (=poet) is cooperative, in accordance with the Grice's "cooperative principle" (Grice, 1989: 41). Knowing that a poet does usually defamiliarize the text and confer some ambiguity and mystery over it, understanding the text, on the part of the hearer-reader would not be straightforward, and requires sometimes careful handling and interpretation processes.

Furthermore, according to Furniss and Bath (1996: 6), poetry, for the Romanticists, is a special form of expression related deeply to the "profound personal emotion and expression". In this respect, let us look at the following extract from Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1805: lines 301-5; cited in Prickett, 1981: 143):

"That poets, even as prophets, each with each

Connected in a mighty scheme of truth,
Have each for his peculiar dower, a sense
By which he is enabled to perceive
Something unseen before."

Poets, as in the above extract, enjoy a remarkable power to realize things and sense truth with their peculiar vision. The vehicle of this remarkable power is language in its stylistic variation, and various manifestations. Those literary manifestations range from traditional poetry throughout to *prose poetry*, which is poetry beyond structure and verse, however, it contains other features that make it appear poetic such as the economy of language, intensified imagery, metaphoric expressions, unfamiliar collocations, etc.

Stylistic devices do not only carry familiar meanings to their readers, but principally create a special perception of the object of the text. That is, "it creates a 'vision' of the object instead of serving as a means for knowing it'" (Shklovsky, 1917/1965, qtd. in Miall and Kuiken, 1994). Such a "vision" comes as an outcome of the process of foregrounding, or "Deautomatization", in the words of Mukarovský. It sums up the stylistic effects of the "artistically motivated deviation" executed consciously in the making of a literary text, whether at the level of rhythm and sound, grammar, and semantics.

Here, Shklovsky is consulted again in stating that art is purported to express the "sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known". The artistic technique of a poem, for instance, is to defamiliarize objects, charge forms with the energy of poetry through compact expressions, prolonging the duration of perception as it is an aesthetic end in itself (1917/1965, qtd. in Miall and Kuiken, 1994).

The domain of poetry is the whole prospect of life seen with the eyes of emotion and imagination. Imagination for poetry is an ontological property, particularly for Romantic poets. Through imagination, the poet carries over readers up to a world, which is profound, religious, ultimate, and inaccessible but to poets (Prickett,

1981). In this regard, we can quote Wordsworth (*The Prelude*, 1805: lines 167-70; cited in Prickett, 1981: 176):

> "… Imagination, which, in truth,
> Is but another name for absolute power
> And clearest insight, amplitude of mind,
> And Reason in her most exalted mood."

It is, accordingly, a faculty of mind, not exclusive to points or painters. However, this faculty is shaped by the sharpness of experience, and originated in man's response to the contradictions in the world. That is to say, poets, urged by the set of their beliefs, react to the impact of two forces: the *experience force* and the *imaginative force*. These forces work strongly on the poet's mind in such a way that they would not be disregarded. In other words, poets stop at each experience however trivial it may have seemed to others, and carry it forward sensitively and attractively. In this way, they (poets) "bring the whole soul of man into activity" (Coleridge, cited in Prickett, 1981: 177).

The poets' special handling of language and the images they draw are the chief means by which they transfer their responses to the world. The poetic image is an attempt to approach the world by reshaping it according to the visions of the poet, and a way of illustrating its deeply related parts that seem as contradictory and ambiguous as the images themselves.

In order to embody the deep equilibrium of the world, poets bring into play the harmony of music through rhythm (and also meter), and thus, creates conformity between the constituents of the poem. Bradford (1993: 3) suggests that there is a "double pattern" of rhythm characterizing poetry; one is related to the recurrence of the syntactic rules, and the other is related to the sound of language. Thus, he states, the "syntactic pattern of discourse will create surface patterns of rhythm and sound which draw upon the materiality of language but which do not relate directly to its conventions of meaning and signification".

The *rhythmic* and *metrical* patterns as well as the special language of poetry help to ensure, largely, the reader's entanglement in the poem and to maintain a special emotional atmosphere covering it as a whole. In this respect, Short (1996: 32) states that to ensure the occurrence of a rhythmic effect, some deep regularity mixed with variation is required. The poetic rhythm represents a variety of subcomponent rhythms underlined by regularity, i.e. the stresses of single words are compatible with the general rhythmic movements in the poem. They appear in recurrent intervals in a line of poetry.

Thus far, the ambiguity of the poetic images and that of the linguistic frameworks carrying them, the emotions and expressive symbols employed in poetry, the rhythmic effects as well as the set of beliefs the poet has about the world, all form the poet's vision reflected in his or her poetry. Consequently, linguists dealing with poetic language should realize that the language they are tackling is one that is richer than the so-called everyday speech or scientific prose.

3.1. *Kinds of Deviation*

According to Spenser and Gregory (1964) (cited in Freeman, 1970, 73-95), collocation plays a significant role in the language of literature, through which a creative writer "achieves some of his effects through the interaction between usual and unusual collocations". Both types of collocation form the semantic structure of a poem. Moreover, through abnormality of unusual collocations (and other linguistic structures) the poem is brought into focus.

Leech (1965) (cited in Freeman, 1970: 122) notes, here, that foregrounding results from the opposition between literal and figurative meaning on the semantic level. He refers to this opposition as "collocative clash" between the semantic elements in a sequence of lexical items. Therefore, it should be necessary to examine the foregrounded aspects of texts in interpretation, for they are not without effect. The strategy for doing this is called by Leech (1976) "Cohesion of Foregrounding" (see Short, 1996: 36).

In poetry, the principle of arrangement is often deviated so that the reader finds him- or herself ensnared in the poem at the first

onset. Short (1996: 38) argues that projecting readers into the middle of conversation fills the argument with energy. Another kind of deviation is found in Modernist poetry as, for example, in T. S. Eliot's poem "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock":

> "The yellow fog that rubs its back upon the window-panes,
> The yellow smoke that rubs its muzzle on the window-panes,
> Licked its tongue into the corners of evening,
> Lingered upon the pools that stand in drains…"

Obviously, such figures of yellow fog rubbing its back, or a smoke rubbing its muzzles or licking its tongue into the corners of evening seem to be novel kinds of metaphor. According to Ching et al (1980), the image of fog rubbing its back upon the window panes forces us (readers) to accept a resemblance between fog and a cat [or some other animal] since the latter is more associated with the act of rubbing its back.

In their understanding of this metaphor, Ching et al (1980: 98-102) look for the focus and vehicle of the metaphor, which are: rub its back and cat, respectively. Accordingly, the literal expression that corresponds to this metaphor gives the familiar image of a cat rubbing its back, suggesting as such the concepts of physical contact and movement. These two properties are borrowed for the fog to reflect "warmth", "friendliness", and "sensuousness".

Conversely, this metaphor can be understood differently by another person who may find in it signs of seclusion and isolation because such terms as: fog, smoke, drained pool, and evening, reflect feeling of desolation, and confer on the poem some thick atmosphere that makes vision nearly impossible. Further associations can be detected from this metaphor. Such a different interpretation depends, in terms of the procedure of focus and vehicle, upon identifying a different vehicle and focus. We notice that the vehicle can be a fictitious animal not familiar to the persona in the poem, and the focus is fog.

For the interpretation of modern metaphor, Short (1996: 45) states that we are required to make "sense of apparent nonsense". He

sees that it is this fact that makes modern poetry difficult. Yet, "it is also an integral part of what makes good poetry so valuable". Moreover, he states that through (modern) metaphor, poets make us look at the world in fresh and interesting ways by facing us with paradoxes and forcing us to resolve them.

Metaphor, in general, is considered to be a violation of usual occurrences of words and categories. However, Reddy (1969, cited in Ching et al, 1980: 63-75) presents a different idea. He sees that the linguistic behavior, whether in human language or in nature, do not presuppose "the existence of such a priori intuitive categories". Instead, he thinks that there are practically "literal spheres of reference", which are the normal limits of (conventional) referentiality on individual words. Accordingly, metaphor can be defined as an "unconventional", or novel use of a word, i.e. in metaphorical usage, no referent of a word can be found in its literal sphere of reference.

Deviation, sometimes, occurs via lexical invention or conversion. Some examples appear in Short's (1996: 45-6). "Jolly Rodger", for instance, is the name for the pirates' flag with skull and crossbones. Nevertheless, it is used by Dylan Thomas as an adjective when it is suffixed with -*ed* in the following lines:

> "The boys are dreaming wick*ed* or of the buckling ranches.
> Might and the jollygender*ed* sea." (cited in Short, 1996: 45)

The impression one gets from this new word is that the sea is filled with pirates. This economic structure can be looked at from the aesthetic and linguistic points of view as surprising and informative. On the grammatical level, deviation is such a common feature of poetry that it is almost associated with poetry. In English poetry, there are many examples of adjectives coming after the nouns they modify, or of verbs preceding their subjects, as in:

> "The first word that Sir Patrick read
> So loud, loud, laughed he."
> (Anon,' Sir Patrick Spens; cited in (Chapman, 1973: 93).

"Little enough I sought
But a word compassionate."
(Dowson, "Exchanges," cited in Short, 1996:48)

Such poetic techniques, urged by the poets' anxiety for innovation, and their impatience with recurrent structures, serve to promote words in a phrase or a sentence so that they would enjoy freshness, salience and strong effect within their environment. Sometimes a poet re-arranges the order of a sentence to maintain certain meter when some tension arises between them. Thus, in order for the metrical system and the language system to fit together, the grammatical rules have to be relaxed and this may be the source of the term, "poetic grammar" (see Short, 1996: 134).

In addition to ordering, poets frequently tend to break the rule of using conjunction and which is replaced by commas between each pair of nouns except the last one. The use of "ands" extravagantly in the same phrase is counted an error in normal writing. But, in poetry, it is often excused as being done on purpose. For example:

"Yet this is vain – O Mathew lend thy aid
To find a place where I may great the mind
Where we may soft humanity put on,
And sit, and rhyme, and think on Chatterton."
(Coleridge, cited in Prickett, 1981: 89)

Moreover, we find an example of a split VP, where the object NP comes in between the auxiliary and the main verb. Examples of split structures are numerous in poetry. The poet's purpose behind using them may be to lay emphasis on certain phrases or clauses and so to bring them into a salience spot, so to speak, within their contexts in order that the reader's attention would be strongly trapped by the unfamiliarity of their structures.

3.2 *Poetic Language and Interpretation*

It is a general assumption that there is no single meaning of a text. However, there may be some main meaning, or rather, a major idea controlling a text, which can be marked out through interpretation. Ambiguity, which is caused by linguistic deviation, queer images, unfamiliar associations of lexical terms and ideas, as well as the variety of contexts, is generally the source of multiplicity of meanings assigned to a text.

Poetic (deviated) language calls for persistence and seriousness in reading. It requires careful handling that helps most often to detect unpredictable associations. This proves the power, richness and complexity of poetic language. It is as intense as no other genre of literature may compete. Its intensity can be referred back to the fact that authors, at the moment of enunciation, do not think so much in their meanings as in the language they are communicating (see Culler, 1988: 208). That is to say, authors send out messages of language that are interlaced with the hidden meanings and unique experiences they have in their minds. The poets' vehicle for revealing their experience and meaning is their choice of words (and structures). Such experiences can be quite different from the readers', for they are the products of a different set of concepts. Thus, readers will feel "transported into a totally different kind of consciousness" (Barfield, 1964: 49). What a reader as well as a critic can do is that they shed a new light on the poet's experience. While still captured by the poetic pleasure of the first reading of a poem, readers mingle, unconsciously, two spheres of experience, i.e. the poet's and their own. As a result, some assumptions and expectations, at this stage, would be formed in the reader's mind.

The attentive reading aided by the reader's assumptions and expectations will help re-construct the relationship between the text explicature (and presuppositions) on the one hand, and implicature, on the other. Yet, further readings help arouse more assumptions and expectations in the reader's mind and lead, consequently, to open up a wider prospectus of meaning. In this respect, Smith (1967) states that poetry enables poets to say more meanings with less words; poems are, in general, highly replete with meaning that it is improbable to

arrive at their full sense before conducting two or three readings. In this sense, different readings may lead continuously to different versions of meaning.

In this regard, we should mention that the meaning of a literary text is not stable; translators derive their versions of meaning according to what a reading every one translator has accomplished at a spatial-temporal setting, aided by his/her own knowledge of languages and the world as well as their interpretative means (see Chapter 3, this study). Interpretation is, thus, a prerequisite to understand a text as there are non-verbal elements involved in it.

Critics are supposed to begin their work on a source text with a *surface reading* first, describing the first layer of the textual fabric. Then, with successive readings they go deeper into the text penetrating through the various layers forming it. On every reading, a new level of understanding is reached, forming, as such, a background for the other. These multiple readings lie at the core of interpretation. The final step is evaluation of the text; You may consider the following formula: [Description →Interpretation → Evaluation].

It is obvious from the formula above that interpretation precedes evaluation. That is, it is necessary to understand a text before evaluating it. To do that, critics should, in addition to the extra-linguistic analysis, analyse the textual linguistic structure at various levels, i.e. word level, sentence level, and text (or discourse) level. However, they differ in the way they perform this task. In the textual processing above, critics can be replaced by translators. Instead of evaluating a text, they proceed on reproducing it through Restructuring, so the formula will appear as such, [Description →Interpretation → Restructuring)].

4. *Literary Translation*

It is generally known that a translation can never be like the original text. Obvious differences are there between the two, namely the source and target texts, manifested by the differences in their linguistic and cultural settings as well as the nature of the hearer/readers of each. Yet, many translations have been enjoyed though others have been rejected or criticised. They added to the

written setup of the target language and culture, and gained plenty of readers throughout. It is noticed in this regard that many problems have been identified in translation, some of which are of a linguistic nature, others are cultural. It also depends on whether a text is literary or scientific because the nature of the text determines its accuracy, communicability, and authenticity. Literary texts are the most problematic due to various factors, on top of which is the subjective character of such texts. Each literary text has a personal touch of its author in addition to the specific cultural configuration it has. Rahimkhani and Salmani (2013: 1) assert that, "translating culture-bound elements in literary translations seems to be one of the most challenging tasks to be performed by a translator."

In this respect, it has already been mentioned in this study that every literary work has, in addition to its semantic depth and subtleties of meaning, unique stylistic characteristics as well. Therefore, translating this type of language is the most challenging. What adds to the difficulty of handling such a language is the aesthetic and expressive values attributed to a literary text. A work of art should aesthetically stress the beauty of the diction, figurative language, imagery, illustration, metaphors and so on, conveying at the same time the writer's message charged with thoughts, emotions, inner feelings and power of imagination, i.e., "'trans-expression', Pushkin's term, of the life captured in the fabric of imagery of the work being translated" (Amishojai and Ganjalikhani, 2017).

Literary translation can be easily differentiated from non-literary one. Any text written with the aim of making some moving effect on the receiver (e.g. emotional, persuasive) rather than simply providing information, will require the eye of a vigilant conscious translator rather than the commonly predicable matches. The main difference between literary and non-literary texts, let alone the rhetoric/scientific difference, lies in "visibility". Despite the fact that Venuti (1998) stands against the translators' visibility, the literary translator's name will generally be known and highlighted along the way. Rather more, it should be printed on the cover of the translated book (Blésius 2003).

5. Conclusion: Can we translate poetry?

Regarding the translation of poetry, a common assumption is that, "great poetry cannot survive the process of translation", i.e., not all its qualities are kept vivid through translation (Matiu, 2008: 127). Jorge Luis Borges, the prolific Argentinian writer and translator, states in a lecture in Harvard University in 1967, that translations are new poems, "modelled, closely or less closely, on the original". He said that while commenting on the German distinction of translation of poetry into: *Umdichtung* (remolding a poem). *Nachdichtung* (a paraphrase or free translation) and *Obersetzung* (a translation) (Matiu, 2008).

The hard nature of this problem comes from the special nature of the language of poetry, typically rich with aesthetic and expressive values, on the one hand, and the auditory features of this art, on the other. In other words, Iyengar, the Indian writer (in English) and academic (1908-1999) states, "Poetry is untranslatable. Ideas are ready to be translated from one language ʇo another. However, poetry is an idea stamped with the magic of expression and spell of music" (cited in Das, 2008). Many writers have struggled to define the difficulties of translating poetry. Shelley once declared that:

"it were [sic] wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its color and odor, as to seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from its seed, or it will bear no flower." (Basnett & A. Lefevere 1998: 58).

The language of poetry is, thus, a sort of a compact language that would not yield itself easily to readers, and hence translators. In this sense, a poem can be depicted as a special set of audible or graphic signs softened by passion and transmitted by air to the ear or written to be read by eyes. To transfer such a complex structure means to perform some sort of *reconstruction* of the original text after being analyzed into its linguistic and extra-linguistic components.

More importantly, poetry translators should take all care to maintain the effect of the original text in the translated version without distorting it. In other words, the answerability of a poem should be preserved so that it can provoke almost the same questions or, rather, create similar assumptions and expectations in the reader when reading it or listening to it. Technically speaking, this is partially a rhetorical task a translator is required to perform since it deals with using style to create an effect in the receiver. Secondly, it is epistemic since it may evoke a reticent philosophic enigma or lay the seeds of a growing idea. Moreover, it is creative, that is because a poem might have music, rhythm, rhyme, or some notional equilibrium that is due to cultural- specific reasons or because of an analogy among sounds and meanings. Here, one should be creative in order to look for equivalents for these devices that are capable of creating the same or similar impact on the hearer/reader. According to Tisgam (2014: 521), "the written word appeals not only to the eye, but to the ear as well … the translator must work by intuition and try to be creative".

Now, there arise two questions. Firstly, how to preserve the emotional atmosphere of a poem and thus to ensure its effect over readers? Second, how could the prosodic fort of a language be conquered? To start with the first question, it seems that preserving the effect of a poem entails the translator's subjectivity, being affected by the poem and thus responsible for conveying this impact on to the readers in the target language. This is a personal experience the translator goes through. However, this is against the prerequisite of honesty, i.e. objectivity, which should be enjoyed by translators. Here we notice that however hard a translator tries to be objective, s/he would not be able to get rid of their subjectivity, which is responsible for their enjoyment in reading a poem. The second point is nearly impossible to be reproduced though it should not be neglected; a translator should look for compensating techniques in the target language, which are not necessarily of the same character. For instance, rhythm can be replaced by words or structures that will govern the tempo of the poem.

References:

Addidaoui, Mohammed.2000. *Atarjama wa Attawāsol* [Translation and communication]. Casablanca/Beirut: Al Markaz Attaqāfi Alarabi.

Amishojai and Ganjalikhani. 2017. "Applicability of Lefevere's Strategies in Poetry Translation Regarding Socio-Cultural variations", *Review of Applied Linguistics Research*, 3(3), 93-115.

Baker, Mona. 1992. *In Other Words. A Course Book on Translation.* London and New York: Routledge.

Barbe, Katharina. 1996. "The Dichotomy Free and Literal Translation". *Meta: Translators Journal*: Volume 41, Number 3, September 1996, 328-337.

Barfield, Owen. 1964. *Poetic Dictionary: A Study in Meaning*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press.

Barghout, Mohamed Abdel-Maguid. 1990. "Translation Quality Assessment: An Application of a Rhetorical Model." PhD Thesis. Salford: University of Salford.

Bassnett-McGuire, Susan. 1980. *Translation Studies.* London and New York: Routledge.

Bradford, Richard. 1992. *A Linguistic History of English Poetry.* London and New York: Routledge.

Caballero, Torralbo. 2013. *Alexander Pope: Literary Translator and Editor, from Binfield to Twickenham*.Alicante Journal of English Studies 26 (2013): 271-293. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277908787_Alexander_Pope_ Literary_Translator_and_Editor_from_Binfield_to_Twickenham (accessed 15 September 2016).

Catford, J. C. 1965. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. London: Oxford University Press

Chapman, Raymond. 1973. *Linguistics and Literature: An Introduction to Literary Stylistics*. London: Edward Arnold.

Ching, Marvin K. L., Haley, Michael C., and Lunsford, Ronald F. 1980. *Linguistic Perspectives on Literature.* London and New York: Routledge, 2015.

Culler, Jonathan D. 1988. *Framing the Sign, Criticism and its Institutions*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Culler, Jonathan. 1976. *Ferdinand de Saussure*. Glasgow: Fontana.

Das, B.K. 2005, 2008. *A Handbook of Translation Studies*. India, Delhi: Nice Printing Press.

De Blois, François. 2005. "3. Translations from Middle Persian (Pahlavī)." In Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition, ed. P. Bearman, et al. Brill Online 2015. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tardjama-COM_1178. (accessed 21 March, 2018)

El-dali, H.M. 2010. "Towards an understanding of the distinctive nature of translation studies." In *Journal of King Saud University - Languages and Translation*, Volume 23, Issue 1, January 2011, 29-45.

Freeman, Donald C. ed. 1970. *Linguistics and Literary Style.* New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston.

Grice, Paul H. 1989. *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hatim, Basil and Munday, Jeremy. 2004. *Translation: An Advance Resource Book*. London and New York: Routledge.

House, Juliane. 1977. *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment,* Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Jakobson, Roman. 1959. "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation." In Brower, Reuben A. 1959. *On Translation.* Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 232–239.

McKensen, Ruth Stellhorn. 1932. "Four Great Libraries of Medieval Baghdad." *Library Quarterly* 2 (January): 279–99.

Miall, David S., and Kuiken, Don. 1994. "Foregrounding, Defamiliarization, and Affect Response to Literary Stories", *Poetics* 22 (1994) 389-407.

Munday, Jeremy. 2016. *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*. Fifth Edition. London and New York: Routledge.

Munday, Jeremy. 2001. *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*. London: Routledge.

Newmark, Peter. 1991. *About Translation.* Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Newmark, Peter. 1988. *A Textbook of Translation*. Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall International.

Newmark, Peter. 1981. "The Curse of Dogma in Translation Studies," *Lebende Sprachen* 36: 105–8.

Nicholson, Norman. 1975. *A Choice of William Cowper's Verse*. London: Faber & Faber.

Nida, Eugene and Taber, Charles. 1982. *The Theory and Practice of Translation*. Leiden: Brill.

Nida, Eugene A. 1964. *Toward a Science of Translating: with Special Reference to Principals and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating*. Leiden: Brill.

Prickett, Stephen. (ed.) 1981. *The Romantics*. London: Methuen.

Pym, Anthony. 2007. "Natural and Directional Equivalence in Theories of Translation", *Target*, 19:2 (2007), 271–294. https://benjamins.com/online/target/articles/target.19.2.07py. (accessed 28 April 2017)

Rahimkhani, Rasoumeh and Salmani, Bahloul. (2013). "Lexical Gaps in Translation of Qur'anic Allusions in Hafez's Poetry: Strategies and Difficulties", *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 5, 781–789.

Rummel, Erika. 1985. *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics*. Canada, University of Toronto Press.

Schaffner, Christina. 1998. "Action (Theory of Translational Action)," in Mona Baker (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. London: Routledge.

Short. Mick. 1996. *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays, and Prose*. London and New York: Routledge.

Snell-Hornby, Mary. 1988. *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Steinberg Danny D. and Natalia V. Sciarini.2006. *An Introduction to Psycholinguistics*. (1993). London: Pearson Education Limited.

Tisgam, Khalida H. 2014. "Translating Poetry: Possibility or Impossibility?" *Journal of College of Education for Women*, Vol. 25 (2), 511–524.

Tomlinson, Charles. 2003. *Metamorphoses. Poetry and Translation*. Manchester, Carcanet.

Venuti, Lawrence. 2002, 2012. *The Translations Studies Reader*. Third Edition. London and New York: Routledge.

Venuti Lawrence. 1997. *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*, Routledge, London/New York.

Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility*. London and New York: Routledge.

Vinay, Jean-Paul and Darbelnet, Jean. 1995. *Comparative stylistics of French and English*. Translated and edited by Juan C. Sager and Marie-Josée Hamel. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Wycliffe. 2020. "Latest Bible translation statistics." https://www.wycliffe.org.uk/about/our-impact/ (accessed January 19, 2021).

"Of one entire and perfect chrysolite": Analysing Discourses of Love in Shakespeare's *Othello*

Roxana Radu[1]

University of Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: Despite Othello and Desdemona's "love story" being a subdued one—it culminates in what one might call a triumph of common sense ("Upon this hint I spake")—discourses of love inhabit *Othello*, from crude images, to those marked by medical underpinnings and courtly ideals. To complicate matters, Iago challenges Othello's reliance on knowledge derived from common sense and takes advantage of his "open nature" to initiate him into his own brand of "critical reading." This paper calls into question the play's reliance on a "flawed love" by attempting to construct a phenomenology of love that flows from the discourses shaping Othello's experience of attachment, as well as his own efforts to formulate it.

Keywords: phenomenologies of love, emotion studies, emotion words, courtly romance, medical discourse

Othello begins not with a squabble between Iago and Roderigo, nor with the "terrible summons" shouted in the night at Brabantio's door. It begins, rather, with a choice being made. The choice involves Othello and signals the true start of the unravelling of his fate. Though seemingly unrelated, his decisions to promote Cassio instead of Iago and marry Desdemona instead of any other more suitable match mark the Moor's choice to follow his will in spite of tradition and custom. Emotion is the spur to action, but it is not just any emotion that animates Othello. Affection is key in both outcomes—Cassio, the younger and less experienced man earns his place because he has the Moor's "preferment," and, in doing so, he circumvents the old system of seniority; Desdemona, as the play makes amply clear, is not within his reach as a possible marriage partner. Yet their mutual affection—though little prized in an era that saw marriage as resting primarily on family interests and connections—does lead to the lovers' union. Seeing how it is this

---

[1] roxradu73@gmail.com

ostensible victory of love and affection over custom and social circumstance that sets the play off, tracing the sphere of attachment within *Othello*'s economy of emotions may prove just as productive in analysing character dynamics as tracing the sphere of jealousy, which has thus far enjoyed the better part of critical attention. It is, moreover, a starting point that allows one to highlight two essential questions the play can be said to pose—should love be a matter of choice? And can love be governed by it?

Following a trend originating in one of the first extensive pieces of criticism the play has elicited—Thomas Rymer's *A Short View of Tragedy* (see Pechter 1999: 14)—jealousy, as one of the play's "improbabilities," or "psychologically unlikely" (Stirling 1944: 140) events, has been, in turn—and in attempts to rationalize it—situated within a context of anxious masculinity, discussed in relation to the colour of Othello's skin, seen as the outgrowth of a flawed love, or placed on the fringes of intelligibility—the product of a disturbed mind, delusional, only made sensible through its very lack of sense. Little, however, has been said of the causes of love between the Moor and Desdemona. While Burke acknowledges love to be at the centre of the play, his insights revolve around the idea of the play creating a tension that would reverberate with its audience, a tension that has its roots in what he calls a "disequilibrium of monogamistic love" (Burke 1951: 168). In a similar vein, Kirsch also brings love into the discussion by making the "polarization of erotic love" into the linchpin of the play, highlighting the metamorphosis of love into hatred that happens within Othello himself (Kirsch 1978: 721). Greenblatt, too, if one considers marriage the natural extension of love, finds "the cause" of *Othello* in the ambivalent Christian view on marital sexuality (Greenblatt 1980: 248-249). Even when it is not the ambivalences of the mode of attachment itself that are being problematized, emphasis falls on Othello's flawed apprehension of love—in F.R. Leavis's work, for example, the Moor's love "is composed very largely of ignorance of self as well as ignorance of her" (Leavis 2015: 111). Here, Othello's possessive jealousy is seen as arising so readily precisely because of this lack of knowledge and "lack of interest in Desdemona as a real person" (Leavis 2015: 115).

In addition to this, Othello and Desdemona's relationship is repetitively brought up in criticism with an eye to the various reasons that lead to its eventual demise. Bloom, for instance, points out the passive role that Othello plays (see Bloom 1998: 450), or at least seems to play, in the courtship; Newman reveals the anxiety that the

Moor must be suffering from, a state rooted in Desdemona acting as "a sexual subject who hears and desires" (Newman 2009: 51), and there is no shortage of people who, like Leavis, discover that Othello's love for Desdemona stems from no deeper place than self-centeredness and "a love of loving" (Everett 1961: 132). Hence, even when discussing love in the play, critical efforts seek to rationalize it and, to this end, they take the causes of its failure as their target. The present paper embarks on a different route—instead of focusing on Othello's shortcomings by comparing them to idealized versions of love and attachment, the space to speculate on the Moor's inner ecosystem of emotions is created. To serve this purpose, two discourses on love, which suffuse the play, will be considered and conclusions drawn as to how they affect Othello's own phenomenology of love. Humoural theory, as well as echoes of the tradition of courtly love are forces that shape the Moor's emotional landscape and, consequently, his subjective experience of love. The claims made regarding the way these forces impact Othello will be supported by a final look at the manner in which emotion words crop up in the play and are put to use by the characters themselves.

1. How popular medical theories shaped how emotions felt or Love in the time of humors

In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz writes that "[n]ot only ideas, but emotions too, are cultural artifacts in man" (Geertz 1973: 81). They, no matter what definition of emotion one might subscribe to, will always reflect the framework within which they are conceived—the social and cultural contexts that regulate them. Therefore, to reconstruct Othello's personal ecosystem of emotions and begin to understand the space that love might occupy within it, the first step one might take is towards understanding the types of dominant discourses circulating at the time.

Originating with the Greeks, humoral theory remained influential in medieval and Renaissance medicine, its principles serving to prevent, diagnose, and treat illnesses. Humors, as Nancy Siraisi explains, was the name applied to "specific bodily fluids essential to the physiological functioning of the organism" (Siraisi 2009: 104). Practices to retain the balance of such fluids were developed and imbalances served to explain an individual's physical and psychological make-up:

[T]he humors were in a special way the vehicle of complexion. Like all bodily parts, they were themselves complexionate. But in addition, the four humors collectively were the means whereby an individual's overall complexional balance was maintained or altered. Hence, the balance of humors was held to be responsible for psychological as well as physical disposition, a belief enshrined in the survival of the English adjectives sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholy to describe traits of character. Humoral theory is probably the single most striking example of the habitual preference in ancient, medieval, and Renaissance medicine for materialist explanations of mental and emotional states. (Siraisi 2009: 106)

Humoral theory, which was part of Renaissance medical discourse—led to what scholars now call a materialism that was "governing pre-Enlightenment thought about the embodied passions" (Kern Paster 2004: 26). In other words, clinical conceptions of emotions permeated the vernacular, and shaped the ways in which people thought about and expressed their emotional lives. Examples of this are present throughout the play. The popular medical theory is behind Brabantio's reproach of Roderigo for disturbing his house "in madness / Being full of supper and distempering draughts" (1.1.99-100). A bodily reality—the imbalances caused by indulging in food and drink—is the origin of a mental state that Brabantio can easily infer. It surfaces in Desdemona's remarks "I think the sun where he was born / Drew all such humours from him" (3.4.28-29) or "Something . . . Hath Puddled his clear spirit" (3.4.136-139), both of which draw on Aristotelian theories on the quality of blood—namely that "courage and intelligence were a consequence of the possession of hot, thin, clear blood" (Siraisi 2009: 105). Within this language one important fact is embedded—the way that emotions feel to those experiencing them. Iago's conceits would fall flat but for their "little act upon the blood," which, the Ensign boasts, makes them "Burn like the mines of sulphur" (3.3.330-331). Landing to find Desdemona well after her trip to Cyprus, Othello cries out: "I cannot speak enough of this content; / It stops me here; it is too much of joy" (2.1.191-192), as though the emotion had filled him up to the brim and he can no more resist being carried away by it than the "labouring bark" can resist the course that the swelling "hills of seas" dictate. Emotions amplify and overwhelm. Once they have been ignited, they burst forth, or they rise to drown all other human capacities, and one finds, as Othello does, that a "great passion is as

humanly uncontrollable, unpredictable, and potentially devastating as violent weather" (Kern Paster 2004: 66).

This way of thinking about emotions should, by no means, seem unfamiliar today. In fact, the hydraulic model of the emotions—which compares them to "great liquids within each person, heaving and frothing, eager to be let out" has its origins in medieval notions of humors and it is still present in the language we use today: "'He flipped his lid'; 'I couldn't overcome my sadness'; 'He channeled his anger into something constructive.'" "Here", as Rosenwein writes, "pressures build up and must somehow be accommodated" (Rosenwein 2002: 834-836). It is within this cauldron of boiling, bursting, heaving and frothing passions that Othello's expansive temper is forged, where "melting moods" and cheeks burning like furnaces and passions which have the Moor's "best judgment collied" are made intelligible. The question to ask then is, what might a phenomenology of love look like within this system?

The "meteorology of love," as Pastern Kern calls it (Kern Paster 2004: 66), of such a landscape would be first and foremost defined by an inescapable intensity. But does Othello's love for Desdemona reflect this? Though the lovers in Cinthio's tale had lived in affectionate happiness for many years before the dreadful events begin to unravel, critics have often questioned whether one can speak of love in Shakespeare's play on the grounds of a lack of development for the relationship. In fact, the idea that Othello and Desdemona might actually have loved each other is so often overlooked that Nordlund's suggestion that "the two sensitive lovers . . . gradually nudge each other toward a mutual confession of love" (Nordlund 2007: 183), which he demonstrates simply by quoting the relevant lines of an otherwise frequently cited scene: "This to hear would Desdemona seriously incline . . . I found good means to draw from her a prayer . . . I did consent . . . she wished that heaven had made her such a man. . . . Upon this hint I spake" (1.3.145-166) has almost the air of novelty. Othello's jealousy, on the other hand, remains uncontested, and since jealousy has been accepted as "that most harmful consequence of love" (Gundersheimer 1993: 326), one may begin there and work one's way back to the source.

Israeli philosopher Ben Ze'ev offers a kinder explanation of the jealous disposition. In his conception, jealousy arises not from a failure of love, but rather from the imperfect nature of the emotions themselves. He writes:

The focus of concern in jealousy is the threat to our exclusive position and, in particular, to a certain unique human relationship. The demand for the exclusivity of the beloved stems from the partial nature of emotions. Emotions are partial in that they focus on a narrow target, such as one person or very few people, and express a personal and interested perspective. We cannot assume an emotional state toward everyone. The intensity of emotions is possible due to their focus upon a limited group of objects. (Ben Ze'ev 2013: 48)

Love, then, relies on a mutual sense of exclusivity. The beloved needs to know himself/herself to be the sole target of the lover's affections, and the lover, likewise, knows himself/herself to be in love when the focus of his/her passion is narrowly defined. Othello demonstrates this intensity of feeling when he admits that he had his "unhoused free condition"—a state that might more readily reflect his previous emotional unattachment, seeing as his whereabouts were and continue to be dictated by the Venetian senate—"Put into circumscription and confine" (1.2.26-27) for love of Desdemona. Later, when he bemoans his perceived loss of that mutual connection, he bursts out: "If heaven would make me such another world / Of one entire and perfect chrysolite, / I'd not have sold her for it" (5.2.142-144), again hinting at how Desdemona is the sole focus for his affection. Could it be mere chance that his plea here seems to echo Desdemona's expressed desire "That heaven had made her such a man" (1.3.163), or could one read in this mirroring speech Othello's ardent wish and reason he had fallen in love in the first place—that is, the hope of his intense feelings having found a match? Is it not the reflection of this intensity of feelings that he perceives in Desdemona's rapt attention that precipitates his decision to tie his life to hers?

To conclude, just as new ideas on the nature of emotions take root today and affect the way we relate to, express, and control our own emotional lives, so the prevalent medical discourse on humors produced an inner landscape where love is intense and overwhelms the individual. This sense of helplessness in the face of great passions is essential to Othello's perception of himself; any emotion that takes root in his soul alters him, a fact one can see echoed by characters who, like Desdemona, perceive the change in passions as a change in the sufferer himself: "My lord is not my lord; nor should I know him, / Were he in favour as in humour alter'd" (3.4.120-121).

2. Reverberations of a medieval love code

D.A. Britton, whose work focuses on Early Modern romances, identifies various instances of "contaminatio" in *Othello* and argues that the popular composition model was used to "employ the . . . emotional resources of romances" (Britton 2018: 60). Pity being one of the passions typically elicited by the genre, this view suggests that the play uses elements of Italian romance in order to evoke it, and, at the same time, enact its transformation into love. "In *Othello*," Britton writes, "Shakespeare positions pity as the emotion that inspires the love between a Venetian woman and a Moor" (Britton 2018: 62). But while pity, as the precursor to love in a courtly love tradition, may be discussed in relation to Desdemona's experience of love, a different aspect of this medieval code is to be shown as shaping Othello's.

Elements of a more "homegrown" courtly love tradition are also present in the play. Othello's account of his and Desdemona's courtship calls to mind a medieval love code, whose rules Georges Duby reccounts: in the courtly love tradition the young knight, who had been given shelter inside the household of a patron, was encouraged to expand his youthful energy in the "pursuit" of the lady of the house. To win her favour, the knight would begin by "showing off his personal valour and the glory he had acquired in tournaments and in other combats" (Duby 1991: 105-106). Though Othello may no longer be the youthful knight, the scene taking place in front of the senate reveals a story bearing a striking resemblance to this ritualistic code. "[O]ft invited" by Brabantio to the latter's home, Othello remembers the stories he would tell, stories of "the battles, sieges, fortunes" he had passed and that Desdemona would "seriously incline" to hear. It is through these accounts of dangerous exploits, told to provoke wonderment, that Desdemona's heart is won.

The problem with this model, however, is that energy is focused on "conquering" the lady, she becomes the prize of the courtly games and the symbol for the coveted fortune and stability of the patron lord, which leads to her inevitable idealization and objectification. What's more, in such games, rivals are only too apt to demand one's attention and stir feelings of jealousy. Love becomes a competition and feelings of inadequacy and resentment may soon follow. Moreover, being governed by a strict code, expressions of love would have to follow scrupulous standards and one would need

to mould oneself to fit a defined role, which ultimately breeds self-scrutiny and insecurity, feelings Othello does not remain unacquainted with for long:

> Haply, for I am black
> And have not those soft parts of conversation
> That chamberers have, or for I am declined
> Into the vale of years,—yet that's not much –
> She's gone. I am abused; and my relief
> Must be to loathe her. (3.3.266-271)

3. Compiling personal dictionaries of emotions

Humoral theories and remnants of a medieval code of love permeate the emotional language of *Othello*. Yet they do not influence all characters equally. They act, rather, as maps of the emotional landscape—and are as little exhaustive as they are binding for the characters, who may chart their courses freely. Consequently, to be able to identify their influence, another element is needed. The present paper suggests that the emotion words characters adopt and the specific ways in which they use them are the final components needed to understand how these general frameworks are internalized and how they may be subjected to outside influence.

Emotion words are simply words that indicate an emotional state. They may refer to such states directly—"sorrow", "joy", "love"—or indirectly, by naming the gestures and behaviours one associates with them—"tears", "smile", "caresses." By tracking emotion words throughout the play, certain patterns emerge for each character.

There is a tradition in criticism to regard Iago as the mastermind and master weaver of the intrigues that move the plot along. Interestingly, and no doubt in connection with this perception of him, he also seems to possess the widest range of emotions. Moreover, it is in his speeches that emotions travel across categories—love may be transformed from a positive emotion, to a somewhat benign, if not mocking, passion—as when he describes Othello as "much beloved" by the people—to a downright negative emotion, as in "love of a guinea-hen", by which he indicates a foolish and lustful love, as he promptly makes clear: "but we have / reason to cool our raging motions, our carnal / stings, our unbitted lusts, whereof I take this that / you call love to be a sect or scion" (1.3.325-327). While all the other characters demonstrate what one might call

a conservative strain in their use of emotion words, Iago wastes no occasion to show his nimbleness in reinterpreting them.

This nimbleness is what allows him to enact emotional transformations in others. Roderigo, acting as the victim of unrequited love, is ready to drown himself for loss of hope. Iago's ability to take his professed love and turn it on its head by painting it as a base passion, nothing more than an appetite that will, moreover, be satisfied through his machinations, makes the desperate lover exclaim that he is changed and will follow the plan laid out for him.

In this, the contrast between Iago and Othello is most evident. While medical discourse paints emotions as intense states that overwhelm the individual, their ability to change and metamorphose into different emotions is also implied by the various cures that popular treatises would provide. It is this changeability that Iago seems to have internalized, which gives him a clear advantage over Othello, for whom the onset of passions seems beyond one's control—"Now, by heaven, / My blood begins my safer guides to rule; / And passion, having my best judgment collied, / Assays to lead the way" (2.3.195-198). While Iago appears almost as an author of his and others' emotions, Othello's attitude suggests he sees himself more as a chronicler of emotional states. Moreover, emotion words do not have the same malleability for Othello as they do for Iago; they are not used ironically, but reflect directly Othello's experience and reaction to the way he perceives the world outside of him.

Returning to the claim that medical discourses create an environment where passions are seen as forces of an overwhelming intensity, it is easy to recognize this influence in Othello's polarized states, to which his choice in emotion words points. Most telling here, perhaps, is the change in the way he addresses Desdemona—from loving appellations such as "honey", "my sweet", "my dear love" to cries of "whore", "public commoner", and "impudent strumpet", these reveal a mental landscape which fosters extreme states and intense passions.

To enact the alchemy that turns Desdemona from "fair warrior" into "fair devil" and brings about this radical change, Iago plays upon Othello's weaknesses. First, he takes advantage of the latter's status of outsider to "initiate" him into what he claims is common sense knowledge to the Venetian society:

I would not have your free and noble nature,
Out of self-bounty, be abused; look to't:
I know our country disposition well;
In Venice they do let heaven see the pranks
They dare not show their husbands; their best conscience
Is not to leave't undone, but keep't unknown. (3.3.202-207)

Secondly, he plays upon Othello's insecurities by choosing to paint Cassio, the embodiment of the courtly lover, as his rival for Desdemona's affection. Having thus divined Othello's emotional landscape, Iago will navigate it with ease in order to elicit the desired responses, slowly guiding him to interpret the signs he himself places before him.

And yet, although he turns away from it, it is love, not jealousy, that ultimately defines Othello. Throughout the play, one sees Othello gradually losing possession of himself ("That's he that was Othello, here I am" (5.2.284)), a fact he seeks to remedy with his last breath, by enacting a final acceptance of love as the force that has shaped him in his ongoing battle to assert his identity—"then must you speak," he urges, "Of one that loved not wisely, but too well" (5.2.342-343). This avowal also underlines one of the rifts that open up between Othello and the "supersubtle" Venetian society—a rift between emotional worlds which pits his passionate nature, defined by an intensity of feeling, against a Christian ideal of temperance.

Trespassing the social norms of its time, the first question that the relationship between Othello and Desdemona raises is whether love should indeed be a matter of choice. But the second, and far more subtle corollary challenges the idea of love being subject to it— *is* love a choice? *Can* it be something one can willingly step into and out of? *Will* it bow to outside influence? Why *does* Othello choose to renounce his "unhoused free condition"? the play asks. He answers: because she is someone he would give up the world for ("If heaven would make me such another world / Of one entire and perfect chrysolite, / I'd not have sold her for it."(5.2.142-144)). In Desdemona's rapt attention during their courtship, Othello sees the hope to have this intensity of feeling matched. It is a powerful, but insecure attachment.

References:

Ben-Ze'ev, Aaron. 2013. "Jealousy and Romantic Love." *Handbook of Jealousy: Theory, Research, and Multidisciplinary Approaches*. Ed. Sybil L. Hart and Maria Legerstee. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 40-55.

Bloom, Harold. 1998. *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human.* New York: Riverhead Books.

Britton, Dennis Austin. 2018. "*Contaminatio*, Race, and Pity in *Othello.*" *Rethinking Shakespeare Source Study: Audiences, Authors, and Digital Technologies.* Ed. Dennis Austin Britton and Melissa Walter. New York: Routledge, 46-64.

Burke, Kenneth. 1951. "Othello: An Essay to Illustrate a Method." *The Hudson Review*, vol. 4, no. 2: 165–203. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/3856783 (accessed 1 February 2020)

Clifford, Geertz. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Duby, Georges. 1991. *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Everett, Barbara. 1961. "Reflections on the Sentimentalist's Othello." *Critical Quarterly* 3.2: 127-139. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8705.1961.tb01152.x (accessed 1 February 2020)

Greenblatt, Stephen. 1980. *Rennaissance Self-fashioning: From Moore to Shakespeare.* Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

Gundersheimer, Werner. 1993. "'The Green-Eyed Monster': Renaissance Conceptions of Jealousy." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 137, no. 3: 321–331. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/986993 (accessed 1 February 2020)

Kern Paster, Gail. 2004. *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

Kirsch, Arthur. 1978. "The Polarization of Erotic Love in "Othello"." *The Modern Language Review* 73.4: 721-740. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/3727589 (accessed 1 February 2020)

Leavis, Frank Raymond. 2015. "Diabolic Intellect and the Noble Hero: or, The Sentimentalist's Othello." *Othello*: *Critical Essays.* Ed. Susan Snyder, Garland: Routledge, 101-126.

Newman, Karen. 2009. *Essaying Shakespeare*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Nordlund, Marcus.2007. *Shakespeare and the Nature of Love: Literature, Culture, Evolution*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.

Pechter, Edward. 1999. *Othello and Interpretive Traditions*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. 2002. "Worrying about Emotions in History." *The American Historical Review*, Volume 107, Issue 3: 821–845. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/532498 (accessed 1 February 2020)

Shakespeare, William. 2008. *Othello*. Ed. Michael Neil. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Siraisi, Nancy G. 2009. *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stirling, Brents. 1944. "Psychology in Othello." *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin 19, no. 3*: 135-144. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/23675251 (accessed 1 February 2020)

Choosing between Nature and Law
in Kipling's *Jungle Book*

Aniela Luminița Rizea[1]
Colegiul National „Constantin Carabella", Târgoviște,
Romania

Abstract: In this paper I analyze the notions of Nature and Law that gravitate in Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*. Based on different opinions and historical events, it explores the destabilization of the border that separated the natural and the social in colonial India. The content and scope of the Rule of Law of the imperial centers is also worked in relation to the "non-human" subjects that inhabited the colonial territories. It is observed that, in the *Jungle Book*, the line that separates the social and the natural is a border in constant movement. It is concluded that the destabilization of spaces and subjectivities invites a reflection on the lodging of strangers, nonhumanized and dehumanized beings that inhabit our communities.

1. Introduction

The Jungle Book is a collection of stories published in 1894 by Rudyard Kipling, a British writer born in India in 1865. The work has been commented by numerous writers and has exerted an enormous influence on popular culture. Mowgli's story has also been adapted to the cinema repeatedly. The power of resignification of *The Jungle Book* has also motivated important studies in literary theory, including: Islam (1975); Moss (1982); (1989); Sullivan (1993); Mallett (2003). The same has been done by exponents of the field Law and Literature. In particular, Ian Ward (2008: 98) has said that works such as *The Jungle Book* or *Lord of the Flies* offer pre-teen readers a reflection on the dangers of living in societies without law.

Following this idea, *The Jungle Book* is characterized by inducing the reader to reflect on the content, nature and interpretation of the "Law of the Jungle". According to Lundblad, the book contributes to the birth of the jungle as we imagine it today, but

---

[1] anielapausan@gmail.com

Kipling's texts also illustrate that this discourse is open to alternatives (2013: 38). The Mowgli jungle, far from being a stable and ahistorical space, is a world in threat, with displaced borders, full of bridges of meaning. In *The Jungle Book*, the political constitution of modern man stresses the constitution of "strange" subjectivities denied by the civilizational project. Among these subjectivities, confined to peripheral colonial spaces, we can mention, for example, nature and non-human beings.

2. Texts, communities and law: the world of strangers

2.1 *Three community critics: Huck, Sethe and Mowgli*

How we form communities and what role law has in that process are recurring questions in the studies of Law and Literature. James Boyd White offers a first alternative to work on these questions, which Robin West calls "moral textualism." West believes that White's critic is sufficiently personified in Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*. Huck criticizes the moral texts of the community from an internal perspective, exploiting their tensions. For this position, Huck's morale is a product of the texts of his community.

In this approach, West (1988: 60) finds two drawbacks. First, that the vision of the textual critic is excessively tied to the same texts that he himself prepares to criticize. Second, that both the defining and constitutive texts of a community and its critics dehumanize the outside, transform them into objects (*idem* 61). Given this, West proposes to think that we form communities interacting with others. Thus, we can distinguish hierarchical, oppressive, and respectful communities. The quality of textual transformations, in this idea of "interactive communities" is redefined in the quality of affective interactions. West's criticism is personified in Sethe, the protagonist of the novel *Beloved* by Toni Morrison. Unlike *Huckleberry Finn*, *Beloved* explores the communication of the excluded textual, a communication without texts: of images, colors, body language, games (*idem* 64).

The distinctive mark of Mowgli as "other" is his ability to travel across the borders of different worlds and languages, calling into question the statutory limits and meanings of the social. The configuration of a werewolf as a literary protagonist reflects the complexity of social relations born under imperial domination. In this way, Mowgli's wild child status allows him to walk along the border

inscribed in the imperialist code of the civilized and the barbarians, the "sahib" and the "native" (Hotchkiss 2001: 437).

Hence, many analysts have celebrated the power of Kipling to expose the primitive otherness that resides beneath the surface of our civilization (McBratney 1992: 290). Mowgli is located in a universe intersected by different languages and narrative genres, by different historical logics and forms of construction of subjectivity. Therefore, the *Jungle Book* narrative provides a powerful analogy for the imperial subject caught between individual desire and social control (*idem* 278).

2.2 What is alienation: an exploration of fuzzy boundaries?

According to Anna Smith, literature has sought "procedures that would estrange the object of perception in order to render it paradoxically more beautiful, more knowable, or both. It is not an exaggeration to assert that estrangement of some kind, in fact, is presupposed by all forms of critical analysis" (Smith 1996: 3). The trajectory of this idea is the subject of a debate that draws on Russian formalism and its concept of defamiliarization, of Hegel's idea of alignment, of the contributions of Julia Kristeva, of the innumerable studies of literary theory that discuss poems, novels, folk tales, etc.

According to Anna Smith, "The exile, the alien, the stranger, the eccentric are figures driven by unfulfilled desires and a longing for love" (Smith 1996: 17). In the chapter "The Spring Running" of *The Second Jungle Book*, Mowgli looks for the cause of his inexplicable dissatisfaction and discomfort in the involuntary intake of some poison. Smith (22) suggests that the stranger suffers a perpetual loss of identity that makes him abject, unable to clearly differentiate the external threat and his own body, which now seems disgusting:

> Mowgli had never seen human blood in his life before till he had seen, and – what meant much more to him – smelled Messua's blood on the thongs that bound her. And Messua had been kind to him, and, so far as he knew anything about love, he loved Messua as completely as he hated the rest of mankind. (Kipling 1885: 96)

This problem of the "stranger" and his relationship with the community is addressed by Julia Kristeva in her work *Étrangers à nous-mêmes* ("Strangers to Ourselves") of 1988. According to the

author, we are inhabited by strangers who are the hidden face of our identity. Recognizing the stranger in us, we get rid of hating him. In *The Jungle Book*, Bagheera tells Mowgli: "Thou art of the Jungle and *not* of the Jungle… And I am only a black panther. But I love thee, Little Brother" (Kipling 1885:91). The stranger begins when the awareness of my difference arises and reaches its completeness when we all recognize ourselves as strangers, rebels of ties and communities (Kristeva 1989: 9). So,

> Man goes to Man! Cry the challenge through the Jungle! He that was our Brother goes away. / Hear, now, and judge, O ye People of the Jungle, Answer, who shall turn him—who shall stay? / Man goes to Man! He is weeping in the Jungle: He that was our Brother sorrows sore! / Man goes to Man! (Oh, we loved him in the Jungle!) To the Man-Trail where we may not follow more. (Kipling 1885:282)

For Smith, estrangement has two conditions: on the one hand, being lost within language and, on the other, being exiled to a space outside its borders (Smith 1996: 30). Suggestively, after killing the tiger Shere Khan, Mowgli sings: "I am two Mowglis, but the hide of Shere Khan is under my feet. / All the jungle knows that I have killed Shere Khan" (Kipling 1910: 133). Taking into account the above, the circumstances of this estrangement in Mowgli are examined below.

3 Mowgli's otherness: intertextual tests
3.1 *The jungle spaces; exiles of fiction and reality*
In his 1987 "Introduction" to *The Jungle Book*, Daniel Karlin emphasizes that Mowgli's stories are characterized by a certain alienation from the worlds that surround him. This alterity is a source of alienation and suffering, but it is also the mainstay of his heroic condition and dexterity (Karlin 1987: 2). This line of skill is pronounced in terms of language acquisition and in the use of various narrative genres. Only Mowgli can master human and non-human languages (Forest Law, Water Law, Magic Words, Human Language, etc.). Mowgli is the only character who has the power to translate languages at the intersections of those many universes. When the Wolves call Mowgli "man" to exclude him from the Free People, he replies:

> Ye have told me so often to-night that I am a man (though indeed I would have been a wolf with you to my life's end) that I feel

your words are true. So I do not call ye my brothers any more, but sag [dogs], as a man should. What ye will do, and what ye will not do, is not yours to say. That matter is with me; and that we may see the matter more plainly, I, the man, have brought here a little of the Red Flower which ye, dogs, fear. (Kipling 1906: 38)

In the exercise of his translation power, Mowgli finds problems that he must solve according to his moral code, where the language is insufficient. Many of the communications that occur between the protagonists of these stories exceed the level of the purely textual and extend to gestures, images, songs, looks, etc. The textualization of Mowgli in these communities is directly related to these communication skills, or as Kipling puts it:

He grew up with the cubs, though they of course were grown wolves almost before he was a child, and Father Wolf taught him his business, and the meaning of things in the jungle, till every rustle in the grass, every breath of the warm night air, every note of the owls above his head, every scratch of a bat's claws as it roosted for a while in a tree, and every splash of every little fish jumping in a pool, meant just as much to him as the work of his office means to a business man. (Kipling 1910: 22)

As a qualified reader of the languages of the Forest and its interstices, Mowgli also dialogues with other sources. In his autobiography *Something of Myself* (1936), Kipling recalls readings from his childhood that had an effect on his literary imagination. The writer refers to "a tale about a lion-hunter in South Africa who fell among lions who were all Freemasons, and with them entered into a confederacy against some wicked baboons" (Kipling 1936: 8). He also remembers a thick, blue book that described "nine white wolves coming over the world" that moved him deeply; and also certain savages who "thought that the name of England was a thing that could not burn" (*idem*) and another thick and brown one that was "full of lovely tales in strange meters" (*idem*). Kipling also reviews the following:

I had written a tale about Indian Forestry work which included a boy who had been brought up by wolves. In the stillness, and suspense, of the winter of '92 some memory of the Masonic Lions of my childhood's magazine, and a phrase in Haggard's Nada the Lily, combined with the echo of this tale. After blocking out the main idea in my head, the pen took charge, and I watched it begin to

write stories about Mowgli and animals, which later grew into the Jungle Books. (Kipling 1987: xiii)

Also relevant for Kipling's imagination are the writings of William Henry Sleeman (1788-1856), among them an investigation on cases of children raised by wolves, first published in the Journey through the kingdom of Oude in 1848-1850 and reprinted in 1852 as *An Account of Wolves Nurturing Children in Their Dens*. Sleeman concludes that wolf-raised children usually die young – something that does not happen with Mowgli. Kipling's wolf boy is an impossible case in Sleeman's terms. It is suggestive that in the Book, the inhabitants of the people's village cannot think of Mowgli's survival in the Jungle without resorting to mythical stories about gods or demons, since in the texts that cement their community animals are objects and not subjects. Therefore, Mowgli was amazed at the stories that men told in town meetings, and in particular by those told by Buldeo:

> Buldeo was explaining how the tiger that had carried away Messua's son was a ghost-tiger, and his body was inhabited by the ghost of a wicked old money-lender, who had died some years ago. "And I know that this is true," he said, "because Purun Dass always limped from the blow that he got in a riot when his account-books were burned, and the tiger that I speak of he limps, too, for the tracks of his pads are unequal. (Kipling 1910: 103)

For Mowgli, who knew Shere Khan well, these stories were inconceivable, totally false:

> All the evening I have lain here listening," he called back over his shoulder, "and, except once or twice, Buldeo has not said one word of truth concerning the jungle, which is at his very doors. How, then, shall I believe the tales of ghosts and gods and goblins which he says he has seen? (Kipling 1910: 103)

Karlin understands that the misfit of wolf children to normal life is treated by Sleeman as a matter of irreversible alienation. Mowgli, however, is not an alienated, but a stranger. Therefore, in the Book the questions, about language, behavior, identity, depend on an opposition between the terms "natural" and "social", "inherent" and "acquired" (Karlin 1987:11). Mowgli understands it as follows: "They have no manners these Men Folk […]. Only the gray ape

would behave as they do" (Kipling 1910:94-95); "all this talking is like another looking-over by the Pack! Well, if I am a man, a man I must become" (*idem* 96). When Mowgli arrives at the Men Folk's Village, he assumes as a first challenge the learning of human language. Imitating the sounds that Messua made, Mowgli learned the name of the things in his hut. Then he learned "the customs of men" (*idem* 15).

3.2 The law of the jungle as a translation space
One of the meeting points of all these sources, spaces, narrations, impressions, moral lessons is what is known as the "Law of the Jungle". The use of the expression "Law of the Jungle" is common when you want to describe in a derogatory way the operation of something that does not obey any common mandate, to an anarchic struggle of "all against all". For Ward, Kipling shows an orderly world born from the absence of laws, but which is constantly threatened by a return to disorder (2008:105). For Islam, *The Jungle Book* exposes a "series of moral values" and the "Doctrine of Action" (1975:121), which is complemented by the "Imperial Idea" that emerges from this and other accounts (1975:144). This author considers that the Law of the Jungle, "more than an unrealistic utopian dream, is destined to be a practical code" (1975:123). In the *Book*, Baloo speaks to Mowgli as follows:

> For the sake of him who showed
> One wise Frog the Jungle-Road,
> Keep the Law the Man-Pack make
> For thy blind old Baloo's sake!
> Clean or tainted, hot or stale,
> Hold it as it were the Trail,
> Through the day and through the night,
> Questing neither left nor right. (Kipling 1906:139)

Mowgli's estrangement in language and space ("I am two Mowglis ...") allows us to explore a double folding of the Law of the Jungle. Sometimes, the Law accompanies the narration to critical moments that preserve the unity of the universe of "the Jungle". In these cases, the Law is a guarantee of the very existence of the spaces inhabited by the characters. In other situations, the Law draws only a few possible universes, draws and blurs borders, so that the reader to take the narrative to -new-critical moments must select frames "of" and "in" other texts. Kipling sources suggest that the fictional world

of Mowgli is a border area, a crossing point between genders (natural history, fable, romance); and therefore we must be alert to the special codes and ceremonies that apply in those places (Karlin 1987: 8).

3.3 Mowgli and its relation to words

Based on this idea of the fictional world of Mowgli as a frontier of several literary genres, *The Jungle Book* induces the reader to reflect on the meaning of the words. The power of Mowgli's stories is beyond the reach of any particular moral or allegorical design, and is especially felt in its descriptive language (Karlin 1987: 18). Moss, for example, explains that the crypto-language of jungle creatures is proof of Kipling's infatuation with organizations from the outside world. For this author, the esoteric quality is expressed in two ways. First, the Master Words and animal language are indications of an inner fraternity of animals against the world of human beings. Secondly, a brotherhood is detected within the brotherhood: only Baloo and his star disciple, Mowgli, know all the Master Words; other animals do not learn more than they need to survive (Moss 1982: 68).

Moss explains that Baloo is "a type of the kindly, lovable schoolmaster, is in charge. He compels Mowgli to master the vast body of codes that govern the life of the jungle" (*idem* 67). Baloo was in charge of teaching Mowgli the Law of the Jungle, because "For Mowgli, who, as a human being, is relatively frail, the Law is first and foremost a matter of survival" (*idem*). These teachings included the use of the "Master Words",

> "Tell Bagheera, then, the Master Words of the Jungle that I have taught thee this day."
> "Master Words for which people?" said Mowgli, delighted to show off. "The jungle has many tongues. *I* know them all." (Kipling 1910: 50)

4. The disabling of the border: nature / society

The reflection on the meaning of the words in these border crossings destabilizes the order and meaning of the statute, compels the reader to question their own reading experiences, exploring the texts and interactions that occur in other communities. One of the

recurring points of destabilization in *The Jungle Book* is the border between the human world and the animal world. According to Powici, in Mowgli's stories, the issues of humanity and animality intersect, not only in metaphors and rhetorical figures such as the law of the jungle or Mowgli's dominant gaze, but also – as in the case of the Bandar Log – in the way these figures are subverted. (Powici 2005: 178)

For this author, the narratives of Kipling and Le Guin can be inserted in a strict view of what Kristeva understands as "text." In Kristeva's proposal, the subject is always semiotic and symbolic, so that no significant system produced by the subject can be exclusively semiotic or symbolic. In the significant Kipling system, narratives profoundly affect the figurations of the border between the human and the animal. Both Kipling and Le Guin show that this border is exposed to a continuous risk of destabilization that undermines and exceeds the ontological sanctity of the human subject (*idem* 180).

In *The Jungle Book*, Bagheera and Baloo repress Mowgli for having approached the Monkey Village, which they call the "Lawless." Mowgli expresses his sympathy for them, since they look alike and promised him that one day he would be their boss. Baloo appeals to his authority as a teacher of the Law as follows:

> "Listen, man-cub," said the bear, and his voice rumbled like thunder on a hot night. "I have taught thee all the Law of the Jungle for all the Peoples of the Jungle except the Monkey Folk who live in the trees. They have no Law. They are outcastes. They have no speech of their own, but use the stolen words which they overhear when they listen and peep and wait up above in the branches. Their way is not our way. They are without leaders. They have no remembrance. (Kipling 1910: 53-54)

In this context, the Law has a strange, peculiar status. Obedience to the Law may be necessary, but obedience, as Baloo suggests, may leave the wake of a threat of terrible and unmentionable horror (Powici 2005: 181). In the history of the Bandar Log, two postulates conflict: the permissive mandate that Bagheera taught Mowgli during his childhood, that everything that is in this Jungle belongs to him, and Baloo's prohibitive one, of transgressing the Law, of taking totally different paths. The punishment differs in both cases: in the penumbra zone of the "no right", of the Bandar Log, transgression endangers the well-being of the community. Mowgli says after being rescued from the Bandar

Log: "I did wrong, Baloo, and thou art wounded. It is just" (*idem* 88). In the area illuminated by the Law, on the other hand, the punishment for transgression reinforces the rule of law. Baloo responds to Mowgli: "One of the beauties of the Jungle Law is that punishment settles all scores. There is no nagging afterwards" (*idem*). The lifestyle of the Lawless, the Bandar Log, shows that the subjects are constituted as such by the capacity of enunciation. The ability to say is what explains the ability to distinguish and distinguish from others. In the Book, this relationship leads to the question: Is Mowgli human or animal? The lack of language in the world of the Bandar Log is what feeds their uniformity, their inability to achieve a Law. Kipling destabilizes the distinction between the human and animal environment, so Mowgli's travels between the jungle and the village represent more than an encounter between nature and culture. I find something between two forms of culture: Mowgli, as a human being can become a wolf, but a wolf cannot become a human being.

4.1 Of empire and nature

These ontological zigzags, of humanity and animality, of legality and anarchy, have led to disparate reflections on the meaning of Kipling's work. For a part of literature, Mowgli is a protagonist who reproduces the ideological matrix of British imperialism. For example, for Randall (1998: 106), the history of the Mowgli jungle repeats, in an ideal way, the history of the British presence in India: a weak and brave newcomer is established in the society of the jungle, reorganizes it around him, and emerges as its master.

For this position, Mowgli receives an education in which imperial codes are revisited as laws of the jungle. Baloo, as a teacher of the Law, teaches Mowgli the master words, which allow him to move freely and safely in the jungle spaces (Randall 1998: 106). However, the rationalization of the jungle is energized by a strange element: man, which makes the Law a response to fear. The Book describes the Law as follows:

> Now this is the Law of the Jungle – as old and as true as the sky;
> And the Wolf that shall keep it may prosper, but the Wolf that shall break it must die.
> As the creeper that girdles the tree-trunk the Law runneth forward and back –

> For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack. (Kipling 1885: 29)

In the same way, the arrival of Mowgli, produces a massive mobilization of the Law: the reception of Mowgli is attended by a litigation process, his learning requires instructors, and his command of language allows him to take the Law into his hands. Following Randall's reasoning, Kipling's inscription of the Law in the Indian jungle seems to conform to a central principle of ideology, the idea that the Indian mind requires a rationality that orders the world, and that this rationality must be imported from outside (1998: 108).

4.2 Nature and "nature"

After seeing that the village of men had tortured their human mother, Mowgli asks Hathi, the leader of the elephants, to destroy the village: "Let in the Jungle upon that village, Hathi!" (Kipling 1895: 101) The elephant convinces himself when Mowgli says: "I have seen and smelled the blood of the woman that gave me food—the woman whom they would have killed but for me. Only the smell of the new grass on their door-steps can take away that smell. It burns in my mouth. Let in the Jungle, Hathi!" (*Idem* 102).

The Brahmin, who did not understand the advance of the Jungle over the village, called the head of a tribe of wandering gond, who according to the Book are hunters living in the depths of the Jungle, descendants of the oldest race in India and ancestral owners of those lands. According to the book, "The Gond said nothing, but picked up a trail of the Karela, the vine that bears the bitter wild gourd, and laced it to and fro across the temple door in the face of the staring red Hindu image" (*idem* 107).

With this, the villagers realized their defeat. The karela that intertwines the gond is confused with the Law, the vine that Mowgli weaves between the space of the Jungle and of man with the languages learned in both communities. In his Song against men, Mowgli warns:

> I will let loose against you the fleet-footed vines—
> I will call in the Jungle to stamp out your lines!
> The roofs shall fade before it,
> The house-beams shall fall,
> And the Karela, the bitter Karela,
> Shall cover it all! (*Idem* 112)

5. The rule of law and the non-human world

The destabilization of political spaces in the colonial era invites reflection on the content and scope of the Rule of Law of the imperial centers regarding non-human beings that inhabited the colonies: wild animals, domestic animals, and even blacks, Indians and peasants. According to Kipling, "The Law of the Jungle—which is by far the oldest law in the world—has arranged for almost every kind of accident that may befall the Jungle People, till now its code is as perfect as time and custom can make it" (Kipling 1895: 1). Mother Wolf and Father Wolf find a human child who is claimed by the tiger Shere Khan as his prey. Father Wolf expresses that the members of the "Free People" only obey their boss and Mother Wolf, after calling the tiger by its maternal name derogatory connotation baptizes the child as Mowgli. Mowgli becomes a subject of the Jungle from a maternal act, from an affective interaction.

The Free People is presented as a community organized around a kind of Rule of Law, which acts as a guide for making decisions in unforeseen or doubtful cases. Father Lobo's belonging to the Free People brings with him the knowledge inherited from a common history: "I have heard now and again of such a thing, but never in our pack or in my time" (Kipling 1910: 9). This doubtful or unforeseen case is staged through a series of integration operations. The first of these arises when Father Wolf takes Mowgli to the Rock Council:

> The Law of the Jungle lays down very clearly that any wolf may, when he marries, withdraw from the Pack he belongs to; but as soon as his cubs are old enough to stand on their feet he must bring them to the Pack Council, which is generally held once a month at full moon, in order that the other wolves may identify them. (*Idem* 14)

Akela, the leader of the wolves, recalls that "the Law of the Jungle lays down that if there is any dispute as to the right of a cub to be accepted by the Pack, he must be spoken for by at least two members of the Pack who are not his father and mother" (*idem* 16). The first to speak in his favour is the bear Baloo, who has a voice and vote in the Assembly for being the one who teaches the wolves the

Law of the Jungle. He argues that Mowgli must be integrated, since he himself will be in charge of teaching him the Law. The second speaker is Bagheera, the panther. She remembers that "the Law of the Jungle says that if there is a doubt which is not a killing matter in regard to a new cub, the life of that cub may be bought at a price." (*idem*. 20), but that precept exhibits a gap: the Law does not clarify who can make that offer. Bagheera, who has no voice or vote in the Assembly, uses that gap to offer a bull as a price for Mowgli. The pack accepts Bagheera's proposal and Shere Khan withdraws rapidly.

6. Conclusions

In accordance with the above, it is possible to draw some provisional conclusions. *The Jungle Book* contributes to the birth of the jungle as we imagine it today, but it also invites us to think that this discourse is open to alternatives. In *The Jungle Book*, the political constitution of modern man stresses the constitution of "strange" subjectivities denied by the civilizational project. Kipling suppresses the terrain of the distinction between the human and animal environment, or else destabilizes it, so that when Mowgli, who has been truly "socialized" in the wolf pack, meets human society, it is not an encounter between "nature" and "culture", but between two forms of culture. The Law of the Jungle invites us to think of mutual lodging as a permanent exercise of integration of affective and empathic dimensions to our litigation processes, especially when in those processes the subject's own condition is controlled. To provide a minimal sense of violence and rape embedded in the stories of the rule of law we must turn to literature, since the law is not enough to account for the horrors they hide its roots.

References:

Primary Sources
Kipling, Rudyard. 1987. *The Jungle Books*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by W.W. Robson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Kipling, Rudyard. 1910. *The Jungle Book*. New York: The Century Co.
Kipling, Rudyard. 1906. *The Second Jungle Book*. New York: The Century Co.

Kipling, Rudyard. 1937. *Something About Myself for my Friends Known and Unknown*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Secondary Sources

Islam, Shamsul. 1975. *Kipling's 'Law': A Study of His Philosophy of Life*. London: Macmillan.

Hotchkiss, Jane. 2001 "The Jungle of Eden: Kipling, Wolf Boys, and the Colonial Imagination". *Victorian Literature and Culture*, v. 29, n. 2, pp. 435-449.

Karlin, Daniel. 1987. "Introduction". *The Jungle Books*. London: Penguin. pp. 1-15.

Kristeva, Julia. 1989. *Language: the Unknown. An Initiation into Linguistics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kristeva, Julia. 1991. *Strangers to Ourselves*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lundblad, Michael. 2013. *The Birth of a Jungle. Animality in Progressive-Era U.S. Literature and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mallett, Phillip. 2003. *Rudyard Kipling. A Literary Life*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

McBratney, John. 1992. "Imperial Subjects, Imperial Space in Kipling's 'Jungle Book'". *Victorian Studies*, v. 35, n. 3, pp. 277-293.

Moss, Robert F. 1982. *Rudyard Kipling and the Fiction of Adolescence*. London: Macmillan.

Powici, C. 2005. "Who are the bandar-log?"; Questioning animals in Rudyard Kipling's Mowgli stories and Ursula Le Guin's "Buffalo gals, won't you come out tonight". In: Pollock, Mary Sanders; Rainwater, Catherine. *Figuring animals: essays on animal images in art, literature, philosophy, and popular culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 171-194.

Randall, Don. 1998. "Post-Mutiny allegories of Empire in Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Books*." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, v. 40, no. 1, pp. 97-120.

Sleeman, W. H. 1852. *An Account of Wolves Nurturing Children in Their Dens*. Plymouth: Jenkin Thomas Printer.

Smith, Anna. 1996. *Julia Kristeva, Readings of Exile and Estrangement*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sullivan, Zohreh T. 1993. *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ward, Ian. 2008. *Law and Literature. Possibilities and Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

West, Robin. 1988. "Communities, Texts, and Law: Reflections on the Law and Literature Movement", *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities*. Vol. I: 129. Available at: <https://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1645&context=facpub> (accessed 19 October 2019).

Language Studies

Tracking Changes in Online Newspaper Headlines

David Brett[1]
University of Sassari, Italy

Abstract: In this study online newspaper headlines were tracked over time to see whether, and to what extent, they undergo changes, and if they do, what form these take. The html of the homepage of theguardian.com was downloaded every hour for six days. Subsequently, all the headlines were extracted (n=810), along with the URLs of the pages to which they were linked (n=615). The discrepancy between these two numbers is due to the fact that some headlines were changed, some even up to 8 times. Timestamps allowed these changes to be ordered chronologically. Several types of variation were observed, including typo correction, content update, syntactic reformulation and the insertion/modification/deletion of kickers.

Keywords: newspaper language; quantitative; print and online newspapers; scraping; corpus linguistics; headlines; updates

Introduction

Newspaper language is one of the best-studied genres in the English language, and perhaps in all languages. One of the reasons for this is the easy availability of samples, which are published online, in organised archives, in easily accessible formats, as opposed to other text types, such as notices, internal memos, to name two written typologies, or any kind of untranscribed spoken text. It could even be argued that newspaper language has been afforded too much attention, to the detriment of other text types, as it is certainly over-represented in the main English language corpora. In the first machine-readable collection, the Brown Corpus, press reportage, editorials and reviews constituted 17% of the total corpus. Later larger corpora feature this text type in even greater proportions: periodicals, magazines and newspapers account for 30% of the total text in the British National Corpus (BNC),[2] while newspaper language constitutes 20% of the Corpus of Contemporary American

---

[1] dbrett@uniss.it
[2] BNC User Guide.
http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/BNCdes.html#BNCcompo

(COCA).[3] Given this wealth of material ready for examination, it is hardly surprising that the text type has come under close examination. Just to cite a few studies: Monika Bednarek (2006) has studied evaluation in newspaper language, mainly by way of a corpus-based technique; Douglas Biber's (1991) work on multidimensional analysis, which has inspired a whole generation of scholars (Gray 2013; Titak and Roberson 2013; Bértoli-Dutra 2014), focused mainly on the London-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus, the design of which mirrors the Brown corpus (outlined above); John Morley (1996; 1998) has studied the grammar of headlines extensively using corpus-driven techniques.

The subject of the current work was prompted by a chance observation. When gathering examples of wordplay for a lecture on the language of newspapers, the author came across the following example: "Right to swipe?/ Resort bans smartphones from poolside to enforce relaxation" on the homepage of *The Guardian*. Returning to the same page later in the day, this rather clever wordplay, hinging on the polysemy of *swipe*, had been substituted by the more informative, but certainly less fun "Bali resort bans smartphones from poolside to enforce relaxation".[4] The vast majority of studies of newspaper language conceive the texts to be static entities, which do not change once they appear on the webpage. However, the dynamic nature of the digital medium influences the stability of this news report component in time, as these texts may be revised numerous times, for a whole array of reasons.

An extensive search of the literature has failed to unearth studies in the field of linguistics that have to do with the updating of newspaper articles. Even in the field of journalism the phenomenon has been largely ignored up to now, with a few rare exceptions. Hettinga et al (2018) examine 507 corrections in four US newspapers—*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal* and the *Los Angeles Times.* However, what they describe as corrections are explicit admissions by the newspaper staff that the copy contained an error, such as in the following example:

> In the May 29 Section A, the caption for a photo that accompanied a column about a new smartphone app for Malibu beach access identified the people pictured on ATVs as security

---

[3] https://corpus.byu.edu/coca/compare-anc.asp
[4]   https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/23/bali-resort-bans-smartphones-from-poolside-to-enforce-relaxation

guards. In fact, the photo showed a security guard on the far left and two Los Angeles County Sheriff's deputies.[5]

A study focusing on less explicit changes is that conducted by Saltzis (2012:702), who observes that:

> One area however that has not been fully understood is how online news stories are actually being updated. Specifically, the notion of continuous deadlines raises questions about the frequency and patterns of news updates in websites and eventually about their impact on what has been known as the final product of news. This potentially fluid and ephemeral nature of news (Deuze, 2008) seems to be in conflict with the concept of the finished news story, which is based on the century old practice of journalistic publishing.

Saltzis monitors 44 breaking news stories on six British new websites over a period of two years (July 2009 till July 2011), resulting in the collection of 252 updates. The method of sampling "required a very close monitoring of the websites on selected days and manual downloading of the webpages where they appeared". The methodology is described as being a "very time-consuming and labour intensive effort which was however slightly facilitated in certain websites by taglines next to the headlines containing information about when the stories were last updated."

The current work will describe a more automatic approach to the study of modification in newspaper texts, focusing in particular on headlines. By relying less on the human observer in the data collection phase, not only is it less labour intensive than that described by Saltzis, but it also boosts the reliability and validity of the process. The research questions are the following: 1) What is the percentage of articles on the homepages of online newspapers whose headlines undergo modification subsequent to their first appearance, and how many changes are enacted? 2) Can the motivations for the changes be explained? 3) Does the phenomenon concern either the insertion or deletion of wordplay?

What are headlines?
At this stage is it perhaps necessary to discuss what a headline is and what differences there may be between headlines in printed

---

[5]   http://articles.latimes.com/2013/may/31/news/la-a4-correx-20130531

and online versions of the same newspaper. Below are definitions from three authoritative dictionaries:

1) A head of a newspaper story or article usually printed in large type and giving the gist of the story or article that follows (Merriam-Webster Dictionary)

2) A line of words printed in large letters as the title of a story in a newspaper (Cambridge Dictionary)

3) A heading or title at the top of a page or section of text; esp. a piece of text given in large letters which summarizes or draws attention to an article in a newspaper or similar publication. (Oxford English Dictionary)

All three definitions make reference to large font size and the function of summarising the content of the underlying text. Only the third definition mentions the important function that the headline has in attracting the attention of the reader to the story or article. Bednarek and Caple (2012:96): are more thorough: "headlines [...] function to frame the event, summarize the story and attract readers". The authors go on to provide a more detailed treatment (2012:100), noting that the headline plays an informative function in terms of summarizing or abstracting the story; an interpersonal function in terms of attracting the reader; a news value function in terms of maximizing newsworthiness; a framing function in terms of providing a lens on, stance towards or angle on the rest of the story.

It is important to note that the headline is not written by the same person who writes the body copy. The latter task is done by the journalist, while the headline is extracted, normally from the lead, by the sub-editor (Bednarek and Caple 2012:23; Keeble 1994:9). Some scholars (Golding and Elliott 1999:115) even maintain that there is considerable friction between these two figures:

> Traditionally reporters and sub-editors are in permanent conflict. To the reporter the sub is an unfeeling butcher hacking fine prose for unworthy ends. To the sub the reporter is callow and undisciplined, unaware of the overall needs of the product.

Another element that often co-occurs with the headline is that of the *kicker,* a word or phrase above or near the headline in the print version. The kicker is often of a different colour and font, and assists the reader in locating articles he or she will find interesting. It is precisely the latter function that has given the kicker a new lease of

life in the online versions of newspapers. On the homepage of a newspaper, a dozen or more articles may be competing for the reader's attention in any given screen: it is hence a very noisy environment in comparison to the print version, the front page of which will rarely feature more than 6-7 articles, with very clear priority given to just two or three. In the online environment the kicker has evolved to merge with the headline, becoming of uniform font type and size, on the same line as the headline *strictu sensu*, while maintaining a colour difference. In the online publication analysed in the current project, *The Guardian*, kickers are normally red, followed by a forward slash of the same colour, and then the headline in black (fig. 1). Furthermore, the presence of the kicker in the online version is the norm—it is not an occasional presence, as it is in the print version. Given this apparent tendency of the kicker to move from a peripheral position to merge instead with the headline text, when the data was being collected in the present study, the kicker was considered to be part of the headline. However, the slash that divides the two elements was maintained so that, in any case, they could be distinguished.

Figure 1. A section of the homepage of theguardian.com on 16/01/20, showing kickers and headlines

Materials and methods

The aim of the current study was to conduct a study of changes to newspapers headlines based on more objective criteria than have been used in studies carried out up to now. In order to do this, a script was developed (using a combination of MS-DOS and the WGET framework) that downloaded the HTML of the homepage of theguardian.com every hour until aborted. The initial period of data collection was envisaged as being seven days, with the intention of there being the possibility to observe also differences in headline updates in different days of the week. It turned out that on the last day there was a power cut, resulting in a loss of internet connection, so the period was reduced to six days (19/07/19-25/07/19). In light of the fact that a considerably large amount of data had nevertheless been gathered, it was decided not to repeat the collection, postponing the investigation concerning variation of the days of the week to a future occasion.

The data collected was hence composed of 144 html files. The vast majority of the html of each version of the homepage was of no interest at all to the study, being composed instead of scripts, metadata, keywords and other boilerplate. Suffice it to mention that pages containing 60-70 headlines in WYSIWYG mode consisted of 4000-plus lines of html. It was therefore necessary to extract the headlines automatically. This was done using tailormade perl scripts, developed specially by the author for this purpose. The script identified headlines on the basis of the presence of key markers, such as the string "item__title", which appears only in lines featuring headlines.

Example 1
```
<h3                    class="fc-item__title"><a
href="https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/j
an/07/india-campus-attack-police-fail-to-make-
arrests-but-charge-injured-student" class="fc-
item__link"     data-link-name="article"><span
class="fc-item__kicker">India           campus
attack</span>    <span    class="u-faux-block-
link__cta fc-item__headline"> <span class="js-
headline-text">Police fail to make arrests but
charge injured student</span></span> </a></h3>
    </div>
```

Once it was determined that a given line contained a headline, the script proceeded to isolate the various elements, on the basis of the attributes in each tag, e.g. "href=" immediately precedes the URL; "fc-item__kicker" immediately precedes the kicker etc. On this basis, the following elements were extracted for each headline: kicker; headline; sub-head; URL. The (numerical) position of the headline in each version was also noted, so as to allow observation of changes in position from one version to another.

The next step in the procedure involved identifying cases in which headlines for the same article were different in two or more versions of the homepage. This was carried out on the premise that the only data item that would remain unvaried for the entire lifespan of the article is the URL of the article, while kicker, the headline and the sub-head can all undergo numerous changes. The procedure was hence the following: for the first file, all the headline data detected were added to a spreadsheet along with an ID number, and the (numerical) position of each was added to a column corresponding to 1h. From the second file onwards, each time a line with a headline was identified, the URL was compared with that of those already recorded. If the URL was already present, the headlines associated with both entries were compared. If they were seen to be identical, the position of the headline was simply added to the column corresponding to 2h, in the same row as that of the 1h entry. If the headlines were seen to be different, a new line was added, composed of an ID number, the headline data, and an indication of the position of the headline in the column corresponding to 2h. If, on the other hand, the URL was not amongst those of the first file, the article was deemed to be new, and the data added to a new line, along with an ID number and an indication of the position of the headline in the column corresponding to 2h.

This operation was then replicated for the rest of the 142 files, and each time the position of the headlines was marked in successive columns 3h, 4h etc.

The data formatted in this way was then processed to filter out lines containing the words *video*, *audio*, *picture* and *gallery* i.e. that did not point to bona fide newspaper articles. Likewise opinion pieces, editorials etc. were excluded. Furthermore, if the same article was referenced twice, only the first example was considered. This occurred occasionally in the case of articles which appeared first in the upper part of the homepage, and then further down in "Most viewed" lists.

Finally, the different versions of the headlines corresponding to the same article were grouped by ordering the data by the URL, and then by the consecutive ID number. The latter operation allowed the chronological order of the versions to be reconstructed.

Results

The procedure described in the above section resulted in the collection of 615 articles (quantified on the basis of the URLs). However, 810 headlines were collected. Therefore, considerable evidence of variation in headlines was uncovered. Further analysis showed that 78% (480) of articles had only one headline, whereas 22% (135) had headlines that were changed once or more. Of the latter, the vast majority featured headlines that were revised only once (76.3 %) or twice (12.59 %). Outliers in the dataset were two articles with 8 different headlines. Needless to say, these were high interest stories, regarding the selection of the new Prime Minister of the UK (example 2), Boris Johnson and the Mueller testimony, a story (example 3), which was given a very high profile by *The Guardian*, hostile as it is to the Trump administration.

Boris Johnson prepares to enter No 10 as Hunt 'refuses cabinet demotion'
May uses last PMQs to tell Corbyn to quit as Johnson prepares to become PM
Theresa May makes final speech as PM before she heads to see the Queen
Climate activists target Boris Johnson as he goes to meet the Queen
Boris Johnson's first speech as prime minister: 'No ifs, no buts – out on 31 October'
Boris Johnson cabinet: Penny Mordaunt and Liam Fox out of government
Boris Johnson cabinet: Hunt, Mordaunt and Fox all sacked amid mass departures
Boris Johnson cabinet: Sajid Javid, Priti Patel and Dominic Raab given top jobs

Example 2. The eight different headlines for the article https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/live/2019/jul/24/boris-johnson-prepares-to-enter-downing-st-and-name-cabinet-theresa-may-prime-minister-live-news

Mueller testimony: former special counsel arrives for hearing as Trump fumes

Mueller confirms he did not exonerate Trump despite president's claims

Mueller confirms he did not exonerate Trump

Mueller says Trump could still be charged with obstruction once he leaves office

Mueller tells House committee Trump-Russia investigation 'is not a witch-hunt'

Mueller tells House committee Trump-Russia investigation was 'not a witch-hunt'

Mueller on Trump's praise of WikiLeaks: 'Problematic is an understatement' – live

Mueller: it's 'generally' fair to say Trump's answers to inquiry were not always truthful

Example 3. The eight different headlines for the article https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2019/jul/24/mueller-testimony-live-stream-trump-news-today-russia-obstruction-report-latest-updates-hearing

The different versions of the headlines for each article were then examined one by one and an attempt was made to formulate a typology of changes. While an outline of this typology can be found in Table 1, further explanation of some of the points is in order. Addition (ADD) and Abbreviation (ABB) concern changes to the headline *strictu sensu*. Changes concerning appearance or disappearance of the kicker were encoded KK+ and KK-, respectively. Changes to the kicker were encoded as KK~, whereas the approach to changes in the headline *strictu sensu* was somewhat more nuanced: change of a lexical item was encoded as LEX; and a distinction was made between minor and major reformulation of elements, SYN and REF, respectively. A separate code was used for transformation from active to passive, or vice versa, TRANS. Changes that were clearly related to updates on unfolding events, and hence not dictated by stylistic considerations, were encoded as UPD. A special category, WRD, was set aside for instance in which the change featured the insertion (or deletion) of wordplay.

ADD	Addition
COM	Complete change
ABB	Abbreviation including cutting redundancy
KK-	Delete kicker
KK+	Add kicker
KK~	Change kicker
LEX	Lexical change
PUN	Punctuation
REF	Substantial reformulation of existing elements
SYN	Minor syntactic reformulation
TRANS	Transformation
UPD	Update
WRD	Wordplay

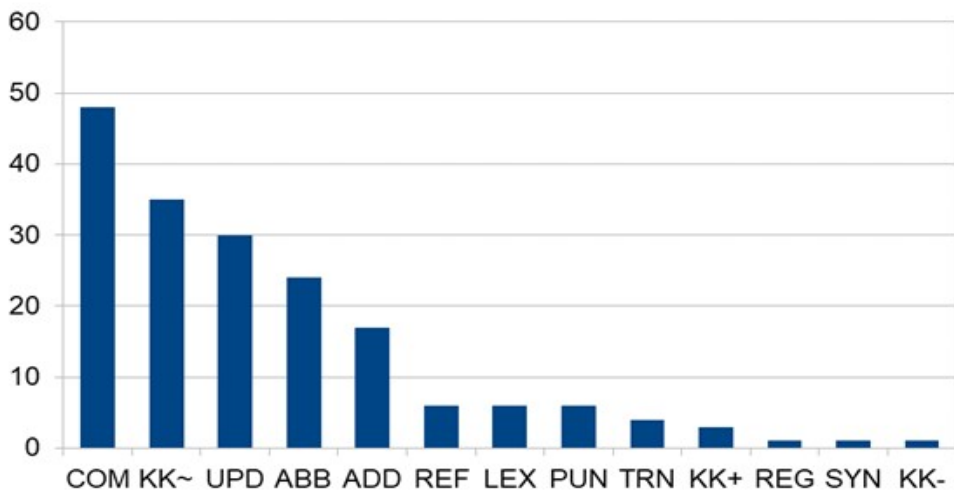*Table 1.* Categories of change to newspaper headlines

Figure 1. Graph showing the number of changes in the various categories

As can be seen in the graph in Fig. 1, by far the most frequent type of change is that of Complete Change, an example of which is provided in Fig. 2.
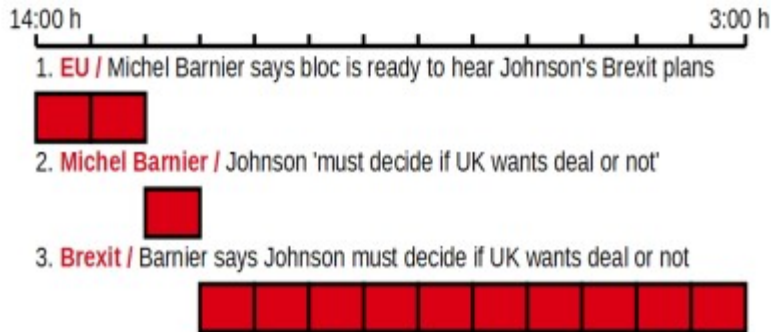
Figure 2. Graphic representation of the headlines for one story in the category Complete Change. In this and in the following diagrams, each set of boxes represents the duration in hours on the homepage of the headline text directly above it.

The second most frequent change to the headlines was that of modification of the kicker. An illustration of this can be seen in Figure 3. Initially the kicker is "Double homicide". This was perhaps seen to be redundant, as the headline already makes reference to two deaths, and vague, as it provides the reader with no specific information to allow him or her to decide whether to pursue with the reading of the text. In the second version, "Australia" has migrated from the headline to the kicker, where is was present in the adjective form "Australian". In the third version it migrates back to its original position and form in the headline, and instead "Canada" moves to the kicker. The final version of the headline is hence factually more accurate, as the double homicide took place in Canada, not in Australia. Of note is the fact that the headline becomes progressively shorter with each edit.
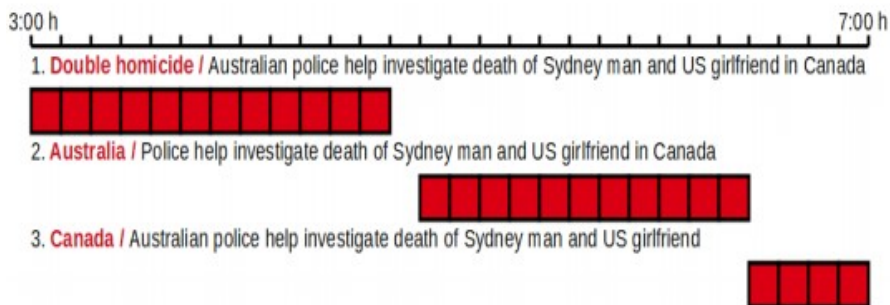

Figure 3. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story in the category Change kicker

The third most frequent category was that of the Update. This category concerned both unfolding news stories (such as Boris Johnson's rise to being PM and the Mueller testimony, in Examples 1 and 2, respectively) and sports events. Figure 4 illustrates how headlines may change by the hour as journalists provide a blow-by-blow account of the evolution of a sports match, in this case golf. Initially the headline explicitly states that it is concerned with "updates". The round is then "under way", a certain sportsman "pulls clear", then "stays clear", and finally "wins".

12:00 h   20:00 h

1. **The Open 2019 /** fourth round updates

2. **The Open 2019 /** Lowry and Fleetwood under way in final round

3. **The Open 2019 /** Lowry pulls clear of rivals in final round

4. **The Open 2019 /** Lowry stays clear of rivals in final round

5. **The Open 2019 /** Lowry wins first major as rivals fade at Portrush!
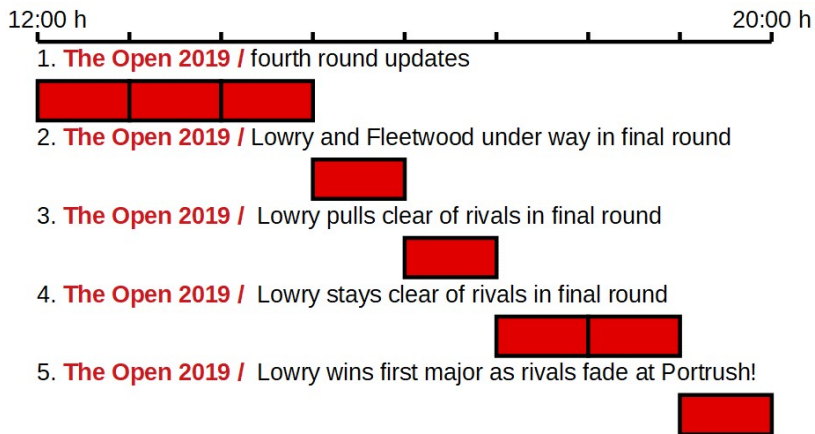
Figure 4. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story in the category Update.

One of the main functions of the headline is to present the story in a succinct, yet captivating manner. Hence it is of no surprise that examples were found of instances in which the sub-editors successively pruned back headlines in order to remove redundant elements. One such example is presented in Figure 5. In the original headlines, there are no fewer than three indications of where the story takes place, two which are direct, and one which is indirect, making reference to the leader of the US government. It is however, curious to note that is it precisely the latter element that is the first to go. The second version, featuring a repetition of "US", remains on the homepage for four hours, before the second and final change, which removes the term from the headline, while leaving it in the kicker.
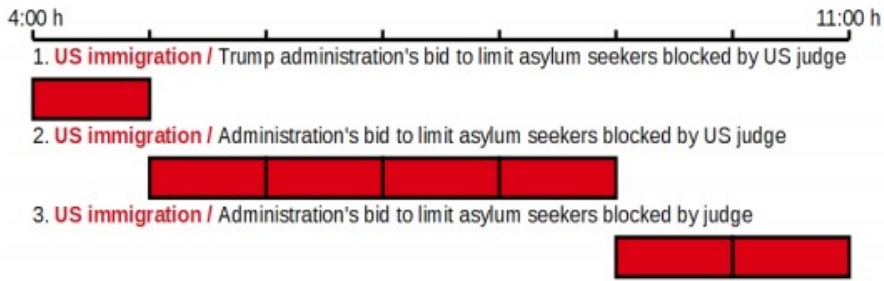
Figure 5. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story in the category Abbreviation.

The Lexical Substitution category is one in which either the sub-editors have a change of heart as to the choice of vocabulary or as one sub-editor changes shift, the person who steps in changes the headlines according to his or her preferences. Three examples are provided for this category, which can be seen in Figures 6-8. In Figure 6, the change concerns the term "finance minister", preceded by the qualification "UK", rather unnecessary considering the kicker "Brexit", the reference to Boris Johnson, and the very fact that *The Guardian* is a British newspaper. In any case, the second version features the more appropriate, as well as succinct, form "Chancellor". The second example (Figure 7) concerns a sports article. The change hinges on the fact that the Australian women's rugby team are known as the Walloroos, and the new choice of wording seems to imply that anybody who would be interested in the article would be aware of this fact. More than one change is made however: the kicker "Rugby Union" changes to "Rubgy"; "series" is now the more correct "Test series"; of interest is the choice to add the description of the win as being "comfortable", this is already manifest with the verb "thrash", in fact the second version of the headline is slightly longer than the first. While this last example displays a shift towards more specialised vocabulary, the opposite can also be observed: the story in Figure 8 almost certainly arrived on the news desk from a Guardian correspondent, or from a news agency, located in Australia, where the drug crystal methamphetamine is commonly known as "ice". This usage is not common in the northern hemisphere, where most readers would interpret "ice" literally and be understandably perplexed by the value of the load of the van.

Figure 6. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story in the category Lexical Substitution

Figure 7. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story in the category Lexical Substitution
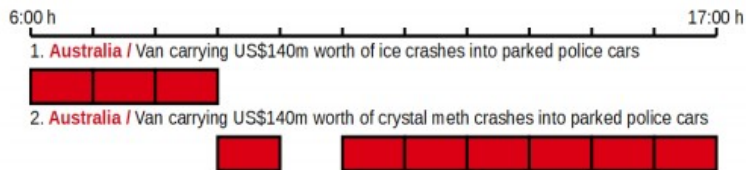
Figure 8. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story in the category Lexical Substitution

While the changes in most of the examples displayed above can be explained as being due to stylistic considerations, especially the desire for the headline to be as succinct as possible, and to alterations of the state of affairs in the real world, this type of analysis may also be able to reveal attitudes to processes, entities and particularly individuals. Nowhere is this more evident than in naming strategies. Two examples are provided, both of which concern individuals that *The Guardian*, a left-leaning publication, would be highly critical of. In figure 9, the then Minister for Internal Affairs is referred to by his family name, then his first name is added, subsequently the first name is removed, reverting to the original formula. The motivations behind these changes can only be speculated upon: the use of the sole family name, while perhaps not the most respectful form of address, also implies that the figure is

very well-known, and hence important. Perhaps the change to the longer form aimed to deflate this.

Figure 10 paints a far clearer picture. In the related article, the leader in question is seen to be conducting a war against freedom of expression, "in a case widely seen as an attempt by the government to intimidate journalists and curtail press freedom".[6] In such cases, the press establishment, especially those publications that do not espouse right-wing causes, will tend to fight back with the only weapons at their disposal: words. Initially Duterte is referred to with his official title and surname. Two hours later, he is stripped of this title and appears as a common individual, with his bare first name and family.
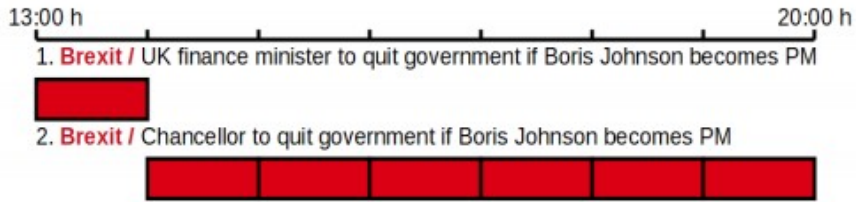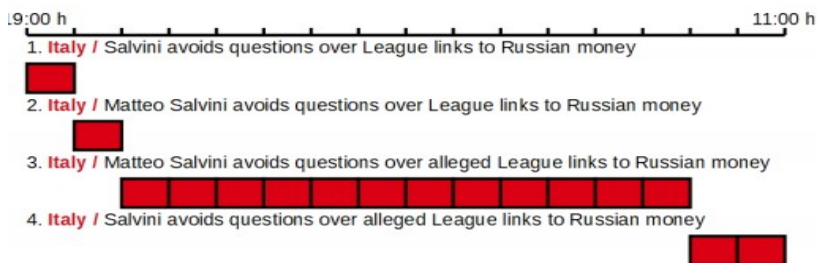

Figure 9. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story in the category Lexical Substitution
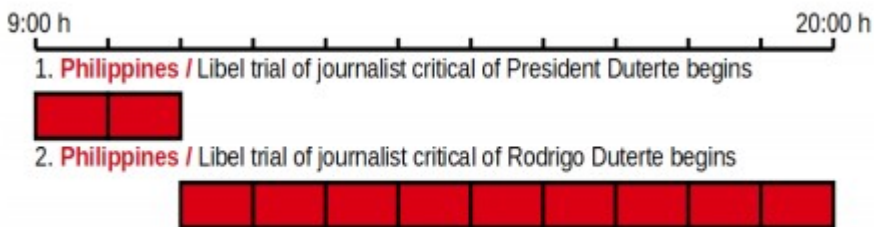
Figure 10. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story in the category Lexical Substitution

Finally, reference was made in the introduction to a case in which a headline was changed, eliminating wordplay and providing a more literal description. In this study only one case was found of a headline being modified to include or delete wordplay. It concerns the inclusion of wordplay, specifically the homophony of the abbreviation of literature and the past participle of the verb *light*.

---

6   https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jul/23/philippines-libel-trial-of-maria-ressa-journalist-critical-of-president-duterte-begins

Figure 11. Graphic representation of the headlines for a story
in the category Wordplay

Conclusions

This brief article has outlined the procedure for an objective
approach to data collection and the analysis of changes made to
online newspaper texts, specifically the headlines as they appear on
the homepage. The data collected suggest that, at least for the
publication taken into consideration, the British quality press
newspaper *The Guardian*, the majority of headlines, once placed on
the homepage, do not change. In fact, only a small percentage, about
20%, undergo changes. Some of these are very minor, featuring the
correction of typos, or imprecisions in punctuation. Others are
dictated by external factors, such as new information hitting the news
desk in an unfolding story deemed to be of great interest to the
readership. It is curious to note that, when a headline is changed, it
usually undergoes substantial revision. Cases of minor tweaks and
adjustments are not the norm. Nevertheless, despite this quantitative
paucity, such cases can reveal the attitude of the journalists to certain
individuals, for example when the naming strategy for an individual
shifts from the neutral to the unflattering.

One of the points that prompted this analysis concerned the
presence of wordplay in edited headlines. It was hypothesised that
wordplay might be inserted subsequent to the first appearance of the
article on the homepage. It was somewhat disappointing to note that
this was not the case, and only one instance of such an edit was
identified amongst more than 600 articles.

This paper constitutes a preliminary study into the
possibilities of collecting and analysing data with a fully replicable
methodology so as identify and track changes in online texts. One
point concerning this methodology that certainly must be addressed is
that of granularity. The choice to collect data every hour was made
somewhat randomly. It could be argued that for some subjects, such

as sports events, this duration is too long, as numerous updates could be made over the 90 or so minutes that a football game lasts, for example, only two of which would be captured with the methodology adopted here.

A further point concerns the generalisability of the results, which concern a single newspaper over a single 6-day period. It is clear that these data simply are not enough to provide what could even approach a global picture. Besides enlarging the data sample of the newspaper in question, or extending it to similar quality press publications, also in different countries, future research could focus on the markedly different headlines of the popular press. In these publications, such as *Daily Mirror,* and in particular *The Sun*, wordplay is used far more extensively, and hence instances of changes to insert puns could emerge more frequently than they did in the current study.

References:

Bednarek, Monika. 2006. *Evaluation in Media Discourse. Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus.* London/New York: Continuum.

Bednarek, Monika and Helen Caple. 2012. *News Discourse.* London and New York: Continuum.

Bértoli-Dutra, Patricia. 2014. "Multi-Dimensional analysis of pop songs". *Multi-Dimensional Analysis, 25 years on. A Tribute to Douglas Biber*. Eds Berber Sardinha, Tony and Marcia Veirano Pinto. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 149-176.

Biber, Douglas. 1991. *Variation across Speech and Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Golding, Peter and Philip Elliott. 1999. "Making the News". *News. A Reader.* Tumbler, Howard. Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 112-120

Gray, Bethany. 2013. "More than discipline: uncovering multi-dimensional patterns of variation in academic research articles". *Corpora* 8.2: 153-181

Hettinga, Kirstie, Alyssa Appelman, Christopher Otmar, Alesandria Posada and Anne Thompson. 2018. "Comparing and contrasting corrected errors at four newspapers". *Newspaper Research Journal* 39.2: 155-168

Keeble, Richard. 1994. *The Newspaper Handbook*. London and New York: Routledge.

Morley, John. 1996. "A corpus-based description of headline grammar: the verb in headlines". *Teaching and Language Corpora.* Eds S. Botley, J. Glass, A. McEnery and A. Wilson. Lancaster: Lancaster University, 266-280.

Morley, John. 1998. *Truth to tell: Form and Function in Headlines.* Bologna: Clueb.

Saltzis, Kostas. 2012. "Breaking news online: How news stories are updated and maintained around-the-clock". *Journalism Practice* 6: 702-710.

Titak, Ashley and Audrey Roberson. 2013. "Dimensions of web registers: an exploratory multi-dimensional comparison". *Corpora* 8.2: 153-181.

The Function of Discourse Markers
in Electrical Engineering Discourse

Miloš D. Đurić[1]
University of Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract: Generally speaking, discourse markers have been studied in the linguistic literature under diverse labels, and research on these lexical items has been dominated by classification. By way of illustration, this paper examines the function of English discourse markers *but*, *so*, *in fact*, *kind of* and *sort of* in electrical engineering discourse. The scope, relevance-theoretic framework and corpus-based data are presented. Subsequently, the investigated discourse markers are subjected to the Schourup's test and relevance-theoretic analysis. The last part lists the most relevant findings and discusses the applicability of the standard Schourup's tests.

Keywords: Discourse Markers, Schourup's Test, Relevance Theory, Corpus-Based Data, Electrical Engineering Discourse

1. Introductory Remarks

The objects of this investigation are linguistic items which "[…] have been studied under various labels, including *discourse markers*, *discourse connectives*, *discourse operators*, *pragmatic connectives*, *sentence connectives*, and *cue phrases*" (Fraser 1999: 931), to name just a few. In the vast literature existing today, these "multifunctional" items (Otsu 2018: 102) have invariably been referred to as discourse markers "[…] in different ways by different researchers in different languages" (Wichmann 2009: 23). The terminological inconsistency is reflective of inability to formulate a unified treatment of the linguistic items under study, and "[…] there is no general agreement as to which expressions this class comprises" (Lutzky 2006: 4). Also, discourse markers "[…] play a key role in utterance interpretation and have been analysed within a number of theoretical frameworks […]" (Seneviratne 2005: 356).

The following discourse markers have been analysed to that purpose: *but*, *so*, *in fact*, *kind of* and *sort of*. My analysis is verified in the corpora that consist of American English spoken data in the form

[1] djuric@etf.bg.ac.rs, milos.djuric@etf.bg.ac.rs, milosddjuric@hotmail.com

of academic lectures. The items I have in mind are italicised in the examples below:

(1)   *So*, you're encouraged to collaborate. *But* there are some common-sense things about collaboration.

(2)   And Leibniz notation just expresses that. *So* you can directly manipulate.

(3)   *In fact*, in a normal machine, some problems you can only solve in exponential time.

(4)   It is pretty clear that, as long as you don't have some *kind of* a parallel algorithm or something really fancy, you cannot sort any better than linear time because you've at least got to look at the data.

(5)   I won't cross it off, *but* we've *sort of* done that.

What these italicised items in examples (1-5) have in common pertains to their morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects. Namely, they are uninflected units occupying a syntactically peripheral position and commenting on some aspect of the content or the form of their host utterances/sentences. My previous concise description is motivated by Fraser (2009: 3). However, it has been modified to a certain extent, since Fraser also adds that discourse markers are proposition-initial free morphemes, which "[…] signal a specific message either about or in addition to the basic message." (Fraser 2009: 3). According to some authors, discourse markers can be defined as "[…] items which fulfil a non-propositional, metadiscursive […] function, and whose scope is inherently variable, such that it may comprise both sub-sentential and supra-sentential units" (Hansen 1998: 236), and this can be one working definition and, simultaneously, a starting point for further research. The discourse markers chosen for the present analysis have been intentionally selected as exponents of Schourup's classification. According to the literature, these items seem to have a metatextual or commenting function (Lewis 2000: 9).

The reason for selecting these linguistic phenomena for this investigation lies in the assertion that "research on discourse markers […] is a lively subfield of pragmatics which, in the last 30 years, has provided scholars with a rich body of unaccounted for descriptive facts." (Pons Bordeira 2008: 1411). Additionally, according to the pertinent literature, "numerous studies have attempted to specify the meaning or function of individual D[iscourse] M[arkers] or small sets

of DMs in various languages" (Schourup 1999: 228). The complexity of these linguistic items may be reflected in this quotation from the linguistic literature, according to which, "[…] the study of D[iscourse]M[arker]s has turned into a growth industry in linguistics, with dozens of articles appearing yearly" (Fraser 1999: 932).

Taking into account the definitions, proposed in the literature, discourse markers are treated as "a class of lexical expressions drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases" (Fraser 1999: 931). In addition to this, there are researchers who propose that certain discourse markers be treated as "as significant tools pragmaticalised for an important range of functions" (Biriş 2019: 19). The focus of this paper is on the selected discourse markers in one specific discourse type – that of electrical engineering in the academic setting.

In order to lend credence to our delimitation of discourse markers in electrical engineering discourse we had to rely on precise and exact criteria, proposed in the literature (Schourup 1999). These criteria are conditions that must obtain for a lexical item to count as a discourse marker. This approach is not new, because there are studies, which also rely on the Schourup's criteria (e.g. Alshamari 2015). The function of discourse markers refers both to the applied criteria of the Schourup's Test and relevance-theoretic findings concerning their role in the communication of electrical engineering discourse community.

2. Relevance Theory, Discourse Markers, Corpus Description

This part summarises some relevance-theoretic tenets pertinent to the investigation of discourse markers in Electrical Engineering discourse, which is not to say that it is limited to this discourse type. Now, let us see some relevance-theoretic underpinnings.

Relevance Theory "accounts for the hearer's understanding of an utterance, including implicatures, in terms of cognitive information processing" (Kearns 2000: 267). According to the pertinent literature, "the central claim of the theory of relevance is that human communication creates an expectation of optimal relevance." (Dansieh 2008: 231). Relevance Theory is based on the assumption that human cognitive system is geared towards the maximisation of relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1987: 740; Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260; Wilson 1999: 719; Wilson and Sperber

2002a: 50; Wilson and Sperber 2002b: 254; Wilson and Sperber, 2004: 610). In other words, "[…] the various subsystems […] conspire together in a bid to achieve the greatest number of cognitive effects for the least processing effort overall" (Carston 2002: 45) This basic cognitive direction is formulated as the first (cognitive) principle of relevance, which states that "human cognitive processes are aimed at processing the most relevant information available in the most relevant way" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260).

The information which is communicated, i.e. communicated-information/speaker-meant information, imposes certain expectation of relevance. Namely, a speaker, or an ostensive communicator, to borrow the Carston's term, "overtly requests an expenditure of mental effort from an addressee" (Carston 2002: 45), and demands the interlocutor's attention (otherwise the communication would not succeed), and her interlocutor obtains certain cognitive effects, which are worthy of the given attention, and the expenditure of the processing effort. This is formulated in the second (communicative) principle of relevance, which states that "every act of ostensive communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260).

The notion of *optimal relevance* is essential for understanding the communicative principle. According to the presumption of the optimal relevance, "the ostensive stimulus is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's effort to process it" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 270). In addition to this, "the ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences" (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 270). To sum up, relevance represents a sort of balance, which is established between cognitive-contextual effects and the processing effort, i.e. inference, memory, attention[2]. According to the consulted literature, relevance may be regarded as a trade-off between cognitive effects and processing effort. In other words, relevance increases with cognitive effects and decreases with the processing effort.

Directed by the presumption of optimal relevance, the interlocutors employ a specific comprehension strategy. More precisely, whilst considering interpretive hypotheses in their order of accessibility the interlocutors follow a path of least effort, and then they stop once an interpretation which satisfies their expectations of relevance is reached, or appears unachievable (Carston 1999: 30).

---

[2] For a detailed account of Relevance Theory, see Sperber and Wilson (1995).

Within relevance theory, an important idea has been developed about two types of meaning: conceptual (i.e. representational) and procedural (i.e. computational). Lexical items are conceptual if they encode information that contributes to the content of conceptual representations (e.g. the noun *rectifier* in 'They have included a rectifier in their research'). Conceptual representations can be brought to consciousness, whilst procedures cannot. Lexical items are procedural when encoding information about how conceptual representations should be used in the inferential phase of comprehension (e.g. the discourse marker *so* in 'The computer is down. *So*, we must have it serviced').

For the purpose of this investigation (and this paper, for that matter), three main distinctions are relevant for my discussion of how a linguistic item affects an utterance in which it occurs. The first distinction is made between two types of linguistically encoded meaning. Within the relevance-theoretic framework, this distinction "[…] is couched as 'conceptual meaning' versus 'procedural meaning'" (Fraser 2006: 24). The second distinction is made depending on whether a linguistic item affects the truth-conditionality of its host utterance. In other words, it can be either 'truth-conditional' or 'non-truth-conditional.' The third distinction pertains to the way a linguistic item constrains the communicative content of its host utterance. More specifically, an item can constrain either the 'explicatures' or the 'implicatures' of the utterance[3].

The point that needs to be explained is that, within the relevance-theoretic approach, words encode concepts or procedures. Most lexical items encode concepts. On the one hand, lexical items with conceptual meaning are constituents of mental representations, and these items are full or content words (e.g. *diode*, *pen*, *electroluminescent*). On the other hand, lexical items with procedural meaning inform us how to manipulate these representations and how to constrain the processes of pragmatic inference (e.g. *but*, *so*, *in fact*, *kind of*, *sort of*).

This procedural idea was first explored exactly on discourse connectives (such as *after all*, *also*, *but*, *moreover*, *so*, *therefore*) which were defined as constraints on inferences in deriving contextual effects (Blakemore 1987). At this point, it should be

---

[3] Within the relevance-theoretic framework, *explicatures* and *implicatures* are the propositional forms communicated in an utterance (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182). An explicature is an assumption that is explicitly communicated, whilst, an implicature is any implicitly communicated assumption.

highlighted that according to the pertinent linguistic literature, Blakemore's "[…] reanalysis of Grice's discourse connectives as encoding semantic constraints on implicatures impacted greatly on the theory of relevance, triggering a lot of research […]" (Dansieh 2008: 233).

Next, certain lexical items affect the truth-conditions of utterances in which they occur, whilst, some lexical items make no difference to the truth-conditions. In other words, these items are non-truth-conditional. Ultimately, on this approach, explicatures are regarded as conceptual and truth-conditional, whilst implicatures are regarded as procedural and non-truth-conditional. It is pointed out also that "[…] explicatures are derived by a mixture of linguistic decoding and pragmatic inference" (Iten 2000: 147). In brief, I shall adopt somewhat simplified model which includes these two subsets: 1. the first subset that includes the ingredients *conceptual*, *truth-conditional*, *explicature*, 2. the second subset that comprises the ingredients *procedural*, *non-truth-conditional*, *implicature*. More precisely, all investigated lexical items in my corpus are classified either as belonging to the first or the second subset.

When some authors mention discourse markers, they point out that "terminology presents a particular difficulty" (Schourup 1999: 228). Furthermore, discourse markers "[…] expressions such as *oh, well, y'know,* and *but* - are one set of linguistic items that function in cognitive, expressive, social, and textual domains" (Maschler and Schiffrin 2015: 189). Additionally, "[t]he term D[iscourse] M[arker] […] is merely the most popular of a host of competing terms used with partially overlapping reference" (Schourup 1999: 228). One working definition from the pertinent literature would be that discourse markers may be regarded "as a pragmatic class, lexical expressions drawn from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases" (Fraser 1999: 950).

It should be taken into account that "perspectives on markers differ in terms of their basic starting point, their definition of discourse markers, and their method of analysis" (Maschler and Schiffrin 2015: 190). Broadly speaking, discourse markers are said to have a core meaning, which is procedural. They signal a relationship between the segment they introduce and the prior segment, and their interpretation is established by the linguistic and conceptual context.

The observations that I make in this paper are based on the speech data that have been collected from the oral medium, which includes academic lectures, delivered at the MIT Electrical

Engineering, Computer Science Department. More precisely, the corpus comprises five lectures delivered in autumn 2005 (the total duration of which is 6 hours and 14 minutes). All the participants are middle-class Caucasians, in their 40s and 50s, of masculine gender. The transcript of lectures was converted into a Microsoft Word 2007 document format containing 77 pages, 45.273 words, 426 paragraphs and 3.190 lines. I selected this type of spoken discourse because I assumed that there could be either consistency or variability in the function of the employed discourse markers.

In the part that follows, I shall analyse discourse markers according to the criteria, proposed in the literature.

3. The Diagnostic Criteria of the Schourup's Test and the Application to the Pertinent Discourse Markers in Electrical Engineering Discourse

As it is only discourse markers that the present investigation is concerned with, I shall confine my discussion to Schourup's seven diagnostic criteria, which may be regarded as constituting a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for a lexical item to be included among discourse markers.

In his comprehensive study on discourse markers, Schourup (1999) proposes the following seven criteria: 1. connectivity, 2. optionality, 3. non-truth-conditionality, 4. phonological independence, 5. intiality, 6. orality and 7. multi-categoriality. In my paper, these criteria are dubbed the Schourup's Test, since the items have to fulfil the Schourup's conditions in order to be regarded as discourse markers.

Briefly, I would like to propose the following Schourup's specific conditions that must obtain for an item to count as a discourse marker, at least in electrical engineering discourse. Now let us consider the criteria from the Schourup's Test and their application to lexical items from my corpus.

The first criterion is connectivity. Namely, discourse markers relate two utterance/textual units, thus contributing to inter-utterance coherence. According to the literature, "the connectivity of DMs is most often taken to be a necessary characteristic" (Schourup 1999: 230). To illustrate this diagnostic criterion, let us consider the following excerpts from my corpus:

(6)   If all the numbers are between 1 and order n then we get a linear time algorithm. *But* as soon as they're up to n lg n we're toast. We're back to n lg n sorting.

(7)   I mean if there were a hundred numbers here, 2^100 is pretty overwhelming. *So*, we cannot use counting sort.

(8)   This is a clever piece of code. *In fact*, in principle partition is easy, right?

(9)   *So*, if the input is sorted or reverse sorted. That is actually *kind of* important to understand, because it turns out the most common thing to sort is something that is already sorted, surprisingly, or things that are nearly sorted.

(10)   It would see which holes in the first column are punched. And then it would open a physical bin in which the person would *sort of* swipe it and it would just fall into the right bin.

As can be seen from excerpts (6-10), the first criterion is met by discourse markers *but*, *so* and *in fact*, and *kind of* and *sort of* do not abide by this rule to a certain extent. In relevance-theoretic framework, initial and medial uses of markers in discourse are not separated. Namely, propositional content in which the given discourse marker occurs (see examples 6-10) is connected with the assumptions that may, but did not, communicate in the previous utterance.

The second diagnostic criterion to be discussed is optionality. According to this criterion, discourse markers are not obligatory elements of an utterance/sentence. More specifically, they are regarded as syntactically optional, and thus, the removal of a discourse marker does not alter the grammaticality of its host sentence (Schourup 1999: 231). According to the same author, discourse markers "[…] do not enlarge the possibilities for semantic relationship between the elements they associate. [i]f a DM is omitted, the relationship it signals is still available to the hearer […]" (Schourup 1999: 231). In other words, discourse markers do not affect the grammaticality of an utterance/sentence, and therefore, omitting the discourse markers cannot render the utterance/sentence ill-formed. Furthermore, discourse markers are not semantically obligatory elements, and yet, this does not make them either superfluous or useless linguistic items. To make it clearer, let us, for example, consider the exchange with (in excerpt 11), and without (in excerpt 12) a discourse marker:

(11)   It's one of the follow-ons to this class. These are much more complicated algorithms. *But*, it gives you some sense.

(12)   It's one of the follow-ons to this class. These are much more complicated algorithms. […] it gives you some sense.

The second criterion is met by all discourse markers under investigation. In other words, the discourse markers in electrical engineering discourse can be removed without changing the meaning of an utterance.

The next criterion to be discussed is that of non-truth-conditionality. More precisely, discourse markers do not affect truth-conditions, or, in Schourup's (1999: 232) words, they "[…] are generally thought to contribute nothing to the truth-conditions of the proposition expressed by an utterance."

It should be pointed out that the non-truth-conditionality of discourse markers makes them different when compared with full words. Let us now see some excerpts from my corpus:

(13)   *So*, there are reasons why this is a bad notation if you were doing software engineering. *But*, it's a good one for us because it just keeps things short and makes fewer things to write down.

(14)   What do I need by expected time here, math? You have to take the time of every input and then average them, OK. That's *kind of* what we mean by expected time.

The criterion of non-truth-conditionality is fulfilled by all the inspected markers. In other words, the discourse markers in excerpts (13-14) do not affect the truth-conditions of the given utterances.

At this point, it should be highlighted that Schourup (1999: 232) considers the previous three criteria to be necessary attributes of discourse markers, whilst the remaining features "[…] are less consistently regarded as criterial for DM status."

The next criterion pertains to weak clause association, which is frequently correlated with phonological independence. This is to say that discourse markers are not syntactically integrated. This criterion commonly refers to the prosodic independence of discourse markers, which might be said to constitute independent tone units. Let us see some excerpts:

(15)   What we assume is that every operation, every elemental operation is going to take some constant amount of time.

But we don't have to worry about what that constant is because we're going to be doing asymptotic analysis.

(16)   The time to do this, I can describe recursively as T of ceiling of n over 2 plus T of n minus ceiling of n over 2. That is actually *kind of* messy, *so* what we will do is just be sloppy and write 2T (n/2).

As can be seen from the excerpts, the fourth criterion is met by all markers. However, it should be stressed that certain limitations were noticed for *kind of* and *sort of*. Nonetheless, the "[…] lack of intonational integration might not be a necessary characteristic of DMs" (Schourup 1999: 233).

The fifth criterion is initiality. Namely, all discourse markers occupy the initial position. Generally speaking, discourse markers introduce the discourse segments, however, some markers can appear parenthetically in initial, medial and final positions (Schourup 1999: 233). The majority of discourse markers occupy the initial position, and many occur there predominantly. Consider the following excerpts from electrical engineering discourse:

(17)   [*But/So/In fact*], the big O corresponds roughly to less than or equal to.
(18)   [*But/So/In fact*], this is the formalization.

The fifth criterion is met by all inspected discourse markers in electrical engineering discourse. Even though, *kind of* and *sort of* occupy mostly the medial position, there are occurrences of initial position.

The sixth criterion is orality. According to the literature, discourse markers are typical of the oral medium. It seems to me rather relevant to check the statistical frequency of discourse markers at this point. In my corpus, the discourse markers *but* occurs 261 times; *so* occurs 250 times; *in fact* occurs 21 times; *kind of* occurs 28 times; *sort of* occurs 73 times. According to the previously established statistics, it might be concluded that the sixth criterion is met by all inspected discourse markers, although some of them occur less frequently (*in fact* and *kind of*).

Ultimately, the seventh criterion is multi-categoriality. According to Schourup (1999: 234), discourse markers "are most often said to constitute a functional category that is heterogeneous with respect to syntactic class." This is to say that discourse markers

have different origin, so, as a syntactically heterogeneous group, they constitute one functional category. Additionally, multi-categoriality can be accounted for in diachronic terms, on grounds on the process of grammaticalisation. This criterion is met by all discourse markers in my corpus.

Based on what has been said so far and backed by my illustrative corpus examples, I am inclined to consider the Schourup's criteria as diagnostic of discourse markers in electrical engineering discourse. To sum up the results of the Schourup's test, if all seven criteria are taken into account, discourse markers can be determined as syntactically optional and non-obligatory items, which do not affect the truth-conditions of the discourse chunk they introduce thereby connecting the given chunk with the one that immediately precedes it.

4. Relevance-Theoretic Findings

All discourse markers from the corpus do not affect truth-conditions of the proposition of an utterance, and all of them exhibit the same semantic coding type, i.e. all the investigated discourse markers are procedural expressions. Accordingly, the discourse markers in the electrical engineering discourse seem to be non-representational and encoded aspects of meaning limiting the inferential paths and not affecting the truth-conditionality of the proposition of an utterance.

In my corpus, there are attested examples of discourse markers, which contribute to implicit communication, like those in the following excerpts:

(19)   I am going to drop all these terms and ignore the leading constant. *So*, I say that's Theta(n^3).

(20)   *So*, that's an abuse just *so,* people know. *But* it simplifies things if I can just write theta one.

(21)   We can use the mathematical trick of phi and psi to the nth powers. *In fact*, you can just use phi, phi, pi, pho, phum, whatever you want to call this Greek letter.

The discourse markers *but* and *so* in the previous excerpts (19-20) encode the information on processes of carrying out the cognitive effects, and in the excerpt (21), in fact encodes the information on the context in which the cognitive effects are obtained.

But, let us look at the following excerpts:

(22)   I mean it is *kind of* clever to look at that matrix and then everything works happily.

(23)   Divide A and B. This is *sort of* trivial.

In excerpts (22) and (23), the discourse markers *kind of* and *sort of* contribute to explicit communication. And, in all the other attested occurrences this is also the case.

Now, we shall see the following parameters of the investigated discourse markers: the form, meaning, communicative level and contribution to the truth-conditionality. In terms of form, it has been noticed that *but* and *so* impose certain limitations on executing the contextual effects. Whilst, *so* introduces limitations for context selection. Finally, when it comes to form, discourse markers *kind of* and *sort of* impose limitations on executing the basic explicature. In terms of their meaning, all the inspected discourse markers in my corpus exhibit the procedural meaning. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that such linguistic items "encode instructions on how propositional representations are manipulated in arriving at the intended meaning." (Seneviratne 2006: 218). *But*, *so* and *in fact* belong to the implicit communicative level, whilst *kind of* and *sort of* pertain to the explicit communicative level. In terms of their contribution to the truth-conditions, it has been spotted that all discourse markers in electrical engineering discourse are non-truth-conditional.

In my examples, *but* instructs the addressee to follow an inferential path which eliminates a contextual assumption:

(24)   There is a video recording policy, *but* it seems like they ran out.

(25)   *But* let me just mention that there are exercises that should be solved but not handed in as well to give you drill on the material.

In the following examples *so* results in deriving a contextual implication:

(26)   And specifically you should spend a half an hour to 45 minutes on each problem before you go to group *so* you're up to speed and you've tried out your ideas.

(27)   We are going to talk about time as a function of the size of things that we are sorting. *So*, we can look at what is the behavior of that.

In examples (24-27) *but* and *so* can be treated as markers of cognitive effects.

Discourse marker *in fact* encodes the information about the context:

(28)   *In fact*, technically I guess I should have said Theta(n/2) just to make this substitution more straightforward.

In excerpt (28), *in fact* denotes strengthening.

Kind of and *sort of* encode the information in connection with concept loosening:

(29)   You can show that all sorts of problems require n lg n time with this *kind of* technique, provided you're in some *kind of* a decision tree model.

(30)   In general, we *sort of* need to go through it multiple times.

In excerpts (29) and (30), *kind of* and *sort of* can be treated as procedural constraints on explicatures.

Based on what has been said so far and backed by the given excerpts (19-30), the observed discourse markers can be determined as procedural and non-truth-conditional items on the utterance level. Furthermore, the analysed discourse markers guide the hearer's enrichment of the logical form pertaining to the utterance, so that the interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance should be successfully reached. In the part that follows, certain concluding remarks are proposed.

5. Concluding Remarks

Taking into consideration the Schourup's Test and relevance-theoretic findings, the following can be concluded. More precisely, the analysis provided the following results.

In terms of frequency, the investigated discourse markers exhibit the different rate of occurrence (i.e. *but* occurs 261 times; *so* occurs 250 times; *in fact* occurs 21 times; *kind of* occurs 28 times; *sort of* occurs 73 times). *But* and *so* are the most frequently employed in electrical engineering discourse. And less frequent are *in fact* and *kind of*, whilst *sort of* is somewhere in the middle.

In terms of register and style, it can be concluded that all inspected markers occur in formal register and formal style, since the investigated electrical engineering discourse pertains to academic discourse. Of course, there are some differences in terms of their use within this specific register. For example, *but* is the most dynamic marker in the interaction between the interlocutors. The dominant

part in electrical engineering discourse is marked by *but*, *so* and *in fact*. Markers *kind of* and *sort of* are employed for narrating, for instance, some specific aspects of the described processes in electrical engineering discourse.

The inspected discourse markers do not affect the truth-conditions of the proposition of an utterance. Equally, they do not differ in terms of the type of semantic encoding. In other words, all the inspected discourse markers are non-truth conditional and procedural items in electrical engineering discourse.

From the point of view of procedural constraints on relevance, discourse markers *but*, *so* and *in fact* contribute to implicit communication, whilst *kind of* and *sort of* contribute to explicit communication in the inspected corpus excerpts.

When it comes to syntactic position, the following table summarises the behaviour of the inspected discourse markers in Electrical Engineering discourse:

The inspected discourse marker	Initial position in a discourse chunk	The most frequent syntactic position in an utterance
but	+	Initial
so	+	Initial
in fact	-	Initial
kind of	-	Medial
sort of	-	Medial

Table 1. Syntactic position of the discourse markers in electrical engineering discourse

Taking into consideration the defining criteria in the Schourup's Test, the following results have been obtained. All inspected markers fulfil the criteria of connectivity, optionality, non-truth-conditionality, weak clause association, orality and multi-categoriality, whilst the criterion of initiality is not fulfilled by all markers (as can be seen in the previous table).

In a nutshell, if all these criteria from the Schourup's Test are taken into consideration, discourse markers can be determined as syntactically optional and non-obligatory items not affecting the

truth-conditions of discourse segments they introduce, and connecting the given discourse segment with the one that immediately precedes it. These are solely preliminary findings and may mainly serve as a basis for further elaboration.

References:

Alshamari, Murdhy R. 2015. "A Relevance-Theoretical Account of Three Discourse Markers in North Hail Arabic" *Studies in Literature and Language* 11(1): 6-15.

Biriş, Gabriela. 2019. "Romanian Interjections as Discourse Markers" *Philologica Jassyensia* 15(2): 19-26.

Blakemore, Diane. 1987. *Semantic Constraints on Relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Carston, Robyn. 1999. "The Relationship between Generative Grammar and (Relevance-Theoretic) Pragmatics." *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 11: 21-40.

Carston, Robyn. 2002. *Thoughts and Utterances*: *The Pragmatics of Explicit Communication*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dansieh, Solomon Ali. 2008. "Relevance and Linguistic Markers: Implications for Translating from English into a Gur Language." *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 17(4): 228-246.

Fraser, Bruce. 1999. "What are Discourse Markers?." *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 931-952.

Fraser, Bruce. 2006. "On the Conceptual-Procedural Distinction." *Style* 40(1-2): 24-32.

Fraser, Bruce. 2009. "An Account of Discourse Markers." *International Review of Pragmatics* 1: 1-28.

Hansen, Maj-Britt Mosegaard. 1998. "The Semantic Status of Discourse Markers." *Lingua* 104: 235-260.

Iten, Corinne Beatrice. 2000. '*Non-Truth-Conditional*' *Meaning, Relevance and Concessives*. London: University College London, Department of Phonetics and Linguistics.

Kearns, Kate. 2000. *Semantics*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lewis, Diana M. 2000. *Some Emergent Discourse Connectives in English*: *Grammaticalization via Rhetorical Patterns*. Oxford: Faculty of English Language and Literature, University of Oxford.

Lutzky, Ursula. 2006. "Discourse Markers? Well, Delimiting the Basic Features of Discourse Markers." *Vienna English Working Papers* 15(1): 3-24.

Maschler, Yael, and Deborah Schiffrin. 2015. "Discourse Markers: Language, Meaning, and Context." *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. *Volume 1*. Second Edition. Ed. Deborah Tannen *et al*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 189-221.

Otsu, Takahiro. 2018. "Multifunctionality of 'After All': A Unitary Account." *Journal of Pragmatics* 134: 102-112.

Pons Bordeira, Salvador. 2008. "Do Discourse Markers Exist? On the Treatment of Discourse Markers in Relevance Theory." *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 1411-1434.

Schourup, Lawrence. 1999. "Discourse Markers – Tutorial Overview." *Lingua* 107: 227-265.

Seneviratne, Sharmaine. 2005. "The Relevance Theoretic Approach to Discourse Markers: A Unified Account?" *Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics: Working Papers* 11: 355-425.

Seneviratne, Sharmaine. 2006. "Processing Causal and Diagnostic Uses of *So*." *ExLing-2006* 1: 217-220.

Sperber, Dan, and Deirdre Wilson. 1987. "Précis of *Relevance, Communication and Cognition*." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 10: 697-754.

Sperber, Dan, and Deirdre Wilson. 1995. *Relevance*: *Communication and Cognition*. Second Edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wichmann, Anne. 2009. "Discourse Markers: A Challenge for Linguists and Teachers." *Nouveaux cahiers de linguistique française* 29: 23-40.

Wilson, Deirdre. 1999. "Relevance and Relevance Theory." *The MIT Encyclopedia of the Cognitive Sciences*. Ed. Robert A. Wilson and Frank C. Keil. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 719-720.

Wilson, Deirdre, and Dan Sperber. 2002a. "Relevance Theory: A Tutorial." *Proceedings of the Third Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*. Ed. Yukio Otsu. Tokyo: Hituzi Shobo, 45-70.

Wilson, Deirdre, and Dan Sperber. 2002b. "Relevance Theory." *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 14: 249-287.

Wilson, Deirdre, and Dan Sperber. 2004. "Relevance Theory." *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Ed. Laurence R. Horn and Gregory Ward. Oxford: Blackwell, 607-632.

'Corporate-speak': Language Policies in the Romanian Business Context

Anda-Ileana Duță[1]
University of Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: In Orwell's 1*984*, *Newspeak* limits individuals' capability to think and to express themselves freely. The implementation of corporate language policies in a corporate context may serve a similar function. This paper focuses on the 'Romglish' jargon used in business-speak as a result of the global expansion of multinational organizations and the domination of English as *lingua franca*. Moreover, corporate language infiltrates people's everyday speech: it could be used either "as easy shorthand" (Sandberg 2006) or to signify elitist exclusionary practices.

Keywords: corporate language, business-speak, 'Romglish', jargon, globalisation

1. Introduction

English has become the leading language in the main domains of social life: geography, economy, communication, knowledge and media, and diplomacy (Chan 2016) and, consequently, it dominates social interaction across national borders and among world populations. Regarding the business context, it currently involves communicating internationally as a result of globalisation, which encompasses social, cultural and economic interdependence of nations worldwide. Since globalisation integrates the growth of international trade, and local and national economies into a global market economy, English has been adopted as the official corporate language when it comes to business interaction. As Neeley (2012) puts it, in order to "survive and thrive in a global economy", companies must overcome language barriers and, currently, English provides the common ground (Neeley 2012). Collaborating across geographies involves globalisation of tasks and resources, as well as mergers and acquisitions integration across national boundaries. Corporate language policies have been implemented with a view to facilitating communication and collaboration between employees of different nationalities and to influencing and controlling the spoken language inside a corporation and between international

---

[1] andadasy@yahoo.com

organisations. Research shows that Common Corporate Language (CCL) brings a number of advantages such as improvement and harmonisation of internal and external communication, facilitation of information flow and economic value (Forsbom 2014: 19).

2. Anglicisms in the Romanian business context

Multinational corporations imply a specific work environment which requires following certain rules in terms of conduct, attitude, linguistic choice, outfit, working hours and the ability to speak English. Speaking English becomes a professional requirement for Corporate Romanians. Therefore being exposed to English in numerous communicative situations leads to the adoption of English terms and phrases. These either replace their Romanian equivalent (***luxury*** Anglicisms) or are used in combination with Romanian terms.

2.1 Anglicisms – form and use

Luxury Anglicisms are considered "useless and unjustifiable loans, translated as linguistic snobbism, which double Romanian words or phraseological units without carrying neither extra connotative nor expressive meaning", (Stoichiţoiu-Ichim 2001: 94-95 - transl. ours).

Examples of English terms which replace their Romanian equivalents and are frequently used in corporations in Romania are presented below:

a) English nouns:

badge (ecuson); banner (afiş); building (clădire de birouri); business (afacere); business plan (plan de afaceri); call (apel telefonic); cleaning lady (femeie de serviciu); coffee break (pauză de cafea); content (conţinutul documentelor); deadline (termen limită a unei activităţi); draft (schiţă); feed-back (reacţii, aprecieri în urma unor activităţi); flyer (fluturaş cu reclame); follow-up (revenire asupra unei activităţi); front desk (recepţie); help desk (suport tehnic); issue (problemă); job (serviciu); job description (fişa postului); letter (scrisoare); lunch break (pauză de masă); meeting (şedinţă/întâlnire); meeting report (process verbal de şedinţă); meeting request (invitaţie/solicitare la o întâlnire); meeting room (sală de şedinţe); open space (spaţiu deschis - birouri); overtime/OT (ore suplimentare); P&L - profit and loss statement (analiză de profit şi pierdere); printer (imprimantă); request (cerinţă); subject (subiect - email); target (scop, plan, ţintă de atins); task (sarcină

profesională); task assignment (atribuirea unei sarcini); task list (listă cu sarcini); team (echipă); team leader (şef de echipă); template (şablon); timeline (activitate de dezvoltare profesională); time sheet (condică); tool (instrument de lucru); training (curs profesional); vendor (furnizor), etc. (blogspot.com 2011).

Some English nouns designate department names: *IT (informatică); Finance (financiar); HR (resurse umane); Marketing; Operations; PR (relaţii cu publicul); Research (cercetare); Sales (vânzări), etc.* Others designate job titles: *CEO; Finance Manager; Human Resouce Consultant; Personal Assistant; PR Manager; Project Manager; Promoter; Real Estate Agent; Retail Broker; Sales Manager; Sales Representative, etc.*

b)   English verbs:

to assign (a atribui o sarcină/a desemna o persoană pentru îndeplinirea unei sarcini); to cancel (a anula); to delete (a şterge); to forward an email (a redirecţiona un email); to manage (a conduce); to reply to an email (a răspunde în scris într-un email); to send (a trimite), etc. (blogspot.com 2011).

c)   English adjectives:

busy (ocupat); casual Friday (vestimentaţie neoficială vinerea); crossborder (activităţi care depăşesc graniţele ţării); in-house (activitate de colaborare la sediul clientului); missed call (apel telefonic pierdut); etc. (blogspot.com 2011).

d)   Others:

ASAP - as soon as possible (cât mai curând posibil); COB - Close of Business (final de program); MOM - minutes of meeting (minuta întâlnirii); POS - point of sale (material promoţional folosit la punctul de vânzare); profi (profesionişti), etc.

2.2 Calques

The use of calques is also frequent, for instance: *a face sens* (< Engl. to make sense) - *a avea sens; adresarea problemei* (< Engl. to address a problem) - *rezolvarea problemei; developăm* (< Engl. develop) - *dezvoltăm; implementăm* (< Engl. implement) - *punem în practică; prioritizare* (< Engl. prioritise) - *stabilirea unei priorităţi; testimonial* (< Engl. testimonial) - *atestat/dovadă; suportarea clienţilor* (< Engl. customer support) - *a susţine, a sprijini; aplicaţie* (< Engl. application) – *cerere; determinat* (< Engl. determined) – *hotărât; expertiză* (< Engl. expertise) - *experienţă; a escalada* (<*Engl. to escalate*) - *a informa superiorul despre o problemă; a*

cascada (<Engl. corporate jargon "*cascading relevant information*");
recipienți (< Engl. recipient) - *destinatari; etc.*

2.3 Some comments

We notice the use of some of the English nouns in a plural form which follows Romanian language norms, for instance: *meeting-uri, tool-uri, request-uri, training-uri, task-uri, task list-uri, letter-uri, issue-uri, template-uri, draft-uri, flyere, bannere, call-uri, etc.* Also, some English verbs are conjugated after Romanian norms, for instance: *asignăm, cancelăm, forwardăm, managiuim, etc.* Other English verbs follow the Romanian structure of some verb phrases, for example: *a da delete, a da like, a da reply, a da send, a da share, etc.*

The English version may be used out of habit and convenience or as a need for shortening the time for information exchange; otherwise it is unjustifiable when there is a Romanian equivalent. For instance, in Romanian, one cannot *address a problem*, but *a letter* or *a request*. Also, "suportarea clienților" is totally inappropriate given that, in Romanian, "a suporta" means "to tolerate". However, it is used with the English meaning of "support", for which there are its Romanian equivalents "a susține" and "a sprijini". The English "application" replaces the Romanian "cerere". It is adapted to Romanian language norms as it is used as a feminine noun. In its plural form it adds the plural ending "*i*". In Romanian *aplicații* means "things put together" or "put into practice".

The use of calques may deteriorate the meaning of certain terms which exist in Romanian and may be confusing when used outside the business context (Nicolescu 2015 - transl. ours), for instance: *Crezi că **face sens** să **forecastăm** în continuare pe **pipeline-ul** deja existent, în care **customizăm** produsele de **end-user**? (Do you think it makes sense to forecast what is already in the pipeline, to customise the end-user products?); Poate dacă **sharuim** şi cu **headquarterul** şi ne dau **ok-ul** pentru **adresarea ultimelor probleme** de **suportare** a clienţilor (Maybe if we share it we the headquarter and they allow us to address the latest customer support problems); Pe ce anume te **focusezi** în analiză? Pe noile **aplicaţii** la poziţiile de **top** sau pe **damage-ul** din **exit**?(What exactly do you focus on in your analysis? On the new applications for top positions or on the exit damage?)* (Nicolescu 2015 - transl. ours).

In the examples above, Anglicisms are frequently used in combination with Romanian words, within the same utterance. Even

if for most of them, if not all, there is a Romanian equivalent, their English version may be felt as clearer, more precise and more efficient to use (Nicolescu, 2015 - transl. ours). Moreover, their Romanian equivalent might have slightly different meanings from English, which may fit better other communicative contexts. In order to express their English shades of meaning in Romanian, in a business context, longer structures may be required. For instance, the Romanian equivalent for the English "pipeline" is "conductă" (a large underground tube). There is no direct Romanian equivalent for its meaning in business, but phrases like "a fi pe agenda de lucru" (to be on the agenda), "a fi în proiect" (being planned). Similarly, "top" is used in Romanian as "ranking" ("clasament"). In the example above, "top" replaces the Romanian "de vârf" (high). We notice loans that have Romanian equivalents, which could be used with the same meaning as in English. However, due to their frequency in business contexts, the English version becomes more *convenient* to use. For example, "forecast" ("a prognoza"), "customise" ("a personaliza"), "end-user" ("utilizator final"), "share" ("a împărți"), "headquarter" ("sediul/biroul central"), "focus" ("a se concentra"), "damage" ("deteriorare") and "exit" ("ieșire"). The loans "forecast" ("a prognoza") and "customise" ("a personaliza") are conjugated in the 1st person plural form, just like any other Romanian verb.

3. 'Corporate-speak'

Multinational organisations encourage employees to meet the standard requirements and to fit into a certain pattern thus ignoring one's self and one's creativity or point of view (Poenaru 2012). Consequently, "employees become 'little robots' and professional trainers become 'gurus' in techniques of presentation, manipulation and personal development" (Poenaru 2012). New-entry level employees have a *fellow* (a kind of mentor) who teaches them how to approach certain situations, how to deal with customers and how to act whenever there is *a situation*. It has been agreed that *a situation* should replace words such as: *problem, issue, danger, accident* or *bad luck*, which are counterproductive, harmful and obstruct positive thinking. This may be politically correct, yet customers hear clichés and the ambiguity of the messages may lead to confusion and misunderstanding (Popa 2017). An analogy can be drawn to one of Orwell's most important messages in *1984*, that "language is of central importance to human thought because it structures and limits the ideas that individuals are capable of formulating and expressing"

(sparknotes.com). The author imagines a world which uses the Newspeak language: a jargon consisting of the association of two English words with a limited number of terms, which would reduce individual's capability to think and to express themselves (sparknotes.com). Orwell explores the importance of language in shaping human thought: inaccurate language leads to a breakdown of identity and reduces the capacity for independent reasoning (sparknotes.com).

3.1 The 'Romglish' jargon

The 'Romglish' jargon used in corporations in Romania reflects similar linguistic approaches which lead to 'linguistic deviations' and emotional constraints. The Romanian word "*problemă*" *(problem)* is replaced by "*situație*" *(< Engl. situation)*, or even worse, "*avem o situație*" *(we have a situation)*. This does not sound natural, but forced and incomplete since one does not know the kind of situation. Other examples are euphemisms such as "*oportunități de îmbunătățire*" (< Engl. *opportunities of improvement*) and "*constat o anumită insatisfacție punctuală legată de...*" (**I ascertain a rather dissatisfaction related to...*) used for a less offensive effect on the interlocutor. Also, when expressing appreciation, the Romanian phrase "*mulțumesc pentru ajutor*" (*thank you for your help*) is replaced by "*apreciez suportul*" (*I appreciate your support*), even if "*suport*" may create confusion, as previously presented. Other inappropriately used loans are: "*a escalada*" which in Romanian means *to climb* used with the English meaning of "*to escalate*" (*to involve someone more important or higher in rank in a situation or problem*) (dictionary.cambridge.org); "*a cascada*" after the English corporate jargon "*cascading relevant information*" (in both English and Romanian the meaning is of a waterfall); "*recipienți*" (< Engl. recipient) instead of "*destinatari*".

The tendency to use Anglicisms or to copy English structures also occurs in informal conversations, for instance: "*disturbing*" instead of "*deranjant*"; "*a ieși la un **drink***" (*to go out for a **drink***); "***teambulding**-urile sunt **funny***" (***team buildings** are **funny***); "*poți să confirmi*" (*can you confirm*) instead of "*ai rezolvat*"; "*la birou avem un **kitchen** unde este un **toaster** pentru pâine și un **sandwich maker***" (*there is a **kitchen** at work where there is a **toaster** and a **sandwich maker***); "*suntem **bonus**ați după diverse **incentive plans**-uri*" (*we receive our **bonus** based on various **incentive plans***); "*challenge-uri*" instead of "*provocări*"; "*când graficele urcă, au un **trend** ascendent*"

(*when there is growth on the graphs, these have an increasing trend*); "*we keep a low profile*" instead of "*suntem discreţi, tăcuţi, retraşi*", *etc.* (blogspot.com 2011). In most of these informal contexts the English loanwords are *luxury loans* since they have Romanian equivalents. They could be considered snobbish and may be used to mark group solidarity and social superiority.

3.2 Informal terms of address

Romanian businesses traditionally operate using a vertical organisational structure which involves the use of formal terms of address to mark differentiations among employees' status and relationships. In contrast, multinational organisations generally utilise a horizontal organisational structure which implies both a greater sense of equality and familiarity, and tends to deploy informal terms of address. Similar to English-speaking nations, we notice the tendency to construct a personal relationship with the interlocutor when it comes to Romanian 'corporate-speak'. This involves the excessive use of linguistic features associated with everyday interactions, of first names and of the personal pronoun "*tu*" instead of "*dumneavoastră*" (the Romanian polite personal pronoun).

Informality seems to be common in various discourse genres (e.g. mass media, service contexts, etc.) and it is "associated with two interrelated tendencies: *conversationalisation* and *personalisation*" (Sifianou 2013: 89). According to Sifianou (2013: 92), *informalisation* may result from the philosophy *customer care and satisfaction* in service contexts, which involves the use of friendly thus informal language, since "in the era of globalisation, service industries dominate economies, and 'service' to a great extent is accomplished through interacting with people (Sifianou 2013: 91). International companies may "displace established local norms in service contexts" (apud Sifianou 2013: 92) by imposing "'scripted salutations', 'simulated friendliness' and 'the relentless positive politeness' coming from the English-speaking world" (Sifianou 2013: 92). Nevertheless, despite the homogenising force of globalisation, there are variations and internal adaptation processes to the specific language and local practices of each nation (Sifianou 2013: 99).

4. Final remarks

We can assert that the English loans combined with Romanian terms may result in *a sort of* 'technical dialect' which seems to be perceived as more precise and/or timesaving. Moreover, Anglicisms

may have become a linguistic habit, as certain specialised terms are also used outside one's professional field sometimes meant to signify one's status in a group to which the audience does not belong (Sandberg 2006). As Sandberg (2006) puts it, corporate language infiltrates people's everyday speech: it could be used "as easy shorthand" or to signify elitist exclusionary practices. We may assert that it becomes a type of language used by insiders. As a result, excessive use of the *Romglish* jargon may deteriorate the meaning of certain terms which exist in Romanian and may also be confusing for outsiders.

References

Blogspot. 2011. *Limbajul de lemn corporatist ce mi-a "delectat" urechile cativa ani*. http://it-si-altele.blogspot.com/2011/06/limbajul-de-lemn-corporatist-ce-mi.html (accessed 22 February 2019)

Chan, Kai L. 2016. *Power Language Index. Which are the world's most influential languages?* European Institute of Business Administration. Available at: http://www.kailchan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/KC_PLI-top-10-languages_May-2016_v1.pdf (accessed 16 January 2019)

dictionary.cambridge.org.https://www.dictionary.cambridge.org/escalate/ (accessed 25 February 2019)

Forsbom, Anja. 2014. *The Myth of Common Corporate Language – A Case Study of a Finnish MNC's Customer Support Team*. Aalto University School of Business: Department of Communication. Available at: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/80712665.pdf (accessed 12 April 2019)

Neeley, Tsedal. 2012. *Global Business Speaks English.* Available at: https://hbr.org/2012/05/global-business-speaks-english (accessed 22 February 2019)

Nicolescu, Ioana. 2015. *Conversaţii în romgleză. Cum se vorbeşte în multinaţionale şi cum afectează limba română*. https://adevarul.ro/educatie/scoala/conversatii-romgleza-vorbeste-multinationale-afecteaza-limba-romana-154d22472448e03c0fd45e794/index.html (accessed 22 February 2019)

Poenaru, Călin. 2012. *Roboţeii multinaţionalelor*. https://ziuadecj.realitatea.net/economie/--103516.html (accessed 22 February 2019)

Popa, Dan. 2017. *De ce limbajul din corporaţii nu "face sens": despre ambiguitatea comunicării şi subestimarea problemelor.* https://economie.hotnews.ro/stiri-finante_banci-21734016-limbajul-din-corporatii-nu-face-sens-despre-ambiguitatea-comunicarii-subestimarea-problemelor.html (accessed 22 February 2019)

Sandberg, J. 2006. *The Jargon Jumble: Kids have 'Skeds', Colleagues, 'Needs'.* The Wall Street Journal. https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB116165746415401680 (accessed 14 March 20019)

Sifianou, Maria. 2013. *The impact of globalization on politeness and impoliteness.* Journal of Pragmatics 55 (86-102). Elsevier. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322086925_The_impact_of_globalisation_on_politeness_and_impoliteness (accessed 14 May 2019)

sparknotes.com, *1984 (G. Orwell) Themes.* https://www.sparknotes.com/lit/1984/themes/ (accessed 25 February 2019)

Stoichiţoiu-Ichim, Adriana. 2001. *Vocabularul limbii române actuale. Dinamică, influenţe, creativitate.* Bucureşti: Editura All Educational.

Developing Speaking Skills in Medical English. History Taking

Iulia Cristina Frînculescu[1]

"Victor Babeș" University of Medicine and Pharmacy, Timișoara, Romania

Abstract: This paper focuses on an English course for medical students. The aim of the course is to develop speaking skills. The topic is "history taking", an important communicative activity in clinical medicine. History taking relies on a doctor-patient dialogue, and it is the first step towards reaching a diagnosis, and giving treatment. Therefore, history taking is a perfect opportunity for medical students to develop and practise speaking skills. This article will present different types of exercises used in order to provoke spoken production in EMP (English for medical purposes) classes.

Keywords: English for medical purposes, speaking skills, course example

1. INTRODUCTION

Developing speaking skills in EMP (English for medical purposes) courses is vital. Medical students are future doctors. Their ability to communicate appropriately with patients, patient's relatives and fellow colleagues or to present papers at conferences is of utmost importance.

Gibson Ferguson argues that in no other profession does language play such an important role than in medicine, "where effective communication is widely recognized as important to clinical outcome" (Ferguson 2013: 243). Moreover, any ambiguity or error in medical communication can have serious negative consequences in real practice.

That is why in each EMP class there should be a good number of exercises dedicated to speaking skills. In fact, communication skills are at the core of a considerable number of EMP courses. An example would be described by Basturkmen (2010), whose courses focus almost entirely on doctor-patient communication, with the intent of preparing medical students and doctors pass examinations and work in New Zealand. Another example of EMP courses with a significant focus on spoken communication is described by Shi *et. al*

---

[1] cristinafrinculescu@yahoo.com

(2001) with reference to Hong Kong, where English plays a major role in medical education.

This paper presents an EMP course centered on communication. The course is intended for 2nd-year Romanian undergraduates in the general medicine programme. Some exercises are taken from my published English book for medical students (Frînculescu 2014). The other exercises are either adapted from reference books of medical English (Glendinning/Howard 2007, Glendinning/Holmström 2005) or home-grown, using medical dictionaries (Stedman's 2001, Bateman *et al.* 2004, Marcovitch 2005).

The topic of the lesson is "History taking". History taking relies upon a doctor-patient dialogue, whose aim is to reveal important information about the patient, information that can help the doctor reach a diagnosis and recommend treatment. By taking a history, medical students learn how to ask and answer targeted questions and relate to the patient in English. In this lesson, questions will focus mainly on body systems and symptoms of diseases.

Speaking tasks are very complex, as they engage at the same time different language areas, such as pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. That is why they are a very efficient and powerful tool while teaching EMP. Moreover, speaking activities are usually used in combination with the other language skills. For example, as will be seen further on, a listening exercise can introduce vocabulary and language structure, thus being a prelude to speaking tasks, just as completing a medical form can follow a number of speaking activities.

Therefore, even if the main objective of the course is to engage students in medical communication around the topic previously mentioned, I use an integrated skills approach. In my experience, an integrated skills approach helps students acquire more durable and in-depth knowledge of English, which will be put to use in the various situations they will encounter in their future profession.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Task 1

You will hear a dialogue between a doctor and his patient. While listening, indicate whether the patient has a significant complaint or not by marking the appropriate column with a tick (√) for each system.

System	Complaint	No complaint
CVS (Cardiovascular system)		
RS (Respiratory system)		
GIS (Gastrointestinal system)		
GUS (Genito-urinary system)		
CNS (Central nervous system)		
Psychiatric		

Language Spotlight

To ask about body systems and symptoms of diseases, the doctor uses questions like these:

Do you have any trouble with your stomach?
What's your appetite *been like?*
Any problem with your chest?
Have you noticed any tingling in your limbs?
What about coughs or shortness of breath?
Do you ever *suffer from* headaches?
Do you have any problems with your waterworks?

Task 2

Match each of the disorders in the first column with a suitable question from the second column.

Suspected disorder	Question
1. cancer of the lung	a) Do you ever feel your heart beating too quickly?
2. cancer of the colon	b) Do you ever get wheezy?
3. asthma	c) What kind of mood have you been in recently?
4. kidney disorder	d) Do you have any trouble with your waterworks?
5. palpitations	e) Have you ever coughed up blood?
6. depression	f) Any problem with your bowel habit lately?

Task 3

In this recording you will hear a doctor interviewing a patient. The form below is part of a checklist for the suspected disease. Listen to the recording and tick (√) each point covered in the interview.

GENERAL SYMPTOMS	CVS	RS
☐ weakness ☐ myalgia ☐ malaise ☐ drowsiness ☐ weight loss ☐ appetite loss	☐ dyspnoea ☐ palpitations ☐ chest pain ☐ orthopnoea ☐ oedema ☐ intermittent claudication	☐ cough ☐ coryza ☐ sore throat ☐ sputum ☐ haemoptysis
GIS	**GUS**	**NEUROLOGICAL**
☐ diarrhoea ☐ melaena ☐ dyspepsia ☐ vomiting	☐ dysuria ☐ strangury ☐ discolouration ☐ incontinence	☐ photophobia ☐ blackouts ☐ diplopia ☐ paraesthesia

Task 4

Here are other questions that a doctor might ask a patient. Which problems in the checklist in *Task 3* do they refer to?

Example:

a) Do you have any pain while passing water?
GUS: *dysuria*

b) Do you have any pain in your muscles?
c) Have you felt out of sorts lately?
d) Do you ever cough up phlegm?
e) Are your stools loose and frequent?
f) Do you suffer from double vision?

Task 5

Match each of the medical terms for common symptoms in the first column with a term which a patient would easily understand or might use, from the second column. Use the information and the audio recording from *Task 3*.

Medical term	*Lay term*
1. dyspnoea 2. photophobia 3. coryza 4. haemoptysis 5. orthopnoea 6. melaena 7. dyspepsia 8. oedema	a. swelling b. indigestion c. dread of or shrinking from light d. dark bloody matter in the stools e. pain in the leg muscles induced by walking and relieved by

9. intermittent claudication	rest
10. strangury	f. a cold
11. paraesthesia	g. slow and painful urination
	h. breathlessness
	i. spitting of blood
	j. pins and needles
	k. shortness of breath when lying down

Task 6

Work in pairs. Student A plays the part of the patient, and student B plays the part of the doctor. Study this extract from a case history. What questions might a doctor ask a patient to obtain the information in italics in the case history? Use all the question types studied so far. You may ask more than one question for each item of information.

For example:
1. What do you do for a living?
2. What's brought you along today? Which part of your chest is affected?

> The patient is a 52-year-old woman, *manager of a marketing company* (1), *complaining of central chest pain* (2) which usually occurs *on effort* (3) and is *relieved by rest* (4). She *smokes 1 pack of cigarettes daily* (5) and has done so since the age of twenty. The pain *first appeared a couple of months ago* (6) and *has become increasingly frequent* (7). She *denies any palpitations* (8), *dyspnoea* (9), or *ankle oedema* (10), but she complains of feeling light-headed. She has *a history of hypertension* (11), and *hypercholesterolaemia* (12). For both medical conditions she *has been taking medication intermittently* (13). Her *family history is significant for coronary artery disease in her father* (14), who *had a heart attack at the age of 60* (15).

Task 7

Work in pairs.

A: Play the part of a patient. Use the information below to help you.

Name:	Mr Ben Johnson
Age:	54
Sex:	M
Marital status:	M
Occupation:	Engineer

You had an attack of chest pain last night. The pain was behind your breast bone. You also had a pain in your neck and right arm. The pain lasted for a quarter of an hour. You were very restless and couldn't sleep. You've also been coughing up rusty spit.

For the past year you've suffered from breathlessness when you walk uphill or climb stairs. You've had a cough for some years. You often bring up phlegm. In the past four weeks on three occasions you've felt a tight pain in the middle of your chest. The pain has spread to your right arm. These pains happened when you were working in the garden. They lasted a couple of minutes. Your ankles feel swollen. You find that your shoes feel tight by the evening but this swelling goes away after you've had a night's rest. You've had cramp pains in your right calf for the last month whenever you walk any distance. If you rest, the pains go away.

You've been in good health in the past although you had wheezy bronchitis as a child. You smoke 30 to 40 cigarettes a day. Your mother is still alive, aged 88. Your father died of a heart attack when he was 59.

(text adapted from Glendinning/Holmström 2007: 18)

B: Play the part of the doctor. Try to find out what the patient's problems are. Record your findings in the Present Complaint section of the form below.

SURNAME Johnson		FIRST NAMES
		Ben
AGE 54	SEX M	MARITAL STATUS M
OCCUPATION Engineer		
PRESENT COMPLAINT		

Task 8

This is part of a referral letter from a doctor to a consultant concerning the same patient. Using the notes in *Task 7*, complete this section of the letter. Use the appropriate medical terms given in *Tasks 5* and *7*.

> Dear Dr Scott,
>
> I would be pleased to have your advice on the future management of this 54-year-old engineer who gives a history of _____ (1) on exertion of one year's duration and a _____ (2) cough which he has had for some years.
>
> During the last four weeks he has had three attacks of chest tightness and pain radiating into the upper right arm. The attacks have come on after exertion and have lasted several minutes. He has noticed ankle _____ (3) increasing during the day and relieved by overnight rest. He also gives a month's history of _____ (4) of the right leg relieved by rest. Last night he had an attack of acute _____ (5) chest pain lasting 15 minutes, associated with extreme restlessness and a _____ (6) spit.
>
> He gives a history of good health but had childhood wheezy bronchitis. He smokes an average of 30 to 40 cigarettes a day. His father died of a heart attack at the age of 59.
>
> (text adapted from Glendinning/Holmström 2007: 20)

3. CONCLUSIONS

As seen before, in order to develop speaking skills in an EMP course dedicated to history taking, I used different types of exercises, such as: ask and answer targeted questions, fill-in exercises, tick the information you hear, match exercises, and role-plays. These exercises involve a mixture of language skills, with the focus being nevertheless on speaking.

From all the activities used in this course, role-plays can be considered the best tool for provoking communication, especially when the topic is history taking. But the other exercises also contributed to the development of this key activity. By means of various tasks, I intended to gradually introduce and make students use the vocabulary and language structure necessary for the doctor-patient interview.

Moreover, as they simulate a real-life encounter, role-plays proved particularly useful and relevant for II-nd year Romanian students, who undergo medical training in the hospital. On the one hand, they improved oral fluency, which was the objective of this course, and on the other hand, they trained students for the different situations they could come across in medical practice.

References:

Bateman, H. *et al.* 2004. *Dictionary of Medical Terms*. 4th edition. London: A & C Black.

Basturkmen, H. 2010. *Developing Course in English for Specific Purposes*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ferguson, G. 2013. English for Medical Purposes. In B. Paltridge and S. Starfield (Eds.)

 The Handbook of English for Specific Purposes. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 243-261.

Frînculescu, I. C. 2014. *Essentials of Medical English*. Medical English Series. Iaşi: Editura Tipo Moldova.

Glendinning, E. H. and B. A. S. Holmström. 2005. *English in Medicine*. 3rd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Glendinning, E. H. and R. Howard. 2007. *Professional English in Use. Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marcovitch, H. 2005. *Black's Medical Dictionary*. 41st edition. London: A & C Black.

Shi, L. *et al.* 2001. Using Student Performance Data to Develop an English Course for Clinical Training. In B. Paltridge and S. Starfield (eds.) *English for Specific Purposes*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 267-291.

Stedman's. 2001. *Stedman's Concise Medical Dictionary for the Health Professions*. 4th edition. Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

The English Translation of the Novel *Хамам Балканија/ Hamam Balkanija*: Challenges, Choices and Strategies

Sandra Josipović[1]
University of Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract: The paper identifies the challenges the translator faced and the choices he made when translating from Serbian into English the novel *Хамам Балканија/ Hamam Balkanija* written by Vladislav Bajac. The main challenges the translator faced include: the Turkish loan words, culture-specific concepts and the concept of duality incorporated in all the segments of this novel. The goal is to review the translation methods, procedures and strategies used by the translator as his response to these challenges. The conclusion is reached that this translation is, in Gideon Toury's terms, "adequate (to the source text) or appropriate (to the circumstances of reception)" (Pym 2007: 285).

Keywords: *Hamam Balkanija*, literary translation, choices, challenges, translation methods and strategies.

Introduction

The paper analyzes the English translation of the novel *Хамам Балканија/ Hamam Balkanija* written by Vladislav Bajac (1954 -) and first published in 2008 (Bajac 2018: 301). This translation, done by Randall A. Major, was published in 2009. Just like Venuti writes that the process of translation starts with a choice "[…] the very choice of a text for translation, always a very selective, densely motivated choice […]" (Venuti 2004: 482), the work on this paper also starts with a choice. In this case, it is the choice to focus on the English translation of this particular novel. Moreover, this choice is motivated by particular goals and reasons. One goal is to examine the translation methods, procedures and strategies used in the translation of this literary work because it is rich in loan words and culture-specific concepts. It was said of literary prose that: "It mobilizes and activates the totality of "languages" that coexist in any language" (Berman 2004: 279). In this Serbian novel the Turkish language and culture are activated through the use of Turkish loan words and culture-specific concepts. As a matter of fact, this translation brings together the Serbian, English and Turkish language and culture and thus becomes what Venuti calls "a linguistic "zone of

---

[1] sandrajosipovic@gmail.com

contact" between the foreign and translating cultures […]" (Venuti 2004: 491).

The other goal is to see the way the translator rose to the challenge of dealing with the concept of duality incorporated in the structure of this novel. This concept is first introduced in the title written: "in both the Cyrillic/ Latin alphabet in which Hamam is synonymous for enjoyment and the Balkans for battlefields steeped in blood and is continued in the dual definition of the genre in the subtitle: 'a novel and other stories'"(Vrbavac 2008). Then, this duality manifests itself in the concept of a dual identity in the novel which: "translates into literature two less known biographies, one of Mehmed-pasha Sokolović and the other of Koca Mimar Sinan, emphasizing their dual identities, Orthodox and Islamic […]" (Vrbavac 2008). Both men were highly successful in the Ottoman Empire as Mehmed-pasha Sokolović managed to attain a high-ranking position of the grand vizier (Bajac 2009: 25) and Sinan was appointed to the position of the imperial architect (Bajac 2009: 140).The author himself recognizes the universality of this concept by saying that: "It seems to me that the subject of a dual identity refers to all nations, to a different national category, to all temperaments" (Malušev 2011).

This novel comes highly recommended by several literary awards that it was given and that is a good enough reason to choose the English translation of this particular novel as the subject of this analysis. It "received the Balkanika Award for the best novel in the Balkans for 2007/2008, the "Isidora Sekulić" Award for the best book in 2008 and the "Hit Liber" Award for the bestselling book in the same year" (Bajac 2009: back cover). By the time the author of this novel gave the interview in 2011, his novel had been translated into the Turkish language and ten other languages (Malušev 2011). Furthermore, the English translation of this novel was chosen for the following project described as: "the *Serbian Prose in Translation* Series is a partnership project between the *Serbian Ministry of Culture* and *Geopoetika Publishing*. The aim of this project is to promote Serbian literature to the world" (Bajac 2009).

Finally, another reason to write this paper was found in one peculiar coincidence. Mehmed-pasha had remained in the position of a grand vizier until 1579 when he was murdered (Bajac 2009: 356). The work on this paper started in 2019 and that same year marked 440 years since the Pasha's tragic death.

The translator's choices as a response to the translation challenges in the source text

Just like Venuti writes that a choice is a starting point for translation, Mona Baker also mentions that a translator's work is about the choice of suitable equivalents and that it: "will always depend […] on translators' own understanding of their task, including their assessment of what is appropriate in a given situation […]" (Baker 2011: 15).

This segment of the paper reviews the choices and assessments the translator made in relation to the translation methods and procedures suggested by Jean Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet and translation strategies put forward by Mona Baker. Vinay and Darbelnet believe that: "translators can choose from two methods of translating, namely, direct, or literal translation and oblique translation" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2004: 128). The oblique translation method is chosen when: "because of structural or metalinguistic differences, certain stylistic effects cannot be transposed into the TL without upsetting the syntactic order, or even the lexis" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2004: 128). The following examples focus on the lexical level of this translation and illustrate the use of the procedure Vinay and Darbelnet call equivalence and define in the following way:

> […] one and the same situation can be rendered by two texts using completely different stylistic and structural methods. In such cases we are dealing with the method which produces equivalent texts. […] a particular feature of equivalences: […] they are of a syntagmatic nature, and affect the whole of the message. As a result, most equivalences are fixed, and belong to a phraseological repertoire of idioms, clichés, proverbs nominal or adjectival phrases […] (Vinay and Darbelnet 2004: 134).

In the Serbian text, the idiomatic phrase *uz sultanove skute* (Bajac 2018: 113), which refers to Mehmed-pasha, is translated with the English idiomatic expression *at someone's* feet, meaning "as someone's disciple" (Collins English Dictionary), in the phrase *at the Sultan's feet* (Bajac 2009: 137). The Serbian phrase is the variation of the expression *vešati se uz čije skute* which literally means "to hang onto somebody's coattails" (*skut = coattail*, Bujas 2005: 1358) and figuratively means "to consider oneself a loyal subject to somebody

else" (Stevanović et al 1973: 830). This implicit loyalty is reaffirmed further on in the next sentence in the novel: "the ruler was often in a position to test his loyalty" (Bajac 2009: 137). Although the Serbian and the English language use different expressions, they convey the same meaning that someone is in an inferior position in relation to the Sultan. The other example of equivalence also includes idiomatic expressions which describe the situation in which one lives in the lap of luxury. The author expresses this meaning with the following words: *carski živi* (Bajac 2018: 128), which literally means "they live like emperors". The following clause shows that the translator chooses the expression the target language readers are familiar with: *they are living like kings* (Bajac 2009: 156) since the phrase *to live like a king* means "to live in a very comfortable or luxurious way" (Collins English Dictionary). In these cases the translator noticed what Vinay and Darbelnet call "gaps or 'lacunae', in the target language […]" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2004: 128) and he bridged the gaps with "corresponding elements, so that the overall impression is the same for the two messages" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2004: 128).

Anthony Pym calls Vinay and Darbelnet's both direct and oblique procedures general (Pym 2010: 14) and he lists "a series of 'prosodic effects' resulting from the above procedures" (Pym 2010: 14). One of these "effects" is generalization. Vinay and Darbelnet define it as the situation: "When a specific (or concrete) term is translated as a more general (or abstract) term" (Pym 2010: 14). Baker also makes the following distinction: "The general word is usually referred to as superordinate and the specific word as hyponym" (Baker 2011: 17). She further explains: "More commonly, languages tend to have general words (superordinates) but lack specific ones (hyponyms), since each language makes only those distinctions in meaning which seem relevant to its particular environment" (Baker 2011: 20). In this case, the suggested strategy is: "the use of a general word (superordinate) to overcome a relative lack of specificity in the target language compared to the source language" (Baker 2011: 25). That strategy is used in this translation when the hyponym *stričević* (Bajac 2018: 128), which means "a son of one brother related to the children of the other brother" (Stevanović *et al.* 1976: 29), is simply translated with the superordinate *a cousin* (Bajac 2009: 156). Considering this example, it could be concluded that Serbian culture puts a strong emphasis on the relations within an extended family. Consequently, the Serbian language acquired hyponyms to denote these relations.

Translation strategies for loan words

When discussing literary translation, Venuti explains:

In current practices, a translation of a novel can and must communicate the basic elements of narrative form […]. But it is still not true that these elements are free from variation. […] stylistic innovations, archaisms […]. Jean-Jacques Lecercle calls these variations the "remainder" because they exceed communication of a univocal meaning and instead draw attention to the […] conditions that are […] linguistic and cultural […] The remainder in literary texts is much more complicated, of course, usually a sedimentation of formal elements and generic discourses, past as well as present [...]. (Venuti 2004: 484-485)

The layer rich with Turkish loan words and culture-specific concepts in the Serbian language in this novel could be seen as this "sedimentation" or what Lecercle calls "remainder". One of the reasons for their occurrence could be the fact that Serbia was under Ottoman rule for more than 400 years (Encyclopaedia Britannica).

Nida also points to a lexical level in the source text which contains culture-specific concepts and he calls them "terms which identify cultural specialties […]" (Nida 2004: 163). When translating terms that fall into this category, "certain 'foreign associations' can rarely be avoided. No translation that attempts to bridge a wide cultural gap can hope to eliminate all traces of the foreign setting" (Nida 2004:163-164). In such cases Vinay and Darbelnet suggest the following direct translation method: "To overcome a lacuna, usually a metalinguistic one (e.g. […] an unknown concept), borrowing is the simplest of all translation methods" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2004: 129). Here, the borrowing is done by taking words from the Turkish language.

In relation to translation strategies which involve loan words, Mona Baker recommends: "Translation using a loan word or loan word plus explanation" (Baker 2011: 33). The translator of this novel combines the following strategies: translation using a loan word with explanation in the *Notes*, translation using a loan word with explanation in the text, translation using a loan word without explanation, translation using English words or phrases. The first two strategies were dictated by the author's decisions. Furthermore, some loan words in the translation stand out as they are printed in italics which is not the case in the source text.

The author made a decision to use some Turkish words in his novel and to explain them in detail in the *Notes* at the end of the book which certainly facilitate the understanding and reading of the novel. Had all the explanations been incorporated in the main body of the novel, they would have probably distracted readers' attention from the narrative. It is interesting to note that a number of culture-specific terms in the *Notes* refer to the professions at the sultan's court and to official documents in the Ottoman Empire as it is shown in the following examples. The following clause with the loan word "proizveo u češnegir-bašu" (Bajac 2018: 114) is also translated with the clause containing the Turkish loan word: "he appointed him as the *chesnegir-basha*" (Bajac 2009: 138). This loan word is accompanied by the explanation in the *Notes* which says that "the *çeşnegir-başa* was the administrator of the refectory, the man who tasted all food and drink intended for the sultan" (Bajac 2009: 359). The Turkish loan word *katil-fermana* (Bajac 2018: 114) is translated with the loan word *katil-fermans* (Bajac 2009: 139), accompanied by the explanation in the *Notes*: "the *katil-ferman* was a decree or order that one of the subjects was to be strangled or otherwise executed" (Bajac 2009: 359).

The author's decision to use certain Turkish words plus in-text explanations corresponds to one of the above strategies suggested by Mona Baker. The translator at the same time respected this decision and used the suitable translation strategy in the given context. Therefore, the Turkish word *subašu* in the clause: "postavljen je za subašu" (Bajac 2018: 115), followed by the corresponding explanation in the source text, is translated with the loan word *subasha* plus the explanation that this word refers to "the official supervisor of construction work in certain parts of the Empire" (Bajac 2009: 140). The Turkish word *sadr-i-azam* (Bajac 2018: 115), explained in the source text, is also used in the translation and it is followed by the in-text explanation that it refers to the *Grand Vizier* (Bajac 2009:140).

The translator also chose to use some loan words without any explanation. This strategy could be motivated by the translator's expectation that readers are familiar enough with them and they are not even printed in italics like some other loan words in the translation. Vinay and Darbelnet call these "well-established, mainly older borrowings […] so widely used that they are no longer considered as such and have become a part of the respective TL lexicon" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2004: 129). Therefore, the Turkish

loan words *kaftanima*, *turbanima* (Bajac 2018: 114) are translated with the appropriate equivalents: *kaftans*, *turbans* (Bajac 2009: 138).

When defining culture-specific concepts, Mona Baker writes: "The source-language word may express a concept which is totally unknown in the target culture. The concept in question may be abstract or concrete; it may relate to a religious belief, a social custom or even a type of food" (Baker 2011: 18). For the Serbian phrase *u […] danku u krvi* (Bajac 2018: 25), which is emphasized with italics in the source text and which describes an Ottoman concept unknown in the target culture, the translator could have used only the English phrase *the tribute in blood*. Instead, he chose to use the Turkish loan word *devshirme* plus the equivalent English phrase, put between quotation marks and in brackets (Bajac 2009: 33). When writing about the translation of culture-specific terms, Hans Honig and Paul Kussmaul are of the opinion that the translator cannot explain everything to readers or keep readers in the dark either without explaining those terms at least to a degree (Pym 2010: 52). A translator has to know where to draw the line or as they say: "there has to be a cut-off point where translators can safely say: 'This is all my readers have to know in this context'" (Pym 2010: 52). Pym comments that Honig and Kussmaul: "formulated […] the 'principle of the necessary degree of precision'"(Pym 2010: 52). In this case it seems as if the translator wishes to be very precise and to emphasize the significance of this concept which is in detail explained in the *Notes*:

> In the practice of the *devshirme*, boys of non-Turkish background were taken to Ottoman courts from the conquered countries, through intense schooling there, they were trained to be elite troops in the Turkish army – the janissaries – or to be servants of the court (Bajac 2009: 357).

The concept takes on an added importance when it comes to mind that Mehmed-paša Sokolović was one such boy (Bajac 2009: 33) who rose to the position of "a grand vizier […] during the reign of three sultans" (Bajac 2009: 25).

Finally, the translator decided to use English words and phrases when he translated a number of Turkish loan words encountered in the source text. The illustration of this strategy is the translation of the following loan words: *harač* (Bajac 2018: 128) and *haračlija* (Bajac 2018: 129). The first one is translated with the

equivalent English word *taxes* (Bajac 2009: 156) and the other with the English word *a tax-collector* (Bajac 2009: 156). The same happens with the loan word *majdan* in the phrase: *iz majdana* (Bajac 2018: 13) which is translated with the English phrase *from the quarries* (Bajac 2009: 18).

The concept of duality in translation

On the one hand, it could be said that it is a challenge to transpose the concept of duality into translation as it permeates the entire structure of the novel in the following way:

> The duality of vision […] is respected with consistency and without exception in every segment of this novel: the chapters written in the Latin alphabet alternate with those in the Cyrillic alphabet, the former refer to the past and the latter refer to the present […] The characters are individuals with two identities, religious and cultural, with two languages, two spaces […] (Vrbavac 2008).

On the other hand, duality is not that foreign a concept to translation since it has duality at its core as Annie Brisset writes: "Translation is a dual act of communication. It presupposes the existence, not of a single code, but of two distinct codes, the 'source language' and the 'target language' " (Brisset 2004: 337).

When tackling this concept, first, the translator had to find the adequate solution for the use of the two alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic, in the source text. The author himself emphasized the significance of having two alphabets in Serbian culture:

> The privilege of having two equally important alphabets is a divine privilege and advantage for the Serbian language. Even an aesthetic one. When I explain to foreigners the examples of everyday parallel use of these two alphabets in my own life today, and they are very much interested in it, I tell them that we Serbs are (twice as) smart for it (Malušev 2011).

In the English translation, this duality could not be replicated since the English language uses only the Latin alphabet. This issue was resolved by marking the chapters in the Cyrillic alphabet, Chapter А (Bajac 2018: 31), Chapter Б (Bajac 2018: 36), etc., with Roman numerals in the translation: Chapter I (Bajac2009: 40),

Chapter II (Bajac 2009: 46), etc. The chapters in the Latin alphabet, Chapter A (Bajac 2018: 33), Chapter B (Bajac 2018: 38), etc., are marked with Arabic numerals: Chapter 1 (Bajac 2009: 43), Chapter 2 (Bajac 2009: 49), etc. By doing this, the translator still managed to transpose the concept of duality into the target language text.

The other instance of respecting the concept of duality in translation, in this case the duality between the Ottoman past and the contemporary times, is the treatment of the word *hamam*. At one point in the chapter on the Ottoman Empire this noun in the clause: "Tako mu je Sinan […] napravio *hamam*" (Bajac 2018: 115) is translated with the Turkish loan word in the clause: "So, Sinan built a *hamam*" (Bajac 2009: 140). Whereas in the chapter on the contemporary times, the noun *hamam* in the phrase *do hamama* (Bajac 2018: 14) is translated with the English word *spa* in the following phrase: *to the spa* (Bajac 2009: 18).

The other challenge that the translator meets head on is the dual identity of Mehmed-paša Sokolović. A dual identity is defined as a combination of "[…] strong ethnic and national identity" (Spiegleret al. 2019: 1924). An ethnic identity is seen as "[…] a sense of belonging to the ethnic community and heritage country" (Spiegleret al. 2019: 1924) and a national identity is considered to be "[…] identification with the country in which" one grows up (Spiegleret al. 2019: 1924). Dual identity is present when ethnic minority group members have both a strong ethnic and a strong national identity" (Spiegleret al. 2019: 1925). Mehmed-pasha had a strong ethnic identity as he was taken to Istanbul when he was eighteen and could still very well remember where he came from (Bajac 2018: 25). He brought over to Istanbul the members of his family to live with him (Bajac 2009: 33) and "he built religious endowments in his home country" (Bajac 2009: 64).The Pasha also had a strong national identity as he was a loyal and capable subject to the Sultan (Bajac 2009: 137). The Pasha's dual identity is reflected in his name. In the source text, his name has three variations, *Bajo Sokolović* (Bajac 2018: 25) or *Bajica* (Bajac 2018: 34), the name given to him on his birth in Bosnia, *Mehmed-paša Sokolu* (Bajac 2018: 13) or *Mehmed Sokolu* (Bajac 2018: 33), the Turkish name he was given when he was brought to Istanbul and the Serbian version of his Turkish name, *Mehmed-paša Sokolović* (Bajac 2018: 17). The Pasha himself thought that his different names best explained his complex identity:

Even after all the time since his original departure from Bosnia and Serbia, he still got the jitters […] whenever he set foot there or even drew close. He understood, using the example of his own name, that Mehmed then turned back into Bajica, and upon returning, Bajica became Mehmed again (Bajac 2009: 147-148).

When it comes to names in translation, Venuti describes characters' names as "invariant in the translation process" (Venuti 2004: 484) and he goes on to say: "Dates, historical and geographical markers, the characters' names -even when the names are rather complicated and foreign-sounding – these are generally not altered or only in rare cases […]" (Venuti 2004: 484). This novel is the example of such a rare case when the main character's name is complicated and consequently altered in some instances. The Serbian version of the Pasha's Turkish name is dually transposed into the target text. In some cases in the English translation, this version of the Pasha's name has as its equivalent the Pasha's original Turkish name, which is shown in the following examples:*"*Mehmed-paša Sokolović, u dubokoj starosti" (Bajac 2018: 14) is translated as *"*Mehmed-pasha Sokollu, in his waning years" (Bajac 2009: 18); "oblasti kojima je hodio i/ili delao Mehmed-paša Sokolović" (Bajac 2018: 22) is translated as: "where Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had been or had worked" (Bajac 2009: 28). In other instances, the Serbian version of the Pasha's Turkish name is kept in translation with one alteration. This alteration implies changing the loan word paša into its anglicized version pasha in translation which is illustrated with the following examples: "Veliki vezir Mehmed-paša Sokolović" *(*Bajac 2018:51) is translated as "The grand vizier Mehmed-pasha Sokolović*"* (Bajac 2009: 64). The Pasha's name in the clause: "Veliki vezir Mehmed-paša Sokolović tražio je odgađanje sukoba [...]" *(*Bajac 2018: 57) is transposed in the following way: "Grand Vizier Mehmed-pasha Sokolović tried to get the battle put off […]"(Bajac 2009: 70). *It* could be said that this translation strategy is one more way in which the translator shows consistency in respecting the Pasha's dual identity. Moreover, at the beginning of the novel the translator decides to give the following explanation: "Mehmed pasha Sokollu - in Serbian he is known as Mehmed-paša Sokolović" *(*Bajac 2009:32). The translator obviously deems it necessary for the target language readers' benefit to make a clear distinction between the

Pasha's original Turkish name and its Serbian version although this distinction is not made in the source text *(*Bajac 2018*: 25).*

Conclusion

"[…] Gideon Toury (1995) talks about translations being adequate (to the source text) or appropriate (to the circumstances of reception)" (Pym 2007: 285). To conclude in Toury's terms, the translator managed to choose translation methods, procedures, strategies and equivalents which are adequate in relation to the challenges encountered in the source text and appropriate in relation to his target text readers. It was not easy to make such suitable choices in the context when the translator came into contact with three different languages as it implied an indirect contact with three different cultures. In addition to that, it is believed that a translator's task is particularly challenging when "[…] a translation may involve […] highly diverse cultures […] In fact, differences between cultures cause many more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure" (Nida 2004: 157). In this case, the translator proves that the differences between cultures in the process of translation can be overcome quite successfully.

References:

Bajac, Vladislav. 2018. *Хамам Балканија/ Hamam Balkanija*. Beograd: Arhipelag.

Bajac, Vladislav. 2009. *Hamam Balkania*. Beograd: Geopoetika Publishing.

Baker, Mona. 2011. *In Other Words*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Berman, Antoine. 2004. "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign."*The Translation Studies Reader*.ed. Lawrence Venuti. New York and London: Routledge, 276-290.

Brisset, Annie. 2004. "The Search for a Native Language: Translation and Cultural Identity." *The Translation Studies Reader*.ed. Lawrence Venuti. New York and London: Routledge, 337-369.

Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Serbia/Conquest-by-the-Ottoman-Turks> and at <https://www.britannica.com/place/Serbia/The-disintegration-of-Ottoman-rule#ref43575> (accessed 10 May 2020)

Bujas, Željko. 2005. *Veliki hrvatsko-engleski rječnik*. [Large Croatian-English Dictionary]Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus.

Collins English Dictionary. Available at: https://www. collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/at-someones-feet (accessed 10 May 2020)

Collins English Dictionary. Available at: https://www. collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/live-like-a-king (accessed 10 May 2020)

Malušev, Aleksandra V. 2011. "Božanstvena privilegija dvojstva." [The Divine Privilege of Duality] *Danas*, June 28. Available at: https://www.danas.rs/kultura/bozanstvena-privilegija-dvojstva/ (accessed 10 May 2020)

Nida, Eugene. 2004. "Principles of Correspondence". *The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti (Ed.). New York and London: Routledge, 153-168.

Pym, Anthony. 2007. "Natural and Directional Equivalence in Theories of Translation." *Target* 19:2:271–294.

Pym, Anthony. 2010. *Exploring Translation Theories*.London and New York: Routledge.

Spiegler, Olivia, Ralf Wölfer, and Miles Hewstone. 2019. "Dual Identity Development and Adjustment in Muslim Minority Adolescents."*Journal of Youth and Adolescence*48:1924–1937. Available at: https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s10964-019-01117-9.pdf (accessed 10 May 2020)

Stevanović, Mihailo, et al. (eds.). 1973. *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*. [The Dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian Literary Language] volume V, Novi Sad: Matica srpska.

Stevanović, Mihailo, et al. (eds.). 1976. *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*. [The Dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian Literary Language] volume VI, Novi Sad: Matica srpska.

Vinay, Jean-Paul, and Jean Darbelnet. 2004. "A Methodology for Translation." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti (ed.). New York and London: Routledge, 128-138.

Venuti, Lawrence. 2004. "Translation, Community, Utopia." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Lawrence Venuti (ed.). New York and London: Routledge, 482-503.

Vrbavac, Jasmina. 2008. "Ideja o neminovnosti mešovitog identiteta" [The Idea of an Inevitable Mixed Identity] *Politika Online*, September 4. Available at: www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/54636/Ideja-o-neminovnosti-mesovitog-identiteta (accessed 10 May 2020).

Exploring the Impact of CLIL Programmes on Students' L2 Writing Skills

Barbara Loranc-Paszylk[1]
University of Bielsko-Biała, Poland

Abstract: This article explores the impact of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) on L2 written competence in order to determine which aspects of L2 writing may benefit from this learning setting. Several studies comparing L2 writing performance of CLIL and non-CLIL students suggest that CLIL may have a positive effect on L2 students' writing regarding lexical and morphosyntactic resources, but examining its impact on L2 discourse competence brings inconclusive results. In this study L2 written work of CLIL and non-CLIL students was analysed in terms of lexical and syntactic richness as well as coherence and cohesion of the texts.

Keywords: Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), L2 writing, cohesion, coherence, lexical sophistication

In the last 15 years CLIL has being gaining popularity across wide geographical contexts and all educational levels. It has also become a widely used research framework for applied linguists to explore how these educational settings that use L2 for the teaching of course curricular content facilitate L2 learning. Although research has shown positive effects of CLIL provision on several areas of L2 written language competence, more studies are needed to determine which components of L2 writing benefit from the learning experience of subject matter being taught and learnt through a foreign language. Several studies comparing CLIL and non-CLIL writing (e.g., Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Jexenflicker and Dalton-Puffer, 2010; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010, Naves, 2011) suggest that the CLIL setting facilitates students' written competence allowing them to produce L2 texts richer in lexical and morphosyntactic resources, yet remain inconclusive as for CLIL students' advantage with respect to L2 discourse competence. The present study aims at exploring written work of CLIL and non-CLIL students in terms of lexical and syntactic complexity as well as aspects of coherence and cohesion. The data was obtained at the

---

[1] bloranc@ath.edu.pl

university settings in Poland where students of International Management and their peers, English major, were asked to complete a writing task in English and to provide better insights, their L2 writing samples were then compared.

Defining the terms

CLIL is defined as "as an educational approach where curricular content is taught through the medium of a foreign language typically to students participating in some form of mainstream education at the primary, secondary, or tertiary level" (Dalton-Puffer, 2011:183). There have been other terms used by scholars. For example, Integrated Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE) ICLHE places the same pedagogical focus as CLIL but in the university settings; both language and content outcomes are important. English-medium university teaching, also known as English-medium instruction (EMI) narrows the teaching focus to content only and usually no L2 language support is provided. EMI is therefore explicitly linked with English as a language of instruction, while ICLHE may be used to refer to programmes utilising many other languages for instruction (Smit and Dafouz, 2012; Ament and Pérez-Vidal, 2015).

Impact of CLIL provision on L2 students' writing

A number of the studies investigating development of L2 competence in the CLIL settings suggest that CLIL has a very positive impact on students' writing skills. For example, Jexenflicker and Dalton-Puffer (2010) compared the writing performance of CLIL students vs. EFL-only peers and found that CLIL students showed significant advantages in lexical resources and orthographic accuracy. On the level of discourse competence and textual organization, however, differences were difficult to discern.

Roquet and Perez-Vidal (2015) compared the writing assessment results of the following groups: the students who had both foreign language and CLIL provision with the group with foreign language provision only They used the following qualitative measures to assess students' L2 writing: task fulfilment, organization, grammar, vocabulary and concluded that only in the case of accuracy, the students who had both FL and CLIL provision outperformed significantly the group with FL provision. Furthermore, Ament and Pérez-Vidal (2015) examined the linguistic outcomes of two groups of EMI undergraduate students whose entire degree programme was

taught through English. They demonstrated an improvement in lexico-grammatical and writing tasks performed by these students.

In another study conducted by Navez (2010) CLIL students outperformed non-CLIL groups in writing performance with respect to essay length, syntactic complexity, lexical variety, except accuracy. Whittaker et al. (2011) and Llinares et al. (2012) conducted a longitudinal study on written discourse development with a sample of CLIL secondary schools in which history classes were taught through English. The results showed some development in the control of textual resources, as well as an increase in nominal group complexity over the four years of the study.

In a similar vein, Dalton-Puffer (2011) found that CLIL students demonstrated more sophisticated lexical and morphosyntactic resources, as well as more elaborate and more complex structures. In her study, CLIL students also showed a higher degree of accuracy. A greater pragmatic awareness of CLIL students was demonstrated in their better communicative task accomplishment.

Ruiz de Zarobe (2010) analysed general written competence by two groups of bilingual students who followed two different CLIL programmes and a group of students following a traditional EFL programme. The results showed that both CLIL groups outperformed the EFL group in written production in the following five categories: content, organization, vocabulary, language usage, and mechanics (with significant differences in content and vocabulary). She found that there is a positive relationship between the amount of exposure to English and development of L2 written proficiency and confirmed the effectiveness of the CLIL approach on students' written production outcomes.

Overall, the studies suggest that CLIL settings, which focus primarily on the learning of content, facilitate development of written discourse among L2 learners. CLIL students showed a wider range of lexical and morphosyntactic resources, a greater pragmatic awareness, seem to better fulfil the communicative intention of the requested writing tasks (Navés, 2011; Dalton-Puffer, 2011).

Components of writing assessment
Coherence and cohesion
Cohesion refers to the use of cohesive devices (e.g., anaphora, lexical semantic relatedness, discourse markers, etc.) within a text that can signal primarily discourse relations between textual units.

Coherence, on the other hand, can be assessed in terms of transitions between adjacent clauses and other textual units signalling discourse relations and topical coherence of text passages (Halliday and Hasan, 1976).

There has been a number of methods for measuring textual coherence which are then utilised in quantitative analysis, such as, for example: topic analysis, topic moves (Todd, 1998; Todd et al, 2004). One of new tools that can be applied to measure textual coherence is Coh-Metrix[2]. This program analyzes texts on over 50 types of cohesion relations, investigates the processing of conjunctions, connectives, discourse markers, and other elements to link components of sentences, text, and written discourse (Graesser et al, 2004). In this study, the following aspects of Coh-Metrix analysis will be used:

Syntactic simplicity (index 14, 15) - this component reflects the extent to which the sentences in the text contain fewer words and use simpler, familiar syntactic structures. At the opposite end of the spectrum are texts that containing more worded sentences using complex, unknown syntactic structures. Syntactic simplicity is measured by the number of modifiers in the noun phrases and the number of words before the main verb in the sentences in the paragraph (McNamara et al, 2013).

Referential cohesion (index 18, 19) refers to measurement of the noun and stem overlap between nearby sentences and all sentences, and measurement of semantic overlap in sentences for words which are explicitly and implicitly similar or meaning-related. Referential cohesion therefore refers to overlap in content words between local sentences, or co-reference, a linguistic cue that can aid readers in making connections between propositions, clauses, and sentences in their text base understanding (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; McNamara and Kintsch, 1996).

Deep Cohesion: (index 20, 21) - this dimension represents the degree to which the text includes causal and deliberate associations when the wording involves causal and logical relationships. In other words, deep cohesion is a measure of the number of connectives in the sentences in the paragraph including causal, additive, temporal, logical and contrastive connectives.

---

[2] See more on < http://cohmetrix.memphis.edu> accessed on 31.01.2020

Lexical sophistication/lexical richness

The ratio of sophisticated or advanced words in a text is described as the lexical sophistication. However, there are different interpretations of sophisticated and complex vocabulary. For example, low frequency words are generally regarded advanced and sophisticated (Meara, 1996). There has been a number of indices to measure lexical sophistication in L2 written production. One way to measure lexical sophistication is to use a corpus-derived frequency count (Laufer and Nation, 1995; Crossley and McNamara, 2013) to examine the frequency of words used in a text.

For L2 learners in academic contexts, academic lists, such as the Academic Word List (AWL) (Coxhead, 2000; Simpson-Vlach and Ellis, 2010), have been regarded as important indicators of lexical sophistication.

Since high-frequency words are processed more easily than low-frequency words, in the field of L2 writing and speaking, word frequency indices are considered to be predictors of proficiency scores (Crossley and McNamara, 2013; Laufer and Nation, 1995). Furthermore, since words are acquired and learned in order of frequency (Cobb and Horst, 2004), the low frequency words, are taken into account when measuring the lexical richness of L2 learners. In other words, L2 writing samples that include higher frequency words tend to obtain lower proficiency scores.

A method which utilizes the frequency of words in the target language is the Lexical Frequency Profile (LFP) (Laufer and Nation, 1995). The LFP calculates the proportion of words with high frequency vs. the ratio of words with low frequency in a written text. These words are divided into different categories based on frequency bands based on a written language corpus (Laufer and Nation, 1995).

In this study lexical sophistication will be measured with the use of Vocabprofile[3]. It is an online tool allows to categorize words in the text according to the following frequency bands: the 1000 most frequent word families, the next 1000 most frequent word families, and the Academic Wordlist, which contains the 570 most frequent word families drawn from academic texts (Coxhead, 2000). In other words, Vocabulary Profilers break texts down by word frequencies, based on Laufer and Nation's Lexical Frequency Profiler, and classifies the words of texts into the first and second thousand levels, and academic words.

---

[3] See more on www.lextutor.ca/vocabprofile accessed on 31.01.2020.

The study

The main aim of this study was to determine the impact of CLIL provision on the following aspects of L2 written language performance: syntactic complexity, referential cohesion, deep coherence, academic vocabulary and lexical richness.

The following research question was posed: Will there be any differences between L2 written performance of CLIL and non-CLIL students with respect to:

- Syntactic simplicity
- Referential cohesion
- Deep cohesion
- Academic vocabulary
- Lexical sophistication

The method

A total of 50 students enrolled at a medium-sized public university in Poland participated in the study. Participants were divided into two groups of postgraduate students: a CLIL group consisted of 25 postgraduate students of International Management. A non-CLIL group consisted of 25 postgraduate students of English Philology, specializing in translation.

The groups differed in both the type of language instruction they received as well as the amount of exposure to English. For example, the IM program included 825 h of contact hours per four semesters, however no EFL support was provided, only EMI courses were offered to International Management students. A program including a total of 1100 contact hours in English, devoted primarily to studying the English language and developing communicative competence in English was offered to a non- CLIL group. The average age of participants from both cohorts was 22.5 years.

The participants were asked to complete a short writing task: What are advantages and disadvantages of being a member state of the European Union? The word limit was 200 words/the time allowed to complete the task was 30 minutes. The students' handwritten texts were then typed into txt files and processed.

Results
Quantitative analysis

The following instruments were used to analyse the participants' essays: 1) Coh-Metrix Text Easability Assessor, an on-line computational program was used to measure the following:

Syntactic simplicity, Referential cohesion and Deep cohesion. 2) Vocabulary Profiler (Lextutor.ca) was used to measure Lexical sophistication, and focus on the frequency band beyond the 2.000 most frequent words and beyond AWL. The Kolmogorov Smirnov test was used to check if the dependent variables had normal distribution. A parametric t-test for independent groups was employed to identify possible differences between scores obtained by CLIL and non-CLIL groups. The data were analysed using Microsoft Excel and SPSS version 21. Table 1 shows the results of the quantitative analysis.

Dependent variable	Independent variable	N	mean	Standard deviation	t-test for equality of means/Levene's test for equality of variances
Syntactic simplicity	CLIL group	25	44.28	22.23	Sig (two - tailed)=.960 t= .051 F(.209) = 0.650
	Non-CLIL group	25	43.96	22.34	
Referential cohesion	CLIL group	25	43.40	27.14	Sig (two - tailed)=.100 t= 1,677 F(1.136) = 0.292
	Non-CLIL group	25	31.40	23.32	
Deep cohesion	CLIL group	25	72,92	24,81	Sig (two - tailed)= .113 t= 1.614 F(.469) = 0.497
	Non-CLIL group	25	62,36	21,31	
Academic vocabulary	CLIL group	25	6,02	2,12	Sig (two - tailed)= .325 t= .994 F(.860) = 0.358
	Non-CLIL group	25	5,47	1,71	
Lexical sophistication	CLIL group	25	10,11	2,35	Sig (two - tailed)= p = .001 t= 3.54 F(1.530) = 0.222
	Non-CLIL group	25	7,52	2,78	

Table 1. T-test results showing differences between CLIL and non-CLIL groups

Discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate the impact of CLIL provision on the following aspects of L2 written language performance: syntactic complexity, referential cohesion, deep coherence, academic vocabulary and lexical richness. This study found that CLIL students did not significantly outperform the control

group with respect to the following indices of L2 writing: syntactic complexity, referential cohesion, deep coherence, academic vocabulary. The parametric t-test for independent groups showed there were no statistically significant differences between the CLIL and non-CLIL participants. The only aspect of L2 writing component that did show a significantly better performance of CLIL students was lexical richness.

However, the results obtained in the present study did reveal a positive impact of CLIL provision on L2 writing. Our findings show a slightly better writing performance in case of syntactic simplicity index, referential cohesion and deep cohesion, as well as academic vocabulary for the CLIL group, but significantly so, only in the case of lexical sophistication. The results are consistent with some prior research on CLIL writing and particularly with regards to lexical gains/richness (Jexenflicker and Dalton-Puffer, 2010).

Moreover, the results of this study may suggest a faster rate of development of L2 writing skills in case of CLIL group, as their written results seem to be comparable with the results of group of English majors despite fewer classes in which English was the language of instruction.

Limitations

Several limitations concern the present study. First, although larger sample sizes are better to generalize results, in this study, only 25 cases from each cohort were compared. Secondly, more comprehensive diagnostic measurement of writing skills before the test was taken would provide more insights into participants' written competence. Directions for further research can include a more focused study of longer term writing practice within the CLIL settings, as well as provision of different genres of texts. This type of study would be helpful to compare and contrast the impact of CLIL experience and how it affects the learning L2 writing skills among CLIL students.

Conclusions

Overall, this study provides implications that CLIL provision may an to effective development of L2 writing skill with respect to lexical sophistication, but its impact on other components of writing needs to be further explored.

References*:*

Ament, J., Pérez-Vidal, C. 2015. "Linguistic outcomes of English medium instruction programmes in higher education: A study on economics undergraduates at a Catalan University". *Higher Learning Research Communications*, 5, 1.

Cobb, T. and Horst, M., 2004. "Is there room for an academic word list in French". *Vocabulary in a second language*, 23:15-38.

Coxhead, A., 2000. "A new academic word list". *TESOL quarterly*, *34*.2: 213-238.

Crossley, S. and McNamara, D., 2013. "Applications of text analysis tools for spoken response grading". *Language Learning & Technology*, 17, 2: 171-192.

Dalton-Puffer, C., 2011. "Content-and-language integrated learning: From practice to principles?". *Annual Review of applied linguistics,* 31: 182-204.

Graesser, A.C., McNamara, D.S., Louwerse, M.M. and Cai, Z., 2004. "Coh-Metrix: Analysis of text on cohesion and language". *Behavior research methods, instruments, & computers*, 36.2:193-202.

Graesser, A. C., McNamara, D. S., and Kulikowich, J. 2011. "Coh-Metrix: Providing multilevel analyses of text characteristics". *Educational Researcher*, 40, 223-234.

Halliday, M. A. K., and R. Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman

Jexenflicker, S., and Dalton-Puffer, C. 2010. The CLIL differential: Comparing the writing of CLIL and non-CLIL students in higher colleges of technology. In C. Dalton-Puffer, T. Nikula, and U. Smit (Eds.), *Language use and language learning in CLIL classrooms* (pp. 169–190). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Laufer, B. and Nation, P. 1995. "Vocabulary size and use: Lexical richness in L2 written production". *Applied Linguistics*, 16.3:307-322.

Llinares, A., 2015. "Integration in CLIL: A proposal to inform research and successful pedagogy". *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *28*.1:58-73.

McNamara, D.S. and Kintsch, W., 1996. "Learning from texts: Effects of prior knowledge and text coherence". *Discourse processes*, *22*.3: 247-288.

McNamara, D.S., Louwerse, M.M., Cai, Z., and Graesser, A. 2005, January 1. Coh-Metrix version 3.0. Available at: <http//:cohmetrix.memphis.edu> (accessed 13 March 2013).

McNamara, D.S., Crossley, S.A. and Roscoe, R., 2013. "Natural language processing in an intelligent writing strategy tutoring system". *Behavior research methods*, 45.2: 499-515.

Meara, P., 1996. "The dimensions of lexical competence". *Performance and competence in second language acquisition*, *35*:33-55.

Navés, T. 2011. How promising are the results of integrating content and language for EFL writing and overall EFL proficiency? In Y. Ruiz de Zarobe, J. M. Sierra, & F. Gallardo del Puerto (Eds.), *Content and foreign language integrated learning: Contributions to multilingualism in European contexts* (pp. 155–186). Bern: Peter Lang.

Ruiz de Zarobe, Y. 2010. "Written production and CLIL: An empirical study". In C. Dalton-Puffer, T. Nikula, & U. Smit (Eds.), *Language use and language learning in CLIL classrooms* (pp. 191–212). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Simpson-Vlach, R. and Ellis, N.C., 2010. "An academic formulas list: New methods in phraseology research." *Applied linguistics*, 31.4:487-512.

Smit, U. and Dafouz, E., 2012. "Integrating content and language in higher education: An introduction to English-medium policies, conceptual issues and research practices across Europe". *Aila Review*, 25.1:1-12.

Todd, R.W., Thienpermpool, P. and Keyuravong, S., 2004. "Measuring the coherence of writing using topic-based analysis". *Assessing writing*, 9.2:85-104.

Todd, R. W. 1998. Topic-based analysis of classroom discourse. *System*, 26.3:303-318.

Whittaker, R., Llinares, A. and McCabe, A., 2011. "Written discourse development in CLIL at secondary school." *Language Teaching Research*, 15.3: 343-362.

Functional Grammar in David Cameron's Political Discourse

Ion-Sorin Luca[1]
West University of Timișoara, Romania

Abstract: This study carries on an attempt of transitivity and interpersonal analysis of David Cameron's speech during the Brexit campaign. This research aims to demonstrate the importance of Halliday's *functional grammar* in critical discourse analysis paying attention to a text. Halliday's metafunctions have the role in analysing the language functions, reflect the relation between the text and the reader, and pay attention to the effect of the message carried through cohesion and coherence of sentences in discourse. The strategies adopted in critical discourse analysis have as a framework *functional grammar.*

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, functional grammar, linguistics, SFL

1. Introduction

This research carries on an attempt of transitivity and interpersonal analysis of David Cameron's speech during the Brexit campaign. These two of three metafunctions are part of systemic functional linguistics which is an integral part of critical discourse analysis being used by many researchers in this field; one of them is Norman Fairclough (2003: 105). The way the strategies used by Halliday analysing the language could be used to interpret David Cameron's speech much more detailed and precise, and also the way he communicates with his audience.

The approach adopted is not inspired only by M.A.K. Halliday's book *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2004), but also Suzanne Eggins' *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics* (2004) which in addition to strategies adopted by Halliday, she adds three more sub-systems: appreciation, affective appraisals, and judgment. The study starts with a theory background which is a discussion regarding *functional grammar* mentioning authors as M.A.K. Halliday, Suzanne Eggins, Norman Fairclough, Paul J. Hopper, etc.

---

[1]lucasorinlucasorin@yahoo.com

The language seen from a traditional perspective is correlated to mathematics and logic including "rules, and principles generating mental representations" (cf. Young 2011: 627) from which grammar derives neglecting the interactions between participants that depend on the social situation. On the other hand, Hopper sees the structure of language depending on this social situation, and this type of grammar is contrary to the "fixed and stable grammatical system" (2012: 301). However, the most important thing depends on which kind of grammar is used, one which includes a text in context or that type that pays attention to the words used in the text without being related to the context.

Moreover, Halliday's *metafunctions* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 30) are: *ideational* with its role to inform the reader or to take action; *interpersonal* which reflects the relation between the speaker and the listener, and *the textual metafunction* which would not be left out completely as it derives from the interpretation of previous two metafunctions by giving to clause "its purpose and its context" (Eggins 2004: 298). In other words, the message is carried through cohesion and coherence of sentences in discourse. Lastly, the text will be analysed taking into account the transitivity and interpersonal process.

As an addition to Halliday's *metafunctions*, Fairclough (2003: 27) elaborates the same three functions, but one comprises two of Halliday's and calls it *action*. Firstly, this function stands for a social situation referred to as the interaction between participants that would be identified with certain features from Halliday's *interpersonal metafunction*. Secondly, this implies Halliday's textual metafunction through the fact that in a sentence given the information about entities or events could be picked up relating it to other sentences in text or even in other texts from a context through certain markers of cohesion and coherence.

2. Theoretical Background

Beginning with the 1980s, two schools were in contradiction regarding *the linguistic process* and each of them tried to control the characteristics of the other by imposing its place in linguistics. While functionalists wanted to replace grammar rules with "statements about discourse functions", formalists asserted that the "syntactic facts" go hand in hand with those of discourse and *the function* cannot substitute *a syntactic rule*. But in the end, the two schools

arrived at a consensus that *grammatical rules* could be taken from discourse and syntactic rules could be said in a new way as functional principles to establish and develop discourse. In other words, "language was functional and structural" (Hopper 2012: 302).

The most important representative for this research and one of these two schools according to Young (2011: 626) is Halliday whose *systemic functional linguistics* finds its origins in the Prague School of Linguistics implying four principles. Firstly, the language is seen as a network where certain "features and aspects of language" are linked to each other and could not be "in isolation". Secondly, it is mentioned that language is a system that includes other different *subsystems*. In other words, each level of language has its importance such as in the case of lexis, grammar, semantics, etc. Thirdly, it refers to the fact that one should focus on the meaning and purpose of language and the way this is used in different situations. Finally, the last principle refers to the fact that "the form or structure" stands for function and is used with a purpose.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 3), a text is seen as an object which gives meaning to a common reader, but for grammarians, a text is "a many-faceted phenomenon" that could be interpreted in "a different way". Firstly, the text will be taken as an object and will be used the classical questions, *why?, what?* which implies a meaning for who asks. Secondly, grammarians pay attention to the "text as an instrument" trying to identify "the system of language" in which the text is not clear without taking account of the "linguistic system". The interpretation of the text as an object sends one to the meaning of the sign in semiotics, in which a text seen as an object stands for *signified* or somebody ideology and conventionality used in a group to get the meaning of a text in a certain context (Eggins 2004: 14).

On the other hand, Hopper (2012: 301) states that grammar is a "linguistic structure" which happens at the moment of ongoing communication. This implies the fact that the structure of language is "created and recreated" depending on the context of the situation. This type of grammar is contrary to "the fixed and stable grammatical system". In other words, it makes a level with the concepts of other "social science fields" and Hopper calls this type of grammar *emergent grammar.* This implies in discourse the analyses of interaction during communication mentioning the fact that this is not rigid as the syntax of the language and gives an explanation to "the isolated sentences". Discourse pays more attention to the context and

implies at the level of the sentence the semantics and pragmatics involving also sentences with particles and connectors which out of the discussion is the grammar field. In the same order of ideas, Hopper, as well as Halliday, has more or less the same perspective, only by mentioning the words isolation and interaction send one with the mind to the principles of Prague School.

Functional grammar builds its theory taking as a framework the traditional grammar in which the similarities between them could be seen. For example, the same well-known subject implies in *functional grammar* three meanings to a clause, one of "actor" as logical subject, "subject" as the grammatical subject that refers to concord agreement, and "theme" or psychological subject that refers to the role of subject analysed from a different perspective much deeper and much more complex (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 56). All three meanings can be in one word or each meaning in different words. For example, *'The Prime Minister sent his secretary the document'*, *the prime minister* has all these meanings, but if one says *'The document was sent by Prime Minister'*, the emphasized word is not anymore *'the prime minister'* but *'the document'*. This becomes the *psychological subject,* and *'the prime minister'* is the *logical subject*, in other words, the person who takes the action. '*The document'* is also *a grammatical subject* and has a double meaning. *The goal* is the person or object, in traditional grammar, this is called *a direct object*. In this case, in the first sentence '*the prime minister'* is *the actor* and *'the document'* is *the goal*. Moreover, traditional grammar can also be applied to the discourse by dividing a sentence into two parts, a noun group which includes nouns with its determiners such as articles, adjectives, pronouns, and a verbal group with its adverbs. It is also another type of group, but it is much smaller and links other parts of speech, these are conjunctions and prepositions. Additionally, syntax includes clauses and in almost every clause there are a nominal and a verbal group. A clause contains a group of words that depends on one of each other carrying meaning to the main word. These could be nouns or verbs and are called modifiers. Having a function means the way that word works in that clause. A sentence such as '*The old smart Prime Minister let the document fast on the desk for secretary'* could also give us certain information regarding *the subject* and *the predicate* with adjectives, adverbs expressing voice, manner, place without applying *functional grammar*, but the information received is not the same only by mentioning *the subject* from the example above. While the *formalists*

pay attention to the correctness of grammar, *the functionalists* extend the meaning of this. For instance, the answer '*Yes (he has)'* belonging to the sentence *'The Prime Minister has sent the document, hasn't he?'* is related to the tag question and the context of the situation implying also the status of persons in dialogue. The person who asks may be superior to the other one from whom a positive answer is expected. *The subject* of the sentence whose meaning is clarified above stands also for 'the concern' of discussion. The past participle 'sent' as a "predictor" (Eggins 2004: 155) expresses that it was triggered by a cause determining PM to take action otherwise he would not have done it.

2.1.   The Ideational Metafunction

The language is seen as an interpretation of "human experience"; this puts names, sets them in "categories" and after in "taxonomies" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29). This function of the language is called "ideational metafunction" and is divided into two "the experiential and the logical" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29). The "logical function" refers to the way the clauses are connected getting their meaning interdependent and after "the logical-semantic meaning" between them. Eggins states that the "experiential function" represents "the happenings" of reality or imagination and is related to the classical questions of investigations "who is doing? what to, whom, where, when" (cf. Young 2011: 628). The way the language is used is almost all the time built according to interaction and relation between speakers. This *metafunction* is preoccupied with our experience comprehended from "inner and outer experience" and tries to give it meaning. This covers an entire process and implies an interaction between participants and a circumstance at a certain time and place which depends on a verb in contrast with other tenses, the past or future. "The outer world" in which one takes part is represented by "actions and events" in contrast with "the inner world" where it lies "consciousness" implying "perception, emotion, and imagination" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170).

2.2. The Approach Adopted

On account of Halliday's *ideational, interpersonal*, and *textual* metafunction, Norman Fairclough (2003: 27) states the fact that a clause, sentence, or text implies similarly multifunctionality. Consequently, he refers to the three functions as if these clarify the position of the text concerning the event and actors who are implied according to their social position. Fairclough refers to the text meaning more or less as Halliday. Firstly, "the action" is very similar to *interpersonal function*, but taking account more of the text relation with the event and implying also the textual function which is the third Halliday's metafunction. The way the actors interact has to deal with social relationships. In addition to *action*, not only social relation is included but also *the textual function* which is a part of a larger context. Secondly, the "identification function" (Fairclough 2003: 27) stands for Halliday's *interpersonal metafunction* that includes more an assessment of participants, events, or entities in text. Lastly, "the representation" (Fairclough 2003: 27) is identified with the *ideational function* presented by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 29) and refers to the relation of participants or institutions.

Weighing both sides of the argument, Halliday's strategy of analysis implies a much more detailed analysis from a linguistic point of view, while Fairclough's strategy (1989: 145) implies that the metafunctions are intertwined and simplifies from a sociological perspective the comprehension of the text. Paying attention to both perspectives, this research will adopt Halliday's ideational and interpersonal metafunctions analysis mentioning the fact that the *textual function* conforms to Fairclough (2003: 27) being periphrastically related to the other two functions.

Consequently, for interpreting a text from a functional grammar perspective, it is assumed that the reader possesses knowledge of grammar and syntax for splitting the text into sentences and clauses and to identify the processes which stand for verbs. An issue could be raised only by the infinitive verbs which are taken as processes in clauses subordinated to mental and verbal processes. For instance, Cameron's second sentence of the text is noted as 2 (a) "And today I want to pause (b) and speak to you very directly, and personally, about the momentous decision (c) that this country faces in just two days". Therefore, to split all the text here is impossible for reasons of space.

3. The Transitivity and Interpersonal Analysis

David Cameron's speech before the EU referendum according to *The Independent* (June 21, 2016)[2]:

3.1. Transitivity Process

Process	Count	Examples	Percentage	Total
Material	60	We **put** it at risk	44.44%	
Relational	46	That**'s** a huge risk to Britain	34.07%	
Mental	19	I **feel** so strongly	14.07%	
Verbal	8	Expert after expert – independent advisers, people whose job it is to warn Prime Ministers – **have said**	5.93%	135
Existential	2	**There is** no going back	1.48%	
Behavioural	0		0%	

3.1.1. Material Process

The material process represents 44. 44 percent of the total of processes and refers to action implied always by a purpose and represented through "figures of doing and happening" in a certain context (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 179). The verb of doing could be easily understood as *the subject* does something to *the object* or if we have a *passive voice*, vice versa through *the agent*. The material process starts with clause no. 2c where the prime minister emphasizes *the actor*, which is the country. The process "faces" shows the importance of the circumstances given as an important issue to reflect on. "The country" as *subject* implies a meaning to the transitive verb that involves action to the function of complement which involves "highly complication" or rising tensions as a warning through the adverb "just". In 4c and d the Prime Minister announces the purpose of this referendum advising his fellow citizens what they should do mentioning Britain as *an actor*

---

[2] Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-brexit-latest-live-david-cameron-full-speech-remain-leave-a7093426. html>

and giving them the direction of the vote. Through rhetoric, he appeals to the elector's conscience saying that it is the right path to be chosen. At 6b and 7b, it is mentioned the context given for the UK in which indirectly he refers also to the country's isolation due to the rising of populism. For instance, the measures adopted by Nigel Farage which stand for no deal with the EU regarding the free market, control of trade, border defense against migrants, an anti-union discourse, etc, because these consequences will be endured by British people. He mentions the fact that the strength is not in being alone with the ascension of China economically and military on one hand and the other with the most dangerous countries from a military point of view at the British security, namely, Russia. 'Leave' in contrast to 'remain' expresses taking action but also the incertitude of people that is why he is trying to take advantage of his status over the audience and the speech is directed to both types of electors. At the 12cd the opinion of specialists with experience in the field is mentioned as arguments whose job is to plan and act. He makes the actors aware of this aspect to read and seek information in detail about 'exit' in contrast to listening to fairy tales from absent 'they'. Through his action (14) he wants to emphasize his sincerity regarding this issue of not "standing and encouraging" them there if it had not been the case but with the circumstances given he feels that he must defend their interests. He strengthens his status by mentioning Europe as the main participant in the clause and 'the beneficiary' "me" (14d) belongs to the process material. In clauses 17b and 18, it is emphasized the fact that he knows everything about the security of the country and recognizes the fact that this is possible due to Britain's neighbours and friends who are delivering information about terrorists. Together as a family, the proximity expressed by "we" stand for managing to fight disease and poverty, against Russia, and help friends around the world. Moreover, he predicts that the key ally the US due to the elections from November could jeopardize the relation as the populist candidate may win. Clause 41 shows the reason which is given for being at 'risk' as a result of the referendum will be undesired because jobs, trade, and many other opportunities could be jeopardized. In clause 44b, the dash has the role to emphasize what is going to be said, creating drama, it refers to whom it will be affected in the case of 'exit' and "the hardest" stands for evaluation according to his judgment. In clause 49bc David Cameron remembers to the electors that the UK negotiated an enhanced its status during the time in EU such as the referendum on Thursday, the

5th of June 1975 when this got a special status of having their own money, the right to live, work, travel, and benefit of the single market.

3.1.2. Mental Process

The mental process treats the issue regarding "the inner world" from the human consciousness and the way this feels the "outer world" being called "clauses of senses" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 197). The mental process is in the third place and represents 14.07 percent of the verbs which work for expressing 'feelings', 'perceptions', 'cognition', and 'wishes'. The mental process is present in discourse beginning with the two clauses, 2a and 4a, and expresses the desire of making British people understand that from his experience as Prime Minister and as a citizen he 'feels' and 'knows'. Here "I" represents *the senser* about the UK and *the outer world* or the EU. *The projection* through infinitive verbs (Eggins 2004: 232) expresses 'saying' of what the speaker feels like a symbol of Britain. This is dependent on the mental clause and functions as a reporting where they should reflect over his understanding of the situation. Through "directly and personally" a conclusion or an evaluation could be sensed as a result of his 'dislike' of taking a decision. *The recipient* 'you' is the *beneficiary* of the information strengthened by an adverb of manner which expresses the quality of sincerity. In clause 4d the mental process expresses the reality of *the outer world* which is reflected in his fear, *the inner world* of the participant emphasized by the adverb "so strongly". The mental process from clause 17a and 20a is decoded better analysing the clauses around and emphasizes his perception through the verb "see", not only on TV but he is also informed about "these dangerous times". For instance, the raising of the extremist party UKIP, whose effects are related to Thomas Mair who stabbed and killed labour MP Jo Cox only five days before this speech. The other circumstance is the indefinite "now" that represents the firm decision through which he tries to get votes from all political fields and "every living prime minister" (39ab) or politician would say to stay in Europe. In clauses, 47bc and 48, this process implies two classes of verbs, cognition, and perception, in which "those frustration" and "them myself" represent *a phenomenon act* linked to the way he feels and perceives the current situation.

3.1.3. Relational Process

While the other two processes represent the material world and the world of our consciousness, *the relational* one implies two features, one "to characterize" and another "to identify". The process is expressed by the verbs "be" and "have" in a percentage of 34.07, and "the outer and inner experience" is interpreted as "being" more than "doing or sensing" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 211). *The relational process* begins with the first sentence of discourse which could be interpreted as an evaluation of "we" but also the relationship between PM and the audience. *The token* "we" is realized by an intensive identifying process linked to the *value* that gives a certain classification to their status in opposition to 'they' defining the participant(s) involved. In clause 3, the prime minister is *the carrier* of "the responsibility and the honour for six years" and *the complement* being in front emphasizes a long period in contrast to others' irresponsibility. *The attributive* expressed by adjectives enumerated in each clause shows the evaluation between being 'weaker' and 'stronger', a classification of quality in "an irreversible huge risk" which depends on the relation with the others. In clause number 13, *the token* is his job, not others, in which the function of the process expresses competence and determination in taking decisions regarding the security of the country. The security of the country is expressed also in clause 20b in which *a projection* of a perception expresses the certitude of *senser* with the meaning of knowing about what the matter is, implying indirectly *the carrier* 'we'. This *carrier* attributes to them his wants and desires to feel in the same way and to have trust reflected in the evaluation through the adjective "safer". Clause 32f implies the isolation in which Great Britain could be if article 50 is triggered. Without their old friends and allies, the economy could be in difficulty. Clause 36b supports the idea regarding benefits better because he has dealt better than anyone this. In clauses 37b and 38b, *the carriers* "I" recognize the fact that certain decisions were made wrong and others being angry about this, but "everyone" does not represent all the UK and also implies a conclusion that his relationship with others is not so good. In this way, he wants to create a connection and direct them to choose the right path. If in 39c Britain identifies with EU which stands for *value* and it is a relation of inclusion. In clause 40 the interests why the UK should not remain outside are highlighted. Thus, the economy will lose "the 500 million customers" of the EU who belong to "the single market" from which Britain wants to be excluded. This could

stay as it is or otherwise the companies could move outside the UK according to the Prime Minister's best experts (42a). A failure of the referendum will affect families from the UK, as the word "our families" (43a, 66a) emphasizes expressing a relation of trust in which the possessed things such as "jobs, wages, and prices could be lost". The denouement of the discourse is touched by shifting from "I" (62a mental process) to "we" (61bcd, 63a) that reflects a relationship of closeness where the Prime Minister includes himself. According to his experience, he evaluates the issue using an enumeration of adjectives that expresses the living standard of British people due to the EU. Even if his discourse is pro-European, the right-wing ideology could easily be sensed through "our family" or "remember who we are as a nation" (66a). To these, it is added the fact that if you try to convince too much somebody, you will fail. Consequently, the EU referendum was not necessary, but PM's decision to have one may have a lot of interpretations.

3.1.4. Verbal Process

The verbal process is situated at the boundary between "mental and relational" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 248) and refers to the function behind the process called "symbolic process". This process represents a percentage of 5.93 from a total of processes in which are used verbs such as "say, tell and talk" wherein a conversation could mean "a reply" or "a counter". *The verbal process* begins with 2a and 4b where infinitives "to speak and to tell" through *projection* derive from the mental verb "want". Thus, a report takes place and implies "an affection process" as if the Prime Minister addressed for the first time to the people speaking of such an important matter. *The sayer* is a conscious being who directs his message "to you" "directly and personally" in which *the predicator* expresses the fear of being misunderstood about the importance of the vote.

3.1.5. Existential process

The existential process is located between "relational and material" processes and expresses "something that exists or happens" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 256). *The existential process* is a repeated clause placed at the beginning of the text with clause 9, and clause 65b at the end. If the first clause is independent, the second one is linked through coordination with a relational process that expresses a lot of information regarding Brexit starting with

predicator as *existential*. Even if the first clause is independent, the clauses treat the same matters as coordinated one raising some concerns or fear among them such as "jobs, the risk to our families, children's future, the risk to Britain". The repetition of the clause with some ideas around at the beginning and the end of speech has the role to strengthen the idea of warning that there is not an issue to play with.

3.2. The Interpersonal Metafunction
3.2.1. The Imperative Mood

and,	For you, for your family, for the future of your country,	vote	remain
Adjunct: conjunctive	Circumstantial Adjunct	Predicator	Complement
	Residue		

The imperative structures in clause 47 through the subject 'you' is an ellipse and implies a function that expresses "a demand of good and services" (Eggins 2004: 177) that derives from previous clauses where Cameron delivered information. The purpose is to influence people's behaviour to get their votes. Moreover, he thinks that in this way a mutual relation is created whose advice will be followed. "Me" is in contrast to "you" and stands for experience and information, while "you" is in opposition, not only with the status of prime minister but also with his knowledge. The ellipse of the subject 'you' implies 'an advice' more than a command which is not authoritative. In clause 51b *predicator* "think" is expressed as an order in which he is trying to make them understand the importance of the situation. At the end of the clause, he tries to get an emotional effect through complements added and directs the electors in the way desired using his reliable status. In clauses, 53a and 66ac to which the conjunctions "and" and "so" are added to amplify the high level of *modulation* through which the Prime Minister asks something from the audience according to the information given. The repeated verb "remember" informs them that the decision was taken and those that will be taken depend on their choice. The effect of "this Thursday" amplifies the irreversible time in which the PM asks the reader to

take account of his experience and be persuaded that the best decision is "to vote remain" (66a).

3.2.2. The Declarative Mood

I	have	seen	first-hand,	in these dangerous times
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Adjunct: mood	Adjunct: circumstantial
Declarative M.		Residue		

The declarative mood represents a percentage of 96.42 from 140 total clauses presented in the speech above and works as a function for delivering information, warning, and prediction for the UK. It should be taken into account that the warning clauses hide in their message a high level of certainty which in a similar way to modal 'will', the leader gives persuasive instructions to be followed. These represent 91.85% of the declarative mood in 135 clauses and stand for trustworthy argumentation supported by PM's status and the experts mentioned. The missing of the interrogative clauses sends a message clear of certainty as the prime minister has nothing to question or negotiate with the listener or reader about.

4. Conclusions

To sum up, functional grammar is necessary for the analysis of a text no matter if the text is from literature or media. This type of analysis process functions in a similar way as speech acts may work, even much more detailed and the analysis could involve the macro and micro viewpoint. Additionally, behind the words lies an exchange of information from one word to all sentences related to the analysis of the social context. With the help of transitive and interpersonal analysis, participants are deciphered while they ask things for them or give information regarding different topics such as Brexit. The study can be used in different areas of communication where the language is involved.

On the whole, Halliday's strategies of interpreting a text should be added to a background knowledge that stands in terms of Fairclough for *representation*. A much more detailed explanation of participants' position in an interaction that relates to Halliday's *tenor*

is the *style* one adopts in different circumstances. Consequently, a journalist or a politician is identified with the embodiment of certain features in his articles or speeches treating different topics. In other words, from the text, interaction, and the context can be inferred his identity with his ideology and personality. What is more, *a residue* could be a way of activating whether the topic of the text is true or not, and for this a research in another context is necessary. What is very interesting is how *functional grammar* strategies could help the analysis of photography starting from the idea that the words stand for objects as a part of semiotics.

Consequently, functional grammar is an integrated part of discourse analysis without which a qualitative analysis could be possible but would be done at a wide range omitting the precision of information given by a much more detailed analysis.

References:

Eggins, Suzanne. 2004. *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*, 2nd Edition, Continuum: New York and London.

Halliday, M.A.K, Matthiessen Christian M.I.M. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Third Edition, Hodder Arnold: London.

Young, Lynne. 2011. "Systemic functional linguistics." *The Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, edited by James Simpson, Routledge: London and New York, 625- 637.

Stone, Jon. 2016. "EU referendum: Full transcript of David Cameron's last-ditch plea for Britain to Remain". *The Independent*. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-brexit-latest-live-david-cameron-full-speech-remain-leave-a7093426.html> (accessed 15 April 2019).

Evaluative Phraseologies in Travel Journalism:
A Look at *The Guardian* Travel Section[1]

Antonio Pinna[2]
University of Sassari, Italy

Abstract: This paper explores some evaluative phraseologies in a 4-million-word corpus of travelogues from the British newspaper *The Guardian*. Through the novel technique of sem-gram, by means of which concatenations of Part-of-Speech and semantic tags were automatically retrieved from the corpus, a series of evaluative phraseologies, i.e. recurrent multi-word expressions of authorial opinion, were identified and further categorized as focusing on the travel experience, the writer or the addressee. All instances of the most frequent in each category were then studied in their co-texts to shed light on some typical discursive practices operating in the register of travel journalism.

Keywords: Corpus-driven, evaluation, phraseology, sem-grams, travel journalism

1. Introduction

Travel journalism has met with growing interest in academic research over the past twenty years (e.g. Fürsich and Kavoori 2001, Hanusch 2010, Hanusch and Fürsich 2014a, Pirolli 2019). Media scholars have noted its role in international communication, especially in providing frames for the interpretation of foreign cultures (e.g. Hanusch 2010: 72). However, as a result of their commercial orientation, travelogues are different from so-called hard news reports. Whilst the latter aim to give an objective, balanced and impersonal representation of events, the former are characterized by an audience made up of consumers of first-hand travel accounts that want to be entertained and advised, as well as informed about the destinations. Although a focus on truthfulness and accuracy is the trademark of any respectable professional in this field, according to Pirolli (2019: 34-37), the discursive practices of travel journalism favour the presentation of the enticing aspects of a destination, and

[2] dedalo@uniss.it

the contextualization of the travel experience as a means through which expectations may be created in the audience. This is fostered by the construction of a trusting relationship between writers and readers through the simulation of private, direct communication.[3] In this respect, travelogues allow for an author's viewpoints and suggestions to be included in the texts and these contribute to the promotion of certain facets of a given destination. As some specific ways of expressing authorial opinion may be a recurrent feature of this register, the identification of the most frequent evaluative phraseologies and the illustration of their typical textual functions in a 4-million-word corpus of travel reports from the online version of the British newspaper *The Guardian* contribute to clarify some relevant aspects of its discursive practices.

2. A definition of evaluation

For the purpose of this study, the definition of evaluation provided by Thompson and Hunston (2000:5) has been adopted:

> Evaluation is the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values.

This definition identifies three key aspects of this concept: its semiotic essence, i.e. evaluation is realized through verbal or non-verbal means; the similarity between opinions concerning entities or propositions, which allows to subsume under the same umbrella term phenomena such as affect and modality (see Thompson and Hunston 2000: 20); and finally, the role played by interpersonal sets of values, which operate as different types of evaluation. With respect to the last aspect, Thompson and Hunston (2000: 22-24) and Bednarek (2006) identify various evaluative parameters along which evaluation is carried out. Thompson and Hunston's (2000) model includes four parameters: DESIRABILITY,[4] i.e. whether something is considered to be good or bad; CERTAINTY, i.e. to which degree a proposition or an

---

[3] This phenomenon has been called 'synthetic personalization' by Fairclough (1992: 98-99) and 'ego-targeting' by Dann (1996: 185-188).
[4] In this paper we follow the convention of using small caps for evaluative parameters.

event is thought to be likely; EXPECTEDNESS, i.e. whether something is to be (un)expected; IMPORTANCE, i.e. how relevant a certain phenomenon or proposition is. On her part, Bednarek (2006) proposes a detailed set of nine parameters, six of which (core parameters) are based on scalar evaluations between two poles,[5] while the last three (peripheral evaluative parameters) include different types of each parameter.[6] Bednarek's core parameters subsume Thompson and Hunston's (2000) parameters and further include those of COMPREHENSIBILITY and POSSIBILITY/NECESSITY.

Thompson and Hunston (2000: 6-12) identify three fundamental functions of evaluation: the expression of authorial opinion, which reflects both individual and communal value systems; the construction of an interpersonal relationship between the text producer and its consumers; the organization of discourse. Alba-Juez and Thompson (2014: 13) highlight the importance of relational work performed by evaluation, in that the expression of an opinion is a complex pragmatic act involving the interaction of communal values systems, considerations of politeness, and anticipations of possible reactions on the part of the interlocutors. In this respect, studying evaluation in the travelogue register may highlight both typical aspects of its discursive practices and recurring ideologies.

3. Materials and methods

The corpus taken into examination was compiled at the University of Sassari (Italy) by the author and his colleague David Brett and is part of a broader research project (e.g. Brett and Pinna 2013, Brett and Pinna 2015, Pinna and Brett 2018), focusing on several aspects of authentic communication in the online version of the well-known British newspaper *The Guardian*.[7] The Guardian Travel Corpus (GTC) comprises 3,348 articles of different length for

---

[5] For example, evaluation along the EMOTIVITY parameter may be realized along a cline by means of the following adjectives: *excellent*, *good*, *satisfactory*, *bad*, *and awful*. Bednarek's core parameters are COMPREHENSIBILITY, EMOTIVITY, EXPECTEDNESS, IMPORTANCE, POSSIBILITY/NECESSITY, and RELIABILITY.

[6] For example, the EVIDENTIALITY parameter includes further specifications of whether a given piece of information is made plain in a text through perception, mental process, verbal activity, general knowledge, evidence, or is left unspecified. Peripheral evaluative parameters are EVIDENTIALITY, MENTAL STATE, and STYLE.

[7] The main Guardian Corpus is composed of articles published between 2006 and 2011 and comprises 10 different sections: Travel, (UK) Crime, Football, Banking, Politics, Education, Obituaries, Technology, World News and Films.

a total of 4,073,973 tokens. The articles appeared in the online version of the newspaper over a period from 2006-2011. Although today it is more international in outlook, theguardian.com[8] up to a few years ago was targeted primarily at British readers. The texts comprising the corpus were deliberately picked from a large range of subsections to avoid bias towards a particular subject area. For the purpose of the present study, the GTC is considered to be representative of the Travel Journalism register.

The study of phraseology has traditionally been given special attention in Corpus Linguistics, with a particular focus on the various methods that can be employed to automatically retrieve different categories of Multi-Word Units (henceforth MWUs), i.e. recurrent strings of word forms or word classes that are characterized by evident formal or semantic internal relationships and functional roles within their linguistic context. For this study, the sem-gram method has been employed. This technique, developed by David Brett and the author, allows the retrieval from a corpus of concatenations of Part-of-Speech (PoS) and semantic tags, i.e. the sem-grams, by first annotating a corpus using Wmatrix3,[9] and then using tailormade perl scripts to form the sem-grams starting from each token of the texts.[10] In this study, the length of the sem-grams was set to 6 as an ideal medium that provides both sufficient data and a long enough span to permit the identification of specific phraseologies. By considering only those sem-grams that had at least ten tokens, 608 sem-grams were identified for a total of 11,319 tokens. Seventy-five sem-grams, i.e. 12.3% of the total, yielded thirty evaluative MWUs that were

---

[8] Available online at https://www.theguardian.com/international, theguardian.com comprises the UK edition, US edition, Australia edition and international edition (last accessed January 07, 2020).

[9] WMatrix3 is a web-based interface provided at the Computing Department of the University of Lancaster that allows automatic PoS tagging through CLAWS – the Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System, and semantic tagging through USAS – UCREL Semantic Analysis System (Rayson et al 2004; also, Rayson 2008). The complete list of semantic tags is provided at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/USASSemanticTagset.pdf (last accessed October 10, 2019).

[10] In the sem-gram technique, when a token is PoS-tagged as being a Lexical Verb (VV*), an Adjective (JJ*) or a Common Noun (NN*), the semantic tag is appended to the sem-gram, otherwise the PoS-gram is added. Using only the semantic tags for all tokens would result in a loss of information, as prepositions, articles and other elements are all placed in category Z5, the grammatical bin. In this way, the sem-gram is a blend of PoS and semantic tags.

further investigated to highlight their properties and functions in the GTC texts.[11]

4. Results and discussion

As a way to ascertain the discursive properties and functions performed by the evaluative MWUs, all tokens and their linguistic co-texts were checked to establish whether the authorial opinion emphasised aspects of the travel experience or focused on one of the participants in the communicative exchange, i.e. the author or the addressee. Table 1 provides a list of the five most frequent MWUs (each illustrated by an example token and including the number of its tokens in brackets) for each category.

Emphasis on the experience	Emphasis on the author	Emphasis on the addressee
It is a great place to (135)	As far as the eye can see (25)	If you don't want to (29)
Some of the world's most (56)	It's easy to see why (16)	You don't have to go (23)
It is the perfect place for a (24)	It's hard to believe that (15)	You could be forgiven for thinking (13)
It's a great way to (23)	A small price to pay for (11)	You'd expect to find in (12)
There's no better place to (15)	Here's our pick of the (11)	As long as you don't (12)

Table 1. A list of the five most frequent MWUs (number of tokens in brackets) with respect to emphasis.

For reasons of space, what follows is an analysis of the most frequent MWU in each category.

4.1 Emphasis on the travel experience

The most frequent evaluative MWU that emphasizes the travel experience has been identified in eight different sem-grams for a total of 135 tokens. This MWU, which can be schematically represented as *It*/N *is an* ADJ N *to*-infinitive/PP, is exemplified in Table 2 on the basis of ten random tokens from the various sem-grams that contain it.

---

[11] The same MWU, or key portions of it, may be present in more than one sem-gram.

It/N	*is a*	ADJ (= positive evaluation)	N (= place)	*to*-inf/PP
It'	s a	great	place	to clear your mind
It'	s a	good	place	to hang out and
Krakow	is a	good	place	to hire a car
It'	s a	wonderful	place	to feel New York
Guthrie St.	is a	great	place	to start an evening
Perthshire	is a	great	place	to see red squirrels
Cheval Blanc	is a	great	location	for exploring the
It'	s a	great	base	for exploring the area
It	is a	great	place	for a drink before
It	is a	fantastic	location	for a family holiday

Table 2. Selected tokens illustrating the MWU *It*/N *is a* ADJ N *to*-infinitive/PP

Table 2 shows that this MWU is characterized by an invariable slot, slots where paradigmatic variability is restricted to semantically similar words, and slots where variability is syntactically and functionally constrained. One immediately notices the regular association between the words in slot 3 containing evaluative adjectives and those in slot 4 comprising the general nouns denoting place. Furthermore, slot 1 contains the pronoun *it* or a proper noun specifying a location that is a hyponym of the superordinate denoting generic place (slot 4), thus showing an aspect of the MWU internal coherence. This MWU is completed by slot 5, which only contains *to*-infinitive clauses or prepositional phrases denoting activities that can be carried out in a certain location.[12] All the features of phraseology are therefore present, in that this MWU shows considerable frequency,[13] there is a semantic and functional internal relationship among its constituent elements, and it performs the pragmatic function of providing a positive evaluation of a place with respect to the activities that can be realized there.

[12] The evaluated entity is therefore not limited to the specified location, but it includes the activity that may be undertaken there, as mentioned in the *to*-infinitive or prepositional phrase. This case of evaluation has been classified as 'restriction on evaluation' by Hunston and Sinclair (2000: 87) or 'limiter/specification' by Hunston (2011: 148).

[13] In a comparison between the GTC and the British National Corpus (BNC), for example, the frequencies of the formulae *is a great place to*, *is a good place to*, *is a * place to*, *is a * place for* (where * stands for any word form) in the GTC are statistically significant (d. f. 1, p<0.0001) with extremely high X^2 values (1024.17, 427. 96, 1722.74, and 320.41, respectively).

From a phraseological point of view, this MWU is a semi-prepackaged phrase (Francis 1993: 144; also, Philip 2008: 98), in that no single lexical item is essential, although in each position paradigmatic variability is semantically or functionally restricted. Evaluation is carried out along the EMOTIVITY parameter (Bednarek 2006: 45-47),[14] according to which a writer's assessment is given along the good-bad parameter. In the GTC, all tokens of this phraseology provide positive evaluation and therefore not only legitimate the selection of those attractions by the authors, but also promote them as worthwhile, thus informing and guiding the readers with respect to their destination choices.

4.2 Focus on the author

The most frequent evaluative MWU focusing on the writer is found in two overlapping sem-grams for a total of 25 tokens, all containing the 7-gram *as far as the eye can see*.[15] This idiomatic expression calls upon the author's faculty of vision to testify to what is being described. Using Hunston's (2000: 178) notions of attribution and averral,[16] it can be classified as an instance of sourced averral based on perceptual evidentiality; that is, the statement including this phraseology originates in the writer and the text explicitly gives information regarding the source of the evidence on which the writer's averral is based. To put it differently, the reader can accept the truthfulness of the description on the basis of the evidence obtained by the author's power of observation. In this sense the phraseology foregrounds the author of the text whose perception is the main source of information concerning the destination. Authorial visual evidence is often explicitly marked by means of first-person pronouns in the surrounding linguistic context, as shown by Examples 1 and 2.

---

[14] In Thompson and Hunston's model (2000: 22), this same scale is termed the DESIRABILITY parameter.

[15] Among many, the notion of *n*-gram, i.e. a recurrent string of uninterrupted word forms, is discussed by Stubbs (2007: 90). The letter *n* stands for the number of word forms in the string. In comparing the GTC with the BNC, the frequency of *as far as the eye can see* in the GTC is statistically significant (d. f. 1, $p<0.0001$) with extremely high X^2 values (314.01).

[16] "If a piece of language […] is attributed, it is presented as deriving from someone other than the writer. If a piece of language is averred, the writer himself or herself speaks." (Hunston 2000: 178).

1.   Only on reaching the summit did we see Rio in its entirety and see why, from up here at least, this really is the most beautiful city on Earth. The tall white apartment blocks and ramshackle favelas, so daunting when down on the ground, were dwarfed by the beach-fringed ocean, the towering cartoonish mountains and swathes of jungle that stretch as far as the eye can see.

2.   I stopped to take in the view. What superb country this is. The river flowed in an open expansive glen with hills to the right, and along our path as far as the eye could see lay more lochs with a track that would take days to walk. I thought of Palestine's main river, the Jordan, and how it was impossible to take such a walk along its banks, for the river is caged in barbed wire from the point where it leaves Lake Tiberius until it flows into the Dead Sea.

The phraseology itself underlines the vast expanse of the landscape or the substantial number of individual entities being observed, as illustrated by Examples 3-5.

3.   A balloon ride at dawn reveals not only the anachronistically modern Temple of Hatshepsut - the only female Pharaoh - like a creation of Albert Speer in the wilderness; but also age-old morning rituals along the fertile strip of the Nile, surrounded by desert as far as the eye can see.

4.   As far as the eye can see, the ground is littered with white cairns, piles of painted rocks that cover bodies buried six or seven deep where they lay.

5.   On the top floor of Prague Castle's Toy Museum […] it's Barbies - hundreds of them - as far as the eye can see.

In this sense, the phraseology points to the superlative nature of the phenomenon being observed and, in a more general sense, it participates in authorial evaluation along the EXPECTEDNESS parameter (Bednarek 2006: 48-49), often contributing to generate a sense of surprise, as shown by Example 5, where the author's astonishment is markedly underlined by redundantly emphasising the great number of instances of a particular toy. A sense of unexpected revelation is often associated with the sudden discovery of contrasting aspects of the landscape or the rejection of potentially

negative expectations that may have arisen during the trip, as shown by Examples 6-7 respectively.

> 6. Once over the pass, the difference is instant and dramatic; in the space of 100 metres the cool, damp air gives way to the furnace of Eastern Anatolia and green becomes brown as far as the eye can see.

> 7. Even coming down the other side towards Ullswater the bridleway was so uneven we couldn't get back on the bikes and freewheel. That evening we arrived in the village of Shap ("It's half shit and half crap," one local told us) in the driving rain, exhausted. But the pay-off for such a Herculean effort is the solitude and epic scenery we enjoyed for the whole five days. Most of the ride takes place within three national parks (the Lake District, Yorkshire Dales and North York Moors) and crosses the finest scenery in England - Lakeland fells, the Pennine Uplands, Cleveland Hills, windswept moorland and mile upon mile of verdant dales dotted with sheep and meandering dry stonewalls as far as the eye could see.

The other polar extremity of the EXPECTEDNESS parameter may also be evoked, often with the purpose of highlighting consonance with preconceptions about certain destinations. This is evident in Example 1, where the author is reconciled with his prototypically tourist expectations of Rio de Janeiro when admiring the panorama from the summit of the Sugar Loaf, which seems to work its magic by putting his personal worries into a safer perspective. This phraseology may therefore contribute to the textual construction of confirmation of expectations resulting from tourism clichés, as illustrated also by Example 8, where the author's description is not only in line with the stereotypical view of tropical destinations, but works as an invitation to live out one's escapist fantasies away from the hustle and bustle of modern urban life.

> 8. Flanked by a lush wall of Atlantic rainforest and with golden sands that stretch as far as the eye can see, the Praia do Sono (Beach of Sleep) in the state of Rio de Janiero is a mecca for Brazilian beach bums and hippies seeking a refuge from the bustle of Rio. Unlike the nearby island of Ilha Grande, where sleeping on the beaches is strictly forbidden, visitors are allowed to camp out on Praia do Sono. There is no

official infrastructure here but local fishermen sometimes offer food and drinks to visitors.

Example 9, on the other hand, yields a contrast between the author's carefree preconceptions about visiting Africa and the harsh reality of the impact of AIDS on the local population. Just as travel journalism is not always an exclusively acritical celebration of every aspect of a given destination, the phraseology under investigation is not invariably employed to portray positive images. On this occasion, for instance, it serves to highlight the gravity of this specific epidemic vis-à-vis the search for adventure and exoticism.

> 9. The train had been late out of Johannesburg that morning, taking forever to haul itself clear of the sprawl of squatter camps, while the suspiciously symmetrical hills of former mineworkings stalked us across the horizon. At one point, skirting the township of Soweto, we rumbled through a massive graveyard at a respectful walking pace. It stretched as far as the eye could see and was clearly expanding rapidly, judging from the new mounds of flower-flecked earth. The fresh graves lay rank upon rank, as if giant moles had been practising synchronised swimming just under the surface, but of course something far more deadly was at work here: you could almost feel a collective shiver run through the passengers at this evidence of the unrelenting march of Aids. Then it was past and the land flattened out, emptying of houses and roads, of human endeavour and misdemeanour, to be replaced by scrubland, occasional swamp, and then warthog, zebra and impala running from the train. This was the Africa I'd been expecting to see.

However, following the prescriptions of the genre, the disturbing aspect of South African social reality described in Example 9 is somehow neutralized by the author's claim to be on a quest in search of the more familiar imagery of fascinating wilderness associated with the African continent. This juxtaposition of grim reality and exotic fantasy provides no more than a temporary sense of disorientation, which is immediately overcome by the author's focusing on the means of transport on which he is travelling, the train, as the epitome of the secure tourist bubble endowing him with the privilege of an inquisitive gaze while keeping the unpleasant

aspects of reality at arm's length. Although the author of this report comes finally to terms with his own cultural and racial biases, the extract in Example 9 contains an instance of the post-colonial rhetorical convention of the 'all-encompassing eye' at work as delineated by Pratt (1992: 204-205) and Spurr (1993: 17-19).[17] Here the author's vantage point allows him not only to observe and describe the foreign landscape, but also to show his knowledgeable mastery over the unknown environment by informing the readers of the social factors at play. The temporary tone of disappointment for the author's unsatisfied perceptual appetite is then immediately superseded by the cathartic relief of a change of landscape, one that is more in line with the expectations of Western imagination.

Another rhetorical feature of (post-)colonial discourse associated with the phraseology under investigation is at work in Example 10. According to Spurr (1993:141), insubstantialization "makes the experience of the non-Western world into an inner journey, and in so doing renders that world […] insubstantial […]".

> 10. From here, we began our extraordinary return journey, north through the Namib. It was an unforgettable finale. Along the way, we found ancient cave paintings (Corona), a vintage car dump (Solitaire), and a gorge of shifty baboons (Gaub Pass). But best of all was the vast nothingness. It was as if the world had been reduced to bands of scarlet and silver as far as the eye could see. I was glad of a last chance to camp in this sumptuous void. For three days, we pottered through the dunes and climbed a purple cone. There was kudu casserole for dinner and almond cake for tea. For a moment, this seemed almost idyllic.

In this last example, authorial perception of the surrounding landscape gives way to imagination by dissolving it into colours and letting a Western fantasy of release from one's social responsibility take control. The crossing of the Namib is thus transformed into a dreamy experience that erases all traces of physical reality in favour of a temporary dissolution of Western consciousness into a blissful sensation.

---

[17] Pratt (1992: 201-205) uses the expression 'the monarch of all I survey' to define the way in which British explorers' depiction of the African landscape in the Victorian age was based on a relation of mastery between the seer and the seen.

4.3 Focus on the addressee

The most frequent evaluative MWU focusing on the addressee is the 6-gram *if you don't want to* with 29 tokens in the GTC.[18] From a syntactic point of view, this phraseology is part of a conditional subordinate clause completed by a verb phrase following the infinitive operator *to*, thus corresponding to the protasis of a conditional structure. The phraseology presents the writer's hypothesis regarding an assumed reader/prospective-tourist's desire not to participate in a certain activity, which is specified in the *to*-infinitive clause. In this case, there is an interplay of various layers of evaluation: the author's opinion concerning the potential occurrence of what is predicated in the subordinate clause is an evaluation along the POSSIBILITY parameter (Bednarek 2006: 50-51). At the same time, the conditional clause contains the author's speculation regarding the assumed readers/prospective tourists' wants, thus realising an evaluation along the MENTAL STATE: NON-VOLITION parameter (Bednarek 2006: 54-56). The latter enables the framing of the conditional structure as contingent on the potential tourists' likes and dislikes; in this sense, it may foreground the addressee's freedom of choice with respect to the various options offered at a certain destination. As a matter of fact, the conditional structure is typically completed by an apodosis in which an alternative activity to the one in the protasis is presented, as illustrated in Examples 11-13.

> 11. Stay for free in return for doing chores on site, or pay 10pp if you don't want to work.
> 12. Getting there: If you don't want to drive over, you can do it on a cheap flight: Buzz […] will take you either to Rouen or Caen.
> 13. But if you don't want to hunt for stars, have a coffee at Café 72 (71, Boulevard de la Croisette, +4 93 94 18 30) and let them come to you. Located opposite their favourite Martinez hotel, the cafe terrace offers prime stargazing. You can also wait for them outside favourite restaurants such as La Mère Besson (13, Rue Frères Pradignac, +4 93 39 59 24) and

---

[18] This sequence is found in just one sem-gram. In a comparison between the GTC and the BNC, its frequencies in the GTC are statistically significant (d.f. 1, $p<0.0001$) with an extremely high X^2 value (83.66).

Tétou (8, Avenue Frères Roustan, +4 93 63 71 16) in nearby Golfe-Juan.

In a prototypical conditional construction, the protasis establishes the conditions that must be fulfilled so that the proposition in the apodosis can be true. This carries with it a series of implicatures delineated by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 739). The consequence implicature, for example, establishes a cause-effect relationship between protasis and apodosis. This is the case in Example 11 where the tourists' decision not to carry out some chores at a given campsite results in their having to pay for their stay. However, this relationship does not apply in Examples 12 and 13. In Example 12, flying to the destination (Deauville in Normandy) is not a consequence of not wanting to drive there, as other means of transport such as buses and trains are available, though they have been overlooked in the text. In this case, the author seems to apply an either/or logic that allows him to focus on the prototypes of slow and quick means of transport, proposing them as alternative options, the one in the apodosis implicitly presented as preferred and supplemented by an explicit informative/promotional reference to a specific low-cost airline. Example 13 is another case where there is no causal relationship between protasis and apodosis, as a tourist's decision not to hunt for stars at the Cannes festival does not necessarily result in their having coffee at a specific Café. In addition, the only-if implicature (if not-P, then not-Q) does not apply too, as tourists' decision to hunt for stars would not preclude their spending time at the same Café. In both Examples 12 and 13, the protasis clarifies why the proposition in the apodosis has been asserted (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 740). In these specific instances, the protases are dialogic devices that foster the interpretation of the apodoses as suggestions for the benefit of the addressees. The linguistic context of Example 13 enables us to identify one important corollary of this illocutionary force, i.e. the implicit promotion of specific services and businesses, in line with the register's goal of conveying useful insider information about a certain destination. For this reason, apart from underlining an alternative among various options, this conditional structure is frequently used to emphasise and evaluate positively one specific destination, business or service, as also illustrated by Examples 14-15.

14. The Miller of Mansfield, Berkshire. If you don't want to travel too far to enjoy a slice of country life, the Miller of Mansfield might suit. Only eight miles or so outside Reading, in the pretty riverside village of Goring-On-Thames, this is an 18th-century inn reinvented for the 21st century.

15. In the morning, when sunlight floods in, I almost imagine this is the Med, and that is surely the point. If you don't want to drag the tribe all the way to southern climes, here's an affordable alternative. The beach is right across the road, […]

Therefore, the conditional structure containing this phraseology serves the purposes of the register by informing and guiding the reader through authorial opinion along the EMOTIVITY parameter (Bednarek 2006: 45-48). The conditional structure may also be employed to bring to the fore the author's ethos, by highlighting their ironic outlook or emphasising their knowledgeability regarding the most specific details of a destination, at times bordering the patronizing, as illustrated by Examples 16 and 17.

16. Refurbished in record time, it officially opens as a self-catering property on July 22. The interiors aren't quite as sophisticated as the architecture, but at least the effect is more laid-back here than in properties boasting a more high-spec design brief. If you don't want to be surrounded by the likes of David Beckham, Madonna and Girls Aloud on holiday, steer clear - Hogan's portraits are on display throughout the property.

17. Before you set foot on the causeway, check the signs displaying tide times useful if you don't want to get stranded.

5. Conclusion

According to Hanusch (2019: 194-195), the advent of a consumeristic lifestyle in prosperous societies has generated a remarkable growth in the demand for lifestyle journalism, as a result of the need for individuals to express and live out their identities, often by adopting patterns of consumption advocated by the mass media. Being a relevant component of contemporary individual lifestyle, leisure travel has experienced a worldwide expansion that has been matched by a considerable increase in travel-related

publications for the purpose of providing the public with information, advice and entertainment (Hanusch and Fürsich 2014b: 5). Readers of travelogues consume these accounts as ersatz experiences and/or as useful, reliable knowledge concerning possible future trips. As a corollary, travel journalism plays a fundamental role in the promotion of tourism and construction of peculiar destination images. Travel journalists' opinions contained in their reports are particularly relevant in this respect as they offer first-hand guidance and are thus able to encourage readers to become consumers of the specific tourism services dealt with. The study of the textual functions of some phraseologies containing authorial opinion in a corpus of travelogues from the British newspaper *The Guardian* has contributed to shed light on some key discursive practices at work in travel journalism.

These phraseologies show their role in promoting particular enticing aspects of a destination, creating expectations in the readers/prospective tourists, and guiding them towards making relevant choices with respect to attractions and services; in so doing, these phraseologies realize and reproduce some fundamental ideologies at work in this register, such as the news values of positivity and identification (Cocking 2018); furthermore, they contribute to creating an interpretive framework that not only prepares the prospective tourists for what they may encounter at a certain destination, but also construes and potentially constrains their experiences. Although contemporary tourists are often represented as savvy and sophisticated in their lifestyle choices, most constructions of leisure travel are often reminiscent of a language of social control (e.g. Dann 1996) that is unsurprisingly in line with the precepts of our contemporary consumeristic society.

References:

Alba-Juez, Laura, and Geoff Thompson. 2014. "The Many Faces and Phases of Evaluation." *Evaluation in Context*. Eds. Thompson, Geoff, and Laura Alba-Juez. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 3-23.

Bednarek, Monika. 2006. *Evaluation in Media Discourse. Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus*. London: Continuum.

Brett, David, and Antonio Pinna. 2013. "The Distribution of Affective Words in a Corpus of Newspaper Articles." *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 95: 621 – 629.

Brett, David, and Antonio Pinna. 2015. "Patterns, Fixedness and Variability: Using PoS-grams to Find Phraseologies in the Language of Travel Journalism." *Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences* 198: 52-57.

Cocking, Ben. 2018. "News Values Go on Holiday: The Ideological Values of Travel Journalism." *Journalism Studies* 19: 1349-1365.

Dann, Graham. 1996. *The Language of Tourism. A Sociolinguistic Perspective.* Wallingford: CAB International.

Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Francis, Gill. 1993. "A Corpus-driven Approach to Grammar. Principles, Methods and Examples." *Text and Technology. In Honour of John Sinclair.* Eds. Baker, Mona, Gill Francis, and Elena Tognini-Bonelli. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 137-156.

Fürsich, Elfriede, and Anandam Kavoori. 2001. "Mapping a Critical Framework for the Study of Travel Journalism." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 4: 149-171.

Hanusch, Folker. 2010. "The Dimensions of Travel Journalism: Exploring New Fields for Journalism Research beyond the News." *Journalism Studies* 11: 68-82.

Hanusch, Folker. 2019. "Journalistic Roles and Everyday life. An Empirical Account of Lifestyle Journalists' Professional Views." *Journalism Studies* 20: 193-211.

Hanusch, Folker, and Elfriede Fürsich, eds. 2014a. *Travel Journalism. Exploring Production, Impact and Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hanusch, Folker, and Elfried Fürsich. 2014b. "On the Relevance of Travel Journalism: An Introduction." *Travel Journalism. Exploring Production, Impact and Culture*. Eds. Hanusch, Folker, and Elfriede Fürsich. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-17.

Huddleston, Rodney, and Geoffrey Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hunston, Susan. 2000. "Evaluation and the Planes of Discourse: Status and Value in Persuasive Texts." *Evaluation in Text. Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse.* Eds. Hunston, Susan, and Geoff Thompson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 176-207.

Hunston, Susan. 2011. *Corpus Approaches to Evaluation. Phraseology and Evaluative Language.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Hunston, Susan, and John Sinclair. 2000. "A Local Grammar of Evaluation." *Evaluation in Text. Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse.* Eds. Hunston, Susan, and Geoff Thompson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 74-101.

Philip, Gill. 2008. "Reassessing the Canon: 'Fixed' Phrases in General Reference Corpora." *Phraseology. An Interdisciplinary Perspective.* Eds. Granger, Sylviane, and Fanny Meunier. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 95–108.

Pinna, Antonio, and David Brett. 2018. "Constance and Variability. Using PoS-grams to Find Phraseologies in the Language of Newspapers." *Applications of Pattern-driven Methods in Corpus Linguistics.* Eds. Kopaczyk, Joanna, and Jukka Tyrkkö. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 107-130.

Pirolli, Brian. 2019. *Travel Journalism. Informing Tourists in the Digital Age.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation.* London: Routledge.

Spurr, David. 1993. *The Rhetoric of Empire. Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Stubbs, Michael. 2007. "An Example of Frequent English Phraseology: Distributions, Structures and Functions." *Corpus Linguistics 25 Years on.* Ed. Facchinetti, Roberta. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 89-105.

Thompson, Geoff, and Susan Hunston. 2000. "Evaluation: An Introduction." *Evaluation in Text. Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse.* Eds. Hunston, Susan, and Geoff Thompson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-27.

On the Dependent Prepositions of Certain Deverbals in Romanian and in English

Vlad Preda[1]
University of Craiova, Romania

Abstract: The fact that verbs with dependent prepositions belong to the core vocabulary of both English and Romanian is proven by examples such as *apologize for*, *depend on*, *rely on/upon, resort to, thank for,* etc. and *a se abona la, a aduce cu, a beneficia de, a conta pe,* etc. At the same time, they show that the dependent prepositions are compulsory for the verbal constructions under discussion, a fact that becomes even more obvious if we take into account that the verbs transmit the dependent preposition to their derivatives – deverbal nouns and adjectives. Our aim is to compare and highlight the fact that deverbal nouns both in Romanian and in English "inherit" the dependent prepositions of the respective verbal bases.

Keywords: dependent preposition, deverbal nouns, English, Romanian

1.1. The category of the verbs *with dependent prepositions* is well represented both in English and in Romanian. Constructions such as *to object to, to prevent from, to recover from, to wait for,* etc. and *a adera la, a recurge la, a beneficia de, a depinde de, a culmina cu, a conta pe, a se baza pe,* etc. are frequently used in the two languages and prove the existence of the verbs with dependent prepositions.

Since Romanian linguistics recognizes the existence of degrees of transitivity (strong and weak or high and low), we consider we can accept the existence of *obligatory dependent prepositions* (*a recurge la, a se baza pe*) and *optional dependent prepositions* (*se adaptează la condiţiile = se adaptează condiţiilor, se aliază cu Germania = se aliază Germaniei, îşi aminteşte de o întâmplare= îşi aminteşte întâmplarea*). In English, there are only *obligatory dependent prepositions: to depend on, to insist on, to object to, to prevent from, to wait for,* and others.

1.2. The fact that they are obligatory becomes even more obvious when we take into account that the verbs transmit the

---

[1] vladpreda@hotmail.com

dependent preposition to all their derivatives – deverbal nouns and adjectives.   Examples in Romanian include: *a se asocia cu...<asocierea cu..., asociat cu...*; *a se baza pe... < bazarea pe..., bazat pe...*; *a (se) confrunta cu... < confruntarea cu..., confruntat cu...*; *a (se) debranşa de la ... < debranşarea de la..., debranşat de la...*; *a ahtia după... < ahtierea după..., ahtiatul după...*; *a apăsa pe... < apăsarea pe..., apăsatul pe...* and others, while in English: *to attach to...< attached to..., attachment to...; to approve of... < approval of...; to blame for...< blamed for..., blamable for...; to complain about... < complaint about...; to consist of... < consisting of...; to depend on... < dependent on..., dependence on...; to insist on... < insisted on..., insistence on...* and others.

If the "preference" of the verbs for certain prepositions is taken into account, we notice that it is inherited by their deverbals (*a se angaja la / în / ca* and others – *angajarea la / în / ca* and others; *to ally with / against* and others / *alliance with / against* and others.).

1.3. Our aim is to comparatively analyze these *deverbals* in Romanian and English, thus highlighting the fact that the *dependent prepositions* are "inherited" from the verbal base.

2.1. The sample in our research consists of 98 Romanian verbs beginning with the letter a-, with dependent prepositions, together with their English equivalents. (The sample was excerpted from our inventory in *Dicţionar român-englez de construcţii verbale prepoziţionale*.) In the case of Romanian, we will focus on the results of the nominalization of the infinitive and the supine, while in the case of English, on the nominalization with *–ing* and other derivative suffixes. Our remarks will be with regard to the behaviour of the nouns derived from these verbs in the two languages.

2.2. In Romanian, the nominalization of the infinitive and the supine is systemic in character (*citirea, cititul*; *scrierea, scrisul*; *pregătirea, pregătitul;* etc.), as different from the accidental nominalization of the participle (***Răniţii*** *au fost transportaţi la spital;* *Există spitale de **arşi**; **Asociaţii** fermierului îl susţin.*). Mention should be made of certain nouns that have been derived from verbs through conversion (*înot, auz, botez, câştig, schimb, vis, fum, îndemn* and others) which have not been included in this research.

2.3. In English, nouns can be derived from verbs by means of derivational suffixes: ***-ing*** (*reading, writing, learning, listening, speaking, doing, walking*)*, **-ation** and its allomorphs (*civilization, organization, assumption, consumption, addition, definition, resolution, connection, prevention*)*, **-ment** (*achievement, engagement,*

judgment, management), *-er* and its allomorphs (*commander, learner, singer, worker, writer*), *-ant* and its allomorph (*attendant, consultant, dependant, resident, referent*), to name only a few. Mention should be made of the nouns derived from verbs by means of conversion (*a touch* from *to touch*; *an appeal* from *to appeal*; *an act* from *to act; a look* from *to look;* and others) which have not been included in this research.

We believe that this derivation by means of suffixes is not systemic in character when compared to the the nominalization of the infinitive and the supine in Romanian.

2.4. In Romanian, the nouns which result from the derivation of the infinitive with the suffix *–re* (*plecare, tăcere, aducere, ieşire* etc.), as well as their equivalents of the supine, find themselves in one of the following situations:

- They denote actions (*plecare, plecatul*), activities (*învăţare, învăţatul*) or states (*enervare, enervatul*);
- while the nouns derived from the infinitive with *–re* display a plural form (*abateri, abrevieri, achitări* etc.), the nouns derived from the supine do not (*plecaturi, *afiliaturi, *achitaturi and so on);
- They can be further derived with negative prefixes, some of them occurring often in use (*neînvăţare, necitire, nevenire, neobservare*; *neacoperitul, nevăzutul, neobservatul, neschimbatul* etc.), while others only rarely (*netăcere, nevedere, necitire, netăcut, nemirat* etc.);
- They compete with each other, owing to their identical or similar meaning: *Abrevierea / abreviatul se întâlneşte frecvent în limbajul sms-urilor., Aburirea / Aburitul ochelarilor ...., Acapararea / Acaparatul atenţiei publice ..., Achitarea / Achitatul facturilor se va face până la termenul scadent*;
- The following derivatives do not exist: **abundarea, *abundatul, *ningere, *tunare, *cadrare, *cadrat, *concedere, *concedat* and others;
- The noun derived from the infinitive is more frequently used than that derived from the supine: *adjectivarea, adjectivizarea, admiterea, ajungerea* vs *adjectivatul, adjectivizatul, admisul, ajunsul*;
- Following their nominalization, the participle and the supine become homonymous nouns (*adaptat*, *asociat, acoperit,*

amorezat, angajat and others). The noun derived from the supine denotes abstract nouns, while that derived from the participle, concrete nouns: **Învăţatul** *presupune multă caznă.* vs *Neobositul* **învăţat** *a îmbogăţit literatura cu un număr considerabil de scrieri.; După tradiţii seculare, în satele din Transilvania se desfăşoară* **alesul** *oilor cu lapte de cele sterpe.* vs *Au prevăzut pensii speciale pentru* **aleşii** *locali.;* **Acoperitul** *casei cu ţiglă…* vs **Acoperiţii** *din presă…;* **Adormitul** *copilului…* vs **Adormitului** *de tine…* (It should be noted that in *GALR I* at page 112, the noun *complet* derived from the participle is incorrectly exemplified: *Completul de judecată.* It is a result of the conversion of the verb *a completa*, and not a noun derived from the supine.).

2.5. In English, the deverbal nouns formed with *–ing* or the other derivative suffixes find themselves in one of the following cases:

- They denote concrete count nouns with a personal reference (*assistant, actor, teacher*), concrete count nouns referring to what results from the action of the base (*building, opening, filling, painting*), concrete non-counts (*equipment, shipment*), abstract non-counts denoting a process or a state (*driving, exploration, ratification*), abstract non-counts denoting an action or a result (*gardening, advertising, refusal, revival, dismissal*), count nouns denoting a product or a result (*combination, foundation*);

- They display nominal behaviour in that they take determiners and appear in nominal positions (*many people have such many wildly divergent understandings of nutrition; the literal meaning of a linguistic expression is its inherent proper meaning*).

3.1. With respect to the prepositional behaviour of the deverbal nouns in Romanian and in English, we have the following remarks:

- In Romanian, nouns such as the following are commonly used with the dependent preposition of the base verb: *abaterea de la, absentarea de la, absolvirea de "absolution", abţinerea de la, accederea la, aciuarea în/la/lângă, acomodarea cu, acomodatul cu, acoperirea*

cu, acoperitul cu "the action of covering (oneself) with", *adaptarea la, adaptatul la, adăugarea la/în/lângă, adăugatul la/în/lângă, aderarea la, aderatul la, afundarea în, ahtierea după, alimentarea cu, alimentatul cu, alipirea la, alipitul la, amestecarea în/cu, aparţinerea de/la, apăsarea pe, apăsatul pe, aplecarea spre/către, aplecatul spre/către, aprovizionarea cu, aprovizionatul cu, asemănarea cu, asocierea cu, aspirarea de, asocierea cu, ataşarea de, atentarea la, axarea pe*. The obligatory or optional presence of the dependent preposition is assigned by the base verb.

- In English, nouns such as the following inherit the dependent preposition of the base verb: *refraining from, abounding in, belonging to, consisting of, meddling with, refraining from, warning about, subscription to, absence from, exemption from, adjustment to, accusation of, addition to, adherence to, affiliation to/with, alignment to, defence from/against, engagement in, interference with, protection from/against, appeal to*.

- Both in Romanian and in English, the deverbal nouns inherit either one preposition: *apelarea la, ahtierea după, abonarea la, abţinerea de la, axarea pe* and others; *deviation from, acclimatisation to, alignment to, adaptation to* etc., or several prepositions: *accederea la / în / pe, adăpostirea la / în / lângă; affiliation to / with, hanging in / on, interference in / between* etc.

- The preposition following these deverbal nouns requires the compulsory presence of a noun: *abaterea de la **lege**, ademenitul cu **vorbe frumoase**, deviation from **the norm**, acclimatization to **higher altitudes**, attachment to **the company**, complaints about **the lack** of information, meddling with **forces*** etc. Owing to the nature of the relationship between the preposition and the deverbal noun, the deletion of the prepositional phrase results in incorrect sentences: **În caz de urgenţă, se va face **apelarea**., *Condiţia de bază a economiei concurenţiale este **axarea**., *You shouldn't overlook their deviating., *Innocence and decent living are no protection the evil*

elements within our society.,* Romania's government issued a last-minute appeal him to call off his trip.

- The base verb, respectively the deverbal noun, can be separated from the prepositional phrase in Romanian: *Se axează prea mult pe relațiile lui, Axarea mult prea frecventă pe relațiile sale…, Alternează odihna cu munca. Alternarea intenționată cu forme vechi…*

In English, only the base verb, as different from the deverbal noun, can be separated from the prepositional phrase: *The farmer relies heavily on pesticides…, The farmer's heavy reliance on pesticides…, They derived suddenly from the norm..., Their sudden derivation from the norm…*

- In Romanian, the *dependent preposition* is a key element in disambiguation: *Ioana a absolvit* "graduated" *facultatea.* vs *L-a absolvit de* "forgave" *vină.*; *I-a adus* "offered" *un cadou.* vs *Fratele tău aduce mai mult cu* "looks like" *bunicul.*; *A ajuns* "arrived" *la timp.* vs *Domnilor, ajunge cu* "cease" jignirile*!*; *A atârnat* "hung" *haina în cuier.* vs *Soarta lui atârnă de* "depends on" *el însuşi.*; *Apelează-l* "call" *doar dacă e cazul!* vs *Au apelat la* "requested" *ajutorul salvamontiştilor., Ascultă* "listens" *cu atenţie vorbele tale.* vs *El ascultă doar de* "takes into consideration" *şefi.*

- A significant part of the Romanian verbs in our sample does not have an English equivalent with a dependent preposition. Out of the 98 verbs in our inventory, 48 verbs have equivalents with dependent prepositions and they all assign the dependent prepositions to their deverbal nouns.

4. In conclusion, deverbal derivation is a linguistic phenomenon characteristic of both languages. We have selected those cases of grammaticalized nominalization, that is where the process is reiterative, and focused on frequently used derivative suffixes, namely *–re* in Romanian and *–ing* and the other derivative suffixes in English. From the entire inventory of the verbs with dependent prepositions, we have analysed the sample indicated in the introduction, in order to delimit the subject of our research. We have

been interested in a certain derivative characteristic, namely the fact that these verbs assign not only their meaning to the derivatives, but also their dependent prepositions, thus highlighting the specific role of the preposition as a component of the semantic-syntactic matrix of the verb.

References:

DSL = Angela Bidu-Vrănceanu, Cristina Călăraşu, Liliana Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu, Mihaela Mancaş, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan, *Dicţionar de ştiinţe ale limbii.* 2001. Bucureşti: Editura Nemira.

GALR = Gramatica limbii române, vol. I *Cuvântul,* vol. II*, Enunţul*. 2008. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei.

GBLR = Gramatica de bază a limbii române. 2010. Bucureşti: Editura Univers Enciclopedic Gold.

Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus. 2005. Oxford: Macmillan Education.

Downing, Angela and Locke, Philip. 2006. *English Grammar: A University Course*. 2nd ed. Routledge.

Geană, Ionuţ. 2009. *Lexiconul verbelor construite prepoziţional,* în *Limba română. Teme actuale.* Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti. pp. 103-109.

Geană, Ionuţ. 2013, *Construcţii verbale prepoziţionale în limba română,* Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti.

Pană Dindelegan, Gabriela. 1973. *Grup prepoziţional facultativ vs. grup prepoziţional obligatoriu*, SCL, XXIV, 5. pp. 595-600.

Plag, Ingo. 2003. *Word-Formation in English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Preda, Anamaria. 2013. *Regimul prepoziţional al verbelor,* in Iulian Boldea (coord.), "Studies on literature, discourse and multicultural dialogue". Tg. Mureş: Editura Arhipelag XXI. pp. 329-336.

Preda, Vlad. 2015. *Dicţionar român-englez de construcţii verbale prepoziţionale*. Craiova: Fundaţia Editura Scrisul Românesc.

Preda, Vlad. 2014. *Formantul prepoziţional - element al construcţiei verbale*, in vol. "Joint International Conference of Doctoral and Post-Doctoral Researchers, Universitatea din Craiova, 12-13 septembrie 2014, Conference Proceedings, Volume 4: Post-Doctoral Research within Social Humanistic Sciences", Craiova. pp. 171-178.

Preda, Vlad. 2015. *Unele aspecte ale înregistrării lexicografice a verbelor cu regim prepoziţional*, Revista Transilvania, nr. 9/2015. pp. 46-49.

Preda, Vlad. 2015. *Prepoziţia şi cliticul reflexiv – formanţi verbali*, in vol. "Gramatică. Istoria limbii române, filologie, dialectologie" (Actele celui de al 14-lea Colocviu internaţional al Departamentului de lingvistică al Facultăţii de Litere). Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti. pp. 151-157.

Preda, Vlad. 2018. *Observations Regarding the Prepositional Regime of the Postverbal Adjectival Derivates*, in vol. "Literature as Mediator. Intersecting Discourses and Dialogues in a Multicultural World. Section: Language and Discourse". Tîrgu Mureş: Arhipelag XXI Press. pp. 341-347.

Zafiu, Rodica. *Aspecte ale substantivizării în româna actuală,* available online at www.diacronia.ro›indexing›details›pdf (last accessed 9 October 2019).

Linguistic Creativity and Innovation: Romanian Teenagers' Language Choices in Digital Communication

Alina Reşceanu[1]

University of Craiova, Romania

Abstract: In the context of the new digitalized era, when technology plays an important part in communication and human interaction, we are dealing with a new type of creativity and innovation in language, i.e. a variety of words and phrases that reflect the changes in the way the young generation communicate now. Therefore, in this article the focus is placed on the language of teenagers used in texting, by examining some of the "most frequent, innovative, but also intensely ill-reputed, features of teen language" (Tagliamonte, 2016: 2), offering examples from both English and Romanian. Moreover, we agree that, whether we like it or not, teenage language is "critical to the advancement of language evolution and society itself" (Tagliamonte, 2016: 2), and we have to pay particular attention to the means they use to change the language.

Keywords: digitalization, language creativity, language change, online communication

Introduction

All the recent technological development, the omnipresence of Internet in our lives and work, and the emergence of English as a Global language have led to a series of implications for language evolution and change. But most importantly, these have led to new types of communication, new ways of interaction and contact between people, especially for the young people. They became innovators in using the technology (as the generation of the digital natives) and in using the language mediated by technology. More specifically, according to Tagliamonte, "all these sociocultural changes may have added to the influence of teenagers as the drivers of language change" (2016:2).

However, these changes are reflected in the new type of teenagers' creativity and innovation when it comes to using the language in their everyday digital communication, a type which was coined 'the language of teenagers' (Eckert 1997, 2000, Roberts

---

[1] alina.resceanu@edu.ucv.ro

2002). Many recent studies have analysed "some of the most frequent, innovative, but also intensely ill-reputed, features of teen language circa late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries", as Tagliamonte (2016:2) puts it, but focused mostly on the features of Internet language (Crystal, 2006) and on what is publicly available on the Internet, not on empirical data of its authentic usage. Despite the numerous studies on Internet language, there are few describing the language features specific to one particular sector of the population that uses it the most –the younger generation– and many questions are still to be answered with regard to what type of language the digital natives use in their day-to-day interactions mediated through computers and mobile phones.

Considering all these, the aim of this article is two-fold. On the one hand, it bring into discussion some of the most frequent examples of 'teen language' in both English and Romanian, and, on the other hand, it analyse the linguistic features of this type of communication in Romanian. To this end, it starts from the idea put forth by many researchers (Chambers, 2003; Eckert, 1997, 2000; Kerswill, 1996; Roberts, 2002) that teenagers' language is critical to the advancement of language evolution and society itself, and that particular attention have to be paid to the means they use to change or 'shake' the language, since they are the "the hope for the future" (Tagliamonte, 2016). In other words, linguistic innovation among teenagers could be a normal process of language change and not solely the result of how they use language in the new media (i.e. texting, instant messaging a.o.).

1. Teenagers' language in digital communication: language decay or language change?

In the early 2000s David Crystal coined the term *Netspeak* to refer to the language that was developing on the Internet, defining it as "a type of language displaying features that are unique to the Internet […] arising out of its character as a medium which is electronic, global, and interactive" (Crystal, 2006: 20). Since then, there has been a growing interest in language use on the Internet, which have led to the publication of numerous books and studies, and to the creation of "an industry complete with themes, factions, and fields of study" (cf. Androutsopolous, 2014), such as compulsive texting or cyberbullying (Smith et al. 2008) or found at the interface

with sociolinguistics, discourse studies and pragmatic-oriented studies.

It soon became apparent that these features of *Netspeak* were not unique to the Internet, but they were present in the written language as well, especially in person-to-person communication through instant message exchange.

There have been many concerns among researchers, linguists or educators about the negative effects of texting on language, about how teenagers are destroying the language, disregarding grammar, punctuation or vocabulary.

For instance, linguist Crispin Thurlow (cf. Tagliamonte 2016) presents a list of 101 popular news articles —published between 2000 and 2005 and from various English-speaking countries—about the young people's language use in online communication (texting or instant messaging). Thurlow argues that the headlines of these articles suggest a threat to literacy, the destruction of language, a widespread use of abbreviations and truncated language bad grammar, and confirms that media views on how the young generation uses language are "overwhelmingly pessimistic" (Thurlow 2006, 677-678).

Moreover, it has been pointed out that the language used in computer/phone-mediated communication might lead not only to grammatical ruin, but it could also have a negative influence on children's ability to write properly. For instance, the American Teachers' Association state that: "Text and instant messaging are negatively affecting students' writing quality on a daily basis, as they bring their abbreviated language into the classroom. As a result of their electronic chatting, kids are making countless syntax, subject–verb agreement and spelling mistakes in writing assignments".

Many news sources suggest that digitalisation might affect the children's writing skills. In Romanian newspaper articles there are numerous examples of students'… as consequences of digitalisation. One such widely-cited example is that of a student copying the task at the Bacalaureat exam: "Gasitzi in txt. d mai jos cuvs. kre indplnsc fct. sint. d sub" ('*Găsiți în textul de mai jos cuvinte care îndeplinesc funcția sintactică de subiect*'). Another example is the following message: "*Sal! Cff? Da'i lu Alex id'u meu ji zi k ne vdm maine k aj vrea sa vb cu el j cne jtie, poate iese cv. Ms. Xoxo*" transcribed in standard language as: "*Salut! Ce faci? Dă-i lui Alex id-ul meu de*

messenger si spune-i ca ne vedem mâine, pentru că aş vrea să vorbesc cu el ceva, cine ştie, poate iese ceva. Mulţumesc, pupici".[2]

On the other hand, there are linguists who argue in favour of the positive effects of texting. They mention the creative, innovative use of written language; increased motivation to read and write; more exposure to written text and extra opportunities to engage with writing. For example, Baron (2003) suggests that language used on the Internet and in online communication is part of a growing tendency "for all writing to become more informal, less edited, and more personal – lending a speech-like character to much contemporary writing" (2003: 88). In other words, the language used in instant messages may represent in face the "future trends in the evolution of English writing and perhaps the language more generally" (2003: 88).

2. Adolescence - a key phase in language creativity and change

Tagliamonte discusses the phenomenon of "age grading", based on which the language itself is not changing, but speakers change the way they speak at different phases in their life. The linguist quotes an older person who states that "language is changing, but not for a good reason. It's because a bunch of self-centered, self-focused new generation of people are saying, "I don't need to learn how to speak correctly!" (cf. Tagliamonte, 2016: 2).

Most sociolinguists agree that adolescence is the "focal point for linguistic innovation and change" (e.g. Chambers, 2003; Eckert, 2000; Kerswill, 1996; Roberts, 2002) and that teenagers are drivers of language change. The teenage years are marked by instability for many reasons, especially for language change.

According to Labov's *Model of Incrementation* (2001: 448), which provides the prototype for understanding language change, the mechanisms that lead to language changes are the following:

(i) Acquisition of variation from the language of caretakers (i.e. mother);

(ii) Incrementation of incoming variants in adolescence (grammar stabilizes);

(iii) Stabilization (grammar remains constant).

---

[2] *Source*: http://www.ziare.com/cultura/stiri-cultura/vorbiti-mesagereza-cum-arata-limbajul-adolescentilor-din-generatia-messenger-1114801

This means that adolescents are the key individuals to look to when it comes to finding out what is changing in language and where language is headed, because adolescence is a key phase and a period of rapid development. If there are changes going on in language, this is when they occur.

Nonetheless, there are other causes for language change cited in the literature, which, corroborated with age, lead to linguistic innovations, like those analysed in the next section. Such causes are the following:

- Technological development: within the current context of the unprecedented change of communication and media, new types of communication have emerged (i.e. text messaging, email, instant messaging);

- Social, geographical and occupational factors (one consequence is that rural dialects have declined and urbanization has increased);

- Sociological factors (such as factors related to group identity and membership, age group etc). Language is one of the primary means of marking group norms and it has become a powerful tool for social inclusion or exclusion, since it signals to others what group one belongs to. In the case of teenagers, they use language to include other teens and to exclude out-group members, such as parents and teachers and even other teenagers. For most of them, acceptance by one's peers is crucial and isolation "is not simply undesirable, but literally terrifying" (Tagliamonte, 2016: 3). Many of the adolescents included in the target group for this research admitted to using language differently when it comes to writing to their friends or peers, and when writing to their teachers, parents or other peers that are not part of their close group (apart from the difference between the formal/informal register, they pay more attention to grammar, punctuation etc.).

The question we ask is whether these innovations are examples of language decay or language change. According to cultural critic Umberto Eco (2002): "We live in an age where the diminutive, the brief and the simple are highly prized in communication" and there are many linguistics who consider such changes as part of the language evolution.

3. Some characteristics of Romanian teenagers' language choices

One particular aspect of teenagers' online communication that is of interest to us is the type of language they use in their text messages and in their social media posts and comments.

In English, for instance, Crystal (2006: 254–255) identified a series of linguistic phenomena in Internet language, including: abbreviations, uncorrected typing errors, absence of punctuation, typographical idiosyncrasy, high level of informality, and stylistic variation. Additionally, Davies (2005) describes the language of text messages as follows: "205 writers of text messages quickly become adept at reducing every word to its minimum comprehensible length, usually omitting vowels wherever possible, as in Wknd for Weekend, Msg for Message, or deliberately using shorter misspellings such as Wot for What" (2005: 103–104).

Therefore, in this section we analyse samples of written language in Romanian and describe how this language is shaped so as to 'fit' the youngsters' communication needs and the 'norms' of the device-based interaction.

3.1 Data collection

The activity of data collection took place during the winter semester of the 2019-2020 academic year at the University of Craiova with two groups of first-year students studying Foreign Languages (English major), in collaboration with one group of high-school students (studying in English bilingual classes at Frații Buzești National College in Craiova). Both sample groups consisted of approx. 60 students in total, selected on a volunteer basis. The students ranged in age from 16–20 and both males and females were represented, all having good command of the English language.

They were asked to provide as many examples as possible of the language they use in their short typed messages, sent using the 'SMS' ('short message service') on their mobile phones, in their Facebook posts/messages, WhatsApp conversations or online comments. The students selected the data themselves and sent via email what they considered relevant to illustrate the characteristics of the language they use. All data collected from the students is part of the informal register, being samples of interactions with family, friends or colleagues their own age.

From this corpus of short messages, the selection analysed for the purpose of this study includes fragments of text and words that

were considered relevant for the analysis of the linguistic phenomena observed in Romanian. These phenomena refer to the teenagers' language features pertaining to sentence length, grammar, punctuation, abbreviation, orthography, the use of new/invented words and the use of emojis and emoticons.

3.2 Data analysis

As stated above, in general, the language teenagers use in their online communication is characterised by changes in spelling and grammar, a widespread use of acronyms and abbreviations (some abbreviations already in use and many new abbreviations), uses of newly created words, changes of word classes and meaning, informality, specific uses of punctuation, or the use of distinctive features such as emojis and emoticons, seen as affective linguistic resources that bring powerful emotional content to the written communication. All these ensure a rapid communication and for this purpose, new 'words' are created by reducing every word to its minimum comprehensible length so as not to affect the meaning of the entire message.

The following linguistic phenomena have been identified for Romanian:

● *Orthographic abbreviations or contractions:*

- by omitting vowels wherever possible and even consonants: atc 'atunci', vdm 'vedem', cv 'ceva', trb 'trebuie', cnv 'cineva', msg 'mesaje', vb 'vorbi' (all conjugations), frt 'frate', ms 'mersi, pt/c 'pentru că, imd 'imediat',prst 'prost', scl 'școală', cls 'clasă', img 'imagine', srs 'serios', fr 'fără', sg 'sigur' or 'singur' (depending on the context), mn 'mine', tn 'tine', spr 'super', crd 'cred', cda 'comanda', devr 'devreme', scz 'scuze';

- by omitting part of the word, usually keeping the first part, and using clippings and shortenings: sal 'salut', conv 'conversație', împr 'împreună', app 'apropo', fol 'folosi', calc 'calculator', tel/tlf 'telefon' (using both the more conventional form of 'tel', but also a new variant 'tlf'), perf 'perfect', pag 'pagină', multu 'mulțumesc';

- by reducing the word or the entire commonly-used short sentences to their minimal comprehensible length or using only the initials of the words in the sentence, creating acronyms and initialisms (Verheijen, 2013): bn for 'bine', cf 'ce faci?', cmf 'ce mai faci?', Cmz = ce mai zici?, cff = ce faci, fată?, csf 'ce să

faci?', ncsf 'n-ai ce să faci', acsf 'ai ce să faci', dc 'de ce', cp 'cu plăcere', npc 'n-ai pentru ce', nb 'noapte bună, np 'nu-i problemă' (derived from the English 'no problem'), amc 'acel moment când', pb 'poftă bună!', Lma 'la multi ani!', Bv 'Bravo!'. Other examples includ: uni < 'universitate', medi < 'meditație', bici < 'bicicleta', supi (ești supi?)< 'supărat/ă', frumi < 'frumoasă', iub/iubi < 'iubito/iubitule', pisi < 'pisică (always used to address somebody, usually a girl, with a slight pejorative connotation).

● *Phonological abbreviations or deliberate shorter misspellings*: 'nush' instead of 'nu știu', 'dap' or 'yap' instead of 'da', 'io' instead of 'eu'.

● *Substituting consonants with other letters:* using k instead of c, like kare for 'care', or using single letter homophones, like k for 'că';

● *Repetition of vowels and consonants to mirror lengthening or enthusiasm in speech*: suuupeeeer!, Braavooo!, tooot for 'tot', beetoon, visss, ce mistoooo! or the rather unfortunate examples of 'te poop' for 'te pup' or 'poop' for 'pup' (the user being most probably unaware of its meaning in English).

● *Minimal use of capitalization or the lack of any capitalization*, with proper names, names of places or at the beginning of the sentence (some of the youngsters mentioned that they use self-correction extensions/options of the messenger applications that automatically capitalize words at the beginning of the message or after using the full stop, thus reducing their time and effort);

● *Excessive use of capitalization* with common nouns or fully-capitalized words (especially in short messages, posts or comments on social media, probably to mark the emphasis of the capitalized words): 'NICIODATĂ!', 'SUPER', 'NUUU!'.

● *Minimal use or the lack of standard, grammatical punctuation* (i.e. lack of commas, of full stops to delimit the end of a sentence and the beginning of the next, in some instances even the lack of space in-between words: mrog/mrg 'mă rog'., Again some youngsters admitted to using options for punctuation in case the punctuation marks are not available on the same page with the letters in their messenger applications (i.e. hitting the space bar twice for full stop) in order to save time.

● *Excessive use of punctuation* (especially of questions marks and exclamation points to mark vocal intonation and stand in for facial expression): ce???!!!, cum????, super!!!!!. Many students admitted that messages without question marks or exclamation points, for example, seem serious, sad or even annoyed and that they use punctuation as a shorthand for emotions (i.e. to express confusion, annoyance, enthusiasm etc.).

● *Lack of diacritics* (all messages analysed lacked diacritics).

● *Lack of hyphenation*: instead of a hyphen, a space is used in most of the cases or a full stop, i.e. 'n am' or 'n.am' instead of 'n-am'. There were also cases in which the hyphenated words were written mistakenly together, i.e. 'mam dus' instead of 'm-am dus', 'mie dor' instead of 'mi-e dor', 'uitate' instead of 'uită-te; 'nui' instead of 'nu-i', 'mata' instead of 'mă-ta', 'nul (văd)' instead of 'nu-l (văd)'.

● *Use of slang*: 'e nașpa', 'e mișto', 'cool', '(e) marfă', 'e beton/e beetoon'.

● *Use of onomatopoeia*: haha!, aaaaa!, offf!, uau!!! (with or without punctuation).

● *Use of emojis and emoticons* to enhance the emotional loading, the sentiments of messages in a way text alone cannot do. The pictograms are used alone or in combination with other pictograms or with text, to transcend the traditional boundaries of communication and put feelings in writing (more on this topic in Resceanu, 2018). This multimodal composition transmits emotions, ideas, states of mind, actions and reactions, and even sarcasm, irony or humour. Surprisingly, young people appear to abandon the excessive use of emojis once they get older. Almost 80% of the students in the target group, aged 18-20, admitted to not using emojis as much as they used to. Moreover, the emojis seem to have completely replaced the emoticons, since in all the samples analysed only a handful contained emoticons, i.e. :)))) or :(.

Many of the linguistic phenomena analysed above might have been created under the influence of L2 English, since English also partly displays these characteristics in online communication, alongside other interesting and original examples of linguistic innovation. For instance, in English, teenagers use a lot of single letter/number homophones (c for *see*, u for *you*, 2 for to/too, 4 for *for*, r u for *are you*?), combinations of letter/number homophones (NE1

for *anyone*, 2day for *today*, 2morro for *tomorrow*, 'l8r' for *later,* 'g2g' for *got to go*, 'a' becomes '@', 'e' becomes '3', 'o' becomes '0', 'I' becomes '!', '!Nt3Rn3t' for 'Internet', 'Gr8' for 'great' or b4 comin2uni for *before coming to university* and 'c u soon' for *see you soon* [Thurlow, 2006]), typographic symbols (x for *kiss*, <3 for *love*, & for and, @ for at), accent stylizations (gonna for *going to*, anuva for *another*, dat for *that*); "inanities" (a term coined by David Craig, cf. Verheijen, 2013): neologisms or "nonsensical transmogrifications of other words" (lolz for *lol* [*laughing out loud*]), an unusual number of spellings (i.e. for 'yes' *youp, yup, yuppers)*, and some very abbreviated forms, such as 'iono' for 'I don't know' (Crystal, 2001; Verheijen, 2013).

All these make instant text messaging "a stylistically playful register" (Crystal, 2001: 71) and play an important part in the dynamics of language innovation and change.

Conclusions

In this paper, we analysed how much the language used by Romanian teenagers in online communication (text messages, comments and posts on social media a.o.) deviates from standard language conventions. Thus, many linguistic phenomena have been identified and analysed as part of the Romanian teenagers' language choices when it comes to texting or writing in a digital environment. The interesting aspect is that, despite these deviations, the messages remain understandable, with hardly any communication break-downs.

Moreover, for a more comprehensive presentation of how young people use language nowadays, a corpus of conversational samples recorded and transcribed would have complemented the analysis presented herein and might have allowed for a more genuine investigation of how Romanian teenagers really 'talk' and how much words and phrases from L2 English influence their native language (i.e the English discourse marker *like* and its counterpart *gen* in Romanian; the adverbial intensifiers, like the English *super cool!*, and the Romanian *super tare!*; the sentence starters, like the English *so, like, you know*, and the Romanian *deci, stii..* or the sentence enders, like the English *right, whatever*, and the Romanian *în fine* a.o.). However, these are issues that will be addressed in future studies.

References:

Androutsopolous, Jannis (ed.). 2014. *Mediatization and Sociolinguistic Change.* Berlin and Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.

Baron, Naomi S. 2005. "Instant Messaging and the Future of Language." In *Communications of the ACM*, 48: 29–31.

Bratu, Andreea, 2016. *Sociolinguistics. Fourteen Topics*. Craiova: Universitaria.

Chambers, J. K. 2003. *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation in its Social Significance*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Crystal, David. 2001. *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, David. 2006. *Language and the Internet*. 2nd edition. Cambridge University Press.

Davies, Diane. 2005. *Varieties of Modern English: An Introduction*. Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Drăgoescu-Urlic, Andreea. A., Coroama-Dorneanu, L.I., Kamberi, L., Malenko, N. 2019. "Sustainable Learning and Material Development in ESP - English for the Life Sciences". In *International Journal for Quality Research,* 13(3): 753–760. DOI: 10.24874/IJQR13.03-16

Kamber, Lulzime, Drăgoescu-Urlic, Alina-Andreea, Makfirete Ameti. 2020. "On the Quality and Relevance of English for Specific Purposes in Higher Education". In *International Journal for Quality Research*, 14 (1): 303-312. DOI: 10.24874/IJQR14.01-19

Eckert, P. 2000. *Language Variation as Social Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kerswill, Paul. 1996. "Children, adolescents, and language change". In *Language Variation and Change* 8: 177–202.

Labov, W. 2001. *Principles of Linguistic Change*, vol. 2, Social Factors. Oxford: Blackwell.

Reșceanu, Alina. 2019. "Language Variation and Change: Grammatical Features of English Varieties", in *Analele Universității din Craiova, Seria Lingvistică/Annals of the University of Craiova. Series Linguistics*, XLI (1-2): 127-138.

Reșceanu, Alina. 2018. "Transcending Traditional Language Boundaries in Communication", in *Annals of the University of Craiova, Series: Philology, English*, XIX (1): 164-172.

Reșceanu, Alina, Tilea, Monica. 2019. "Methodological Insights on How to Develop Writing Skills in a Second-Language Context", In *Analele Universității din Craiova, Seria*

Lingvistică/Annals of the University of Craiova. Series Linguistics, XLI (1-2): 375-388.

Reșceanu, Alina, Tilea, Monica. 2019. "Linking Theory and Practice in Teaching Foreign Language Writing to Young Learners: A Cross-Country Perspective". In *ICERI2019 Proceedings 12th International Conference of Education, Research and Innovation* November 11th-13th, 2019 — Seville, Spain, 2019, L. Gómez Chova, A. López Martínez, I. Candel Torres, IATED Academy, 10081-10091. DOI:10.21125/iceri.2019.2471.

Roberts, J. 2002. "Child language variation". In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change,* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 349-372.

Smith, Peter K., Mahdavi, Jess, Carvalho, M., Fisher, S., Russell, S., Tippett, N. 2008. "Cyberbullying: its nature and impact in secondary school pupils". In *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry,* 49 (4): 376-385.

Tagliamonte, Sally A. 2016. *Teen Talk. The Language of Adolescents*. Cambridge University Press.

Thurlow, Crispin. 2006. "From statistical panic to moral panic: The metadiscursive construction and popular exaggeration of new media language in the print media". In *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication,* 11: 667 - 701.

Thurlow, Crispin, Poff, M. 2011. "Text messaging". In Susan C. Herring, Dieter Stein & Tuija Virtanen (Eds), *Handbook of the Pragmatics of CMC*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237406258_The_language_of_text-messaging (accessed 28 April 2021).

Verheijen, L. 2013. "The Effects of Text Messaging and Instant Messaging on Literacy", In *English Studies*, 94(5): 582-602, DOI: 10.1080/0013838X.2013.795737.

Webography:
http://www.ziare.com/cultura/stiri-cultura/vorbiti-mesagereza -cum-arata-limbajul-adolescentilor-din-generatia-messenger-1114801 (accessed 12 April 2020)

The Interface between Verbal and Nonverbal Communication

Periklis Tagkas[1]

University of Ioannina and Hellenic Open University, Greece

Abstract: The interaction between verbal and non-verbal communication often determines understanding and perception. Meaning is influenced by chronemics or proxemics, while other aspects, such as artifacts or even olfactics, affect communication in face-to-face interactions. Therefore, communication involves a lot more than semantics, especially nowadays that it can occur virtually as well. Consequently, it is essential to approach non-verbal, non-visible or intangible parameters with increased attention, as is the case in negotiating, because the relationship level of meaning is sometimes equally important as the content level (Wood 2016), thus proving to be critical in avoiding conflict in verbal and non-verbal messages.

Keywords: verbal, non-verbal, interaction, meaning, conflict

Introduction

Interpersonal communication consists of two basic components: verbal, which involves one channel, and non-verbal, or multi-channelled communication, which involves additional channels of interaction. The value of communication in business and organizations is becoming increasingly recognized, especially nowadays that the Internet has created new forms of interaction between individuals and institutions. In this framework, the acknowledgement of the importance of non-verbal elements in interpersonal interactions provides additional tools that can enhance communication and prevent misunderstandings that may be caused due to the limited input in electronic communication; this is the main element differentiating our new, technological epoch of mass communication (see McLuhan and Fiore 1967) from previous eras characterized by more face-to-face communication. Notably, realizing that mindfulness matters in both online and in face-to-face communications also assists in capturing the multidimensional and multimodal essence of interpersonal interactions.

---

[1] ptagkas@uoi.gr

1. Verbal vs. non-verbal communication

Verbal communication involves the *message* sent to the *receiver* by the *sender* (Wood 2016: 13), which should be expressed in appropriate language. However, messages are not always easily comprehensible; there is a degree of ambiguity in verbal messages, sometimes on purpose –or, depending on *the* purpose. For example, paralinguistic elements (e.g. tone of voice, pauses, etc.) can convey irony or create different feelings. In face-to-face communication it is easier to figure out if someone is talking seriously or not, by perceiving not only the *content* but also the *relationship* level of meaning (noticing facial expressions, gestures, etc.). In online interactions (or telephone conversations), sometimes it is easy to be misled. What is missing? Technically speaking, we are connected with others, but there is a lot missing.

In particular, non-verbal communication involves body language (gestures, signals, cues). Eye contact is regarded as the most important parameter in non-verbal communication and is especially valued when making presentations and communicating meaningfully. Also, the emotional aspect has been stressed in the literature, as ambience –indication of an overall positive attitude– matters a lot. Sometimes, appropriate/supportive (or even enthusiastic) body language can work wonders, while a smile can prevent potential misunderstandings (which, for instance, can happen in written/email communication, as it often conveys simply content and neglects the aspect of relationship due to lack of proximity).

Wood (2016: 90-100) describes ten different types of non-verbal communication. While physical appearance (skin or hair colour, etc.), paralanguage (vocal qualities), silence, kinesics (face and body motion) and environmental factors (elements of settings) are rather self-evident, we often neglect the fact that there are also some, perhaps less easily discernible, aspects of non-verbal communication, which are discussed below:

  a. *haptics*: physical contact; for instance, a handshake or a pat on the shoulder. The importance of real-life experiences (as opposed to virtual interactions) is most appreciated when they are not available. Communication can be reduced to a remote exchange of verbal messages –but without the physical experience of touching a cup of coffee, drinking beer from a frosted mug, or kissing a friend to say "hello" or "goodbye". Of course, more than one form of non-verbal communication

may be involved, as in the meantime people may be smoking or smelling a cigar (*olfactics*) in an open-air café while smiling and responding to each other's facial expressions (*kinesics*). In other words, this amounts to enjoying life, or "savouring" (making pleasures last), as Weiten *et al.* (2018: 471) define it in their discussion of "positive psychology" –in contrast to simply communicating messages (the content) while ignoring the relationship level of meaning that can play a vital role in maintaining relationships and creating trust and respect between interlocutors in various contexts.

b. *olfactics*: for instance, smelling a nice perfume, or scents in the physical setting, as previously described (which cannot be compensated for in online meetings or occur as a commonly shared experience of "togetherness").

c. *proxemics*: feeling/sitting close to each other in the same, 'real' room, having a chance to get better acquainted, etc. This aspect takes also into account the issue of "personal space", or the distance that people like to keep from others (which can vary in different cultural contexts).

d. *chronemics*: it refers to the dimension of time; for example, people may connect in/on time or be late, as in real life, though in the latter case meetings can be followed by a coffee break or lunch –occasions that provide opportunities for socializing (Comfort 1997) and sometimes help overcome barriers arising from more formal communication frames. Again, this type of behaviour is linked to cultural factors as well as personal attitudes, as some people prefer punctuality while others tend to have a more relaxed approach to time management issues.

e. *artifacts*: people's personal objects (such as jewellery, accessories, gadgets, etc.) can make the difference, as one's personal style provides a different tone and reveals aspects of the person's character; that said, artifacts can sometimes be a nuisance –for example, people checking their emails or being absorbed by their laptop or smartphone during meetings sometimes disrupts communication and distracts participants' attention. Clothes, on the other hand, can reveal not only personal style, but also attitudes. And while online meetings do not necessitate all the rituals of getting ready for a real-life meeting (e.g. "dress code", venue, seating arrangements), which can influence communication atmosphere, preparing

for participation and actually taking part in a face-to-face meeting, with all the "secondary" interactions it may involve, and often the subsequent socializing, is what one might call a "total communicative experience". Total quality management needs to take that into account nowadays, rather than "cutting costs" and opting simply for "content" transmission, leaving out the "salt and pepper" of professional life. Overall, it is the lack of such experiences that can actually compromise organizational culture and even organizational identity and character (see Kovoor-Misra 2020: 110), in the long run. This is why organizations that enjoy a good reputation follow rites and rituals (Wood 2016: 244-246), insisting that their employees should participate consistently in such occasions, honouring *co-existence* – as opposed to, simply, *cooperation* that usually limits relationships to the level of task execution, without the merits of meaningful, trustworthy relationships with key stakeholders.

2. Tangible and intangible communication aspects
2.1 Negotiating and conflict resolution
        In both everyday communication and, primarily, in business transactions and deals, different frames and contexts require certain skills that help interlocutors reach desirable outcomes by choosing the right approach, strategy and tactics. The following strategies (Lewicki *et al.* 2016: 23-25) summarize the approaches that can be adopted during most forms of communication that involve negotiating or conflict resolution and, thus, combine tangible and intangible (or, in other words, verbal and non-verbal) communication aspects. Therefore, they can serve as "case studies", since they illustrate these visible and invisible realities in interpersonal interaction as well as intrapersonal communication (often referred to in psychology as "self-talk"):
        a.   *Inaction* (also known as *avoiding*): when one party prefers to avoid the other (or others), caring neither for keeping the relationship nor for the outcome –that is, preferring to ignore any possible benefits that the relationship might provide in the future. Obviously, *silence* speaks volumes in such cases. You can simply avoid a person if you are not interested in his/her offer and know that the outcome will be negative for you. This strategy, however, exhibits fear or indifference, and often a cognitive bias entailing a rather "distributive" outlook and a defensive attitude, whereas

dialogue might have given the other party the opportunity to express their positions, intentions, and even emotions, so as to create a potentially positive communication climate that could contribute towards a more "integrative" outcome and some mutually beneficial trade-offs.

    b.   *Yielding (*also known as *accommodating*, or "lose-win"): when party A focuses on not destroying a potentially profitable relationship in the future, they may adopt an accommodating attitude and communicate to party B that they are no longer interested or have a better offer, thanking them for their interest and, thus, keeping the door open for a future collaboration, instead of "leaving without saying good-bye". Essentially, in relation to the above-mentioned "avoiding" approach, "accommodating" reveals an attempt to "reframe" the communicative situation, attempting to invest in trustworthy relationships and potential future cooperation. This strategy is accompanied by low-intensity kinesics.

    c.   *Contending (*also known as *competing*, *dominating*, or "win-lose"): when the emphasis is on "distributing" and taking "the bigger part" –an attitude stemming from "mythical fixed pie beliefs" (Lewicki *et al.* 2016: 151). In a competing environment, negotiators drive a hard bargain. They make it clear from the beginning that they do not intend to accept what the other side is offering – at least, not without fighting for what they consider to be advantageous to them. They focus on a positive outcome for themselves and the organizations or the constituents they represent and do not make preserving a good relationship their priority (especially when interacting with someone they perceive as an opponent who threatens to thwart their own aspirations and goals). This is often characterized by high-intensity verbal communication as well as kinesics and, usually, paralanguage (e.g. high volume and tone of voice).

    d.   *Problem-solving (*also referred to as *collaborating, integrating*, or "win-win"): when both sides cooperate in order to find a mutually acceptable and beneficial solution, focusing on ways and methods that can allow them to "expand the pie". In order to be effective, negotiation (as opposed to bargaining) requires "shared metacognition"; a term that refers to group members' awareness of what knowledge is shared or not shared among them (Choi, 2010, 309). This is a strategy that leads to long-lasting relationships, possibly with an outcome that can be positive for both parties, since they have worked on it together (possibly, involving more than a single communicative event), in a friendly atmosphere, full of

understanding and respect for each other. If, however, one anticipated that the other side would be competitive even when they did not intend to be so, one might be acting out a "self-fulfilling prophecy" and get them to be competitive in the end, ruining what might have been a positive outcome (and relationship) for both parties. Collaborating involves low-intensity verbal exchanges and kinesics, low-intensity paralanguage, 'politeness', proximity, mutual respect to the aspect of chronemics, favourable environmental factors (positive 'ambience') conducive to the effort, and creative use of artifacts (e.g. technological gadgets or software) to serve the common purpose of finding or creating mutually beneficial outcomes.

e. *Compromising* (or attempting to "split the difference"): when someone attempts to pursue one's own outcomes but also tries to keep a good relationship with the other side (hoping for potential benefits in the future) and makes a moderate effort to help them with problem-solving. When a competing strategy has turned out to be too risky, leading to a dead-end, one can shift to a different strategy and choose to meet half-way with their opponent, "cutting their losses" rather than going home with empty hands and, possibly, with a ruined relationship. Moderate verbal elements and paralanguage, moderate kinesics, and restrained emotions are the characteristics of this strategy.

Overall, the parties, or interlocutors, need to consider carefully the approach they are going to adopt before, during, and after a negotiation and then select appropriate strategies for establishing communication at both the theoretical and practical level (as "technicalities" can sometimes create insurmountable problems, even though a "deal" may have been reached at the "theoretical" –or managerial, or political—level); the overall goal should be a viable and, ideally, mutually beneficial agreement with the other party.

Conflict can arise if two (or more) parties are unable to perceive that it is their "common interest" that should be given the priority –rather than "authority" and "rights", as is the case in the traditional model (see Lewicki *et al.* 2016: 19-22 and 145-146). Conflict can be detrimental for group performance because it creates negative emotionality and distracts group members; this is why task conflict should be "decoupled from relationship conflict" (Curşeu *et al.*, 105). Therefore, if both sides realize that they need to collaborate and find a mutually acceptable solution, they can adopt a more collaborative attitude, which is bound to lead to positive outcomes. On the other hand, if one party that possesses power chooses to

impose their will, neglecting the other side's wishes and requests, this is going to lead to disagreement and dispute, which will probably perpetuate hostile interactions and may lead to escalation of the conflict and even to a crisis.

Bias and stereotypes (e.g., "whiteness" or "blue-blond' supremacy) are also to be considered. People may be prejudiced against certain nationalities/ethnicities (one can think of many unfortunate occasions involving racial hatred, discrimination and violence), and this affects their behaviour in meetings or settings associated with various forms of cooperation. It would suffice to reflect on refugees/immigrants and *physical appearance* –a dominant form of nonverbal communication– as, undoubtedly, people in hosting countries tend to be biased against those that are externally different in appearance (regarding both colour skin and clothing). This has negative effects on respecting people's human rights and providing hospitality and refuge to those in need.

Moreover, intercultural communication issues can sometimes be a problem (e.g. between people coming from individualistic –such as the USA– versus collectivistic –e.g. India or China– cultures), as this determines how assertive (or even aggressive) or submissive someone may be perceived to be. Also, it is important to consider how this may affect relationships; for instance, people from Africa may prefer more sociable activities than people from Western countries, who may value privacy more, and this may have an impact on people's verbal and nonverbal interactions. Similarly, while silence is often a sign of respect and honesty in collectivistic cultures, it may be regarded as indifference (or even lack of respect) in individualistic cultures and can, therefore, influence the process of a negotiation and the communication climate, in general.

Finally, respecting different listeners' preferences is essential. Therefore, in formal settings, primarily, speakers need to present data using both quantitative ("show") and qualitative ("tell") presentation techniques, and focus on problem-solving and decision-making strategies, tactics, and suggestions, while also inviting discussion and feedback from their listeners. It should be remembered that "mindful listening" contributes a lot to meaningful communication, because listening must be an active process, as opposed to a passive "pseudo-listening" experience.

2.2 The role of cognitions and emotions

In face-to-face communications, mainly, physical appearance (as one of the primary vehicles of non-verbal communication) plays a central role, since gestures, posture, facial expressions, etc. are most easily discernible and interlocutors can capture each other's cues and what they may signify, adjusting their behaviour accordingly; however, in electronic communication or in telephone conversations the situation is quite different. Therefore, communication climate is more easily manageable in face-to-face interactions.

On the other hand, people may manipulate discussions, taking advantage of the other party's emotions and creating pressure or seeking to impose their own views by means of dilemmas, deadlines, or even threats. Given that human beings are highly emotional, their decision-making processes are often influenced by their desires, moods and feelings, which can play a critical role in their ability to cope. Additionally, as Lewicki *at al.* (2016, 156-160) point out, people's cognitions can also interfere in a negative way, especially when there is an imbalance of power between the two parties, as this can be reflected in behaviours and in both verbal and non-verbal signals, causing the weaker party to revert to self-blame and overall negative self-talk. The result is often an escalation of negativity, leading to defensiveness and finally to a detrimental "defeat" ("yielding") or, possibly, to an interruption of communication (usually at the expense of the weaker party, whose –even modest— plans are inevitably thwarted). Therefore, "venting" of emotions, and especially anger (Parlamis, 2012, 77) "can have useful emotional regulatory functions" before the process of negotiating is initiated (Posthuma, 2012, 5). On the other hand, conflict can sometimes lead to a positive self-appraisal if one party has overcome fear and feelings of inferiority, managing to support their positions firmly and assertively. Lastly, it should be remembered that environmental factors (e.g. venue, seating) also play an important role as indicators of a friendly or a hostile attitude.

3. Implications for curriculum design

Communication, while being central in all aspects of people's lives, is often seen as a "peripheral" course in a number of curricula, but the way it is taught should not overlook the above-mentioned aspects, often "hidden" at the interface of verbal and non-verbal communication. It is essential that students should fully grasp the huge potential underlying human interactions –realizing also that

virtual exchanges of information focus mainly on "content". Despite the efforts made by social media "gurus" to add some real-life dimensions –for instance, with the use of *emojis* (which means "picture letters" in Japanese), or *emoticons* (supposedly conveying emotion) (Weiten *et al.*, 2018: 233), no electronically mediated communication can ever capture the whole spectrum of verbal and non-verbal dynamics at personal, professional, social, political, cultural, and even ethical level (see Seitel 2017). Moreover, face-to-face communication is not characterized by what Thompson and Nadler (2002) call the "burned bridge bias", which is what can happen when someone engaging in electronic communication (e.g. by email) tends to neglect "politeness rituals" and often displays behaviours that are more "risky" than in real life, because of the feeling of "insulation" emanating from the lack of accountability that is associated with distance.

Obviously, it is impossible to explore (and exploit) the intricacies of this imperceptible, yet so invaluable, interplay of clusters of non-verbal aspects of communication that combine with the verbal element to create the "fragrance" of empathy; this is something that requires the proximity of bodies and souls, and has not yet been simulated effectively through the use of "likes" and lukewarm comments in social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram, which seek to provide an illusion of meaningful responses, while they simply cover up the solitary expression of a craving for approval (often becoming an "addiction"). Such forms of interaction simply foster "social distancing", perpetuating a "loss" at the interface, rather than providing opportunities for real self-disclosure (see Weiten *et al.*, 2018: 237-238) and "sharing" of significantly more essential aspects of ourselves with our interlocutors than simply written thoughts, photos, videos, emojis, and other inefficient signals sent from one's "cave" (to recall Plato's allegory in his work *Republic*) to others that are geographically apart. Therefore, while being useful as a technological means, this powerful weapon of globalization threatens to annihilate the essence of so many "invisible" realms of communication. This is why it is essential to educate future citizens appropriately, preventing them from over-indulging in the convenience of isolated interactions and encouraging them to opt for the whole (and wholesome) "package" –which can only occur in face-to-face communication and relationship building, based on the values of loyalty, commitment, trust, integrity, empathy, respect, and reciprocity.

Conclusion

We have focused on some indicative contexts, such as negotiation processes and conflict resolution, which illustrate how people can avoid common pitfalls while choosing their channels of interaction (verbal and nonverbal) in order to communicate their messages appropriately. It is necessary to find out our interlocutor's subjective needs and preferences by developing "empathy", taking also into account common practices, regulations, norms, and so on in different communication settings. Overall, at the interface of verbal and nonverbal communication, the relationship level of meaning is sometimes more important than the content level. Consequently, "attitude is often more important than aptitude", as ambiguity and vagueness can create problems –and this becomes increasingly so nowadays in electronically mediated communication, which tends to prevail as a form of interaction, both between individuals and organizations. As demonstrated, however, non-verbal forms of communication are unavoidably lost in the latter case, as face-to-face communication remains inimitable.

References:

Comfort, Jeremy. 1997. *Effective Socializing*. USA: Oxford University Press.

Kovoor-Misra, Sarah. 2020. *Crisis Management: Resilience and Change*. USA: Sage Publishing.

Lewicki, Roy, Bruce Barry, and David Saunders. 2016. *Essentials of Negotiation*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

McLuhan, Marshall and Quentin Fiore. 1967. *The Medium is the Massage*. New York: Random House.

Seitel, Fraser. 2017. *The Practice of Public Relations*. Pearson Education Inc., 2017.

Weiten Wayne, Dana S. Dunn and Elizabeth Yost Hammer. 2018. *Psychology Applied to Modern Life: Adjustment in the 21st Century*. USA: Cengage Learning.

Wood, Julia T. 2016. *Communication Mosaics: An Introduction to the Field of Communication*. USA: Cengage Learning.

Electronic resources:

Choi, Dong-Won. 2010. "Shared metacognition in integrative negotiation". *International Journal of Conflict Management* 21.3: 309-333. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/10444061011063199 (accessed 12 April 2020).

Curșeu, Petru L., Smaranda Boroș and Leon A.G. Oerlemans. 2012. "Task and relationship conflict in short-term and long-term groups." *International Journal of Conflict Management* 23.1: 97-107. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/10444061211199331 (accessed 12 April 2020).

Parlamis, Jennifer D. 2012. "Venting as emotion regulation". *International Journal of Conflict Management* 23. 1: 77-96. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/10444061211199322 (accessed 11 April 2020).

Posthuma, Richard A. 2012. "Conflict management and emotions." *International Journal of Conflict Management* 23.1: 4-5. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/10444061211210797 (accessed 12 April 2020).

Thompson, Leigh and Janice Nadler. 2002. "Negotiating via information technology: Theory and application." *Journal of Social Issues*, 58.1, 109–124. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-4560.00251 (accessed 15 April 2020).

English and Romanian *Body Parts* Idioms Reflecting the Concept of *Common Sense*. A Cognitive Perspective

Ana-Maria Trantescu[1]
University of Craiova, Romania

Abstract: Phraseology represents a complex and controversial domain of semantics. The paper analyses from a cognitive point of view a series of English and Romanian *body parts* idioms reflecting the idea of *common sense*, of sound practical judgement. While traditional linguists study mainly the formal and functional aspects of idioms, cognitive linguists have a completely different approach. They consider that there is a systematic conceptual motivation for many idioms. Most idioms are products of our conceptual system and not simply a matter of language. Our work is based on the cognitive theory according to which idioms are motivated by conceptual structures: *conventional knowledge, conceptual metonymies,* and *metaphors.* The notion of embodiment can be easily applied especially to human body idioms. We also try to prove that there is a considerable degree of correspondence regarding these idioms in both languages, i.e., they share the same figurative meaning, as well as the same underlying conceptual strategies.

Keywords: body parts idioms**,** cognitive theory, common sense, conceptual motivation

1. Introduction

Describing idioms and idiomaticity is a complex problem which should be seen from a multiple linguistic perspective.

In *Longman Idioms Dictionary* (2001: VII) an idiom is defined as a "sequence of words which has a different meaning as a group from the meaning it would have if you understand each word separately".

An idiom is a conventionalized multiword expression whose units are generally unclear from the semantic point of view. A *conventionalized* expression is a phrase which has been used over time so frequently that it has lost its special metaphorical origin and with which many speakers of a language are familiar.

Croft and Cruse (2004: 230-231) refer to the prototype definition of idioms with one necessary characteristic and a few of

---

other typical characteristics offered by the standard view on idioms. The necessary feature is conventionality and the other features are: inflexibility of syntactic structures; figurative meaning; proverbiality meaning that idioms usually described habitual activities; informality; affect since they usually have an evaluation or affective stance towards what they describe.

In his book, Langlotz (2006) approaches an essential problem in phraseological and linguistic analysis: the creative structure and the creative use of idioms. In other words, two principles seem to function in the production and interpretation of constructions: *the creativity principle* or open-choice principle and *the idiom principle*. The linguist tries to relate the two principles to idioms. Idiomaticity is the linguistic branch that analyses phraseological, i.e. pre-established, fixed structures and focuses on those linguistic expressions which are intricately connected to the idiom principle. Indeed, traditional definitions of the notion of idiom have principally relied on distinguishing these expressions from common standard constructions. In this process of defining idioms in opposition to the norm of grammatical regularity, they have almost always been connected to notions such as linguistic irregularity, arbitrariness, or anomaly.

The author introduces the notion of idiomatic creativity. Rather than leading to a strict opposition between regular standard constructions and irregular idiomatic ones, idiomatic creativity implies that idiom production and comprehension are subject to a dynamic tension between the two principles. This leads to the idea that idioms cannot simply be described as lexical units; moreover, they seem to occupy an intermediate position between the lexicon and syntax, leading to a fuzzy dividing line between the productive and reproductive aspects of linguistic competence. Thus, the author's conclusion is that idiom and creativity are not opposite terms. (Langlotz, 2006: 8-9).

A cognitive linguistic investigation into idiomatic creativity must design an appropriate model of the inner mental basis of this phenomenon. The model must reflect the concepts, results and insights provided by phraseological analysis and the empirical data reflecting the phenomenon. Accordingly, in his book Langlotz addresses the following questions (*ibidem*: 10):

1. How are idioms represented and organised in a speaker's cognitive grammar?

2. What cognitive structures and processes are based on this model?

3. Along which limits does idiom variation occur?

4. Can idiom variation be explained with reference to more general cognitive processes that determine their mental representation and use?

Idiomatic creativity consists in the conceptualiser's competence to construct, structure, manipulate and interpret conceptual patterns of figurativity. First, idioms were created as non-conventional metaphors or metonymies.

Thus, their internal structure incorporates the systematic and creative extension of semantic structures. In this sense, idioms are structurally and semantically complex linguistic constructions that are inherently creative, real proofs for language creativity (*ibidem*: 11).

While Makkai (1972), Weinreich (1980) and other linguists study mainly the formal aspects connected to idioms and Fernando (1996) classifies idioms according to their function in discourse, cognitive linguists present a different perspective. The outstanding representatives of experiential realism, Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987) and Gibbs (1990, 1991, 1997) have discussed aspects concerning the nature of meaning, the role of metaphor and metonymy, the process of categorization and the relationship between form and meaning. It is natural within the new theoretical framework founded by cognitivists, based on the way people perceive, conceptualize, and categorize the world around them, that the complexity of idioms should occupy a central place. (Trantescu, 2018, 2019)

Without totally denying the traditional view according to which the meaning of an idiom cannot be completely inferred from the meaning of its components, these linguists consider that there exists a systematic conceptual motivation for many idioms. Most idioms are products of our conceptual system and not simply a matter of language. An idiom is not just an expression that has a meaning somehow special in relation to the meanings of its constituent parts, but its meaning arises from our more general knowledge of the world embodied in our conceptual system. In other words, most idioms are conceptual, and not linguistic, in nature (Kövecses, Szabó, 1996: 330).

Motivation refers to a speaker's ability to infer the meaning of an idiomatic expression by reactivating figurativity, i.e. to understand

why the idiom has the idiomatic meaning it has with a view to its literal meaning (Langlotz, 2006: 45).

The meanings of most idioms can be regarded as motivated and not arbitrary. Idioms are conceptually motivated in the sense that there are cognitive mechanisms such as *metaphors, metonymy* and *conventional knowledge* which link the literal meaning with the figurative idiomatic meaning.

The term *conventional knowledge*, as a cognitive mechanism, designates what is known and shared about a conceptual domain by the people belonging to the same culture. This knowledge includes, for example, the body part corresponding to a conceptual domain. Lakoff (1987: 446) suggests that people have in their mind large sets of conventional images of the world around them, depending upon their specific culture. Conventional images are context independent and they remain subconsciously sometimes for the rest of our life.

Cognitive linguists consider that many idioms are based on *conceptual metonymies* and *metaphors* which link the concrete and abstract areas of knowledge. They consider metaphor and metonymy as cognitive mechanisms that relate a domain (or domains) of knowledge to an idiomatic meaning in an indirect way. (Trantescu, 2014, 2015, 2018, 2019)

Metonymy is distinguished from metaphor in such a way that metonymy is characterized as typically involving one conceptual domain, rather than two distinct ones as in the case of metaphor.

The target-domain of conventional metaphor determines the general meaning of the idiom.

According to Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 352) the meaning of many idioms depends on the following factors:

- source-target relationship, which determines the general meaning of idioms.
- systematic mappings between the source and target domains, which provide more specific meaning of idioms.
- specific knowledge structures, or inferences, associated with the source domain, i.e. the general knowledge of the world.
- cognitive mechanisms: metaphor and metonymy.

The cognitive theory provides an adequate explanation for body parts idioms since the notion of embodiment can be easily applied especially to human body idioms In most of the cases, more than one cognitive mechanism contributes to the motivation of the

idiomatic meaning; this motivation results from the combination of three factors: conventional knowledge, metonymy and metaphor. Human body parts idioms are more predictable than others, simply because as human beings we are more familiar with our perception of the shape, size, and functions of individual parts of our own bodies since we experience them every day. The idiomatic language is mostly anthropocentric, i.e. it is focused on people, on their behaviour, perceptions of their environment, on their physical and emotional status (Bílková, 2000: 6).

According to the cognitive hypothesis, it is possible to analyse in detail the idiomatic structures in any language. Many studies have proved that there are idiomatic expressions common to several languages and, implicitly, there are common concepts resulted from the way people conceptualize the reality all over the world.

Starting from these aspects the purpose of this paper is to analyse from a cognitive perspective a series of English and Romanian *body parts* idioms conveying the idea of *common sense*, of practical, sound judgement. In *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2008: 307), *common sense* is defined as 'the ability to behave in a sensible way and make practical decisions'.

Thus, common sense refers to sound practical judgment concerning current matters. It is the basic ability to perceive, understand, and judge what is generally shared by most people. The first type of common sense, *good sense*, can be described as the faculty to see things as they really are, and, consequently, to do things as they should be done. The second type is sometimes described as *folk wisdom*, "signifying unreflective knowledge not reliant on specialized training or deliberative thought." (Maroney, 2009: 851). The two types are interrelated, since the person who has common sense is in touch with common-sense ideas, which emerge from the natural everyday experiences of those persons commonsensical enough to perceive them.

George Campbell, an outstanding figure of The Scottish School of Common Sense approached the problem of *the common sense* in close connection with the concept of *evidence*. Campbell discussed different types of intuitive evidence which can include common sense, seen as a source of knowledge common to all people and a guarantee of several truths. From this perspective the principles of common sense are universal because our entire knowledge is based on our previous acceptance of these principles, and they are also

fundamental as they represent the core of any philosophical system. In accordance with Campbell, James Beattie, another representative of the school, summarized the features of the concept and formulated a definition of common sense:

> [It is] that power of the mind which perceives truth, or commands belief, not by progressive argumentation, but by an instantaneous, instinctive, and irresistible impulse; derived neither from education nor from habit, but from nature; acting independently on our will, whenever its object is presented, according to an established law, and therefore properly called Sense; and acting in a similar manner upon all, or at least upon a great majority of mankind, and therefore properly called Common Sense. (Beattie, *apud* Rogobete, 2020: 117)

Our analysis is based on the cognitive frame according to which idioms are motivated by conceptual structures. Since in the process of inferring the meaning, the speakers activate first the idiom key words, the total figurative meaning can be anticipated from the meanings of its components. It is equally interesting to notice whether the speakers of English and Romanian share certain elements in the way they conceptualize the idea of *common sense* through body parts idiomatic expressions.

We shall examine the general conventional knowledge which conceptually motivates the meaning of many idioms as the first cognitive strategy which connects the physical (or source) domain of our knowledge about these parts of the human body with the abstract (or target) domain of knowledge. Conceptual metonymies and metaphors which underlie various idiomatic phrases will be also analysed.

The analysed idioms have been collected from standard dictionaries of idioms: *Longman Idioms Dictionary - LID* (2001), *Oxford Idioms. Dictionary for Learners of English* (2003) - *OID* and *Dicţionar de expresii şi locuţiuni ale limbii române* (1985), but other dictionaries of both English and Romanian have also been consulted. The authors of these dictionaries used an impressive corpus. This corpus was consulted to identify idioms and all their variations in different contexts and registers. For instance, *Longman Idioms Dictionary* makes use of a huge collection of texts in electronic form in order to find out how frequent an idiom is in a certain register. The authors of the dictionary used a variety of different corpora. The Longman Corpus Network consists of the British National Corpus-written texts; the British National Corpus-spoken texts; the Longman Spoken American Corpus; the Longman Written American Corpus; the Longman Learner's Corpus. (LID, 2001: x-xi)

2. English and Romanian *Body Parts* Idioms and *Common Sense*. A conceptual approach

2.1. *Hair* idioms

- *keep your hair on/keep your shirt on* is used for telling somebody who is angry or overly excited about something to keep calm. It is very probable that this idiom is also motivated by conventional knowledge and by the conceptual metaphor TO BE ANGRY IS TO LOSE CONTROL. There is no Romanian equivalent *hair* idiom, but we also use a metaphorical expression for this state of mind: *a-şi păstra sângele rece* (Trantescu, 2019):

English: ***Keep your hair on***, *Mum! You can hardly see the damage.*
Keep your shirt on*! We've got plenty of time to get to the airport.* (OID: 151)
Romanian: ***Păstrează-ţi sângele rece****! Nu s-a întâmplat nimic grav.*

- *something makes your hair curl* (informal, humorous) used in order to say that a story, experience, etc. is surprising or shocking. The Romanian equivalent is *a i se face părul măciucă, a i se ridica părul în cap, a i se zbârli părul*. In Romanian we also have an expression with a different lexical structure, but the same meaning: *a i se încreţi carnea sau pielea (de groază)*

English: *I could tell you a few things about Fiona that **would make your hair curl***.
*Did you watch Dan's video? I bet you saw some things that **made your hair curl***.
Romanian: ***I s-a încreţit carnea*** *de groază.*
*Urlau dobitoacele de ţi **se făcea părul măciucă** în cap.*
(P. Ispirescu, *apud* DELLR: 367)

- *your hair stands on end* (informal) has the same conceptual motivation, the same meaning and the same Romanian equivalents as the previous idiom (*a i se face părul măciucă, a i se ridica părul în cap, a i se zbârli părul*).

English: *I first read the report **my hair stands on end***. (OID: 151)

• *split hairs* 'to talk about small, unimportant differences between things as if they were important'. In Romanian there is the idiom *a despica firul (de păr) în patru:*

English: *Saying that you are not rejecting him, you are just rejecting his behaviour, may **be splitting hairs**.* (LID: 149)

Romanian: *Căci Pirandello era, înainte de toate, un sicilian, iar neamul de acolo are în vinele sale elemente care vin din vechea îndoială elenică, din obişnuinţa sofistică a jocului cu ideile şi, pe lângă aceasta, din tendinţa arabă **de a despica firul în patru**.* (N. Iorga, *apud* DELLR: 191)

2.2. *Head* Idioms

Conventional knowledge is relevant for the English idiom *to put/stick your head in a noose* with the meaning 'to say or do something that could risk harming you or your reputation'. In Romanian we have the expression: *a-şi pune ştreangul de gât*:

English: *By criticizing the government's policy on health, **Shalcross has put her head in a noose**.*

*If we're going to charge him, we need to find employees who are willing **to stick their necks in a noose** and speak against him in court* (LID: 162).

Romanian: *Acum **n-o să-mi pui ştreangul de gât** pentru atât lucru.* (DELLR: 687)

The idiom *put/lay your head on the block* (in Romanian: *a-şi pune capul pe butuc/a-şi pune capul/a-şi pune capul la mijloc*) is also motivated by conventional knowledge. In the past, criminals were hanged or beheaded. In addition, another cognitive mechanism which functions here is the conceptual metonymy: THE HEAD STANDS FOR LIFE:

English: *He's put **his head on the block** on several occasions by voting against the chairman.*

*Carson wrote a letter to the newspapers supporting the unpopular changes, effectively **laying his head on the chopping block**.* (LID: 162)

Romanian: ***Să-mi pun capul** pentru-o Lină/ Să mă fac un om pribeag!*   (Coşbuc, *Poezii*, vol. I, 50 în DLRLC, p. 327).

*Parcă despre asta **mi-aş pune capul la mijloc***
(Creangă, *Poveşti,* 170, în DLRLC, p. 327).

The same cognitive strategies are valid for *put their head in the lion's mouth* with the meaning 'to put yourself in a dangerous or difficult situation' and for its Romanian equivalent *a-şi vârî/a-şi băga/ pune capul sănătos sub evanghelie* and *a intra în gura lupului* (Trantescu, 2016):

English: *People's career choices depend on their temperament – some people think it's fun **to put their head in the lion's mouth.***

*He wasn't afraid **to put his head in the lion's mouth*** (LID: 162).

Romanian: *Acum îi părea rău că-**şi pusese capul sănătos sub evanghelie**.*

*Dar vezi, sârbii au dincolo treburile lor, mai ales ziua, şi ar fi stupid să rişte **să intre în gura lupului**, în plină zi* (DELLR: 359).

The idiom *keep your head down* has two meanings:

1. 'to make sure people do not notice you, by doing your work and not causing any problems'.

English: *Most employees were sensible enough **to keep their heads down** during the takeover; any who didn't soon lose their jobs.*

*After the abdication Edward was more or less paid to leave the country and **keep his head down**.*

2. (also the variant *get your head down*) 'to think only about what you are doing and ignore everything else'.

English: *I just **got my head down** and went for it, said Holmes, describing his winning goal.*

*It's hard to carry on normally with all the publicity, but you just **have to keep your head down** and get on with your work.*

Get your head down has also the meaning 'to get to sleep':

English: *It's time **to get your heads down**; we have to be up early tomorrow morning* (OID: 160).

These idiomatic meanings are motivated by conventional knowledge: the natural position of the head when someone is concentrated on a certain activity or when he lies down to sleep.

In Romanian there is the expression: *a-şi pleca capul* or *a avea unde să-şi plece capul* ('to have a place for rest, a shelter'). Thus, there is no semantic equivalence.

A-şi pleca capul has also the meaning 'to humiliate oneself, to stoop'.

In conclusion, for the English idiom, the motivation derives from three cognitive mechanisms: conventional knowledge, and the metonymies THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE PERSON and THE HEAD STANDS FOR REASON.

The same cognitive motivation is appropriate for the English and Romanian idioms: *to cost someone his head; a-i fi de cap; odată cu capul* or *în ruptul capului; a-şi face de cap* ('to endanger his life'), *a-şi pune capul pentru ceva; a pune capul cuiva* ('to destroy or kill somebody'). The metonymy THE HEAD STANDS FOR LIFE also has an important role here.

English: *He acted foolishly, and this* **cost his head**.

Romanian: *Nu deschide* **o dată cu capul** (*Caragiale*, *Opere*, vol. I, p. 99).

> *Să mă las de Bucureşti!...* **O dată cu capul** *de-oi şti că m-oi duce pe jos val-vârtej pân' în capitală* (Alecsandri, *apud*. DLRLC, p. 327).

> *Nu se astâmpără, nici* **în ruptul capului** (Creangă, *Poveşti*, ap. DLRLC, p. 327).

> *Ar trebui să te gândeşti mai bine înainte de a face aşa ceva.* **Să nu-ţi fie de cap.**

> *N-ai să vii! De unde nu, părăsesc comanda şi te las* **să-ţi faci de cap** (Ion Vinea, *Venin de mai*, p. 560)

> *Mândra* **capul ţi l-a pune/** *- Ce* **să-l puie că e pus, /** *Numai cât mai stă în sus* (Ioan Urban Jarnik – Andrei Bîrseanu, ap. D.A., I, partea II, p. 92)

THE HEAD STANDS FOR INTELLIGENCE/ THOUGHT/ REASON/ MEMORY

Since we know that the brain is the seat of intelligence, we consider head to represent intelligence and reason.

This metonymy is the cognitive mechanism which links the literal to the idiomatic meaning of many idioms in both languages:

- *to have a good head on one's shoulders* with the Romanian equivalent *a avea capul pe umeri* ('to be intelligent, reasonable, reliable'):

English: *Keefe's mother said: "Adam's always* **had a good head on his shoulders**. *We've never worried too much about what he was doing".*

> *Scott is a player* **with a good head on his shoulders** *who won't be bothered by the pressure.* (LID: 161)

Romanian: *E un om* **cu capul pe umeri**. *Te poţi baza pe el.*

- *to have your head in the clouds* ('to be a dreamer, ignore reality') with the Romanian counterpart *a fi/a umbla cu capul în nori*:

English: *If you think world peace would mean a cut in military spending and lower taxes, you **have your head in the clouds**.*

*As a child I always **had my head in the clouds**, dreaming about being in the movies.* (LID: 161)

Romanian: *Ioanide, săracul totdeauna paradoxal și **cu capul în nori**.* (G. Călinescu, *Bietul Ioanide*, p.149)

- *to lose your head* 'to behave in a very unreasonable way when you are in a difficult situation' and its Romanian counterpart *a-și pierde capul*:

English: *Nobody knows exactly what happened that day. As far as we know, one of the soldiers **lost his head and started shooting**.*

*When the photographers started taking pictures of my wife and family at home, I just **lost my head** and started attacking the nearest one.* (LID: 161)

Romanian: *A fost nebun că l-a ascultat, **și-a pierdut capul** că a fost prins în camera unei servitoare.* (Ion Vinea, *Venin de mai*, p. 59)

THE HEAD STANDS FOR ORDER

The English idiom *to turn/stand something on its head* is a good example of combining conventional knowledge and metonymy in motivating idioms. The meaning of this idiom 'to completely and radically change something, and give it a new sense or negate it' is based on our conventional knowledge that logically, the human body is positioned in such a way that the head is up and the feet are on the ground. If we stand on our head, the logical order of things is disturbed, clearly reversed. If we change the normal position, we also change the logical status of things. The conceptual metonymy THE HEAD STANDS FOR ORDER seems to underlie this idiom.

English: *Professor Hanson's theories **turn logic on its head**, and I'm afraid as a scientist I can't support them.*

*The lawsuit **stands truth on its head**. The company is suing people for activities that are approved of, encouraged, and profited from.* (LID: 160)

The same cognitive metonymy is also involved in the motivation of the following English and Romanian expressions *not to be able to make head or tail of something* 'to be completely baffled';

n-are cap şi coadă (a possible equivalent in English would be to *make neither rhyme nor reason*) and *a nu-i da de cap/capăt*. The conventional knowledge according to which there is a beginning and an end for everything has also an important role here.

English: *See if you can understand this letter. I **can't make head or tail of it.***

*The first time I read Marianne Moore's poems, I **couldn't make head or tail of them***. (LID: 160)

Romanian: *Toată copilăria şi adolescenţa noastră e cuprinsă în această povestire **fără cap şi coadă**.* (I. Vinea în DELR, p. 110).
*Cu greu **i-am dat de cap**.*

ANGER IS FIRE

The English idiom *to be hot headed* which has a Romanian equivalent: *cap/capete înfierbântate* seems to be motivated by our conventional knowledge and by the above conceptual metaphor. Our conventional knowledge of human physiology tells us that when somebody becomes agitated or angry, his/her bodily temperature rises, and the person can feel the heat in the upper part of the body as the pulse increases. The metonymy THE HEAD STANDS FOR THE REASON also functions as a cognitive strategy for inferring the meaning of this idiom: 'to be easily angered, to react abruptly, to overreact'.

The same type of motivation can be applied to the idiom *to keep a cool head*. If a person is exposed to a difficult situation which needs to be solved without emotion and panic, and if that person does not get angry easily, he or she remains calm and manages to solve that situation without any problem. Since he/she does not get excited, his/her body temperature does not change as in the case of an easily excited person:

English: *Throughout the match I tried **to keep a cool head** and to concentrate completely on my game.*
*I have a tendency to get myself over-excited and upset. I need a co-organizer who **keeps a cool head**.* (LID: 161)

2.3 *Eye* Idioms

The metonymy EYES STAND FOR EYESIGHT and the conventional knowledge represent the conceptual basis for the following idioms (Trantescu, 2016):

- *not to be able to believe one's own eyes* has a Romanian idiomatic correspondent: *a nu-şi (putea) crede ochilor*.

English: *He remained puzzled, **unable to believe his own eyes**.*
Romanian: *Oamenii **nu-şi puteau crede ochilor** aşa ceva. Niciodată nu se comportase astfel.*

*Sta lumea în priveală şi **nu-şi credea ochilor**. Adică să nu-şi ţină cuvântul boier Hrisant Hrisocelu, beizadea ce se află?* (Eugen Barbu, ap. DELLR, 462)

• *a bate la ochi* '*to be obvious*'
Romanian: *Lipsurile **băteau prea tare la ochi** ca să nu le fi putut îndată constata* (A. I. Odobescu, ap. DLRLC, I, 202).

• *sub ochii noştri:*
Romanian: *Voia să ne înşele **sub ochii noştri**.*

*Toate aceste evenimente au loc **sub ochii noştri**.*

• *keep your eyes open* 'to notice what is happening around you'. The Romanian idiomatic counterparts are: *a (a-şi) deschide ochii bine* and *a fi cu ochii în patru* or *a avea ochii în patru/ a-şi deschide/face ochii în patru*.

English: *He developed his acting skills by **keeping his eyes opened** and learning from experience.*

*An ordinary person who **keeps their eyes open** can understand people as well as a psychologist.* (LID: 109)
Romanian: *Trebuie **să deschizi bine ochii** când ai de-a face cu asemenea oameni.*

***Era mereu cu ochii în patru** să nu-l calce hoţii.*

The Romanian expression *a deschide ochii* has also the meaning 'to be born':

*Eşti tânăr, **ai deschis ochii** încoace, după Cuza.* (Gala Galaction, ap. DLRC, II, 62)

• *have an eye or a good eye for something* 'to be naturally good at noticing things of a particular kind, and recognizing what is attractive, valuable etc'
English: *Vicky always **had an eye for a bargain**. She could always find you the lowest prices in the city.*

*Looking at his drawings, it was clear **he had an eye for** the way people stand and move, and the clothes they wear.*

*You need **a good eye for** detail in this job.* (LID: 107)

The Romanian corresponding expression is *a avea ochi la ceva* ('to be very skillful at something'):

*Ai luat un cal de o să mă pomeneşti cât îi trăi. Ţi l-am dat dumitale c-am văzut că **ai ochi la cai**.* (C. Petrescu, ap. DLR, VII, part 2, 96)

2.4 Ear **Idioms**

- *keep your ears open* 'to pay attention to what is saying or happening in order to find out something' (www. macmillandictionary.com):

English: ***Keep your ears open*** *if you want to find out the truth.*
Romanian: ***Deschide-ţi urechile*** *şi ia seama bine la ce-ţi spun.*
        (DELLR, 1985: 760)

The metonymies THE EAR STANDS FOR HEARING and THE EAR STANDS FOR ATTENTION, and the metaphor THE EAR IS A CONTAINER which can be shut or opened link the literal meaning of the expression with the idiomatic one (Trantescu, 2019).

- *not believe your eyes/ ears* (usually used with can't or couldn't) 'think that something you see/hear is very surprising' has a Romanian idiomatic counterpart *a nu-şi crede ochilor* or *urechilor.*
English: *I* ***couldn't believe my ears*** *when I heard my name mentioned on the radio.*
        I ***could hardly believe my eyes*** *when I saw the professor arrive dressed as a clown.* (OID, 2003: 22)
Romanian: ***Nu-i venea să-şi creadă urechilor****, şi totuşi Vasile nu rostise nici un neadevăr.* (C. Petrescu, *apud Dexonline*)

The metonymies THE EAR STANDS FOR HEARING and THE EYES STAND FOR SEEING, and the metaphors HEARING IS BELIEVING and SEEING IS BELIEVING link the literal meaning of these expressions with the idiomatic one.

2.5 Nose **Idioms**

The informal expression *be right (there) under somebody´s nose* is means 'to be in a place that you can clearly see'. It has an identical equivalent in Romanian: *sub* (or, rarely *în*) *nasul cuiva.*
English: *You wouldn't notice something if it* ***was right under your nose****, because you are so angry all the time.*
        "Where are my keys?"

*"**Right** there, **under your nose**"* (LID: 246).

Romanian: *De ţi-ar fi tot trupul ochi şi ai pândi fiecare bătaie de inimă, tot are s-o înşele **sub nasul tău*** (Negruzzi, *apud* DLR, VII, partea I, 27).

In the above examples conventional knowledge is the conceptual strategy in inferring the idiomatic meaning.

THE NOSE STANDS FOR INSTINCT

In the English idiom *to have a nose for something* 'to be naturally good at noticing or finding a particular type of thing', the nose is taken to mean instinct. This seems to be based on the fact that people used to smell the air around them in order to find out various very specific things (e.g. whether it is going to rain, whether there is a danger etc.). Based on such experience, people were able to predict these things very precisely. The combination of this conventional knowledge and the conceptual metonymy THE NOSE STANDS FOR INSTINCT seems to be the main motivating factor which links the literal with the idiomatic meaning of this expression (Bilkova, 2000: 67). Indirect Romanian equivalents might be*: a avea fler pentru ceva* and *a simţi/a prinde ceva* (Nicolescu, Preda et alii: 95).

English: *Philcox always **had a nose for opportunities**, even before they happened.* (LID: 246).

The Romanian idiom *a avea nas means* 'to dare'. *Nose* is negatively conceptualized in connection with the idea of insolence, impertinence, rudeness as in *a-i da nasul să:*

N-are nas *să mai ceară de când nu a dat banii înapoi.*

*De **i-ar mai da lui nasul să mai miroase** pe-aici, apoi lasă!* (Creangă, *apud* DLRLC, 160).

To follow one's nose is another example in which the conceptual metonymy THE NOSE STANDS FOR INSTINCT motivates the idiomatic meaning. Conventional knowledge has also an important role. The phrase has actually two idiomatic meanings:

1. 'to behave in a way that you think is best or right, often in a situation in which there are no rules':

*I just **follow my nose**.*

*A good physician will still need **to follow his nose** in deciding what the cause of the problem is.*

2. 'to keep going straight ahead':

*Just **follow your nose** to the end of the path and turn left.* (LID: 246).

There is no Romanian equivalent.

Next, we shall analyse some English idioms and their possible Romanian correspondents motivated by conventional metaphors.

SMELLING IS SUSPECTING

The sense of smell is seen as a weaker source domain for metaphorical mappings in comparison with the other senses, vision, for example. Sweetser (1990: 43) considers that this sense has fewer metaphorical connections with the mental faculties than other senses.

There are two metaphorical extensions from the concrete domain to the abstract one (Neagu, 2005: 86):
- bad smell to indicate bad character
- detection of such characteristics

The conceptual metaphor SMELLING IS SUSPECTING motivates the English idiom *to smell something fishy*. Two possible Romanian equivalents might be *a nu-i mirosi ceva bine* and *a avea nas de prepelicar*. In these cases, the idiomatic meaning is also motivated by the metonymy SMELL STANDS FOR INTUITION (Trantescu, 2014):

English: *I **smell something fishy.***

Romanian: *Lauda de sine **nu miroase a bine.***

*Lui **nu i-a mirosit bine** de la început toată **această afacere.***

***Avea nas de prepelicar** şi simţise că ceva un este în regulă.*

2.6 *Mouth* Idioms

- *(not) look a gift horse in the mouth* (informal) 'you should not *find something wrong with something given to you free'*.

The origin of this idiom is in the fact that people usually judge the age of a horse by looking at his teeth. The idiom is, thus, motivated by conventional knowledge.

In Romanian there is a similar idiom with the same meaning: *calul de dar nu se caută la dinţi*.

English: *He didn't want to accept the offer of a free holiday, but I told him **not to look a gift horse in the mouth.*** (OID: 219)

Romanian: *S-a mulţumit şi aşa. La urma urmei, **calul de dar nu se caută la dinţi.***

- *out of the mouths of babes (and sucklings)* (saying)is used when a small child has just said something that seems very wise or clever:

English: *It was my daughter who told me I should enjoy life more. She's only four years old, but **out of the mouths of babes...*** (OID: 245)

The origin of this idiom is in the Bible (www.phrases.org.uk):
*Matthew 21:16: And said unto him, Hearest thou what these say? And Jesus saith unto them, Yea; have ye never read, **Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings** thou hast perfected praise?*
Psalms 8:2: **Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings** *hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.*

Romanian: *Din gura copiilor iese adevărul* has the same source:
*Nu te supăra! Nu ştii că **din gura copiilor iese adevarul?***

The idioms are also motivated by the metaphor THE MOUTH IS A CONTAINER (Trantescu, 2018).

2.7 *Blood* Idioms
- *have a rush of blood to the head* (humorous) 'because of a strong emotion, suddenly (decide to) do something foolish, irrationally or dangerous'

English: *I don't really know why I bought that vase. I just **had a rush of blood to the head** and wrote a cheque.* (OID: 330)

The idiom is motivated by conventional knowledge and its Romanian equivalent is *a i se urca/a- i năvăli /a i se ridica sângele la cap*:
*Simţea că **i se urcă sângele la cap de furie** şi nu mai gândea raţional.*

3. Conclusion
As can be noticed from this brief analysis, the conceptualizations of many body parts idioms conveying the idea of *common sense* depend especially on the conventional knowledge which we have about the placement, shape, and functions of these

body parts. The notion of embodiment can be easily applied to these anthropocentric idioms. The other two conceptual sources, cognitive metaphor and cognitive metonymy play an important role in the way we store relevant information in our mental dictionary. The cognitive theory, according to which the meaning of the constitutive parts of some idioms partially motivates the meaning of these idioms, proved to be valid.

Our analysis shows that there is a certain degree of correspondence between English and Romanian regarding these idioms. Thus, there is a considerable number of idiomatic expressions in both languages which share the same figurative meaning, as well as the same underlying conceptual strategies, a clear proof for cross-cultural cognitive motivation and cross language similarity.

References:

Croft, William, and D. Alan Cruse. 2004. *Cognitive Linguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fernando, Chitra. 1996. *Idioms and Idiomaticity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gibbs, Raymond W., and Jennifer E. O'Brien. 1990. "Idioms and Mental Imagery. The Metaphorical Motivation for Idiomatic Meaning". *Cognition*. 36: 35-68.

Gibbs, Raymond W., and Nandini P. Nayak. 1991. "Why Idioms Mean What They Do", *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 120: 93-95.

Gibbs, Raymond, W. 1997. "Metaphor in Idiom Comprehension", *Journal of Memory and Language*, 37: 141-154.

Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The Body in the Mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kövecses, Zoltan, and Peter Szabó. 1996. "Idioms: A View from Cognitive Semantics". *Applied Linguistics*, 17: 326-355.

Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Langlotz, Andreas. 2006. *Idiomatic Creativity. A cognitive-linguistic model of idiom-representation and idiom-variation in English,* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Makkai, Adam. 1972. *Idiom Structure in English.* The Hague: Mouton.

Maroney, Terry A. 2009. "Emotional Common Sense as Constitutional Law". *Vanderbilt Law Review,* 62: 851.

Neagu, Mariana. 2005. *Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction*. București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică.

Rogobete, Daniela. 2020. *Scotland and Scottishness from Tradition to Modernity*. Craiova: Editura Universitaria.

Sweetser, Eve. 1990. *From Etymology to Pragmatics. Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. Cambridge: CUP.

Trantescu, Ana-Maria. 2014. "Cross – Cultural Cognitive Motivation of English and Romanian Nose Idioms. A Contrasive Approach", in *Language and Literature- European Landmarks of Identity /Limba si literatura- repere identitare în context european*, volumul nr. 15/2014, Pitești: Editura Universității din Pitești, 105-116.

Trantescu, Ana-Maria. 2015. "Conceptual Motivation of English and Romanian *Shoulder, Arm and Hand* Idioms. A Contrasive Approach." in *Language and Literature- European Landmarks of Identity /Limba si literatura- repere identitare in context european*, 17/2015, Pitești: Editura Universității din Pitești, 53-66.

Trantescu, Ana-Maria. 2016. *Conceptualizări metaforice și metonimice în construcțiile idiomatice din limbile engleză și română*. Craiova: Editura Universitaria.

Trantescu, Ana-Maria. 2018. "Ear Idioms in English and Romanian. A Cognitive Approach" in *Studia Linguistica Et Philologica In Honorem Magistrae Ioana Murar.* (Coord. Titela Vilceanu, Ana-Maria Trantescu, Claudia Pisoschi, Daniela Rogobete)*. Craiova: Editura Universitaria*, 331-358.

Trantescu, Ana-Maria. 2018. "English *Mouth* Idioms and Their Romanian Equivalents. A Cognitive Perspective" in *Annals of the University of Craiova*, series- Philology- English, XIX (1): 121-136.

Trantescu, Ana-Maria. 2019. "*Hair* Idioms in English and Romanian. A Conceptual Approach", in *La Traduction: Theories, Pratiques, Formations*, Cristiana-Nicola Teodorescu, Daniela Dincă (eds.), Craiova: Editura Universitaria, 263-275.

Weinreich, Ulrich. 1980. "Problems in the Analysis of Idioms". În: Labov, W./Weinrich, B. S. (eds.). *On Semantics*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 208-264.

Dictionaries:

Duda, Gabriela, Aglaia Gugui, Marie Jeanne Wojcicki. 1985. *Dicţionar de expresii şi locuţiuni ale limbii române.* Bucureşti: Editura Albatros.

Nicolescu, Adrian et al. 1993. *Dicţionar frazeologic englez-român.* Bucureşti: Editura Teora.

*****Dicţionarul limbii române*. Academia Română. Bucureşti: Imprimeria Naţională, 1913 - 1940.

*****Dicţionarul Limbii Române (DLR).* Serie Nouă. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei, 1965.

*****Dicţionarul Limbii Române Literare Contemporane (DLRLC)*, vol. I-IV. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei, 1955-1957.

*****Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited*, 2008.

*****Longman Idioms Dictionary (LID)*. London: Longman Group Ltd, 2001.

*****Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English. (OID).* Oxford: OUP, 2003.

*****Webster's Encyclopaedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language.* New York: Grammercy Books, 1994.

*Electronic Resources***:**

Bílková, Ilona. 2000. *Czech and English Idioms of Body Parts. A View from Cognitive Semantics.* University of Glasgow. Available at: www.ibrarian.net. (accessed 2 May 2018).

www. macmillandictionary.com (accessed 11 April 2018).

www. phrases.org.uk (accessed 25 April 2020).