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CONTENTS

LINGUISTICS AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

AHMAD KAREEM SALEM

The Allusive Language of Politics: Do Americans Ever Apologize?..... 9

NUZET BERRIN AKSOY

The Relation Between Turkish Language Reform and Translation in the Development of Modern Turkish Literature 22

ARINA CHIRILĂ

Bilingual Identity and Translation of Colour Terms (in Reference to Vladimir Nabokov’s Autobiographical Prose) 32

IULIA CRISTINA FRÎNCULESCU

Watching Exercises in English for Medical Purposes Courses..... 47

BELINDA MAIA

The Professional Translator in The 21st Century – Education and Competences 59

MIHAELA PARPALEA

Kultur- und kontextgebundenes kommunikationsverhalten. Sagen, meinen und verstehen 77

CLAUDIA GABRIELA PISOSCHI

The Pragmatic “Identity” of Topic Changes 91

ALINA REȘCEANU

Amount Relative Clauses in Romanian: Between Raising and Matching..... 102

ANA-MARIA TRANTESCU

Conceptual Motivation of English and Romanian *Finger* Idioms. A Contrastive Approach..... 117

LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

TEODORA-ECATERINA DANCĂU Literary Cartographies of Timișoara.....	137
CARMEN DOMINTE Re-Shaping Identities in Don Delillo’s <i>Falling Man</i>	150
ALEKSANDRA GASZTOLD The Problem of Security Through the Gendered Lens	164
ROXANA ILIE Psychoanalytische und Interkulturelle Aspekte in Virginia Woolfs <i>Orland</i>	179
FELIX NICOLAU The Tumultuous Transition from Modernism to Postmodernism. Fictional Representations	199
FLAVIAN PALADE Diplomatic Language – Means of Facilitating Intercultural Communication in Joseph Conrad’s Novella <i>Heart of Darkness</i>.....	209
ROXANA ROGOBETE Sprache Und Identitätsbildung In Der Migrationsliteratur	219
MARIAN SUCIU Loss of Identity. The Tale of a Korean-American Man	229
RUMYANA TODOROVA, ZLATKO TODOROV Cultural Conceptualizations of Home and Identity in British and Bulgarian Advertisements.....	238
BRYGIDA GASZTOLD Review – Joanna Witkowska and Uwe Zagratzki (eds.) <i>Exile and Migration. New Reflections on an Old Practice</i>. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2016.....	251

LINGUISTICS AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

The Allusive Language of Politics: Do Americans Ever Apologize?

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Abstract: The present study is a pragmatic approach to apology. According to John E. Joseph, “The study of language and politics aims at understanding the role of linguistic communication in the functioning of social units, and how this role shapes language itself.” Politics is the art, and language is the medium, whereby politicians position themselves to get what they need, and beyond that, what they want. Politics has been defined as the continuous search for ways through which the “conflicting interest” can be resolved. It cannot be carried out without language, and it could be the use of language in the composition of social groups that leads to what is called politics. Political language is a variety of language that allows politicians to use certain effective aspects in their speeches (whether spoken or written), and to bring about the effect they seek on their addressees. The language of politics is the carrier of apology in the sense that apologizing is a speech act in which something is claimed to hold by, for instance, presidents of state, such as the American Presidents George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Barak Obama.

Keywords: *apology, language, political discourse, pragmatics.*

1. Introduction: Pragmatics as a Branch of Semiotics¹

Recently, the term “pragmatics” has come to be applied to the study of language from the users’ point of view, especially the encounter in using language in social interaction, using the language for the purposes they seek and the effect their use of language has on other participants in an act of communication. A large number of conflicting definitions of pragmatics have been proposed in the course of its history in order to classify the wide range of the subject-matter involved, or to delimit its vast scope. Unfortunately, so far no definition has given us any possibility of delimiting pragmatics clearly and neatly to everybody’s satisfaction. This is because some authors, such as Mey, and others, either confine themselves to strict linguistic definitions or resort to definitions that incorporate as much societal context as possible, but necessarily remain nearly vague as far as

¹ An extended version of this research has been accepted for publication as “Elusiveness in Political Discourse: How to Apologize the American Way” in Emilia Parpală and Leo Loveday. *Ways of Being in Literary and Other Cultural Spaces*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.

the relation between pragmatics and other areas of language studies is concerned. Some of the definitions of the term pragmatics given by Levinson, can be stated to shed light on the term as follows:

- “Pragmatics is the study of all those aspects of meaning not captured in a semantic theory”;
- “Pragmatics is the study of language from a functional perspective, that is, it attempts to explain facets of linguistic structure by reference to non-linguistic pressures and causes.”
- “Pragmatics has as its topic those aspects of the meaning of utterances which cannot be accounted for by straightforward reference to the truth conditions of the sentences uttered.”
- “Pragmatics = Meaning-Truth Conditions.” (Levinson, 1983: 7, 9, 12)

Within the field of linguistics, it becomes a common sense that knowing the general meaning of an utterance will be insufficient, to know the meaning of an utterance we need to make inferences connecting with what is mentioned to context in which it is used or what is mutually assumed by the speaker and the hearer. The following definition, given by Levinson (1983: 21), asserts the idea that pragmatics studies “the relations between language and context that are basic to account for language understanding.” Making it clear, the study granted a division between knowledge about language and the way in which this language is used, and the principle is to distinguish how knowledge of language interacts with general reasoning in order to understand language and outline the effects that can be achieved through communication.

Two senses of pragmatics: narrow and broad sense were given by Crystal, (1985: 240), for the former, pragmatics refers to those aspects of context, which are formally encoded in the structure of the language, as in the study of speech acts, presupposition, *deixis*. As for the latter, pragmatics is concerned with those aspects of meaning that are not governed by the semantic theory. In this respect, pragmatics has been characterized as the study of the principle and practice of conversational performance which includes all aspects of language usage such as politeness, appropriateness, social apprehension, etc.

In the spirit of our “new way of looking at things linguistics,” “pragmatics” does not constitute an additional component of a theory of language, but it offers a different perspective (Verschueren, 1999: 7). Sometimes we fail to give an explanation of a phenomenon in language using accepted, regular linguistic theories, then we must have recourse to

something else, something that is supposedly as un defined as it is tangible, namely pragmatics.

The questions that may arise are: what do pragmatic methods give us in the way of greater understanding of how the human mind works, how humans communicate and in general how they use language? The general answer is: pragmatics is needed if we want deeper, fuller, and generally more reasonable account of human language behavior. (Mey, 2001: 12)

2. Discourse Analysis Conceptualized

There are several ways to conceptualize discourse analysis: both as a general approach, or as a concrete method, as a cluster of methods, and as a field of research. These differences are derived from the different definitions of the term. As a principle, we can talk about a number of dominant approaches:

1. Discourse = text = language in use (Chafe, *apud* Widdowson, 2007, p. 86; Salkie, 1995, p. ix). The supporters of such an approach rely heavily on the linguistic constructions that exceed the limits of the phrase (which is seen, in structural linguistics, as the final level of linguistic analysis; cf. Bahtin, 1979, p. 280 *et passim*). In this sense, discourse analysis starts from (and partially overlaps with) text grammar, text linguistics, transfrastic linguistics along a tradition influenced by structuralism. According to this approach, the text is an assembly of phrases that enjoy such common traits as coherence, cohesion, acceptability, intentionality, etc. The object of the analysis is made up of these features of the text and the way they are updated by linguistic structures.

2. Discourse is defined as an “individualizable group of statements” (Foucault, 1972: 80, quoted in Mills, 2001: 6) or as a “totality of mutually relevant texts” (Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981). Such an approach is closer to gender analysis, and examines the way one (or several) texts conform the principles/norms of a discourse community. A similar definition is often used in the critical discourse analysis.

3. Discourse = communicative intention (Widdowson, 2007: 6). According to this approach – greatly inspired by pragmatics – the discourse is dissociated from the text, representing the totality of its author’s intentions and, on the other hand, “what is understood” by the receptor of the text. In this sense, the analysis attempts to determine the communicative intention – what the author

does *in* and *through* the text he produces and how is he understood by the receptor. A similar approach was advanced by E. Benveniste, who contributed a narrower definition of *discours*, which he opposed to *histoire*. To him, discourse implies the fact to be addressed, and the locutor's intension of influencing his receptor in a certain way. (cf. Mills, 1997: 5)

4. Discourse = the general domain of verbal interaction. This approach highlights the negotiation of the meaning and the way discourse construes reality. It is partially influenced by the foucauldian theory of discourse, social constructionism, and conversation analysis.

Discourse analysis implies the careful reading of a text (even the transcript of a conversation) and the examination of the language used, for a better understanding of the way the participants conceive of a fragment of reality, the structure of their interaction, and the way their communicative intentions are reflected in the language. Namely, in several cases, the practice of discourse analysis is similar, even if it starts from different theoretical assumptions. Hugh Trappes-Lomax offers a very precise description of discourse analysis as activity:

Discourse analysts do what people in their everyday experience of language do instinctively and largely unconsciously: notice patternings of language in use and the circumstances (participants, situations, purposes, outcomes) with which these are typically associated. The discourse analyst's particular contribution to this otherwise mundane activity is to do the noticing consciously, deliberately, systematically, and, as far as possible, objectively, and to produce accounts (descriptions, interpretations, explanations) of what their investigations have revealed. (quoted in Davies, Elder, 2004: 133)

As such, discourse analysis is situated at the crossroads of several fields – rhetorics, linguistics, philosophy, sociology, psychology – and each of them applies the methodology of analysis (more than often, virtually identical) in a personal manner and according to its own interests. And if we consider apology in view of the theory of politeness model developed by Brown and Levinson, they defined a face-threatening act as “an act that mortifies or offends a face of one of interactants” occurring “by acting in opposition to the wants and desires of others.” Given the assumptions of the universality of ‘face’ and ‘rationality’, B&L argue that certain acts intrinsically threaten face, and chose to term these FTA (Face Threatening

Acts), namely those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker” (1987: 65). B&L construct two-way classifications of FTA, according to whether positive face or negative face is threatened and a two-way classification of when it is mainly the Speaker (S)’s face or the Hearer (H)’s face which is threatened, according to the nature of particular FTAs(1987: 65-68). Eva Ogiermann, well aware of the difficulties encountered in developing a chart that would easily apply to all speech acts alike, taking into account “S’s and H’s face as well as the tension between their positive and negative face needs,” suggests Figure 1 as an attempt at capturing all the face considerations involved in the performance of an apology:

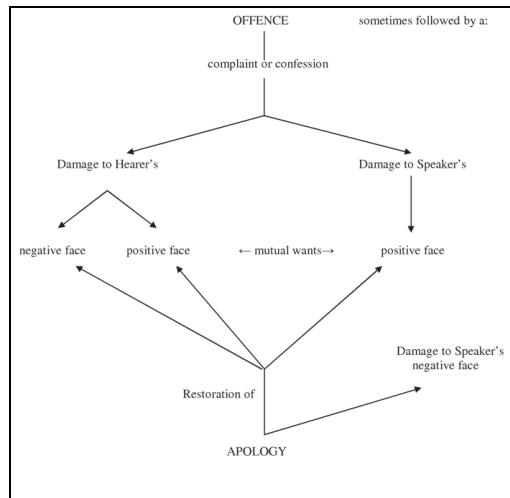


Figure 1
Face considerations involved in remedial interchanges

Here is her conclusive comment:

The offence, sometimes followed by a complaint or a confession, damages both H’s and S’s face. In the case of H, it may be either positive or negative face that is harmed, depending on the offence. In S’s case, it is positive face that is damaged, for committing an offence makes S’s wants less desirable. Positive face is especially important in relationships characterised by low social distance; with both parties willing to maintain social harmony and continue the relationship, S’s and H’s positive face

wants can be regarded as mutual. H's negative face is more central in offences between strangers, though brief encounters involving space offences generally require ritual rather than substantial apologies. (Ogiermann, 2009: 54)

3. The Language of Political Apology

Political apology – or, perhaps, more appropriate – apologies made by politicians is a topic that has elicited numerous responses from specialists. It is because the very notion of political discourse does not remain restricted only to the situational field of politics, as it happens nowadays in the elections campaigns, parliamentary discourse, and occasional speeches, all over the world. Political discourse allows and is open to all linguistic manifestations that may be considered to be political, provided that it is convincingly argued.

From the multitude of approaches to political discourse and due to the limitations imposed by this presentation, I have selected the often-cited position of Girma Negash who, in his *Apologia Politica* (2006), proposed a distinction between what he calls “mending” and “healing” apologies. Political (or state) apology is a collective apology which is extended by one group to another. For a state apology to be successful, Negash devised a theoretical framework based on four requisites: acknowledgement, accountability, truth-telling and public remorse. Some apologies are apologies ‘by proxy’ because “apologies need to be delegated by leaders or appointed delegates in group-to-group” (Negash, 2006: 2). He developed a simple typology of state apology, with its three cardinal dimensions:

1. political apology can be either voluntary or demanded
2. apologies can be either categorical or non-categorical, and here categorical refers to the action (direct action) to the wrong doing act, while non-categorical apologies here refer to nonaction to prevent a crime, and nevertheless these apologies tend to come easily
3. apologies can either seek to heal societies or to mend relations (ibid: 138).

Table 1 is a synthesis of Negash's views on state apology, and the solutions (requisites and policy implications) he suggests for a successful mending apology.

Table 1
 Requisites and policy implications for a successful mending apology
 (according to Negash)

Requisites	Acknowledgement	“a self-conscious process of assessing or estimating the damages one has committed,” referring “not only to the reckoning of damage done, but to recognition of the consequences of one’s actions to others.” (9)	By acknowledging that a wrong has occurred and accepting accountability for it, perpetrators satisfy deep psychological needs of victims and pave the way for further reconciliation. In doing so, the pragmatic relationship between states can be mended (even if some underlying animosity remains unhealed).
	Accountability	Accountability takes acknowledgement one step further, as perpetrators take responsibility for their actions. This is important, because it is often not exactly clear who is apologizing to whom, and for what.	A successful mending apology can re-establish positive relations between perpetrators and victims by acknowledging
	1. The apology must be expedient, or timely.	“under the gaze of international media, delayed admission can prove to be diplomatically costly” (152)	
	2. The apology	Apologies that	

Policy Implications	should be formal.	lack formality and the corresponding appropriate rituals and decor may be perceived as insincere.	wrongs and accepting accountability for them in an expedient, formal, proximate and legitimate process.
	3. The proximity between the apologizer and the recipient must be diminished.	In order for an apology to be effective, it is essential that the victims, or those closest to them, are addressed and that they are aware of the apologetic gesture.	
	4. The apology should have public support.	An apology that lacks legitimacy through public support is less likely to be perceived as genuine, and is unlikely to be accompanied by the material reparations often essential to reconciliation.	

4. Sample Analysis of American Political Apology

After clarifying the concepts needed for this analysis and after emphasizing some patterns of speech act of apologizing in political discourse identified across nations, we will proceed below to the pragmatic analysis of American speech act of apology. The pragmatic analysis of this study is based on four excerpts from relevant political speeches held by American officials in the past decade. (See Table 1) Most of the time politicians try to create forms of speech act of apologizing by ways in which they aim to minimize their responsibility for misdeeds which comes

to be an interesting matter in the public speech act of apology (Abadi 1990, 1991; Benoit 1995; Lakoff 2000, 2001). From the politicians' different statements, we may conclude that there are different formal configurations indicating the illocutionary force of speech act of apology.

Table 2: Samples of political apology

No.	Explanation	Excerpt
(1)	President Bush on Thursday apologized for the "humiliation" some Iraqi prisoners suffered at the hands of U.S. troops, May 07, 2004.	"I told him I was sorry for the humiliation suffered by the Iraqi prisoners and the humiliation suffered by their families," Bush said.
(2)	Former U.S. President George W. Bush apologized for the Iraq War today, saying the conflict was "his biggest mistake," March 20, 2013.	"After my presidency I have come to the belief that the Iraq War, although well intentioned, was unnecessary and too costly to justify. I deeply apologize to the American people and to our soldiers and veterans in particular for engaging them in such a conflict."
(3)	Former president Clinton apologizes for having done something that helped ensure his re-election, but that turned out to be hopelessly bad public policy, July 16, 2015.	"I signed a bill that made the problem worse. And I want to admit it," Clinton said at the 106th NAACP National Convention, which concluded Wednesday in Philadelphia. "In that bill, there were longer sentences, and most of these people are in prison under state law, but the federal law set a trend. And that was overdone; we were wrong about that."
(4)	President Obama Apology to the Muslim world, January 27, 2009.	"My job to the Muslim world is to communicate that the Americans are not your enemy, we sometimes make mistakes. We have not been perfect. But if you look at the track record, as you say, America was not born as colonial power, and that the same respect and partnership that America had with the Muslim world as recently as 20 or 30 years ago, there is no reason why we can't restore that."

In (1) president Bush used his speech in a way to show that he apologized for the “humiliation” of some Iraqi prisoners who suffered at the hands of U.S. troops. Pragmatically speaking it is an apology but syntactically he used past sentence (“I was sorry”) to show that he is insincere, which was proceeded by another sentence in past tense (“I told him”) to Donald Rumsfeld, both of the sentences were not stated to Iraqi prisoners but to Rumsfeld. Bush also used the lexical word (“sorry”) instead of the real word of apologizing (apologize) which is one of the tactics in order to minimize the offender’s responsibility (U.S. troops). Such abusing matter like what had happened in Abu Ghraib, if it happened to American prisoners or soldiers, does Bush use the same way of apologizing to them or their families as he did in the text above?

In (2), it may seem to be the only example which carry the verb apology instead of other way of apologizing or the use of different tactics to release the responsibility of the offense the actor does. Former president Bush offered in his speech his direct apology to American people and soldiers and to veterans for having involved them in the war with Iraq. Bush expressed his fault by using the additional markers accompanied with detached apology which used for intensifying the apology or signaling the emotional state of the speaker i.e. the use of (Intensifier + apology) (deeply + apologize) which conveys the speaker involvement, the statement is expressed directly by using a declarative sentence. So pragmatically, syntactically and semantically it is an apology. But the questions that arise here is what if the former president was asked to apologize to Iraqi victims in his war, does he use the same technique of apologizing as he did with American victims or no? Does he apologize directly or no? Does he even think to apologize or no?

In (3), the former president Clinton apologized indirectly in another way this is pragmatically can be interpreted as an apology of the fact that Clinton admitted he signed the bill and along with the other sentence, Clinton said “we were wrong about that,” but syntactically and semantically it is not apologizing because of the absence of the detached verb of apology or at least other forms which indicate the speech act of apologizing. The use of “about that” in Clinton’s speech is claimed to be another tactic for evading the responsibility for his offence. In fact, there was no even single utterance in which “about that” was used to describe the offence was made by him.

In (4), “we sometimes make mistakes,” “we have not been perfect,” here these utterances can be pragmatically interpreted as an apology of the fact that “Americans are not perfect and they have done something wrong to Muslim world.” But syntactically and semantically the utterances are not

Apology because the use of coordinating “But,” which expresses contrast between the content of the linked sentences which may function as explanation, excuses, justification, or trivialization of the offence, also absence one of the apology verbs asserts the fact.

5. Conclusion

From what was stated above we can conclude that the speech act of apology made by American politicians, which is directly and typically made by the declarative sentence type as intended to express the speakers psychological state towards the state of affairs as can be seen in (2), can also be seen as indirect. What is really common to some of the texts mentioned above is the lack of the Americans’ sincerity. In other words, the Americans use their ways of apologizing in order to lessen their amount of responsibility towards the offenders. Based on the analysis made above, I demonstrated some tactics used by the American officials to minimize their responsibilities. One of the tactics was used by Bush which is apology verb without responsibility. Bush used his apology in another form. The relation between the forms and functions make the speech act difficult to identify, and Bush’s use of the multiple function of the apology verb (sorry) made it clear. One more tactic I have demonstrated along with the indirect speech act was used by Clinton, meaning the use of evading the responsibility by using (about that) which Clinton did not use in order to describe the offense itself. The tactic which we can see in Obama’s speech is his indirect way of apologizing. But if we take a look wisely we can see it is not apology. The use of coordinating “but” asserts that Obama did a kind of non-linked ideas, meaning that to release his responsibility from being offender to Muslims.

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The Relation Between Turkish Language Reform and Translation in the Development of Modern Turkish Literature

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Abstract: Wilhelm Von Humboldt's views on the language as an indispensable part of culture and its constituent nation may be regarded as the background and inspiration for the Turkish language reform in 1928. Humboldt sees language in direct connection with the culture and nation it belongs to and hence, as a force of enrichment and improvement. Within this context, in this paper the relation between language reform and translation as a tool in the development of Turkish Literature will be discussed by making references to certain literary genres such as novel, poetry and drama.

Keywords: *Humboldt's views on language, language and culture, translation.*

1. Introduction: The Conceptual Frame for Turkish Language Reform

Traditionally in linguistics language and extralinguistic reality which can actually be defined as the space where language comes to the fore, have been taken up as separate identities. Beginning from the 19th c. onwards language started to be seen as an integral and essential part of culture with all its aspects in the social life of a nation the culture belongs to. Language is no longer regarded as a state, but as in Humboldt's term, as an organism in constant change. According to Humboldt the function of language was not limited to representing or communicating existing ideas and concepts but as "formative organ of thought and thus instrumental also in the production of new concepts that would not come into being without it" (Mueller-Volmer, 2014) Humboldt asserts that language is not a finished product (ergon) but rather an activity (energia) (Lehmann: 2). Humboldt, according to Lehmann also holds the principle that the structure of a language reflects the culture of its speaker. By nature, Humboldt asserts, language is a continuous process of development under the influence of the actual intellectual force of the speaker (ibid: 2). Humboldt believes that this principle is present in each and all languages and if it establishes a link between language-forming principle in man to the individualization of language, then it will be ever present in the course of the development and weakening of languages in line with the

situation of the cultural and national context in which the language exists (ibid: 2-3). Humboldt believes that the language has infinite capability of expressing everything, it has the wonderful characteristic of accommodating the general needs of everyday life and the language is also equipped with this quality through the spirit of the nation that shapes and forms it and infinitely enriches it (ibid: 56). It is clearly seen that Humboldt sees language in a direct connection with the culture and nation it belongs to. He states that to the same extent that a language is enriched, a nation is also enriched (ibid: 57) and gives the example of German language profiting by imitating Greek as a source of enrichment and how the German nation progressed simultaneously with the developments in language and the effects of these on the prosperity of national culture (ibid: 57). Von Humboldt's views on the relation between language and culture and the importance he attaches to this relation serve as a framework to evaluate the why and how of the Turkish language reform in the early years of the modern Turkey. Similar approaches to the concept of the relation between language and culture have been experienced in other European societies as well. To name a few, Hungarian language reform which aimed at the elimination of Latin and German and purification of Hungarian starting in the 17th c. onwards, and the German language reform in the 16th c. The publication of *Deutsch Grammer* planted the seeds of sensitivity towards mother tongue, and served as a tool to create a notion of German national consciousness (qtd. in Cucunel, 2004: 82-83). Likewise in France the foundation of The French Language Academy is seen as a step towards the purification of French and following the French revolution, enabled the state to set out to establish a nation-state moulded by the spirit of nationalism in all aspects of life which regarded language as a force to achieve the creation of a national spirit (ibid: 84). It may well be said that Wilhelm Von Humboldt's views on the relation between language and nation are very important to illuminate the background for the Turkish language reform.

2. The Initiation of Turkish Language Reform

Turkish language reform materialized in two stages (Tekin, 1973: 105-118). The alphabet Reform in 1928 which brought a shift to Latin letters and the language reform in 1932 which compromised efforts for the purification and vernacularization of language. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire following World War I, the Turkish Republic founded by M. Kemal Atatürk and his followers, was shaped on the concept of the nation - state model in line with the dominant models in Europe and the world in the early 20th c.

Actually, the roots of language reform which took place in the early years of Turkish Republic date back to the last few centuries of the Ottoman Empire. During the Reformation period in the Empire, in the 19th c. a reform in language was one of the topical issues among the intellectuals. The Reformation period in the 19th c. is the beginning of a movement towards westernization and modernization in social, economic and intellectual life (Akalin: 1-42). Influence could also be felt on the language on two levels, one of which was the effect of nationalization and a move towards the vernacular in the West and the other was the use of vernacular language in order to reach out to the people. It was seen in this period that the most effective tool to reach people was journalism. Hence, newspapers became the initiators of a change in the language (Cucunel, 2004: 90-91). In the Ottoman Empire, the language was the Ottoman language composed of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. The script was Arabic. The language of science was Arabic and Persian was the language of arts and literature. The language of prose and poetry were different. In poetry Persian genres and structures were used in an Arabic meter which was formed not according to the words, sounds and pronunciation of Turkish (ibid). Hence, the written language and the spoken language of the people was not the same. The Ottoman intellectuals, under the influence of the West to a certain extent and under the climate of their age, became aware of the incongruity created by the gap between written and spoken language and the difficulty of learning and writing of the Ottoman language (ibid: 90-92). The administrators in the Reformation period came to realize the developments and advancements carried out in the West and their roots in reforms in education. It was seen that education in Arabic script could take years which was a hindrance in the efforts to reforms in education and fights against illiteracy (ibid: 86-92). According to the initiators of language reform, Arabic was not sufficient to produce rich Turkish consonants and a word in Turkish could be read in five or six ways when written in Arabic, with different meanings each time. The problems in printing had negative effect on the printing of newspapers and textbooks (ibid: 90-91). Those of the Ottoman intellectuals who kept contact with the West were aware of the language reforms carried out in France, Germany, Hungary, Norway etc. and the idea of shifting to Latin alphabet began to give seed, with no concrete result. According to Turkish scholar and the former head of Turkish Language Institution Prof. Dr. Haluk Akalın, The first concrete step taken in this direction belonged to an Azerbaijani Turk, Mirza Fethali (4). Akalın in his presentation titled “Atatürk Döneminde Türkçe” (Turkish in Atatürk’s Time) says that in 1863, Fethali submits a report to the Sultan which writes that the Arab alphabet had to be changed and improved,

adapted to the rules of the Turkish language and that Latin alphabet was the most suitable to express Turkish language. According to Akalın, an Ottoman intellectual Ahmet Rıza is the first person to take part in the discussions about a reform in the Ottoman language from a nationalist angle. Rıza's argument was that the survival and existence of a nation is dependent on the formation and continuity of a national language (6).

Consequently, arguments in favor of and against reforming the Ottoman language and its purification from the influence of the old Arabic and Persian vocabulary could not give seed due to the unfavorable social and economic conditions of the last centuries of the Ottoman Empire. However, these arguments which continued all the way into the years of World War I and the war of Liberation which paved the way for the establishment of the Turkish Republic, laid the foundation for a reform between the years 1928-1932.

2.1 The Materialization of Turkish Language Reform and Its Effects

The first step towards a reform in the language of the Turkish state was taken by the establishment of language Council (Dil Encümeni) in the body of Ministry of Education in 1928. Turkish Academic Haluk Akalın writes that the council was comprised of men of letters and science. Two reports were drafted at the end of the Council's studies of which one was about the alphabet and the other one was the written language. The council proposed that an alphabet composed of Latin letters could be adapted to the Turkish language and it will be based on İstanbul spoken Turkish which was the common language of literature and sciences of all the nation. Finally, in November 1928 the law on the transference to Latin alphabet from the Arabic Script was passed.

The shift to Latin alphabet was accompanied by the printing of textbooks and Turkish grammar books. Already in 1928 Latin numbers were accepted. In a few months, the government decree towards using the new alphabet in all kinds of printing and written communication in state affairs came into force. Atatürk himself started a campaign towards teaching the new letters throughout Anatolia and on the 24 of November he was given the title "headteacher" and the date is still celebrated in Turkey as "teachers' day." Following the alphabet reform, during the years 1928-1938 the number of books printed in the new alphabet per year tripled (Akalın: 18).

The alphabet reform and its rapid use ignited and encouraged the attempts towards purification and simplification in the Turkish language.

Famous Turkish linguist and novelist Prof. Tahsin Yücel sums up the period that stretches from the alphabet reform to the language reform as such.

“Literacy was a privilege which could only be attained by a few people before the Republic and many of the words were neither Turkish in origin nor Turkified. But Turkish was, similar to all languages, capable of producing infinite possibilities and it will do so by referring to its own potentials and sources” (www.DilDevrimi, tr-tr.facebook.com/notes)

On the other hand historian Suat Yakup Baydur explains the content of the language reform and its goals as follows:

1) It was necessary to adopt the Latin alphabet because of the difficulties in spelling and pronunciation of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian;

2) Ottoman language was unintelligible for the young generation and it had to be abolished in schools;

3) Under the influence of European culture and science, the terms and concepts in Arabic and Persian were insufficient to meet the needs for development and advancement in culture, humanities, and sciences;

4) In order to get closer to local people of Anatolia and to their speech and conversation, a new alphabet and systematized language had to be available soon. (qtd in Aksoy, 2010: 447)

Following the language reform, on 15 April 1931 Turkish History Institute and on 11 June 1932 Turkish Language Institute were founded. The purpose behind these initiatives was to provide a scholarly foundation for the study, research and investigation of the Turkish history and the Turkish language.

The works of the Turkish language Institute were 2 fold: “1) Simplification of the Turkish language, its purification from foreign words and carrying out research by scanning historical texts and vernacular dialects to create a corpus; 2) The study of the dead and living languages used in old historical texts, their comparison and creation of a corpus.” (Akalm: 21)

3. The Relation Between Translation and Language

Consequently, it was believed that those efforts towards creating a nation-state founded on a national language would pave the way towards exploring and creating a national culture and literature aimed at bringing the new Republic to the same level with developed European states. Within this frame and foundation attempts to provide the climate for the conscious

development of modern Turkish Literature was one of the prerequisites of the commitment to making a modern, enlightened nation. In line with this objective, it was now time to start a large-scale, state-led initiative in translation. The aim was to enrich, modernize and initiate innovations in the field of literature and literary genres.

Translation has been seen by many scholars as a manipulative force towards innovations and modernization efforts in the process of newly established states. Lawrence Venuti sees translation as an imagined community building and says that “the imagined communities...are based on the sense of belonging to a particular nation. Translations have undoubtedly formed such communities by importing foreign ideas that stimulated the rise of large-scale political movements at home” (Venuti, 2000: 482-483). Annie Brisset, on the other hand, in her article “The search for a Native Language: Translation and Cultural Identity” studies recent Quebec’s drama translations which designed to form a cultural identity in the direction of a nationalistic agenda and she shows how cultural and political initiatives were taken along with resorting to translation for development in certain cultures (343-375). Susan Bassnett, on the other hand, in the preface to a Turkish scholar’s book writes the following about the Turkish experience:

Literary revivals, such as Czech or Finnish cases demonstrate, were intimately linked to translations. Through translation, innovative ideas and ways of writing can be introduced, enabling writers working in the developing language to experiment and combine their own traditions with those brought in from outside. Such was also the Turkish case and as this book shows,...what happened in Turkey was an extended and deliberate process of cultural policy and translation activity designed to transform and modernize the state and the Turkish language.... the principle periods of translation activity in Turkey were one of acculturation, and that translation was therefore linked to the creation of a specifically Turkish identity. (qtd. in Berk, 2004: xiii)

The power of translation on the way to modernization is taken up as such by the Turkish man of letters and intellectual Nedim Gürsel as such:

Undoubtedly, translation is an activity between languages. But, from another aspect, it turns its face towards the past, to the ancient cultures....in Renaissance or in Islamic philosophy it carries over the remains of the past, the values created by human beings throughout history, while on the other hand it synchronically enables the exchange between national cultures. Hence, translation enables the formation of a synthesis of modern culture and a solidarity among new values and their

interaction. The most significant function of translation is to materialize a cultural transformation which could not be achieved by the internal dynamics of a society in the process of a transformation. (qtd. in Aksoy, 2010: 442)

A full-scale translation activity was ignited with the initiatives of the National Education Ministry and by the Minister Hasan Ali Yücel. It was an attempt at forming a national culture and a literature of our own by employing all the resources, our rich cultural inheritance and potentials of Turkish language. Turkish scholar Saliha Paker makes an evaluation of the translation project as such in the quotation below:

The revolutionary move made by Hasan Ali Yücel, Minister of Education, in setting up a Translation Committee in 1939 and a Translation Office in 1940 was intended to reinforce the new language policies and to organize a programme for cultural revival The general aim was to “generate” the spirit of humanism by cultivating and assimilating foreign literatures through translation. This, it was felt, would bring about a renaissance and contribute to the development of the Turkish language and culture. (Paker, 1998: 579)

The establishment of a Translation Office within the Ministry of Education was decided in order to organize and carry out translation activities in an orderly manner. The Office comprised men of letters, novelists, educationists, poets and intellectuals. Its activities and methods were laid down by its members. The aim of the Translation Office was to enrich, improve and elevate Turkish culture and language and thus encourage Turkish men of letters to produce original works of the same value and quality.

It can be seen that translation was regarded by the initiators as a force for the enrichment of the language and culture. From its establishment in 1940, the Translation Office managed to publish 1247 volumes of translation up to 1966 when it closed down. By 1946, the Office had published almost 500 works.

4. The Innovations Brought About in Literature by the Language Reform and Translation Activities

The contribution of the alphabet and language reforms and their successor translation project to the development of modern Turkish literature has been investigated by and large in many academic studies. I would like to briefly look at the innovations brought about in some of the

literary genres in the Turkish literary polysystem which have been developed by the reforms and projects.

Turkish poetry developed in a variety of ways following the reforms in the field of language and translation activities carried out in the early years of the Republic. In line with the inherited traditional and native sources, and inspirations from the rich Ottoman Court Poetry tradition, Turkish poetry owes an amount of inspiration to the western models introduced by the translation activities. The inspiration came from the translations of the Bureau and in the journal *Tercüme*. Turkish poets were introduced to an array of new voices, tones, and modes of expression through the translations published in this journal. As Turkish poet, translator and man of letters Feyyaz Kayacan Fergar writes:

The second linguistic shake-up occurred during the late thirties... All the major works of world literature-ancient, classical and modern were being translated and sustained regularly. The magazine Translationprovided work for many young writers including (poets) Orhan Veli and Melih Cevdet Anday and opened many, many new doors for avid readers (1992: 36)

Consequently, modern Turkish poetry moved from love and natural descriptions to more social and personal subjects and new formal elements emerged as a result of the innovations and synthesis with the old and traditional models in terms of artistic quality and originality (Aksoy, 2010: 450). Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, translator, educationist and one of the founders of the state led translation activities in Turkey writes the following on the famous Turkish poet Can Yücel and his poetry:

You can see where the direction of Turkish poetry is leading to in this book. You can best see how on one hand Turkish poetry opens up to the world and on the other how far it moves into its own spirit, values and sources. Isn't poetry the voice of the most intimate form of universal feelings? This is what Can Yücel does in his translations. He is talking to our men on the street through world poetry. He is bringing one end of poetry to Eluard and the other end to our ordinary man." (Eyüboğlu)

Drama, on the other hand, which had its roots in Anatolian folk tradition, went back to Ottoman times and even to the times when Turks were in central Asia. However, translation activities and the new possibilities of language reforms, and translations from French, English, Greek, Roman and Scandinavian sources enriched this genre which already had a long-standing place in Turkish literature in terms of content, dramatology and variety (Aksoy, 2010: 451). The translations contributed to the development

of the character of Turkish drama through close engagement with Anatolian genres and new genres such as musicals. (ibid: 451-452)

Modern Turkish novel owes a great deal to the translation efforts not only in the Republican period but in the 19th c. Ottoman Reformation period as well. 19th.c is the beginning of first translation activities from the western sources and these efforts, although not very organized in character, paved the way for the actual birth of the novel genre in the form firstly, of adaptations and imitations. Gradually, a consistent interest in the novel genre led Turkish authors to create their own stories with the richness of Turkish language. New topics and expressions were introduced by translations during the early years of the Republic and the most concrete outcome of these efforts is the Nobel Prize in Literature 2006 awarded to Turkish author Orhan Pamuk.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the act of translation provides a landscape where cultures can meet and interact. The importance and emphasis attached to translation in the early years of the Turkish Republic is inseparable from the young Republic's faith in the power of language to contribute to cultural and social change.

Notes: The quotations from Turkish scholars apart from Paker and Fergar are translated into English by the author of this paper.

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Bilingual Identity and Translation of Colour Terms (in Reference to Vladimir Nabokov's Autobiographical Prose)

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Abstract: The present research is centred around the reflection of bilingual identity of one of the best-known 20th-century bilingual writers Vladimir Nabokov in his autobiographic novels “Conclusive Evidence,” “Other Shores” and “Speak, Memory!” It does not come as a surprise that the multilingual and multicultural personality of the author (who was fluent in English, Russian and French from the early childhood) was fully reflected in his works; the proof lies in the comparative analysis of the three autobiographic novels mentioned above that, according to Michael Oustinoff's typology of self-translations, can be called a case of re-creating self-translation, or rewriting. Thus, the aim of our research is to assess to which extent the author's bilingual identity influenced the choices of Nabokov the translator in the translation of colour terms.

Keywords: *autobiographical prose, bilingualism, colour terms, self-translation, Vladimir Nabokov.*

1. Introduction

This article deals with Vladimir Nabokov as a multilingual and multicultural writer, a citizen of the world that can hardly be attributed to a single country or a single language. Being one of the most famous and widely read authors of the 20th century, Vladimir Nabokov attracts the attention of the audience not only by his unquestionable writer's talent, but also by a great number of intricacies that constitute an indispensable part of his texts – the intricacies that can well be called a distinctive feature of Vladimir Nabokov's literary manner moulded, inter alia, by the author's multilingual and multicultural personality. Thus, the writer's multilingualism can be regarded as a crucial factor as far as the author's works are concerned, whereas their analysis is sure to be fruitful and highly useful when dealing with Nabokov's outlook.

It should be mentioned from the very beginning that the author was multilingual from early childhood: he was fluent in English, Russian and French, being brought up in a family of Russian aristocrats and getting a versatile education that formed his cosmopolite personality. This variety of languages and cultures that surrounded Nabokov from the very first years of his life was bound not only to be reflected in his pieces of verbal art, but

also to become their subject. It is only natural, therefore, that Nabokov's works include a few cases of self-translation, along with multiple multilingual works (which, according to Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, do not presuppose substituting one language with another, but using two or more languages in a single text; they can be used equally or one of them may be dominating, forming the central axis of the narration – Grutman, 2009: 182-3).

In this article, however, our aim is not only to reveal the way the author's multilingualism influences his art. What we are specially interested in is the impact the author's multicultural identity lays on the translation of colour terms. Before presenting the results of the comparative analysis of Nabokov's texts containing words denoting colour, we shall look more closely at bilingualism as a phenomenon in general, as well as Vladimir Nabokov's bilingualism in particular.

2. Bilingualism as a Phenomenon. Vladimir Nabokov's Bilingualism

According to Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, the phenomenon of multilingualism is not generally associated with translation: the former presupposes simultaneous functioning of several languages in one society, text or linguistic person, whereas the latter consists in the substitution of a language with another one (*ibid*: 182). In literary poetics, multilingualism means using one or more languages in the framework of one and the same text; they may be both equally important or one of them might be predominant, forming the central axe of narration. (*ibid*: 183)

Thus, the phenomenon of bilingualism embraces a linguistic contact between mother tongue and a foreign language in a bilingual person's speech that results not only in the interaction of the two systems, but also in revealing the presence of two different cultures (Вишневская, 2011: 27), the fact that determines the double character of a person's consciousness and of his or her linguistic worldview ("linguistic personality"). As a result, bilingual and bicultural personalities live a double life, whereas the meanings they express in a language differ as compared to those expressed in the other one (Вежбицкая, 1992: 6). The conceptual system of a bilingual person is extremely rich, and its organization includes structured and hierarchically-organized knowledge, typical for the two social-cultural communities (Григорьев, 2005: 72). At the same time, the co-existence of two languages and two cultures in a bilingual's conscience does not result in the doubling of his personality.

Such situation of duality results from the speech acts in which a language influences the other one: one linguistic system dominates and establishes the rules for both languages. The phenomenon caused by the lack of balance between languages is called linguistic interference – the cases of deviation from the norms of the second language that are observed in either written or oral speech of a bilingual in the respective language under the influence of the norms, models and rules of the first language (*ibid*: 42-43), or a process and a result of the interaction of linguistic systems in a bilingual's speech, where one language dominates and produces and impact upon the other system. (Вишневская, *op.cit.*: 41-42)

The above-mentioned interference can be divided into two groups: grammatical-morphological (paradigmatic) and syntactical (syntagmatic). Paradigmatic interference presupposes the deviations from the norm observed in a bilingual's speech in the second language; these deviations concern some categorial characteristics of different parts of speech and are caused by the influence of the characteristics of the latter in the first language (Григорьев, *op.cit.*: 50). It might also mean interlingual equalization of grammatical elements, structural calques, appearance of new grammatical categories under the influence of the other language, borrowing of foreign grammatical elements, as well as the influence of typological affinity of the confronted languages upon grammatical interference (Вишневская, *op.cit.*: 43). The linguistic level affected to a greater extent is that of syntax (*ibid*): syntagmatic interference implies the distortion of the collocation of elements under the influence of the respective models from the first language (Григорьев, *op.cit.*: 50). As far as linguistic interference in literary works is concerned, its nature proves to be different, since the level of competence of a bilingual author is high. Thus, interference moves from the level of structural distortions in a language caused by insufficient linguistic competence to a higher level – the one that allows the alternation of decisions concerning the structure of an utterance. (*ibid*: 58)

Apart from interference, multilingualism tends to provoke other phenomena characteristic of the texts elaborated by bilingual writers such as foreign insertions – words, phrases and sentences that are rendered by means of another language. This category includes occasional words derived from other languages, less assimilated foreign lexis, exoticisms etc. Another widespread phenomenon is described by the term “macaronisms” – words and expressions from other languages mechanically introduced in speech, imminently distorting their sound form, as well as the original context, which results in a grotesque effect. (Вишневская, *op.cit.*: 49-50)

Last but by no means least, there is yet another phenomenon that characterizes bilingualism – that is code switching, a capacity typical of

bilinguals that consists in successful participation in communication in two languages, where the choice of language depends on extra-linguistic factors (the components of a communicative situation), as well as in combining words or other entities from different languages within one single utterance, sentence or word combination, still following the grammatical rules of the respective languages. (Чиршева, 2004: 48)

As far as creative bilingualism is concerned, it can be analyzed from two points of view: that of an artistic text (its position relative to the text) and that of the context in which a work of art is created. Literary artistic bilingualism can be defined as a special type of bilingualism that includes a creative component, characterized by bilingual features of artistic texts belonging to the same author (in both languages – the native and the acquired one) (Вишневецкая, *op.cit.*: 69). This type of bilingualism also includes translation of literary works that implies the interaction of languages and cultures. From the linguistic point of view, creative bilingualism is heterogeneous but, at the same time, complete, fixing two linguistic codes whose interchange contributes to the reciprocal enrichment at different levels, from micro-structures of a language to the general worldview of a bilingual writer. (*ibid*: 76-78)

As for Vladimir Nabokov, it can be concluded that he is a perfect model of the phenomenon of literary artistic bilingualism. In fact, the author was not bilingual, but trilingual: from the early childhood he spoke three languages (English, Russian and French), all of which laid an impact on the pages of his pieces of verbal art, completing and enriching one another. Moreover, according to Elizabeth Klosty Beaujour, during the whole literary career of the writer the dominant language not infrequently failed to correspond to the language of his physical surroundings. Thus, in Russia Nabokov learns to write in English, whereas in England the author writes in Russian (Beaujour, 1989: 88). There is also an opinion that, in a sense, Nabokov was a monolingual writer since his literary development can be divided into two periods, each of them corresponding to a language – English or Russian (Григорьев, *op. cit.*: 63). Nabokov's linguistic migrations are, no doubt, rooted in his physical migrations from Russia to Europe, the USA and then back to Europe. However, a great difference is to be found here: if physical journeys do not always depend on Nabokov himself, there is little doubt that his linguistic migrations are influenced by personal decisions. Thus, Nabokov's art developed in course of physical and linguistic journeys, in course of writing and re-writing, translation and self-translation, where the topic of departure, as well as that of the origins and the search for them are extremely important. (Теплова, 2003)

The predominant language of Nabokov's thinking is difficult to define, even though the author himself mentions that his English is much poorer than his Russian (he compares the difference between them with that of a two-family house and a large mansion, a well-accounted comfort and an unconscious abundance (Nabokov, 1941)) and affirms that he does not think in a language, but in images, whereas phrases in Russian or English are formed later on (Григорьев, *op.cit.*: 73). Scholars have expressed different opinions concerning the issue of the double character of Vladimir Nabokov's linguistic personality. Some of them believe that the writer's dominant language was Russian and it could hardly be substituted by English which, however, also played a crucial role for Nabokov. (Маслова, 2001: 153)

Others are convinced that Nabokov cannot be attributed to a single country, culture or even dominating language (Beaujour, *op.cit.*: 82), since his English and Russian works are symmetrical and bipolar (Beaujour, 1995: 41). Another opinion consists in the idea that the extent to which the two languages were balanced in Vladimir Nabokov's mind remains unknown, in spite of the author's statements affirming his capability to speak in both languages with the same level of fluency. (Григорьев, *op.cit.*: 82)

However, there is a common point in all scientific papers as far as Vladimir Nabokov's multilingualism is concerned: his works perfectly fit into the existing trends in modern literature that presuppose the absence of complete switching to another language, the combination of the two, as well as the establishment of a linguistic alliance inside the text in which the languages coexist within a certain hierarchy (Маслова, *op.cit.*: 152). Thus, Nabokov's Russian is not simply Russian, whereas Nabokov's English is not simply English: his works are full of numerous subtexts that require mastering both languages from the reader – that means to say that Nabokov creates a kind of meta-language. (*ibid*: 147)

In what follows, we shall concentrate upon the linguistic levels which reveal the bilingual duality of the writer. This perspective seems to be specially fruitful as a field of research, since the author perfectly masters the technique of literary bilingualism. Nabokov plays the role of a painter with great potential that can hardly be exhausted (Иващенко, 2004: 170). The linguistic level that was influenced by the writer's bilingualism in the most profound way is that of syntax. Notwithstanding Nabokov's phenomenal success in the USA, quite a few scholars mention numerous deviations from the norms of the English language present in his novels. One of the special features that mark the writer's works consists in the fact that the syntactic structures a reader (a Russian-English bilingual) can decipher are typical of the Russian language rather than English. On the other hand, an English native speaker who has not acquired at least the basic competence in the

Russian language also observes that the text is far from ordinary: even though the author can hardly be blamed for the ignorance of the rules of grammar and the construction of sentences, the syntagmatic organization of the utterances fails to coincide with the standard. That is why Nabokov's English text seem to be written "in the Russian manner," like a translation that keeps the syntactic structure of the original. (Григорьев, *op.cit.*: 53)

Apart from the syntax that, as can be observed, was profoundly influenced by the Russian language, we should also mention lexical-semantic and morphological levels. Nabokov used to enjoy creating new words, producing nonce words and elaborating unusual combinations resulting in changes in parts of speech. Prefixes and suffixes play an extremely important role in forming Russian lexical units; thus, Nabokov's English demonstrates, in the majority of cases, the same manipulations that cause a number of remarkable effects.

For example, Nabokov follows the trends of using words in their diminutive form – a trend borrowed from the Russian language which is not characteristic of English. Moreover, the writer plays with the root of the word, creating an association between lexical units similar from the phonetic point of view and thus provoking unexpected interactions of meanings (Beaujour, 1989: 106). What is more, foreign words and expressions are naturally incorporated in the text, highlighting different cultural backgrounds of people, things and phenomena (Маслова, *op.cit.*: 137) – a procedure that became common practice for Nabokov in his English novels, disappointing a monolingual reader. (Yarsawich, 2007: 13)

Another level affected by the bilingual practice of the author is the phonetic one. It should be mentioned in this connection that a systematic transfer of psycho-aesthetic effects from a language into another seems to be impossible – the fact that has to be taken into consideration when dealing with Nabokov's multilingual works. According to the results of the studies in the field, the psycho-aesthetic density of the translated text is inevitably lower as compared to the original, regardless of the direction of translation (Григорьев, *op.cit.*: 164). Proffer mentions that sound instrumentation is one of the basic elements of Nabokov's prose; his phonetic skill is accompanied by other expressive elements such as novelty of expression and precision of meanings. (Proffer, 1968: 82; Beaujour, 1989: 106)

Finally, it should be highlighted that Vladimir Nabokov's multilingual works clearly and fully reflect the writer's polyglot nature. Even if the number of Nabokov's self-translations as such is not so large, in quite a few cases the writer participated in the translation of his works; moreover, his multilingualism is best revealed in numerous techniques used by the author in his books that reflect the writer's inner duality and

complexity. It can be suggested, therefore, that the author's multilingualism also influenced the process of translation of colour terms. In what follows, we are going to analyze the passages from Nabokov's self-translated works containing words denoting colour with a view to revealing the way the writer's multilingualism and multiculturalism is reflected at the lexical-semantic level of the establishment of interlingual correspondences between colour terms.

3. Colour Terms in Self-Translation

In this section of the paper we shall concentrate upon the comparative analysis of three parallel autobiographical novels written by Vladimir Nabokov in English and Russian, and namely *Conclusive Evidence*, *Дрызue бeпeзa*, and *Speak, Memory*. It should be pointed out from the very start that any self-translation presupposes a higher degree of the author's liberty as compared to a translation performed by an ordinary translator. As far as the novels mentioned above are concerned, we can go even further and say that they can be regarded, according to the typology suggested by Michaël Oustinoff (Oustinoff, 2001: 29-34), as a case of re-creating self-translation, or rewriting: the English and the Russian texts make up two independent entities, even though they follow, more or less strictly, the same narrative thread. The first English version of the novel is the author's first attempt to recreate his past; the Russian novel, its adaptation to another culture and audience, revealed to the writer a great number of imperfections of *Conclusive Evidence*, which lead to its re-elaboration. As a result, the final version of the novel, *Speak, Memory*, is the longest of the three; it introduces a number of changes in the initial English text, however, these modifications do not necessarily correspond to the way *Дрызue бeпeзa* differs from *Conclusive Evidence*. Thus, we arrive at an obvious conclusion: the way the author moulds his texts, both in Russian and in English, depends, first and foremost, on the target audience, since the bilingual author clearly realizes the impact the texts in both language would produce on the potential English or Russian-speaking reader. In what follows, we shall try and demonstrate the way this adaptation reveals itself in the translation of colour terms.

The first passage we are going to analyze comes from Chapter 1. The author describes his teacher, Vasily Martynovich.

Table 1

Conclusive Evidence	Speak, Memory	Другие берега
With a strident and merry blast from the whistle that was part of my first sailor suit, my childhood calls me back into that distant past to have me shake hands again with my delightful teacher. He had a fuzzy brown beard and china-blue eyes. He sported a flowing black tie carelessly knotted in a bowlike arrangement.	With a sharp and merry blast from the whistle that was part of my first sailor suit, my childhood calls me back into that distant past to have me shake hands again with my delightful teacher. Vasiliy Martınovich Zhernosekov had a fuzzy brown beard, a balding head, and china-blue eyes, one of which bore a fascinating excrescence on the upper lid.	Каким веселым звуком, под стать солнечной и соленой ноте свистка, украшавшего мою белую матроску, зовет меня мое дивное детство на возобновленную встречу с бодрым Василием Мартыновичем! У него было толстовского типа широконосое лицо, пушистая плешь, русые усы и светло-голубые, цвета моей молочной чашки, глаза с небольшим интересным наростом на одном веке.

As can be seen, the colour term *china-blue* is extended here – *светло-голубые, цвета моей молочной чашки, глаза*. The reason for this is not difficult to see: the author aims at personalizing the Russian text to the utmost; as far as the English version is concerned, Vladimir Nabokov could hardly use this image of a cup here since the actual extra-linguistic reference of the colour term would not be clear for the European and American reader. Thus, in the English the author chooses to render the respective tint of blue by means of the term *china-blue*. The connotation of both *china-blue* and *светло-голубые, цвета моей молочной чашки* is markedly meliorative: they refer to the colour of the eyes of the author's favourite teacher. However, it should be mentioned in this connection that *china-blue* and *цвета моей молочной чашки* do not fully correspond as far as their extra-linguistic reference is concerned. It is most probable that the author's tea cup was produced at Dulevo porcelain factory, the factory that used to

produce cups of a pale blue colour. As for the English colour term *china-blue*, it refers to “a pale greyish blue” (cf. Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, s.v.); thus, it presupposes not just a light shade of blue, but also a greyish one.

Interestingly enough, the other colour terms present in the passage also diverge. The first English text contains three terms – *brown*, *china-blue* and *black*; *Speak, Memory* incorporates only two of them, and namely *brown* și *china-blue*; as far as *Другие берега* is concerned, there are three totally different colour adjectives – *белый*, *русый* and *светло-голубой*. As a result, the colourful pictures in the English and Russian readers’ minds are different: the English colour terms are darker than the Russian ones.

Our next example comes from Chapter 3; it is confined to the description of the classroom in the country.

Table 2

Conclusive Evidence	Speak, Memory	Другие берега
I see again my classroom, the blue roses of the wallpaper, the open window. Its reflection fills the oval mirror above the leathern couch where my uncle sits, gloating over a tattered book.	I see again my schoolroom in Vyra, the blue roses of the wallpaper, the open window. Its reflection fills the oval mirror above the leathern couch where my uncle sits, gloating over a tattered book.	Вижу нашу деревенскую классную, бирюзовые розы обоев, угол изразцовой печки, отворенное окно: оно отражается вместе с частью наружной водосточной трубы в овальном зеркале над канапе, где сидит дядя Вася, чуть ли не рыдая над растрепанной розовой книжкой.

Colour terms that appear in this passage are *blue* in Conclusive Evidence and *Speak, Memory*, and its counterpart *бирюзовый* in the Russian text, which also contains the colour adjective *розовый* absent from the English versions of the novel. A major difference is observed, in this case, at the semantic level: as can be seen, the correspondence established by the author is not a formal, but a

textual one¹: the Russian text indicates colour with greater precision comparative to the English passages. The reason for this discrepancy might consist in the fact that the analyzed passage is highly lyrical – the statement also confirmed by the appearance of the Russian term *розовый* in the final sequence of the sentence that describes the boy’s uncle crying over a tattered book. The hypothesis we put forward in this case is that in *Другие берега* the author felt the necessity of correlating the pale colour of book cover with that of the wallpaper. Lyrical reminiscences are bound to accentuate the contrast. If the author had chosen the term *синий*, this would have created a sharper chromatic contrast with *розовый* as compared to *бирюзовый*. Thus, the combination *бирюзовый – розовый* seems to be more balanced and appropriate in this context.

The next passage is part of Chapter 4. The author describes the bathroom using the words denoting red in order to highlight its pompous furnishing. Thus, the picture painted by the author by means of colour words is that of luxury, but, at the same time, it depicts a strange, even hostile place as the boy sees it.

Table 3

Conclusive Evidence	Speak, Memory	Другие берега
The toilets were separate from the bathrooms, and the oldest among them was a rather sumptuous but gloomy affair with some fine panelwork and a tasseled rope of red velvet, which, when pulled, produced a beautifully modulated, discreetly muffled gurgle and gulp.	The toilets were separate from the bathrooms, and the oldest among them was a rather sumptuous but gloomy affair with some fine panelwork and a tasseled rope of red velvet, which, when pulled, produced a beautifully modulated, discreetly muffled gurgle and gulp.	Клозеты, как везде в Европе, были отдельно от ванн, и один из них, внизу, в служебном крыле дома, был до странности роскошен, но и угрюм, со своей дубовой отделкой, тронной ступенью и толстым пурпурово-бархатным шнуром: потянешь книзу за кисть, и сдержанно-музыкально журчало и переглатывало в глубинах [...].

1 The terms “formal correspondence” and “textual equivalence” are used as intended by John Catford. (1965: 27)

As can be seen, the English term *red* is rendered by means of *пурпурово-бархатный* in the Russian text of the novel. Stylistically speaking, these words are far from being equal. First and foremost, from the point of view of word formation, *Conclusive Evidence* and *Speak, Memory* contain a simple term, whereas its Russian counterpart is a compound word. Second, the term used in the English versions is very general and less precise in colour naming, whereas the Russian adjective denotes a certain shade of red – a bright and deep one. Moreover, as far as the associative aspect of the respective terms is concerned, the Russian word is again more precise: in Russian literary texts, *пурпуровый* tends to appear in poetic and majestic descriptions of garments and natural phenomena such as, for instance, the sunset, being also strongly associated with nobility.

It is interesting to mention in this connection that the connotations of the term are pejorative rather than meliorative in this context: red is used in the description of a pompous and hostile place as perceived by a little boy; thus, it can be suggested that the way Vladimir Nabokov sees the Russian colour term was influenced by the English word *purple* which, according to the English explanatory dictionaries (see, for example, Longman Contemporary English Dictionary, s.v.), has acquired pejorative connotations in the course of the development of the English language.

It was obviously impossible to use *purple* in *Conclusive Evidence* and *Speak, Memory*: this colour word corresponds to the Russian term *пурпурный* neither in terms of extra-linguistic reference, nor in terms of its associative and connotative planes. Thus, the resultant effect is that of the levelling of negative perception in all three texts by means of the use of the terms *red* and *пурпуровый*.

Stylistically speaking, however, *Другие берега* is superior to its counterparts: first, it contains a case of synesthesia that combines two separate words in the English versions (*red* and *velvet*) in one single entity; moreover, the synesthetic effect is amplified by the phonetic one, as namely the repetition of fricative consonants (*ступенью, толстым, шнуром, потянешь, кисть, сдержанно-музыкально, журчало*) imitating the sound produced by a heavy and voluminous material. Second, the Russian colour adjective, apart from being impregnated with cultural associations, is an unusual and obsolete term of the colour word *пурпурный* – the fact that contributes to highlighting colour in the passage.

The last passage we are going to analyze comes from Chapter 5. It describes the traditional costume worn by Zahar, the family's coachman. Thus, the words denoting red appearing in the passage refer to Russian traditional culture, and their connotations are meliorative.

Table 4.

Conclusive Evidence	Speak, Memory	Другие берега
<p>The door of the waiting room opens with a shuddering whine peculiar to nights of intense frost; a cloud of hot air rushes out, almost as profuse as the steam from the panting engine; and now our coachman Zahar takes over—a burly man in sheepskin with the leather outside, his huge gloves protruding from his scarlet sash into which he has stuffed them.</p>	<p>The door of the waiting room opens with a shuddering whine peculiar to nights of intense frost; a cloud of hot air rushes out, almost as profuse as the steam from the panting engine; and now our coachman Zahar takes over—a burly man in sheepskin with the leather outside, his huge gloves protruding from his scarlet sash into which he has stuffed them.</p>	<p>Но вот появляется настоящий спаситель, наш кучер Захар, рослый, выщербленный оспой, человек, в черных усах, похожий на Петра Первого, чудак, любитель прибауток, одетый в нагольный овечий тулуп с рукавицами, засунутыми за красный кушак.</p>

The terms present in the passage are *scarlet* in English and its counterpart *красный* in Russian. Even though both texts tend to highlight them with the help of phonetic procedures (the alliteration of the consonant [s] in English and that of the consonant [к] in Russian, the repetition of the first letter and sound in the corresponding sequences *scarlet sash* and *красный кушак*), it can hardly be difficult to observe that the terms do not make up an obvious or expected correspondence. The English word seems to be much more precise and special as far as colour naming and its associations and connotations are concerned. The reasons why the Russian text does not offer the direct correspondence for the English terms that is considered to be *алый*² are not only of phonetic character (the effect described above would have been lost if the author had used *алый*): they can be accounted for by the associative plane of the terms. As can be seen from Russian explanatory dictionaries, *алый* is an elevated and poetic term that

2 By “direct correspondence” we mean the way the ready-made correspondence provided by bilingual dictionaries.

chiefly appears in classical literature, being associated with a faraway and unfeasible dream or a high and noble sentiment (see, for example, Малый словарь русского языка, s.v.). Taking into account that the author used the term in the description of the Russian traditional costume, the word *алый* does not seem to be appropriate since it would create inevitable associations with the 19th-century Romantic poetry and its high aspirations. As a result, the translation offered by Vladimir Nabokov establishes contextual correspondence rather than a formal one: to the detriment of the precision of naming the red colour, the author chooses the word that creates a strong bond with the described object in the minds of Russian readers.

4. Conclusions

The present article has made an attempt to look more closely at Vladimir Nabokov as a multicultural personality whose life and art were both marked by the phenomenon of multilingualism. The fact that the writer perfectly mastered both English and Russian could not but affect Vladimir Nabokov's highly elaborate and original style, influencing the expression plane of his works and stirring such phenomena as linguistic interference and foreign insertions.

As far as the process of translation is concerned, the author's bilingualism has proved to have considerable implications for the resulting text. The analysis of three autobiographical novels *Conclusive Evidence*, *Другие берега* and *Speak, Memory* has shown that what we face here is a case of re-creating self-translation, or rewriting, which presupposes a high degree of liberty on part of the author. This is fully reflected at the lexical-semantic level and can be successfully demonstrated by a comparative analysis of the corresponding passages of the three versions.

As far as our analysis is concerned, it was centred around the correspondences the bilingual writer establishes between different colour terms appearing on the pages of the three novels. The analysis of the passages carried out in the article has demonstrated that the process of self-translation was a truly creative one: Vladimir Nabokov did not choose the most obvious or expected formal equivalent, but tended to establish contextual correspondence. The reason for this is not difficult to see: the writer's aim was to adapt his text for a certain target audience, making it closer and more understandable to the reader. The crucial role for the establishment of associative and contextual correspondence was played by the author's bilingualism that allowed him to understand the way the text would be seen by both English and Russian-speaking readers.

Another important observation that we have made during our study concerns the bilingual's perception of colour terms that might differ from that of other speakers due to language interference. This is the case with the Russian colour term *пурпуровый* whose perception in Vladimir Nabokov's mind might have been influenced by its seeming English counterpart *purple*.

Last but by no means least, it should be pointed out that the subject of bilingualism and its implication for (self-)translation is far from being exhausted. We are convinced that this direction of study provides scholars with multiple possibilities for further fruitful research.

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Watching Exercises in English for Medical Purposes Courses

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Abstract: This article focuses on a method that is essential in teaching English for Medical Purposes, namely the use of watching exercises. The study argues in favour of using video in medical language learning, by providing some examples of home-grown materials for watching purposes that can be used in the course room. The various types of exercises presented, combined with the video sequences they are made on, are intended to point out that video aided teaching of English for Medical Purposes can be very motivating, as it allows students to look at medical situations while working on different areas of language.

Keywords: *English for medical purposes, watching exercises, materials design.*

1. Introduction

Materials design for English for Medical Purposes (EMP) is a continuous, time-consuming and difficult activity, which requires skill, creativity, and, almost invariably, consultation with a medical practitioner. It involves technology too, included in courses under the form of multimedia files, which use text, images, audio and video to provide interactivity in the lecture room.

From the many activities that a language teacher can do, the present paper focuses on video-based teaching of EMP to Romanian students. The article presents a number of exercises designed for specific video situations involving medical language.

There is a reason why we prefer video watching to listening to authentic materials (although we use those too in the teaching process), that is because video almost always succeeds in enlivening classes. Videos add a special, extra dimension to the learning experience.

One of the main advantages of video is that students do not just hear language, they see it too. That is particularly important for medical students. EMP is as much a theoretical, language-related teaching activity, as it is a practical one. Students are future doctors. They are expected to perform medical procedures in Romanian hospitals and in foreign ones. They need English, the new international language of medical communication, for

practical, professional purposes. They should at least become accustomed to watching physical examinations of body systems, history taking, clinical procedures, surgeries etc., before actually performing them.

That is why video aided teaching can be considered a key feature in EMP. Watching exercises can be used for a variety of teaching purposes, to introduce new language, practise already known items, analyse the language used in certain typical exchanges. We could introduce a video extract as a warm-up to a course devoted to a particular medical topic. Sometimes video extracts can be a prelude to a piece of writing or speaking. When students are working on a specific area of language (whether lexical, grammatical, or functional, or a mixture of all three), the course can be greatly enhanced by a video. Video extracts can be a bridge between activities, and may be used occasionally for relaxation. For example, at the end of each semester, we generally present a video on the English language evolution.

However, language teachers have to keep in mind that both in the choice of video material and in the way they exploit it, they have to provide watching activities that are unique experiences and do not just replicate home television viewing. Teachers need to design activities to always keep the students involved.

For all the reasons mentioned above, Romanian medical students show an increased level of interest when they have a chance to see language in use as well as hear it, and when this is coupled with interesting tasks. Video recordings of physical examinations, clinical procedures, surgeries, medical conferences, and talks, provide a solid basis for language analysis, discussions or even debates on medical issues, and ultimately foster learning.

2. Examples of Watching Exercises for EMP

The exercises chosen are taken from different chapters of a book for medical students (Frînculescu, 2014) and from the actual course taught to Ist and IInd-year medical students. All the exercises are home-grown, designed by the author of this paper.

Jeremy Harmer considers that “do-it-yourself” teachers (Harmer, 2001: 151) generally risk more than those who choose to use ready-made materials. But the outcome may be extraordinary, providing that the materials are clear, legible, attractive, and durable. As far as we are concerned, even when we use ready-made material that we are content with, we still want to supplement it with material that we have prepared especially for our students.

Watching activities are carried out in different ways because the reasons for watching change from one watching event or context to the next. For greater clarity on watching comprehension processes we find it helpful to specify the core language skills which are involved and used by students in order to achieve their desired comprehension goals. Many of these are similar to the skills required in listening to purely audio materials.

So, the exercises are grouped according to the core language skills involved. The medical topic they evoke is also specified for each exercise. All the video recordings on which the exercises are made are listed in the *Bibliography* section. Many of them are taken from electronic sources, and when the author is specified, the reference is also written in the text of this article.

2.1. Watch for General Understanding – Understand the Gist of a Message

Exercise (anatomy and physiology)

Students watch the video entitled “Heart Anatomy” and the animation of the heart, and then they briefly describe what they have seen.

2.2. Watch for Details/Specific Information – Understand and Identify Specific Information

Exercise 1 (physical examination of a body system)

While watching the following video, presenting the physical examination of the gastrointestinal system (Bickley, 2003), students have to tick only the information they hear.

a) Listen for the bowel sounds by placing the diaphragm of the stethoscope gently on the right lower quadrant.

b) Bowel sounds may be altered in diarrhoea, intestinal obstruction, and peritonitis.

c) Listen to their pitch, quality and frequency.

d) If the patient has hypertension, listen for bruits over the right renal artery, aorta, and left renal artery.

e) Abdominal pain and tenderness, especially when associated with muscular spasm, suggest inflammation of the parietal peritoneum. Some people breathe more with their chests than with their diaphragms. It may be helpful to train such a patient to “breathe with the abdomen,” thus bringing the liver, as well as the spleen and kidneys, into a palpable position during inspiration.

f) In a patient with hypertension, a bruit raises suspicion of renal artery stenosis, but most bruits have other causes.

g) Lightly percuss the abdomen to assess the distribution of tympany and dullness.

h) Percuss the span of liver dullness in the right midclavicular line.

i) Next, check for a splenic percussion sign.

j) When spleen size is normal, tympany usually persists and the sign is considered negative. An enlarged spleen is then very unlikely.

k) An aortic aneurysm is a pathologic dilatation of the aorta, usually due to arteriosclerosis.

l) Normal kidneys are not often palpable and enlargement is better detected by ultrasound.

Exercise 2 (physical examination of a body system)

Students watch a presentation on the examination of the respiratory system (Talley, O'Connor, 2009). After watching, they have to use the words in the box to fill in the gaps.

sit up	mug	dyspnoea	depth
pulmonary	pus	cyanosis	tar
tachycardia	hoarse	lymph	spine
apical	chest	clubbing	muscles
cardiovascular	elevation	lung	failure
hands	cough	vesicular	waist
ptosis	central	trachea	lobe
	cyanosis		

a) For the respiratory system examination, the patient should in the bed, undressed to the

b) The examiner stands back, looking for signs of, the rate and of respiration, and the use of the accessory of respiration.

c) The examiner looks at the bedside table for the presence of the sputum and its contents (blood, etc.).

d) The examiner asks the patient to and listens.

e) The detailed examination begins with the The physician looks for, peripheral and staining.

f) The patient may present hypertrophic osteoarthropathy.

- g) The pulse is taken, as accompanies respiratory failure.
- h) Horner's syndrome can be caused by an lung cancer.
- i) The physician looks carefully at the pupils and eyelids for, in which case one eyelid is lower than the other.
- j) The examiner looks at the tongue and inside the mouth for
- k) If the patient's voice sounds, the physician asks him/her to say a few words.
- l) The examiner has to decide if the is midline or deviated to one side. Deviation to one side suggests upper abnormalities.
- m) Clinicians examine the posteriorly, to inspect the shape of the chest and, to palpate cervical nodes.
- n) Normal breath sounds are called
- o) The examination is not complete without an assessment of the system, as the signs of right heart can be secondary to chronic disease. The examiner looks for of the JVP.

Exercise 3 (clinical procedures)

Students watch a clinical procedure called "Lumbar Puncture" (Ellenby, Tegtmeier, Lai, Braner, 2006). After watching, they have to answer the following questions.

- a) Is lumbar puncture indicated for diagnostic or therapeutic reasons?
- b) What kind of sample is obtained by performing lumbar puncture? Name two diagnostic and two therapeutic indications for lumbar puncture.
- c) What are the contraindications for lumbar puncture?
- d) What is the lumbar puncture tray made of?
- e) What positions should the patient assume? What is the preferred position and why? In your own words, explain the meaning of "lateral recumbent position."
- f) What disinfectants are used to clean the overlying skin?
- g) Is lumbar puncture a painful or anxiety-provoking procedure? Is anaesthesia appropriate?
- h) In what cases may the cerebrospinal fluid be tinged with blood? Should the blood clear?

- i) Should cerebrospinal fluid be aspirated? What can a small amount of negative pressure precipitate?
- j) What should the amount of fluid collected be limited to?
- k) What are the challenges of lumbar puncture?

Exercise 4 (clinical procedures)

Students watch a video extract, in which a clinical procedure, called “Placement of an Arterial Line” (Tegtmeier, Brady, Lai, Hodo, Braner, 2006) is performed. They have to label each statement below true (T) or false (F).

- a) For the over-the-wire technique, the needle should enter at a 30-to-45-degree angle to the skin, directly over the point at which the pulse is palpated.
- b) The catheter should be advanced rapidly through the artery.
- c) The radial artery is palpated 1 to 2 cm from the wrist, between the bony head of the distal radius and the flexor carpi radialis tendon.
- d) Regardless of the technique, the catheter should be secured in place.
- e) Perfusion to the hand should not be reassessed after the placement of the arterial line or at frequent intervals while the line is in use.
- f) Any sign of vascular compromise at any time should prompt the removal of the line.
- g) The line should be removed as early as possible after it is no longer needed.
- h) Arterial spasm and an inability on the part of the clinician to pass the wire or catheter through the artery are the most common difficulties in catheterization.
- i) Even if a spasm is suspected, attempts at catheterizing that artery should not be abandoned for an alternative site to be selected.

Exercise 5 (signs and symptoms of diseases)

Students watch a film about the symptoms of heart disease and record the information below.

- a) the symptoms of heart disease;
- b) the risks of developing heart disease;
- c) the new technologies available for the treatment of cardiovascular diseases and their advantages;
- d) prevention of cardiovascular diseases;
- e) a heart idiom.

2.3. Watch for Main Ideas – Understand and Summarize the Key Points in a Message

Exercise 1 (physical examination of a body system)

Students watch a video extract (Bickley, 2003), in which they hear the opening to the physical examination of the head, eyes and ears. After watching the video they have to answer the following questions.

- What does the examination of the head, eyes and ears include?
- How can the findings be after such an examination?

Exercise 2 (physical examination of a body system)

Students watch a video extract, in which they hear a part of a presentation on a physical examination (Bickley, 2003). While watching the video they have to:

- decide what body system is being assessed;
- work out the names of the neck vessels specified in the video;
- find out what methods can be used to examine that body system.

Exercise 3 (medical conferences)

Students watch a medical conference presentation (Hsu, 2009), and discuss the following.

- the chairman's role;
- the topic of the presentation;
- the structure of the presentation.

2.4. Watch for Opinion – Understand, Interpret Text, and Provoke Thought

Exercise 1 (anatomy and physiology)

Students use the video entitled “The Inner Life of the Cell” (Viel, Lue, 2006), and the quotation from the *Constitution of the World Health Organization*: “Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity,” as inspiration for an essay/a composition of about half a page, in keeping with the topic of the unit, called “Approach to the Medical World.” As this is an introductory course to medical English, taught to 1st year students, the focus is not on accurate medical information, therefore students needn't make reference to the actual cell or its parts (nucleus, cytoplasm etc.), but on the thoughts and ideas stirred by the film.

Exercise 2 (clinical procedures)

Students watch a video entitled “Transcatheter Aortic Valve Replacement” and discuss these questions in small groups. Then they choose a student to present their points of view aloud.

- What does the film present?
- What thoughts and ideas does it stir?
- How old is the patient?
- Do you think that he deserves to be attended in the same way younger people are?
- How is treatment adapted to elderly patients in the Romanian medical system?

2.5. Watch for Translation Purposes – Understand Language and Translate it

Exercise 1 (physical examination of a body system)

Students watch a presentation on the examination of the respiratory system (Talley, O’Connor, 2009) and translate the medical terms and phrases into Romanian.

- chronic lung disease
- finger abduction and adduction
- flapping tremor
- lung cancer
- pulsus paradoxus
- recurrent laryngeal nerve palsy
- supraclavicular region
- tachycardia
- tactile fremitus
- trachea
- upper/lower lobe expansion
- vocal resonance

Exercise 2 (clinical procedures)

Students watch a clinical procedure called “Thoracentesis” (Thomsen, DeLaPena, Setnik, 2006). After watching, they are asked to translate into Romanian the following samples of text.

a) One small study suggests that the procedure is safe and that fresh-frozen plasma is not needed in patients with mild elevations of the prothrombin time or partial-thromboplastin time (< 1.5 times the upper limit of the normal range). The decision to use reversal agents in patients with

severe coagulopathy or to use platelet transfusions in patients with clinically significant thrombocytopenia must be made on an individual basis.

b) Thoracentesis must be performed with extreme care in patients who are receiving mechanical ventilation, because positive-pressure ventilation may bring the lung close to the thoracentesis needle, thus theoretically increasing the risk of tension pneumothorax. The thoracentesis needle should not pass through sites of cutaneous infection (such as cellulitis or herpes zoster) on the chest wall. If such a lesion is present, another entry site should be sought.

c) You will need the following items: antiseptic solution (chlorhexidine or povidone– iodine), a sterile gauze, a sterile drape, sterile gloves, a small syringe for the anaesthetic injection, 25- and 22-gauge needles for the anaesthetic injection, and local anaesthetic (e.g. lidocaine).

d) You will also need the following items on hand: an 18-gauge catheter, a large syringe (35 to 60 ml) for the aspiration of pleural fluid, a three-way stopcock, high-pressure drainage tubing, sterile occlusive dressing, specimen tubes, and one or two large evacuated containers.

2.6. Watch for Pronunciation Purposes – Focus on Pronunciation and Practise it

Exercise (clinical procedures)

A. Students watch a video, in which a medical procedure is performed (Williams, Brown, Conlin, 2009). The key words and phrases are listed below. They have to pay particular attention to their pronunciations and decide whether the speaker is British or American.

B. After watching the video, students practise repeating the medical terms and phrases aloud.

- acromion;
- adjustable valve;
- antihypertensive medications;
- auscultation;
- cuff;
- brachial artery;
- distensible bladder;
- hydrargyrum;
- hypertension;
- occlusive arterial disease;
- olecranon;
- prehypertension;

- pulse-obliteration pressure;
- radial pulse;
- routine outpatient setting;
- sphygmomanometer;
- stethoscope;
- systolic and diastolic blood pressure.

2.7. Watch and Infer – Fill in the Gaps in One’s Understanding by Using Previous Knowledge About the Language Forms, Use and Meaning

Exercise (body idioms)

Students jot down what they think the head idioms presented in the video are and try to work out their meanings.

3. Conclusions

By providing some examples of watching activities, this study encourages English language teachers in Romania to use video resources in the course room. We have tried to show that videos are especially useful in EMP teaching, as they match language to medical situations.

The contextualised watching activities presented cover at the same time different language areas, such as pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar, and involve a mixture of language skills (either listening or writing, listening and speaking or the three of them). Frequently, students watch for gist at first before moving on to different task skills. In other cases, they watch for specific information straight away. At the same time, students are introduced to vocabulary and ideas which they need to use in the speaking or writing task which follows each watching activity.

Though sometimes underestimated, translation is not neglected, as translation exercises (see 2.5.) help teachers to recognize language-related comprehension problems. Some watching activities (see 2.4.) can also spark students’ creativity by encouraging interpretation, and asking for language use.

In conclusion, EMP teachers should aim to use video materials as often as they can and for as many purposes as possible, both for practising a variety of skills and as a source material for other activities.

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The Professional Translator in the 21st Century – Education and Competences

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Abstract: The role of the professional translator in our globalized world has changed considerably over the last few decades, and it has been difficult for educators to keep pace with the demands created by technology and the new expectations of clients. This paper will reflect on these circumstances and the problems they have posed for both the profession and universities. It will then go on to describe the initiative of the EMT – European Master’s in Translation Network and the competences this network believes are essential for the professional translator. Finally, it will reflect on the broader context in which these competences are required.

Keywords: *professional translation, university translation programmes, EMT competences.*

1. Language(s) in the Globalized World

Over the last few decades our world has changed immensely in terms of the ways in which we communicate. Previously, only a small minority needed to understand languages outside their immediate everyday life; today not only is there much greater mobility of people among countries, but information and entertainment now come to us from all over the world. Language no longer serves to simply mediate written texts and face-to-face speech; it is now essential in multimodal environments, and the contexts are increasingly multilingual and multicultural. In order to reflect this reality, translators today would be better described as language services providers. However, the term translator is still the one most commonly used, and one of the purposes of this article is to show the diversity of the work expected of such professionals.

One of the difficulties of describing the work expected of a translator is that different languages and countries have different needs and problems, and the possible solutions vary considerably. There are a few ‘major’ languages, even if the quality of ‘major’ can be judged from various perspectives that depend on political, economic and commercial factors, quite apart from, the linguistic realities underlying the way the number of speakers or writers of language X are counted. Such calculations can be skewed according to how many people speak a language as a first or second

language, whether the language is important in its written form and is used widely at an international level.

Wikipedia on World Languages estimates the number of users of languages as their mother tongue or L1, and as a second or third language, but it is difficult to make these estimates for various reasons. For example, Spanish is used in several countries but, in Spain, Castilian, Catalan, Galician, Basque are also spoken; Portuguese is spoken in Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, East Timor, Goa, and Macau; and in both cases there is a large diaspora.

There are thousands of ‘minor’ languages spoken by a varying number of people, and only a few hundred boast a written form. Although not a scientific indicator of relative importance, it is significant that Wikipedia has 13 languages with over a million articles, 42 with over 100,000, 70 with over 10,000, 109 with over 1,000, and 35 with over 100, or a total of nearly 270.

The Internet is just one of many factors which encourage many of us to think we are part of a global culture. This perception is considered by many to be a positive development, particularly by those aiming for easier internationalization. We are accustomed to hear English described as a *lingua franca*, and all over the world children are being taught it as a second language, essential to their future employment. Others, less optimistic, describe English as the Killer Language.

As with other aspects of life today, like local cultures and religions, despite the centripetal pull of globalization, there is a counter reaction and a desire to strengthen and maintain the so-called ‘minor’ or less-spoken languages. Language is very often a symbol of national identity, as can be seen quite clearly in several countries, and hence the care with which the European Union has treated the languages of its members. Everyone claims a certain identity based on social and cultural factors, and language is one of the most important. In fact, every individual has his or her own idiolect, as forensic linguists are able to demonstrate. For all these reasons, it is clear to more enlightened entrepreneurs that there is also a strong commercial factor, as people like communication to be in their own language.

2. Translation, Interpretation and Multimodal Communication

In 1959 Jakobson famously described three types of translation as the interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs, intralingual translation or *rewording* in the same language, interlingual translation or *translation proper* into some other language, and intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* of nonverbal sign systems. Today, and a lot of translation

theory later, these definitions are still useful, both in the way they recognize the different levels of text in a monolingual situation, do not limit language to the written form, and in the way the third distinction allows for further elaboration in our multimodal world.

2.1. Interpretation/Interpreting

Once upon a time, when I corrected a literary colleague for talking about ‘simultaneous translation’ and told her she meant ‘interpretation’, she claimed that what she did was ‘interpretation’ – the rest of us ‘just translated’! But many people do not know the difference between translation and interpreting, or interpretation (the latter being the official term in the European Commission database). Interpretation can take several forms, from simultaneous interpretation (conferences), consecutive interpretation (conferences and meetings), ‘Chuchotage’ (whispered one-to-one), community interpretation (in courts, hospitals, social services), general communication (meetings, tourist guides, everyday events), to on-line communication in real time. However, although many courses in translation include training in some form of interpretation, we shall not address this subject here.

2.2. Translation and Who Did/Does It?

Translation is usually understood to refer to written texts and is done by a variety of people, with or without special training. Canonical literary texts are typically translated as part of an academic project, and translating more popular literature is usually a part-time, often poorly paid activity. Scientific/technical texts are translated either by bilingual academics/domain experts/technicians in the area or by professional translators. Legal translation presents very special problems and, although professional translators are often called on to do this, international institutions like the European Courts prefer to employ bilingual lawyers. Journalists typically do a lot of their own translation, many companies consider translation at a commercial level to be the everyday duty of the office staff and, for many people, anyone with a basic knowledge of two languages should be able to do a translation – or one can make do with Google Translate.

However, the situation today demands a good deal more of translators, much of which involves multimodal communication. The media require an increasing amount of linguistic work for films and television programmes, such as dubbing, voice-over, re-speaking, sub-titling, and sur-

titling, as well the latter two of these technologies for the deaf, and audio-description for the blind (Diaz-Cintas & Remael, 2007; Diaz-Cintas & Neves, (2010); Diaz-Cintas & Piñero, 2015). The translation of anything to do with technology, both hardware and software, actually led to the coining of the word ‘localization’ by computer technicians who thought translators too unpredictable and computer illiterate to cope with their material (see Esselink, 2000). Video games need to be appropriately localized, and preferably not just by the fans (see O’Hagan & Magiron, 2013). There is also a constant demand for the translation of web pages and online texts, and many would like their blogs and social media properly translated, preferably automatically and for free. SMS, Facebook, Twitter, and other such social media, however, pose many problems that machine translation will find difficult to solve for some time. O’Hagan & Ashworth (2002) discuss the ways in which on-line translation/interpreting can be done in real time. There are also translators who have managed to explain to clients that their marketing and publicity requires not just translation but ‘transcreation’ or the re-creating of the original message in a way that is adapted to the culture and context of the target text. (Humphrey et al, 2011)

3. Translation as a Profession

Although many people work part-time as translators, a professional translator will probably work full-time, and ideally from one or more foreign languages into their mother tongue. They need to be multilingual and multicultural and offer other language services, such as proof-reading, editing, post-editing machine translation, and even writing originals, and they need to use sophisticated technologies, not just translation software, but also those necessary for multimodal communication.

Today many people have general computer skills, such as the use of Microsoft Office, and use the Internet frequently, but this is by no means enough for a professional translator. Translation companies today expect their employees to use translation memory, localization, and terminology management software such as SDL-Trados, Multiterm, Passolo, memoQ, Star Transit, and Déja Vu, to name but a few. It is also increasingly necessary for them to understand how machine translation (MT) works, so that they can post-edit what it produces, and they need to be aware of the extent to which MT is becoming integrated into the translation memory software already mentioned.

The ability to use the Internet for serious information mining is also extremely important, as many translation problems can be solved very quickly if the translator knows how to find not just the many dictionaries,

databases, and glossaries online, but also how to distinguish between good and poor information on specialized sites. It is also an advantage to know how web pages work and how the translator, when asked to translate online material, can use the web site technology directly.

For multimodal translation, there are increasingly sophisticated subtitling and dubbing technologies that facilitate the whole process and which, although expensive, are worth investing in if the translator receives enough work in these areas. Voice Recognition technology is already a good option for translators who are experienced enough to translate faster than they can type.

It should by now be clear that the education of professional translators requires much more demanding and focussed university programmes than those too often typical of Modern Language or Philology faculties. Even if the faculties themselves recognize the necessity for reform, they often find that academic administrations are unwilling to consider Translation education as worthy of master's degrees and proper technology.

4. Universities, Translator Education, and EU legislation

A few years ago, universities in the European Union had to go through what became known as the Bologna Process, which demanded a certain harmonization of qualifications and courses, so that it would be easier to provide accreditation of existing and new courses across Europe, and to encourage student, post-graduate and teacher mobility. The process brought with it a serious reassessment of the validity of each and every subject and its contribution to the overall curriculum of the courses. This was not an easy process, as academics, who had often dedicated years to their particular subjects, frequently found it very difficult to justify them in terms of Objectives, Study Programmes, Competences, Assessment, Outcomes, not to mention how the results would stand up to a Quality Assurance evaluation. Besides, even if their work did measure up to these standards and include the national and international inter-institutional cooperation now encouraged, many simply did not believe that the ultimate goal of university education should be Employability.

However, as it became increasingly clear that Employability and the ability to demonstrate, with statistics, that the students of a particular course were gainfully employed shortly after graduation, a certain feeling of panic began to take hold in some faculties, particularly in the Humanities. Once the country had its necessary quota of schoolteachers, it became difficult to justify much of what was being taught, and language departments began to

understand, often reluctantly, that teaching translation could not simply be achieved with the curricula developed for teaching teachers. Besides, translation had hitherto been part of the curricula in polytechnics producing office workers, and little prestige was attached to it academically. Translation Studies developed gradually as a discipline, usually with a heavy emphasis on Literature or Linguistics, but it soon became clear that the resulting courses were not enough to guarantee Employability. It was therefore necessary to develop new ideas and also accept feedback from the professional market, and the EMT – European Master’s in Translation Network has contributed considerably to a change in attitude.

5. EMT - European Master’s in Translation Network

The academic world had begun to worry about the education of translators quite some time before the Bologna Process, and several academics advocated the need to professionalize translation years earlier. Kussmaul (1995), Gile (1995/2009), Robinson (2003), Chesterman (1997/2016), Kiraly (2000), Gouadec (2007), Pym (2002), Gambier (2001), Kelly (2005) and many others questioned existing attitudes and responded with publications that were key to revolutionising the area.

The DGT – Directorate-General of Translation of the European Commission (EC), with the increase in the number of countries joining the European Union (EU), found itself having serious problems in recruiting translators and interpreters that were suitably qualified to do the work in hand or use the technology available. This led to a certain approximation to the academics mentioned above, with a view to an agreement to both address the need to educate translators appropriately, and dignify the role of translators accordingly. There were exploratory conferences in Brussels in 2006 and 2008 to find a way forward, and since then there have been yearly conferences and other activities that have brought together the DGT, universities, and representatives of the market in a spirit of cooperation. A great deal of work went into drawing up the list of Competences expected of a professional translator and which will be discussed below.

In 2009, 2012, and 2014 the DGT conducted the process of selection of the universities that were considered to provide appropriate curricula for the education of translators to Master’s level, and the demonstration that the curriculum provided graduates with the Competences was key to acceptance as a member of the organization. The next selection will be in 2019.

EMT Network today includes 63 universities from all over the EU, and includes two with observer status in Switzerland. For example, in

Portugal, the University of Porto offers a Master's in Translation and Language Services, and in Romania, Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Facultatea de Litere offers a Masterat European de Traductologie-Terminologie.

5.1. The Selection Process

The selection process, like any other, requires specific and well-documented descriptions of the university facilities, the professional experience of teaching staff, both in academia and in the professional translation market, and evidence of specific training in translation teaching methodology. National and international cooperation with employers and other universities is important, with particular emphasis being given to the obligatory internships organized within the scope of the course. The research carried out by staff and students in the area is important, but especially if it is related to professional translation.

However, the most important section on which each application is judged is the way in which questions are answered about the 48 EMT competences, which are grouped under the following dimensions: Production competence, Language competence, Intercultural competence: sociolinguistic dimension and text dimension, Information Mining competence, Thematic competence, and Technological competence (mastery of tools). Applicants must first summarize how their curricula respond to each dimension, and must then show how each competence is taught, with details of the specific subjects and methodology used, and how students are assessed.

I shall now summarize the main points of each dimension and suggest ways in which university courses are expected to respond and provide the competences required. A version of the full list of competences can be found on the EMT site (see references).

5.2. The EMT Competences by Dimensions

5.2.1. The Interpersonal Dimension

This Dimension is divided into two sections in which the first focuses on how translators should consider themselves and interact with their clients, and the second draws attention to the need for the translator to comply with the demands of their peers in the profession.

The first section starts with the need for the curriculum to promote awareness of the social and professional role of translators, and the need to

keep abreast of the changing market requirements and new demands by clients. The curriculum should also train students to work professionally, encouraging them to market their skills appropriately, as well as cope with the demands of the day-to-day reality of work, understanding the clients' requirements, and managing their own time and stress. The second section focuses more on the interpersonal skills required by teamwork, both with other translators, the clients and various experts, while complying with standards of work and professional ethics.

The understanding of the market and importance of the interpersonal dimension are not always given due importance by university teachers, partly because so few of them have had the experience of working in such an environment, and partly because many of them are convinced that it is the job of future employers to train their employees in these skills. However, the universities can contribute by contracting professional translators part-time to teach some subjects, creating real or mock translation projects for group work and/or role play within the context of translation classes, encouraging visits to companies, or inviting company representatives to the university.

The EMT Network places great importance on the need for internships with translation companies, or potential future employers, to be included as an obligatory part of the curriculum. It is not always easy to comply with this demand as some countries have strict regulations over the length and type of internships possible, and those universities that charge high fees find it impossible to expect students to do the unpaid work often involved, while also paying the fees. There are sometimes problems that are common to internships in other professional areas: no proper training by those who offer internships, and use and abuse of the intern's work, with the consequent perception by universities and other professionals of exploitation of the students. However, if care is taken, the internships are a very valuable source of experience and most students appreciate the opportunities given.

5.2.2. Production Dimension

This dimension focuses on the actual translation product in the context or *skopos* of the real world task. The emphasis is on offering the translation required by the client, defining methods of work and strategies for recognizing and solving translation problems, and maintaining quality

standards, while developing the critical capacity needed to justify to the client one's choices in the translation and revision of texts.

Despite its apparently client-oriented approach, the competences required for this dimension can be taught during the more academic subjects in the curriculum. Translation theory and areas of linguistics like text and discourse analysis are useful here because they supply not just theory but also the authority acquired through an understanding of various approaches to translation and text analysis, and the corresponding metalanguage. Clients may not understand this metalanguage, but if a professional translator can use this theoretical background to argue that a specific text needs to be translated taking certain cultural or stylistic aspects into consideration, they will be more impressed than they will be by the phrase often used by amateur translators – 'it sounds better like that'. Over the years I have often heard this phrase used to defend translations that reflect the translator's personal idiolect, rather than the needs of the text.

Although the wider view of translation theory as presented by Munday (2016) is useful here, the functional theories, or *skopos* theory, of Reiss, Vermeer (2002) and others are of particular importance. Similarly, the ability to characterise different types of text in terms of register, field, tenor and mode (Halliday, 1985) allows the future translator to provide an explanation of the needs of different types of text and how the cultures of the different languages have to be respected. Proof reading and editing of one's own or another's translation, have long been essential competences of the professional translator, and Mossop (2001) provides excellent guidelines. Post editing of machine translation is also increasingly sought after and needs specific training.

5.2.3. Language Competence

The need for competence in both the source and target languages is obvious, but the list of skills for this EMT competence is short, and refers to the understanding and use of grammatical, lexical and idiomatic structures and the graphic and typographic conventions of the languages involved, as well as developing sensitivity to changes in language and developments in languages. This view of the competences required by the translator implies the need, not just for spoken and written competences but also for a degree of formal awareness of linguistic aspects, including openness to accepting the dynamic nature of language.

To some, anxious to employ the levels demanded by the CEFR – Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, this may seem deliberately vague. However, the CEFR levels are aimed at describing general language competence for communicative use and not specifically for translators, who will also need the competences described in other dimensions of the EMT competences.

Anyone taking a Master's degree in translation and other language services should be presumed to have the levels of language competences described in the CEFR as C2 in their mother tongue, or A language. It is worth noting that good mother tongue competence is a Number 1 priority for translation companies, and that their complaints about the lack of this competence are common. Many of those in academia make similar comments, but it is a moot point whether this problem is a sign of deteriorating standards in education, or the result of more demanding standards in the workplace.

One would also hope that students embarking on such a Master's degree would also have at least C1 level for their B and even C languages, as well as a comprehensive knowledge of the societies and cultures that speak them. This last point is emphasised by the dimensions described in 5.2.4.1 and 5.2.4.2 below.

5.2.3.1. Intercultural Competence: Sociolinguistic Dimension

The first competence described here is the ability to recognize function and meaning in social, geographical, historical, and stylistic language variations. This implies familiarity with and formal recognition of a wide variety of written text types. The other skills mentioned draw attention to the need to understand the rules for interaction relating to a specific community, and producing a register appropriate to a given situation, for a particular document (written) or speech (oral). The objective of this dimension is to provide awareness of the need for intercultural understanding in all forms of communication.

Most language teaching involves understanding how the language being taught functions in its normal setting, but this dimension aims to increase awareness of different sociolinguistic levels of language, and knowledge of the conventions used in mother tongue text varieties. The next stage is to encourage an understanding of the different conventions in B and C language varieties.

5.2.3.2. Intercultural Competence: Text Dimension

The more general intercultural contextualization of communication described in 5.2.4.1 is complemented and extended here to the dimension of the actual text. The objectives are to make the future translator understand the importance of analysing the macrostructure of a document and its overall coherence, including visual and sound elements, and grasp the implicit presuppositions, allusions, stereotypes and intertextual aspects. The emphasis is on recognising and identifying culture specific elements, values and references, and how all this affects methods of composition and the definition of strategies to deal with them.

This dimension also draws attention to other language services, such as extracting and summarising the essential information in a document, composing a document in accordance with the conventions of the genre and rhetorical standards, and drafting, rephrasing, restructuring, condensing, and post-editing.

The emphasis is on the need for teachers to present as wide a variety of text types as possible in class, and to move from the production of mother tongue text, using the conventions typical of special domains or styles, to applying this knowledge to texts in their other languages, even if this means restructuring the text to suit target language conventions.

5.2.4. Information Mining Competence

This dimension focuses the ability to identify the terminological and phraseological information required by the document to be written or translated. It draws attention to the need to develop strategies for research and for extracting and processing relevant information for a given task. This requires the ability to critically evaluate the information accessible on the Internet or any other medium, and to use tools effectively, such as terminology software, electronic corpora, and electronic dictionaries. It also draws attention to the need to archive one's own documents, and any other useful information for future use.

Today there is the tendency to think that 'everyone' knows how to use Google and the Internet, but few know how to use it well. The teaching in this area should focus on identifying reliable sources, like the European terminology database IATE, and the various government and institutional databases that are available. It is essential to be able to judge the utility or otherwise of 'online glossaries', and to understand that general dictionaries

do not aim to provide technical terminology. The documents produced in different areas also often require knowledge not just of the terminology but also of the phraseology favoured by the experts. For this one can consult existing monolingual and multilingual corpora, like the OPUS corpora and the European Commission page, or one can collect similarly informative texts in the same domain in both languages and create one's own specialised corpora.

5.2.5. Thematic Competence

There is a close link between this dimension and the previous one, but the objective of separating the dimensions is to draw attention to the need to not just search for appropriate information on a particular subject, but also to focus the importance of developing knowledge in specialist fields and applications. This requires mastering systems of concepts, methods of reasoning, as well as the presentation of information in a specialized way. The emphasis here is on learning to learn, and developing a spirit of curiosity, analysis and the ability to summarize.

From the point of view of teaching and learning, it is important to know how to study any subject, and that 'nothing is inherently boring' (Maia, 2002). Some translators may come to the profession having already learnt a specialization, but they are probably the exceptions. The tendency is for students starting a Master's in translation to come from modern language faculties and it is very important to train them in how to develop a general thirst for knowledge. Some universities offer specializations within the curriculum in areas like law, economics, or medicine, and professional translators often develop their specialist knowledge in a particular area later on.

5.2.6. Technological Competence (mastery of tools)

The technological competences present one of the bigger challenges to university curricula. This is because technology evolves fast, and so does the general approach to information technology (IT) by teachers and students. Most, if not all, students come to university with an increasing variety of IT skills; many, if not all, academics in the humanities faculties that usually host translation courses are not well equipped with these skills; and university authorities are not always sympathetic to the need to provide

IT for these courses, partly because of lack of funds, but partly because their view of translation is decades out of date.

However, it is now essential for the professional translators to be able to use much more than even the more sophisticated word processing software, with their integrated spelling and grammar checkers. Knowledge of translation software, which includes not only terminology management software, translation memories, and localization software, but also, increasingly, machine translation, is now obligatory for the translation market. It is also necessary to be able to work with new tools, particularly for the translation of multimedia and audiovisual material.

The main difference between professional and amateur translators is usually familiarity with and use of all this technology. Although large translation companies often have IT departments to deal with more complex technology, small ones will need to weigh the advantages of obtaining licenses for some of the software, and freelancers will soon learn that the more IT knowledge they have, the better. However, there is one sign that the software companies are finally realizing that the best way to get ahead of their competitors is for the students to start using their software early in their training. Now, instead of making universities pay for normal licenses, companies like SDL-TRADOS provide special university licenses at a considerable discount, and others, like memoQ (Kilgray) supply them for free.

6. OPTIMALE (Optimising Professional Translator Training in a Multilingual Europe)

Universities in general, but particularly the humanities departments, have found it difficult to come to terms with the perception of governments and the general public that their primary objective should be to prepare their students for specific jobs. The EMT list of competences that university courses were expected to offer was received by many with consternation, and it became clear that one of the first priorities would be to prepare teachers able to provide such competences. This understanding led to the creation of the OPTIMALE Network.

OPTIMALE was an Erasmus Academic Network involving 70 partners from 32 different European countries (including 27 within the EU) between 2010 and 2013, including the University of Craiova. It began by drawing up a map of all the universities in Europe that offered translation course, and then went on to discuss teaching methodologies.

It was not repeated, but it created positive dynamics and a network of cooperation among the participating universities, despite their differences, and much of the original enthusiasm has led to further activities within the EMT Network, with the support of the DGT.

7. Contextualizing the EMT Competences

The competences outlined by the EMT Network are applicable to most translation teaching in Europe, but there are various lessons that can be learnt from considering how different languages, and the countries where they are spoken, demand similar or different approaches to teaching professional language services. The political, social and cultural situation of each language is different. Some languages are more equal than others; even if a language is spoken by many millions of people, it may not be very important in international terms; but some languages, like French and German maintain international importance, despite relatively smaller numbers of mother tongue speakers. However, the influence of English is pervasive and needs to be confronted.

7.1 English – Lingua Franca or Killer Language?

English is increasingly becoming a lingua franca or, as some claim, the ‘killer language.’ It is estimated that China will soon have the most speakers of English as a second language. General market realities would suggest that most translation is from English, or through English as a ‘bridge’ language, to other languages. If we look around us in English bookshops, we will find that the shelves of translation into English are few and far between; but there will be many books translated from English in the bookshops of most countries. Scientific and academic texts are often written in English, frequently by people for whom it is a second language. Technical and commercial texts are often first written in English, and information technology and multimedia texts are clearly dominated by English. The international news agencies supply news in English for translation to other languages, and, in many situations, the English version of legal documents, both online and on paper, is considered the only official one.

Translation from other languages to English tends to consist largely of commercial and technical texts to accompany material for export. Tourist information, often notoriously badly translated, uses

English as a lingua franca. There is a growing demand for English language versions of webpages, because internationalization expects it, and many academics seek recognition of their work by an international audience through translation.

There are, of course, plenty of people who support the idea of a lingua franca or language for universal use. They argue that it improves communication generally and allows information to be exchanged quickly internationally, and it is clear that this offers advantages in many areas. However, those who do not have access to this lingua franca will find it difficult to follow the fast development of knowledge in many areas, particularly if no effort is made to create the terminology necessary to render information understandable in their main language.

Text types and the cultural conventions associated with them, for example in local legal documents, certificates, or advertisements, can be misunderstood or even ignored in translation. The result has been a tendency towards homogenization through the influence of English as lingua franca, especially in scientific and technical texts. At another level and over the years, the European Commission has made a conscious effort to create a vocabulary and style that is supposedly transferable from one European language to another, with the result that their documents often sound odd in any language and have earned the epithet of ‘Eurospeak’.

7.2. Some Languages are More Equal than Others

The effort of maintaining, or even creating, the importance of any particular language is subject to a wide variety of political, cultural and social factors. Some languages are used as first or second languages in many parts of the world and, with time, develop their own varieties of these languages. When people talk of ‘Englishes’, they refer not just to the American, Australian, British, and Canadian varieties, but also to the English spoken in various ex-colonial countries, and some would even argue that certain special subject domains have developed their own sub-varieties of English.

This situation is also true of languages still spoken in ex-colonies, as is the case with European languages such as French, German, Portuguese and Spanish. On the other hand, languages that are geographically limited to certain countries or areas and rarely spoken elsewhere, except among their diaspora, will need to make special efforts

to maintain their identity. The approach of those responsible for protecting and encouraging these languages must take the implications of teaching translation and other language services seriously.

8. The Importance of Languages and Translation

We live in difficult times. Globalization is producing a backlash of nationalism, and the words of John Lennon's 'Imagine' seem even more idealistic now than when they were written. Never before has it been so essential to overcome language barriers and understand each other's cultures. Translators, or language services providers, have an important role to play in contributing to mutual understanding between people, cultures and nations. Multilingualism is no longer simply the ideal of the European Commission, nor is it the unnecessary legally imposed extra expense that speakers of the major languages sometimes believe it to be. It should be at the heart of our understanding of ourselves and of others, and many people in all walks of life now understand this. This is why the language industry is one of the fastest growing industries in the world, and both universities and professionals need to keep up with, or ahead of, developments.

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http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/index_en.htm

EMT Competences -
http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/programmes/emt/key_documents/emt_competences_translators_en.pdf .

Google Translate - <https://translate.google.com>

IATE http://iate.europa.eu/about_IATE.html

memoQ - <https://www.memoq.com>

OPTIMALE (Optimising Professional Translator Training in a Multilingual Europe)

OPUS corpora - <http://opus.lingfil.uu.se>

SDL Trados, Multiterm & Passolo - <http://www.sdl.com>

Star Transit - <https://www.star-group.net/>

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Kultur- und kontextgebundenes kommunikationsverhalten. Sagen, meinen und verstehen

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Abstract: Dass Menschen aus verschiedenen Kulturen einander verstehen, ist nicht selbstverständlich. Die Praxis des Zusammenlebens von Menschen aus verschiedenen Kulturen zeigt, dass es in dieser Hinsicht Probleme gibt, dass die Kommunikation zwischen den Kulturen eine entscheidende Rolle spielt. Man fragt sich aber wie die Kommunikationssituation sein sollte, damit die Verständigung reibungslos funktioniert. Was muss man bei einem interkulturellen Gespräch beachten? Situation, Region, Redeuniversum, Kontext sind weite Umfelder und die Elemente, die sich ihnen zuordnen lassen, weisen zusammen mit den Bedeutungen der Ausdrücke auf das wirklich Gemeinte. Das Gespräch ist das Prototyp des Sprachgebrauchs, und es verwundert nicht, dass die Pragmalinguistik darin die Quelle und den Anfang jeglicher Sprachverwendung sieht. Die Analyse des mündlichen Gesprächs verheißt viel mehr, als die Sprechakttheorie zu leisten vermag. Dazu muss man sich vorstellen, dass ein Gespräch nicht nur aus den sprachlichen Äußerungen selbst besteht, sondern eingebettet ist in eine Vielzahl von Komponenten, die im Begriff Kontext zusammengefasst werden. Dazu gehören nicht nur die Sprechenden selbst, ihre Mimik, Gestik, ihr Tonfall, ihre soziale Stellung, der kulturelle Rahmen, in dem das Gespräch stattfindet. All diese Elemente werden unter dem Begriff Kontext behandelt. Zu verzeichnen wäre, dass das wirklich Gesagte weniger als das Ausgedrückte und Verstandene ist. Man fragt sich deswegen, wie das Ausgedrückte und das Gesagte richtig verstanden werden können. Der Kontext spielt dabei eine vorwiegende Rolle, aber es sind auch andere Aspekte die berücksichtigt sein müssen.

Keywords: *Kontext, Sprachgebrauch, Sprechakttheorie, Verständigung.*

Einleitung

Die Sprache widerspiegelt oder schafft ein Wirklichkeitsbild. Was hier primär ist, die Sprache, die unser Bild von der Wirklichkeit schafft oder die Wirklichkeit, die durch die Sprache abgebildet wird, bleibt eine strittige Frage, mit der die Erkenntnis- und Sprachtheoretiker sich auseinandersetzen. Es geht diesen vor Allem darum, dass die Sprache eine bestimmte Wirklichkeit enthält, dass sie die Art und Weise unserer Erfassung der Wirklichkeit bestimmt. Dieser Aspekt ist historisch, kulturell, individuell bedingt. Darüber entscheidet der kulturgebundene Hintergrund der Sprachteilhaber, denn was und wie der Mensch wahrnimmt und vermittelt, hängt von dem in der Phylo- und Ontogenese angehäuften Vorrat an Wissen und Erfahrung ab.

Verstehen, Vermitteln, Auslegen bedeutet mit Wissen verfahren. Schon in der griechischen Mythologie sorgte der Götterbote Hermes für die Verständigung zwischen Göttern und Menschen, so dass ihm die Erfindung von Sprache und Schrift zugeschrieben wurde.

Etymologisch geht ‚*verstehen*‘ auf ‚*fīrstan*‘ (ahd.) und ‚*versten*‘ (mhd.) zurück. Das konkrete ‚*Stehen*‘ hat eine metaphorische Verwendung im geistigen Bereich gefunden. ‚*Verstehen*‘ ist ein Grundwort menschlicher Kommunikation und umfasst ein weites syntaktisch-semantisches Feld. Es kommt in Redewendungen vor wie z.B. sich auf eine Sache verstehen d.h. die Sache beherrschen, gut verfahren; ‚*sich gut verstehen*‘ bezieht sich auf soziale Situationen und bedeutet ‚*Verständigung*‘. Die Semantik des Wortes ‚*verstehen*‘ liegt bei den Verstandeswörtern wie: *aufweisen, analysieren, durchschauen, einsehen, erkennen, erklären, reflektieren, sich vorstellen, sich bewusst machen, wahrnehmen, verarbeiten*.

Mit Verstand und Würde eine Mitteilung zu empfangen, ist überall in der Welt, in allen Kulturen eine große Kunst. Die Bedeutung der Wörter, die in der Mitteilung stehen, wird vom Kontext bestimmt. Bei jeder normalen Kommunikation besteht zwischen dem Emittenten und dem Rezipienten eine bestimmte Unsicherheit, die sich daraus ergibt, dass die Kommunikationspartner ein unterschiedliches Welt-, Vor- und Sprachwissen haben. Keiner denkt und spricht genau wie der andere Gesprächspartner. Diese Verschiedenheit setzt sich fort, weil jeder die Wirklichkeit verschieden erfährt und wiedergibt je nach Interessen, Sprachbildung. Wenn Menschen anderen Menschen nicht aufgeschlossen gegenüber treten, wenn sie nicht bereit sind, sich etwas sagen zu lassen, kommt die Mitteilung nicht an oder sie kommt nur gebrochen bzw. falsch an. Wie man den Gesprächspartner ausreden lassen und verstehen kann, muss mit Verständnis abgeschirmt werden. Einem Text gerecht werden, einem Gesprächspartner gerecht werden, heißt sich offenhalten für was im Text steht, für was damit gemeint wird. Ein Text kann einem fremd entgegenkommen, der erste Eindruck kann täuschen und vorschnelle Identifikation mit dem Gesagten, Reibungslosigkeit des Verstehens ist genauso verdächtig wie vorschnelle Ablehnung.

Es ist wichtig, den Sachverhalt in einen Abstand, der eine Reflexion ermöglicht, zu rücken. Erst das ermöglicht ein kontrolliertes Verstehen. Wenn der Emittent eine bestimmte Sache unter einer bestimmten Perspektive sieht, so hat auch der Rezipient seine eigene Perspektive, aus der er die Mitteilung wahrnimmt. Der Emittent und der Rezipient haben verschiedene Erwartungen bezüglich einer Mitteilung. Diese bringt gewöhnlich etwas Neues, das sich vor dem Hintergrund des Bekannten abhebt und man steht dem Neuen gegenüber in Kenntnis von sprachlichen

Normen, von Vorinformationen, von kulturellen Voraussetzungen. So spielt das, was schon bekannt ist, im Verstehen eine wichtige Rolle, weil es den Blick öffnet für das, was man noch nicht kennt. Das Verstehen ist demnach nicht voraussetzungslos, es weckt die Spannung zwischen schon Bekanntem und noch nicht Bekanntem als eine Erwartung, die den Kontakt zum Text, zum Gesagten ermöglicht. Erwartungen leiten das Vorverständnis des Gesagten und werden beim Aufbau des Gesamtverständnisses bestätigt oder übertroffen. Wer einen Text verstehen will, entwirft etwas und wirft sich einen Sinn des Ganzen voraus, gleich wenn sich ein erster Sinn im Gesagten bemerkbar macht. Das geschieht so, weil man das Gesagte mit bestimmten Erwartungen auf einen bestimmten Sinn wahrnimmt. Im Überarbeiten eines solchen Vor-Entwurfs ergibt sich auch etwas Neues bei weiterem Eindringen in den Sinn des Ganzen. Eben darin besteht das Verstehen des Gesagten und der Zusammenhang zwischen Sagen-Meinen-Verstehen. Der Rezipient soll beim Verstehen seine Prädispositionen, seine Vorgeprägtheiten nicht in den Hintergrund rücken und sein Vorwissen nicht auslöschen, denn Verstehen ist ein Vorgang des Ineinandergreifens der vermittelten und wahrgenommenen Mitteilung.

Um dem Gesagten gerecht zu werden, muss der Vorgang des Verstehens eine Verschmelzung zwischen Gesagtem, Gemeintem und Verstandenem sein und unter Kontrolle gehalten werden. Dabei vergleicht man das Bekannte mit dem Neuen und man unterscheidet das Eigene vom Fremden. Wenn der Rezipient sich über seine Vor-Urteile nicht im Klaren ist, kann das Verstehen scheitern. Eine kontrollierte Einstellung zum Text ermöglicht ein kritisches Verstehen und hält das Interesse am Thema wach. Sie garantiert dafür, dass unterschiedliche Auffassungen auseinandergehalten werden, dass die eigene Auffassung durch die andere in Frage gestellt wird. Die Spannung zwischen schon Verstandenem und noch nicht Bekanntem trägt dazu bei, dass der Rezipient, die, in der wahrgenommenen Aussage, wiedergegebene Situation findet und dadurch das Gesagte als Antwort auf die eigenen Fragen erfährt. Das Gesagte stellt oft Schwierigkeiten dem Verstehen entgegen. Wichtig ist, diese Schwierigkeiten überwinden zu können. Unterschiedliche Texte, die den Erwartungen des Rezipienten mehr oder weniger entsprechen, lassen dem Verstehen unterschiedliche Spielräume. Sprachliche Aspekte, kulturelles Auffassungsvermögen, Fremdheit des Sachverhaltes gefährden das Verstehen.

Das Verstehen eines Textes ist ein besonderer Fall des Verstehens, was für das menschliche Miteinander unerlässlich ist. Verstehen heißt, das, was jemand sagt und meint, weiter aus sich selbst zu entwickeln. Vom gesprochenen Wort bis zum geschriebenen, zur Konvention und zum

Symbol, von der Erklärung bis zur stummen Gestik, vom persönlichen Verhalten bis zum Stil der Lebensführung, alles, was uns entgegentritt, richtet an uns eine Botschaft, die verstanden werden muss. Verstehen heißt, etwas in einem geistigen Zusammenhang erkennen, nachvollziehen und dabei seinen Sinn erfassen und darauf entsprechend reagieren.

Sprache, Kommunikationsverhalten und Wirklichkeit

In der Linguistik wurden im Laufe der Zeit Sprachen mit verschiedenen Strukturen untersucht und man ist auf neue Bereiche von Zusammenhängen gekommen. Dabei fand man, dass das linguistische System jeder Sprache nicht nur ein geregeltes Instrument zum Ausdruck der Gedanken ist, sondern selbst die Gedanken strukturiert, analysiert, synthetisiert. Die Eindrücke von unserer Umwelt überfluten uns täglich im Umgang mit Sprache und sie werden von dem linguistischen System der Sprache in unserem Geist organisiert nach einem Abkommen, das für eine bestimmte Sprachgemeinschaft gilt und in den Strukturen der jeweiligen Sprache kodifiziert ist.

Die Bindung an bestimmte Anlässe, die Arten des Reagierens auf diese Anlässe, die stereotypen Formen verschiedener sprachlicher Handlungen sind in starkem Masse konventionalisiert, so dass die Frage aufkommt, in wie weit das Konventionelle als spezifisches Merkmal eines Kommunikationsverfahrens, eines sprachlichen Handelns anzusehen ist. Jedes sprachliche Handeln ist von Erwartungshandlungen bestimmt so z.B. die Bindung an traditionell gebundene Anlässe, die auf Lebenssituationen und Erfahrungen bezogen sind, bedingen eine bestimmte Art des Reagierens, die ebenfalls kulturell geprägt ist. (Wilske, 1983: 23-24)

Wenn wir vom Einfluss der Sprache auf die Wirklichkeit sprechen, ist die Sprache ein fertiges Zeichensystem und zugleich ein Produkt gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Charakters. Um den Einfluss der Sprache auf unsere Erkenntniswelt zu zeigen, genügen die Bezeichnungen für bestimmte Sachverhalte, die bei manchen Völkern sehr wichtig sind und in einer relativ großen Anzahl auftreten.

So ist bei den Eskimos die Vielfalt der Namen für "Schnee" und "weiß," bei den Wüstenvölkern die Farben "braun" und "gelb," bei den Seevölkern die Fischnamen, bei den Steppenvölkern die Pflanzennamen zu bemerken. Das bestätigt, dass die Sprache sich in einem bestimmten geographisch-kulturellen Medium in einer spezifischen Art entwickelt. Die Menschen kommunizieren also, wie es ihnen ihre Lebensumstände diktieren.

Sagen, Meinen und Verstehen

“Dass Menschen aus verschiedenen Kulturen einander verstehen, ist nicht selbstverständlich. Die Praxis des Zusammenlebens von Menschen aus verschiedenen Kulturen zeigt, dass es in dieser Hinsicht viele Probleme gibt, die sich häufig bis zum Fremdenhaß steigern.” (Sommer, 2002: 290) Dass die Kommunikation dabei eine entscheidende Rolle spielt, ist auch nichts Neues. Man fragt sich aber, wie die Kommunikationssituation sein sollte, damit die Verständigung reibungslos funktioniert. Was muss man bei einem interkulturellen Gespräch beachten? Wie verstehen Kulturen andere Kulturen? Damit die Analyse präziser wird, werden hier nicht alle semantischen Aspekte des Begriffs “Kommunikation” behandelt, sondern es wird eine einzige Kommunikationsform berücksichtigt - das Gespräch.

Begriffe wie “Gespräch,” “Text,” “Diskurs,” “Kommunikation” u.a. verfügen über zahlreiche Definitionen. Interessant ist jedoch die Art und Weise wie Peter Ernst das Gespräch definiert:

Das Gespräch ist das Prototyp des Sprachgebrauchs, und es verwundert nicht, dass die Pragmalinguistik darin den Anfang jeglicher Sprachverwendung sieht. Die Analyse des mündlichen Gesprächs verheißt viel mehr, als die Sprechakttheorie zu leisten vermag. Dazu muss man sich vorstellen, dass ein Gespräch nicht nur aus den sprachlichen Äußerungen selbst besteht, sondern eingebettet ist in eine Vielzahl von Komponenten, die im Begriff ‘*Kontext*’ zusammengefasst werden. Dazu gehören nicht nur die Sprechenden selbst, ihre Mimik, Gestik, ihr Tonfall, ihre soziale Stellung, ihre Kleidung, sondern auch die äußeren Umstände, also Zeit und Ort des Gesprächs, der kulturelle Rahmen, in dem es stattfindet (z.B. ob es sich um eine Institution wie Kirche, Schule, Amt handelt), das dabei vorherrschende Wetter und vieles andere mehr. (Ernst, 2002: 118)

All diese Elemente, die Ernst unter dem Begriff “Kontext” behandelt, sind von großer Bedeutung für das Funktionieren der Kommunikation bzw. des Gesprächs. Ein Grund dafür ist allein die Bemerkung, dass “*das wirklich Gesagte weniger als das Ausgedrückte und Verstandene*” ist (Coseriu, 1975: 276). Man fragt sich deswegen, wie das Ausgedrückte und das Gesagte richtig verstanden sein können. Der Kontext spielt dabei eine vorwiegende Rolle, aber es sind auch andere Aspekte die berücksichtigt werden müssen.

Eugenio Coseriu behandelt diese Aspekte ausführlich. Die Möglichkeit das Gesagte zu verstehen wird durch die zusätzlichen Ausdrucksakte und vor Allem durch die Umstände des Sprechens, d.h. durch “die Umfelder” gegeben. (Coseriu, 1975: 276) Die Umfelder sind

immer beim Sprechen da, denn es gibt kein Gespräch ohne Umstände. Die Funktionalität der Umfeldler ist sehr umfassend, aber das Wichtigste daran ist, dass sie das Gespräch orientieren, sie geben ihm einen Sinn und sie tragen auch zur Bestimmung des Wahrheitswertes des Geäußerten bei.

In der Sprachwissenschaft wurden die Umfeldler nicht ausführlich genug untersucht. Es gibt einige Theorien der Umfeldler, aber niemand hat bis jetzt eine systematische Liste der Umfeldler aufgestellt. Die Linguisten, die sich den Umfeldern gewidmet haben, sind Charles Bally, Karl Bühler und W. M. Urban. Sie unterscheiden aber nur zwischen drei möglichen Umfeldern. Eine viel präzisere Unterscheidung der Umfeldler ist in Coserius Arbeit "Determinierung und Umfeld. Zwei Probleme einer Linguistik des Sprechens" (1956) vorgelegt. (Coseriu, 1975)

Eugenio Coseriu berücksichtigt eine viel umfangreichere Anzahl von möglichen Umfeldern: die *Situation*, die *Region*, der *Kontext* und das *Redeuniversum*. Diese vier Typen werden von Coseriu (1975: 278-287) ausführlicher analysiert. Auch Ernst (2002: 72) widmet sich diesem Problem zu. Alles was Peter Ernst unter dem Begriff "Kontext" behandelt, wird bei Coseriu viel ausführlicher dargestellt. Die Elemente, die sich diesen Kategorien zuordnen lassen, signalisieren zusammen mit den Bedeutungen der Ausdrücke auf das wirklich Gemeinte.

Ein Begriff wie "Sinn" ist hier von großer Bedeutung. Die Umfeldler tragen also dazu bei, dass man den Sinn einer Äußerung versteht, aber was unter Sinn zu verstehen ist, ist auch eine Frage derer Antwort zu einem reibungslosen Funktionieren eines Gesprächs führen kann. Laut Coseriu sind drei Funktionalitätsebenen zu unterscheiden: Bezeichnung, Bedeutung und Sinn. Eine kurze Beschreibung dieser Begriffe ist für das weitere Verstehen des Kommunikationskontextes angemessen.

Die *Bezeichnung* ist bei Coseriu eine Beziehung zum bezeichneten Sachverhalt: "der Bezug auf die 'Wirklichkeit' bzw. die jeweils bestimmte Beziehung zwischen einem sprachlichen Ausdruck und einem 'realen Sachverhalt', also zwischen Zeichen und bezeichneter Sache." (Coseriu, 1988: 262) Die Bezeichnung kann aber auch metaphorisch sein. Ein passendes Beispiel dafür: In der Äußerung "Wählen Sie die Grünen!" wird durch *grün* nicht die Farbe bezeichnen, sondern die Partei, die sich für die Umwelt einsetzt. Im Englischen gibt es für den Farbbereich "braun" mehrere Wörter, denen im Deutschen keines direkt entspricht: "auburn" bezeichnet die rotbraune Farbe des menschlichen Haares, "ruddy" ist das gesunde Braun des Gesichts, "tan" ist die Bezeichnung für die Sonnenbräune, "buff" ist gelbbraun, die Farbe der amtlichen Briefumschläge, "dun" bezeichnet eine graubraune Farbe.

In China gibt es für "Schaf" und "Ziege" nur ein Wort "yang"; das deutsche Wort "Affe" hat im Englischen zwei Entsprechungen: "apa" ist der große, schwanzlose Affe und "monkey" ist der kleine Affe mit Schwanz. Für das deutsche Wort "Schnecke" gibt es je zwei Bezeichnungen im Englischen und im Französischen für die Schnecke mit oder ohne Haus "snail" und "escargot" bzw. "slug" und "limace." (Leisi, 1962: 140-141) Im Englischen steht "man" für "Mann" und "Mensch," es gibt keine Entsprechung für die deutschen Wörter "gemütlich" und "Gemütlichkeit." Um Wittgenstein zu paraphrasieren, sind die Grenzen einer Sprache die Grenzen einer Welt. Das zeigt das Verhältnis Denken –Sprache-Wirklichkeit. Im Zusammenhang damit kann das Wort "Demokratie" nicht identisch definiert werden in China und in England, weil es um zwei verschiedene Welten, Traditionen, Kulturen geht. Andererseits bestimmt die Sprache unsere Weltansichten. Wenn wir nur eine Bezeichnung für "Schnee" haben, gibt es bei den Eskimos über dreißig. Das beruht nicht unbedingt auf dem Reichtum des Wortschatzes der Eskimos, sondern auch darauf, dass sie die Sorten des Schnees differenzieren, weil sie den Schnee in sehr differenzierter Weise wahrnehmen und die verschiedenen Eigenschaften des Schnees (Konsistenz, Farbe, Temperatur), die in der Natur vorhanden sind, geben den Schneearten unterschiedliche Bezeichnungen. Man darf auch nicht außer Acht lassen, dass für die Eskimos die Unterscheidung der Schneearten und ihrer Zustände lebenswichtig ist, so dass auch deren Bezeichnung nicht eine einfache Konvention ist. Sie bezeichnen die Schneearten unterschiedlich, nicht weil sie es so wollen und das untereinander verabredet haben, sondern, weil sie ihre Wirklichkeit, die Wirklichkeit ihres Schneelandes nicht anders wahrnehmen können. Für die Eskimos ist unser allumfassendes Wort "Schnee" unvorstellbar, undenkbar. Die Azteken hingegen gehen noch weiter als wir und repräsentieren "Schnee," "Eis" und "kalt" nur durch einen Wortstamm mit verschiedenen Endungen, so dass "Eis" die nominale Form ist, "kalt" die adjektivische und für "Schnee" haben sie "Eis-Nebel."

Die *Bedeutung* ist der Inhalt eines Zeichens und ist von der Einzelsprache, Einzelkultur abhängig. In diesem Kontext könnte die Farbe "grün" eine andere Bedeutung in anderen Sprachen haben oder es könnte gar nicht in dem Farbensystem einer Sprache existieren. Es gibt Völker die sehr wenige Wörter für die Bezeichnung der Farben benutzen: "Debi Roberson, Jules Davidoff und Ian Davis von den Universitäten aus London und Surrey untersuchten die Farbwahrnehmung und -erinnerung der Berinmo, eines indigenen Volkes in PapuaNeuguinea. Die Berinmo verwenden fünf einfache Farbwörter. 'Wapa' bezeichnet sehr bleiche Farben, 'Kel' sehr dunkle. 'Mehi' enthält unser 'Rot', umfasst aber auch

Teile von pink und orange. ‘*Wor*’ überdeckt Bereiche von gelb, orange, braun, khaki und gelbgrün, während ‘*Nol*’ im Wesentlichen unser Grün und Blau umfasst.” (GEO Magazin 5/2002) Die aufgezählten Farben sind nur mittels einer bestimmten Kultur zu verstehen. Andere Völker benutzen nur zwei Farbwörter: die Dani auf Irian Jaya benutzen nur *schwarz* und *weiß*, genauer übersetzt *hell* und *dunkel*. In der Hopisprache, der Sprache eines nordamerikanischen Stammes der Indianer im Arizona, sind Wörter wie “Blitz, Welle, Flamme, Wolke” Verben, Vorgänge von kurzer Dauer. Der Hopi-Stamm hat eine Denkweise, die unserer Denkweise fremd ist und klassifiziert die Ereignisse nach dem Merkmal der Dauer. Die Hopisprache kennt nur ein Wort für alles was fliegen kann für Flugzeug, Flieger, Insekt, Vogel und die Sprecher dieser Sprache sehen darin keine Schwierigkeit. Andererseits sind in einer Sprache auf der Insel Vancouver, im Nootka, alle Wörter Handlungs-Vorgangswörter d.h. Verben. Die Wörter flektieren nach Dauer- und Zeitaspekten z.B. “das Haus erscheint” steht für “hausen” und “die Flamme erscheint” für “brennen.” Die Wörter einer Sprache, einer bekannten oder einer exotischen Sprache, beziehen sich nicht nur auf die Bezeichnung von Gegenständen, Vorgängen, Eigenschaften, sondern es geht um eine ganzheitliche sprachliche Erfassung eines bestimmten Raumes, einer bestimmten Zeit.

Der *Sinn* ist der Inhalt eines Textes: “was der Text über Bezeichnung und Bedeutung hinaus (und durch diese) ausdrückt. Dieser Bedeutungsschicht werden wir sehr leicht und sogar täglich in all den Fällen gewahr, in denen wir uns, obwohl wir die wörtliche Bedeutung bestimmter Wörter und Sätze verstanden haben, doch fragen, was damit wohl gemeint sei; wir suchen also etwas, was über Bedeutung und Bezeichnung hinausgeht und sich von diesen Inhalten unterscheidet; wir fragen uns gerade, was der ‘*Sinn*’ (die Absicht, der Zweck, die Implikation usw.) dessen ist, was wir sprachlich, d.h. nach den Regeln der Sprache und den Normen des Sprechens im Allgemeinen, schon verstanden haben. Ein Witz hat z.B. außer einer ‘*Bedeutung*’ d.h. außer der Tatsache, daß Wörter und Sätze, aus denen er besteht, eine Bedeutung haben, einen besonderen Sinn, den wir erfassen müssen, damit wir den Witz als solchen verstehen” (Coseriu, 1988: 263). Ein passendes Beispiel wäre in diesem Sinn die ironische Ausdrucksweise, der wir auch im Alltag begegnen nicht nur in der satirischen Dichtung.

Wichtig ist dabei zu erwähnen, dass Coseriu unter *Bedeutung* den semantischen Sinn versteht und unter *Sinn* den pragmatischen Sinn. Eben das Verstehen dieser Ebene (pragmatischer Sinn) ist für das Gelingen der interkulturellen Gespräche unentbehrlich. Von Coserius bedeutenden Beiträge an der Pragmatik, betrachtet als eine Linguistik des Gesprächs,

spricht auch Peter Ernst: "Als geradezu prophetisch hat sich in diesem Zusammenhang Eugenio Coseriu erwiesen, der sich bereits in den 50er-Jahren entschieden gegen eine strenge Dichotomie von *langue* und *parole* (als nicht 'real') gewandt und eine Linguistik der *parole* gefördert hat." (Ernst, 2002: 118)

Gesprächskonventionen vs. Schweigen in verschiedenen Sprachen

In manchen Äußerung sind bestimmte Kommunikationsstrukturen durch kulturelle Einflüsse und Auswirkungen markiert. Unterschiedliche kulturelle Konventionen können verschiedene Eindrücke auslösen. Das Aufeinandertreffen unterschiedlicher kultureller Gesprächskonventionen können Schwierigkeiten in der Kommunikation ergeben. Wichtig ist, diese zu erkennen und Möglichkeiten ihres Überbrückens zu finden.

Ähnliche schon seit der Kindheit vermittelte Konventionen, die unbewusst das Gesprächsverhalten prägen, lassen sich in allen Kulturen feststellen. So ist es bei einigen nigerianischen Stämmen als Hinweis darauf, dass das Essen nicht geschmeckt habe, aufgefasst und als Beleidigung empfunden, wenn man sich nach dem Essen bedankt und das Essen lobt. In manchen Gebieten Asiens kommt es in Geschäften vor, dass der Verkäufer, nachdem der Kunde die Ware gewählt hat, sagt, man solle das nächste Mal zahlen, zumal die Ware nichts wert sei, aber wehe man nimmt diese Anregung ernst. In China kann einem älteren Menschen bei der Begrüßung das Kompliment gemacht werden, er habe zugenommen. Wenn sich hier Bekannte zur Esszeit treffen, heißt die Frage "Haben Sie schon gegessen?," "Gehen Sie zum Essen?," "Haben Sie noch nicht gegessen?" einfach die Grußformel "Guten Morgen!" oder "Guten Tag!" und informiert, dass man den anderen gesehen hat. Wenn man einem chinesischen Gastgeber ein Geschenk mitbringt, bedankt sich dieser mit den Worten "Behalten Sie das selber!" oder "Warum haben Sie so teure Sachen gebracht?"

Auch nonverbales Kommunizieren ist kulturspezifischen Regeln unterworfen. So gilt es in manchen Kulturen als unhöflich sich bei einer Unterhaltung in die Augen zu sehen und ganz im Gegenteil in anderen, ist gerade dies, das höfliche Verhalten. Treten sich in Europa und Nordamerika zwei Gesprächspartner gegenüber, muss ihr Abstand etwa eine Armeslänge sein, in Südamerika hingegen muss die Distanz zwischen den Gesprächspartnern viel kürzer sein.

Nicht nur die Bedeutungen der Wörter und der Gestik tragen zum Verstehen des Gemeinten bei, sondern auch andere Elemente. Ein Teil dieser Elemente sind von Coseriu erwähnt. Für ihn ist das Sprechen viel

wichtiger als die Sprache selbst. Diese radikale Änderung der Fragestellung, wenn das bezüglich der sprachwissenschaftlichen Tradition, die Saussure gegründet hat, betrachtet wird, hat drei Gründe. (Coseriu, 1988a) Einer dieser Gründe, das Sprechen, ist für Coseriu viel umfassender als die Sprache, und dieser Gesichtspunkt läßt sich dadurch erklären, dass das Sprechen auch seine eigenen Umstände hat, "während die Sprache umstandsfrei ist." (Coseriu, 1975: 260) Zum Sprechen gehören auch nicht verbale Vorgänge wie z.B. Mimik, Gestik, Haltung und Schweigen. Auch das Schweigen kann zum Verstehen des Gemeinten beitragen. Aber das Schweigen läßt sich genauso wie das Gesprochene mit Hilfe verschiedener Elemente verstehen. Wenn man nur die *Bedeutung*, den semantischen Sinn, des Schweigens berücksichtigt, dann kann man behaupten, dass das Schweigen, das semantisch leer ist, auch keinen Sinn hat. Aber wenn man Coserius drei Ebenen der Funktionalität berücksichtigt, dann kann man auch über einen pragmatischen Sinn des Schweigens reden und in dieser Hinsicht läßt sich das Schweigen auf der dritten Ebene der Funktionalität analysieren, also unter dem Gesichtspunkt des *Sinns*. Auf dieser Ebene bringt das Schweigen dieselben Verständigungshindernisse wie der Witz bzw. die Ironie mit sich. Das Schweigen bringt Verständigungsschwierigkeiten durch die andauernde Potentialität der Kommunikation, die mittels der Stille vorausgesetzt wird. Diese Potentialität macht es schwierig das nonverbale Verhalten richtig zu interpretieren, zu verstehen und ihm eine zutreffende Bedeutung zu geben. (Krammer, 2003: 42-43)

Erstens sollte dargestellt werden, ob es gerecht ist innerhalb der Gesprächsaspekte über Schweigen zu reden. Watzlawick, Beavin oder Jakobson, die von Krammer (2003) zitiert werden, berücksichtigen diese Aspekte. Diese gehen davon aus, dass das "Material" der Pragmatik nicht nur Worte, ihre Konfigurationen und ihre Bedeutungen, sondern vielmehr alle nichtverbalen Begleiterscheinungen enthält. So scheint die Pragmatik gerade für das Schweigen jenen Nährboden zu bieten, der für die Analyse des Forschungsgegenstands unerlässlich ist." (Krammer, 2003: 42) Genauso wie das Reden läßt sich also das Schweigen auch mittels der Pragmatik analysieren. Die Verbindung zwischen Rede und Schweigen analysiert auch A. Jaworski, der sie als "fuzzy, complementary categories, and not as discrete and opposite one" (Jaworski, 1933: 48) beschreibt.

Schweigen und Reden gehören nicht nur zusammen, das Schweigen ist auch selbst Teil des Sprachsystems und Gegenstand der Sprachwissenschaft. In seiner "*Semiotik des Schweigens*" beschreibt Stefan Krammer (2003) eine Semantik, eine Pragmatik und eine Syntax des Schweigens und er erläutert diese Relationen ausführlicher: "zunächst soll das Schweigen in Relation zu Sprache und Sprechen gestellt werden. [...]

Das Wort ist einerseits umgeben von Schweigen, welches ihm erst zu seiner möglichen Mittelbarkeit verhilft, andererseits sind die Worte in ein Schweigen eingebettet und setzen sich gleichsam vom schweigenden Hintergrund ab.” (Krammer 2003: 32)

Was für eine Position das Schweigen innerhalb eines Gesprächs hat, ist auch darstellbar. Zunächst soll erwähnt sein, dass allein das Gespräch, die Definition des Schweigens innerhalb der Kommunikation bestimmt. Das Schweigen wird signifikant nur durch eine Kommunikationssituation. Nicht alles, was mit Schweigen bezeichnet sein könnte, ist Gegenstand der Sprachwissenschaft und der Pragmatik. “Es ist einleuchtend, dass die Stille, die nicht in ein Sprechereignis fällt (“absence of sound when no communication is going on”), von den Beteiligten in aller Regel nicht als signifikantes Schweigen betrachtet wird, sondern lediglich als das unmarkierte Nichts, das vor und nach jeder Kommunikation steht, so wie in der Literatur der große *blanc*, der die fiktionale Welt zwischen den zwei Buchdeckeln einrahmt, eben nicht mehr Bestandteil der (Roman-) Welt ist.” (Meise, 1996: 16) Interessant für die Sprachwissenschaft ist die Stille bzw. das Schweigen, die Teil der Kommunikation sind, denn “just as not all noise is pari of communication, neither is all si lence.” (Meise, 1996: 13) Die Richtigkeit der Analyse des Schweigens innerhalb der Sprachwissenschaft, der Kommunikation und des Gesprächs wurde bis jetzt einführend erläutert. Es soll jetzt gefragt werden, was für eine Bedeutung das Schweigen innerhalb der interkulturellen Verhältnisse hat.

Jede Sprache hat ihr eigenes Schweigen. Das Schweigen als ein Spiegel einer Gesellschaft, “der Spiegel, in dem die Gesellschaft zu sehen bekommt, daß nicht gesagt wird, was nicht gesagt wird. Worüber eine Gesellschaft schweigt, was sie verschweigt oder welche Themen sie mit einem Tabu belegt, scheint geradezu charakteristisch für ihre Konstitution.” (Krammer, 2003: 43) Die Unterschiede zwischen verschiedenen Gesellschaften können sich innerhalb des Gesprächs mittels des Schweigen widerspiegeln. Zahlreiche Beispiele stehen hier zur Verfügung.

Während einer Zugreise reden die Finnen gewöhnlicherweise nicht miteinander, am Ende der Reise aber bedanken sie sich immer für die angenehme und stille Mitfahrt. Von Schweiggewohnheiten in Schweden erzählt K. Reisman. Seine Nachbarn, die zu Besuch kamen, akzeptierten den Kaffee erst nach ein paar Minuten Stille, dann antworteten sie auf seine Fragen nur mit “Ja” und “Nein.” Die Diskussionen beinhalten wenige Frage-Antwort-Einheiten (ungefähr 6-7) und jeder Besuch dauerte nur eine Stunde. (Le Breton, 1997: 52-53) Das Schweigen ist also auch kulturell geprägt und “die Auffassungen von dem Umgang mit dem Phänomen

Schweigen lassen sich als ein kulturelles Element beschreiben, das soziale Beziehungen in spezifischer Weise charakterisiert.” (Krammer, 2003: 43)

Die Schlussfolgerung zu der Bedeutung des Schweigens für die Aspekte der Konventionen im Kommunikationsverhalten wäre Krammers Erklärung der Schweigenssemiotik. “Im Sprechen wird das Schweigen phonologisch mitgesetzt und verarbeitet, in der Sprache als Sprachsystem also syntaktisch. Im Ko- und Kontext der Rede trägt das Schweigen Bedeutung und wird somit semantisch, es organisiert soziale Beziehungen zwischen Sprechern und erhält dadurch seine pragmatische Funktion.” (Krammer, 2003: 32)

Fazit

Zu den funktionalen Merkmalen der Kommunikation zählen spezifische Verfahren im Vollzug bestimmter Handlungen, die Ausdruck gesellschaftlicher und kultureller Erfahrungen sind. Ein bestimmtes Kommunikationsverfahren und -verhalten ist in einer konkreten sprachlichen Handlung eine kulturell geprägte Art und Weise des Umgangs mit Sprache und ist an bestimmte Routinen, Ritualen gebunden. In der Fachliteratur (Michel, 1985: 49-50) wird über “kontaktive Kommunikationsverfahren” gesprochen. “Kontaktiv” heißt bezogen auf Kontakte zwischen gesellschaftlich- kulturell verbundenen Individuen und Gruppen. Ein Merkmal dieser Kommunikationsverfahren ist ihre Konventionalität, ihre Abhängigkeit von Normen gesellschaftlich-kultureller Art. (Wilske, 1983: 23-25)

Sprache ist immer verwendete Sprache in der Kommunikation, verwendet von Menschen, um miteinander leben zu können. Die Verwendung von Sprache zu einem Zweck zeigt sich in den Akten des Meinens und Verstehens. Die Äußerung, die sich nie allein, sondern immer vor dem Hintergrund einer Situation zwischen den Emittenten und Rezipienten erstreckt, kann so als Anweisung des Emittenten an den Rezipienten aufgefasst werden. Was zwischen den Gesprächspartnern geschieht, ist ein Akt der Steuerung nicht des Wissens im Sinne von Kenntnis, sondern des Bewusstseins, im Sinne dessen, was er auf der Basis dieses Bewusstseins tut, denkt, erlebt.

Es wäre den Menschen geholfen, könnte man ihnen, wenn schon nicht für die fremde Sprache, wenigstens für die eigene Sprache die Ohren öffnen und ihnen die Bedeutung der Äußerungen erleben lassen, die sie ohne es zu wissen täglich verwenden. Sie die Verlebendigung der Sprache lehren, die Auffrischung der Wörter des täglichen Umgangs, die Stellung des Nichtssagenden, das einmal etwas gesagt hat. Wenn der Rezipient an

der Situation, an dem Erlebnis, das dem sprachlichen Ausdruck zugrunde liegt, unbeteiligt ist, oder es vergisst, so beruht diese Situation auf der Prämisse einer Erwartung, die nicht eingetreten ist. Ein Beispiel dafür wäre, wenn zwei Leute einen Ausflug machen; der eine hat geglaubt, dass seine Kräfte nicht zureichen werden den Berg zu besteigen und auf die Frage, ob er müde sei, antwortet er: "Nicht einmal." Es ist das, was man doch oder mindestens erwartet hatte: dass er ermüden, geschweige denn etwa, dass er versagen werde, ist eingetreten. Jede Gedankenlosigkeit, die man spricht, war einmal ein Gedanke. Wenn man sich nun besinnt und sich fragt, ob das Gesprochene dumm sei, wird man schon wissen, was "Nicht einmal" bedeutet.

Wenn ein sprachliches Zeichen, ein Wort oder eine Wortgruppe mehrere Bedeutungen haben kann, spricht man von der Ambiguität des sprachlichen Ausdrucks, die ein gewollter Effekt oder ein Stilelement sein kann. Durch die Ausdifferenzierung im Gebrauch eines sprachlichen Ausdrucks entstehen mehrere Bedeutungen, wie das obige Beispiel durch das Nebeneinander von "nicht einmal" es eben zeigt. Es ist ein Nebeneinander von Möglichkeiten, die einander ausschließen.

Mit Sprache umgehen, ist nicht immer einfach. Sagen, meinen und verstehen laufen nicht immer parallel. Aber man versuche sich auch vorzustellen, um wieviel größer unser Wortschatz sein müsste, wenn jeder Begriff nur in absoluter Eindeutigkeit verwendet werden müsste.

Meinen und Verstehen sind einander entsprechende Begriffe. Beide werden von einem Ziel her bestimmt, das ihnen im Allgemeinen vorgegeben ist. Dieses Ziel, dem Meinen und Verstehen dienen, besteht darin, die Welt intelligibel zu machen.

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The Pragmatic “Identity” of Topic Changes

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Abstract: The article is focused on the manner of approaching the change of topic pragmatically. According to the Cooperative Principle, a contribution is traditionally defined as related to the purpose of the verbal exchange or to the direction of that verbal exchange: that explicitly excludes an irrelevant reply. Considering the input offered by the implicit meaning of an utterance, as a result of inferring conversational implicatures and flouting/violating conversational maxims, the perspective adopted can be extended. The willingness of the speaker to contribute to the topic under discussion, or, on the contrary, to disregard or plainly reject it, and, thus, sometimes, end the discussion, can be expressed linguistically by agreement or disagreement markers. It is the latter category that arouses a special interest, since it offers the possibility to view the Cooperative Principle from a larger perspective, at the same time, emphasizing the authority of the speaker. A special attention should be paid to those cases when there is no pragmatic marker anticipating and introducing the change of topic. Such cases can be considered as examples of lack of cooperativeness (especially if the discussion ends) or as particular cases of manifesting cooperativeness.

Keywords: *identity, topic change, disagreement.*

1. Introduction

This article is concerned with the manner of approaching the change of topic pragmatically: on the one hand, in relation to the Cooperative Principle, on the other, in relation to conversational maxims. In both cases, the main focus is on the message of the utterance, i.e. on both the propositional meaning and speaker’s meaning (natural and non-natural meaning). The former type of meaning comprises the propositions deducible by applying semantic rules, whereas the latter accounts for the additional propositions based not only on the sentence uttered, but also on the common ground (i.e. items of non-linguistic knowledge) shared by the interlocutors and on their shared inference rules (Smith & Wilson, 1990: 174), the last element being a manifestation of pragmatic competence.

Accessing the adequate items of non-linguistic knowledge and the adequate inference rules would result in the hearer inferring the relevant implicatures the speaker intended him to; this means the interlocutors must be cooperative at every moment during their verbal exchange. Any implied meaning can be misunderstood by the hearer, if the two don’t have the

adequate types of competence and don't share a common ground (the necessary types of information able to facilitate communication, implicatures included). The hearer is able to hypothesize about the speaker's meaning, based on the literal meaning of the sentence uttered, on contextual assumptions and, on general communicative principles.

2. Topic Change as a Marker of (Un)Cooperativeness

Topic changes can be viewed as a marker of cooperativeness or, on the contrary, as an instance of lack of cooperativeness, and that will depend on the perspective adopted regarding the concept of cooperativeness, and also on the situational context of each verbal exchange under discussion. If we agree on this starting point, then topic changes acquire a double-faceted identity, the two facets being opposed to each other.

Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975) states that a contribution should be defined as obligatorily related to the purpose of the verbal exchange or to the direction of that verbal exchange, as long as they are *accepted* by the interlocutors¹. But there is no overt acceptance, actually the speaker takes the risk of introducing a topic of discussion and assumes the interlocutor will agree to take part in that discussion. We cannot talk about meaning negotiation if we don't agree that there should be a(n implicit) topic negotiation.

Finch (2003: 157) points out the major role of The Cooperative Principle (CP) as the only means of describing a canonical (and thus referential) situation, in relation to which deviations (or exaggerations, for that matter) can be measured. Topic changes can be instances of exaggerations (minor deviations) or of deviations proper and their status can be assessed only by considering the linguistic and situational context.

2. 1. Cooperativeness

There are a series of criteria according to which the identity of topic changes can be established: they are linked to the structure of the verbal exchange and to the pragmatic principle/maxim which is observed or not.

Topic changes may appear at the level of the same reply, the speaker making a self-correction, in an attempt to be both cooperative and polite. In this case, the reply is made up of two parts, actually containing what is

¹ "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged."

called a movement: the first part is an apparent agreement on the topic, and the second marks a disagreement, explicitly expressed.

When the disagreement appears at the level of a reply to a previous utterance, the speaker may be considered as trying to remain cooperative in a very general sense, but changes the topic, which may be interpreted as lack of cooperativeness in a narrow sense, since the interest of the initiator of the discussion is precisely on the information regarding that particular topic.

If a topic change is also the illustration of the speaker's attempt to be polite and to preserve harmony, then the perspective on the CP should be changed. Costăchescu (2014: 50) discusses the question of the infringement of the Cooperative Principle in those cases when the speaker intends to carry on the talk, but rejects the topic. A change of the CP is proposed: the contribution of the speaker must be as "required" by the direction of the talk exchange "if the speaker agrees" (Costăchescu, 2014: 59). If the speaker's disagreement is explicitly expressed, then The Cooperative Principle is not violated.

Nevertheless, linguistic markers of explicitness cannot be considered as the unique criterion, it is the importance of the topic that remains the major factor which determines the identity of the topic change. Topic change can be seen, at least in some situations, as a reaction to the speaker's saying more than he should have². A special attention should be paid to those cases when there is no pragmatic marker anticipating and introducing the change of topic. Such cases can be considered either examples of lack of cooperativeness (if the discussion ends) or as particular cases of manifesting cooperativeness.

Generally speaking, topic changes illustrate the delicate balance between cooperativeness and politeness. The two tendencies manifest either as convergent forces, strengthening each other, or, on the contrary, as antagonistic forces of which the more appropriate in relation to the communicative purpose will prevail.

The corpus analysed is represented by examples from E. Albee's play *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, examples selected due to the complex meanings expressed at dialogic level.

The first group of examples illustrate the observance of the CP and of the conversational maxims, while the second group includes cases of cooperativeness by exploiting the Maxim of Relation, either ostentatiously (flouting) or unostentatiously (violation). The last group includes examples that we considered incompatible with cooperativeness.

² Horn's R(elation) Principle is "say no more than you must."

2.1.1. Observing the CP and (implicitly) conversational maxims

A topic change means primarily a change of direction, implying or not a change of the purpose and, sometimes, the change of direction is (implicitly) mutually accepted by the interlocutors, for a series of reasons:

- to avoid (further) disagreement:

1. MARTHA. I WANT A BIG SLOPPY KISS!

GEORGE (preoccupied). I don't want to kiss you, Martha. Where are these people? Where are these people you invited over?

MARTHA. They stayed on to talk to Daddy... They'll be here... Why don't you want to kiss me? (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 14)

The disagreement is clear in the second reply but the change of topic is meant to justify it, therefore, the speaker is not only cooperative, but he also observes the Maxim of Relation, since the two questions following the refusal are a justification of his refusal. Kissing would mean agreement to an action he disapproves. The third reply illustrates cooperativeness and relevance in the form of the two declarative sentences functioning as explanations, but it also includes a topic change, actually, a return to the initial topic. This return means disagreement with the interlocutor's first refusal, that of kissing her. Summarizing, the verbal exchange comprises the following stages: 1. request – 2. refusal + topic change (reproach/explanation) – 3. explanation + topic change (return to 1; reproach).

- because a certain topic was discussed extensively and/or repeatedly on a number of occasions, is familiar and unpleasant to the speaker and would be boring to debate/ to continue debating it; the previous and/ or repeated debate of the topic is to be inferred from the situational context:

2. GEORGE. You've been advised.

MARTHA. Yeah ... sure. Get over there! (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 17)

In example 2, the interlocutor's agreement is ironical but shows cooperativeness (the message conveyed is understood even if not accepted). The Maxim of Relation is also observed. The ironical connotation can imply that the situation and the attitude resulting in the first reply illustrate a

pattern. The topic change connotes the authority of the speaker who is not willing to continue on the previous topic.

3. GEORGE. (very matter of factly). You must be our little guests.

MARTHA. Ha, ha, ha, HA! Just ignore the old sour-puss over there. C'mon in, kids... give your coats and stuff to sour-puss. (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 18)

The repetitive character of the behavioral pattern illustrated by Martha's reply can be accounted for by the structure *sour-puss*. This verbal exchange is relevant because, in case of Martha, the topic change is accompanied by the change of the addressee (George/the guests), an additional element showing the initial interlocutor, George "the sour-puss," (further referred to as if he were not a participant in the conversation) that his critical reaction to Martha's behavior (expressed ironically both by linguistic and paralinguistic means) is rejected.

- topic change "as a matter of course of events"

The situation of communication requires a succession of actions accompanied by corresponding speech acts. Consequently, the topic change is obligatory considering social conventions: in this case a host is supposed to greet her guests and end any previous discussion in order to go and receive them when they ring the doorbell.

4. GEORGE. Martha, I gave you the prize years ago ... There isn't an abomination award going that you...

MARTHA. I swear...if you existed I'd divorce you...

GEORGE. Well. Just stay on your feet, that's all. ... These people are our guests, you know, and ...

MARTHA. I can't even see you ... I haven't been able to see you for years. ...

[...]

(The front door-bell chimes)

MARTHA. Party! Party! (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 15)

All the examples above show that the Cooperative Principle is observed to the detriment of the Principle of Politeness, the speaker expressing his/her communicative goals explicitly, directly and abruptly. The speaker has no consideration for the interlocutor, but his/her attitude may be different in relation to new participants in the situation of communication, and makes a point of marking his/her position of power.

2.1.2. Observing the CP but not the Maxim of Relation/Relevance

The implied meaning of an utterance, comprising the conversational implicatures inferred as a result of the apparent non-observance of conversational maxims and also as a result of judgments of relevance (Smith and Wilson 1990), offers the input necessary to extend the perspective adopted on cooperativeness and on topic change as a marker of cooperativeness.

Two remarks are relevant to each other, if, combined, they convey new information, not derivable from them separately (*ibid*: 177); two replies illustrating a topic change can similarly convey a new meaning, distinct from their separate meanings.

Flouting the Maxim of Relation

The interpretation of an utterance will depend on the hearer's judgment of its relevance³. The hearer will make the necessary efforts to interpret it as such, even if this means reading into it covertly conveyed information (Smith & Wilson, 1990: 175). Although an utterance is considered as intentionally irrelevant, the interlocutor may still gather some relevant information from it (*ibidem*), in case it is interpreted as linked to the basic utterance whose reply it is. An utterance can be also accidentally irrelevant in relation to the expectations of the hearer: either it is misheard or objectively irrelevant in the eyes of the hearer who finds it unworthy of consideration (*ibid*: 176). Consequently, the hearer takes his turn and changes the subject.

In example 5, the first reply (an interjection meant by George to emphasize the negative effect of Martha's behaviour on the new participants in the situation of communication) is disregarded by her as unworthy of consideration, Martha trying to look polite in order to counterbalance her previous reaction. In this case, politeness prevails on cooperativeness, the manifestation of the two principles concerning different addressees.

5. GEORGE. ([...] really satisfaction at having Martha's explosion overheard) Ahhhhhhhhhh!

³ The hearer's beliefs regarding the intentions of the speaker and judgments of the utterance relevance derived from those beliefs "will crucially affect the amount of work he is prepared to do to get a message out of it." (Smith & Wilson 1990: 176)

MARTHA. (a little too loud to cover): HI! Hi, there...c'mon in! (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 17-18)

In example 6, the speaker (Martha) uses two imperatives, which are discordant with the (inappropriate) term of endearment *cutie* in order to combine cooperativeness and informality. She interprets Nick's reply as an attempt to diminish her authority at the level of the discourse, whereas he intended quite the opposite, to prove that he takes interest in every detail of her story. Martha's intention is not to focus on objectivity or on details, she is concerned with "the big picture" as long as it suits her perspective and hidden purposes. She changes the topic by using the imperatives meant to protect her negative face, i.e. her communicative goals. The example illustrates the flouting of the Maxim of Relation.

6. MARTHA. The college is him [Daddy]. You know what the endowment was when he took over, and what it is now? You look it up some time.

NICK. I know...I read about it. ...

MARTHA. Shut up and listen ... (as an afterthought) ... cutie. So after I got done with college [...] (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 66)

The reply analyzed above is linked to the last utterance in example 7: "Why don't you come here and sit by me?" The question counts as an invitation that counterbalances Martha's previous rudeness in an attempt to conquer the interlocutor by her behavior (including her linguistic behavior). Attracting the interlocutor's attention in relation to the subject (apparently) is just a pretext in order to gain an ally.

7. MARTHA. And I got the idea, about then, that I'd marry into the college ... which didn't seem to be quite as stupid as it turned out. I mean, Daddy had a sense of history ... of ... continuation ... Why don't you come here and sit by me? (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 67)

Violating the Maxim of Relation

Violating a maxim is the opposite of flouting a maxim since the hearer is prevented or, at least, discouraged from inferring implicatures. Utterances are apparently to be taken at their face value. The action of not observing the maxim is deliberate, unostentatious and it is done for some self-serving purpose.

A clear example of the violation of the Maxim of Relation might seem difficult to find in the text under discussion, most cases being

instances of flouting. Even for Grice (1999: 86) the two terms (violation and flouting) seem to be used in free variation⁴. Using Grice's terms, example 8 is a case of apparent violation:

8. GEORGE. [...] So? What'll it be?

NICK. Oh, I don't know ... I'll stick to bourbon. I guess.

GEORGE. That what you were drinking over at Parnassus?

NICK: I don't understand ...

GEORGE. Skip it. [...] One bourbon. (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 26)

The sentence *Skip it* is apparently to be taken at face value. This means the speaker seems to protect the face of the interlocutor, threatening his own face at the same time, since he makes reference to a contextual space the interlocutor has no access to and, therefore, cannot interpret the utterance meaning correctly.

In fact, the speaker (George) intends to end the conversation, in spite of the interlocutor's indirect request for further details, since he made his point by ironizing the members of the local academic community and their families (making up the local "Parnassus"), whose behaviour he disavows. The reply is directed towards the interlocutor (Nick) because he is perceived as trying to become part of that community.

Even in such cases, the 'unspoken pact to cooperate in communicating' so as to understand and be understood (Finch, 2003: 159; 157) is observed, the interlocutor (Nick) understanding from George's communicative strategies that he is made aware of his position of inferiority.

2.2. Uncooperativeness?

After broadening the area of cooperativeness, the domain of uncooperativeness remains reduced to the cases when, by changing the topic, the speaker bluntly ends the discussion.

This can be done by resorting to taboo words, which connote lack of consideration for the interlocutor, therefore total disregard of politeness in favor of imposing one's will in terms of the direction of the verbal exchange; example 9 is such a case:

⁴ Grice's example of real, not apparent, flouting/violation of the Maxim of Relation is: "Mrs. X is an old bag." "The weather has been quite delightful this summer, hasn't it?" (Grice 1999: 86)

9. GEORGE. You've been advised.

MARTHA. Yeah ... sure. Get over there!

GEORGE. [...]. All right, love... whatever love wants. Isn't it nice the way some people have manners, though, even in this day and age? Isn't nice that some people won't just come breaking into other people's houses even if they *do* hear some sub-human monster yowling at'em from inside ...?

MARTHA. SCREW YOU! (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 17)

On the other hand, the discussion on an undesirable topic can be (hopefully) ended by appealing to conventional structures meant to convey the idea of an assumed unintentional guilt, but a more general guilt, having to do with the speech event itself rather than with the topic; example 10 illustrates that:

10. GEORGE. [...] dashed hopes, and good intentions. Good, better, best, bested. (Back to Nick) How do you like that for a declension, young man? Eh?

NICK. Sir, I'm sorry if we ... (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 27)

Example 11 shows that the speaker may choose to combine cooperativeness and uncooperativeness throughout a series of replies that express the unwillingness of the interlocutor to give up the topic; the first reply of the series illustrates the strategy of choosing the informal register in order to restore the balance of power and thus discourage the interlocutor to stick to the topic: "All right ... what do you want me to say? [...] You can play that damn little game any way you want to, you know!" This strategy proves unsuccessful and then the speaker turns to the polite register and, at the same time, ceases to be cooperative by ending the discussion (and hopefully, any discussion) by repeatedly announcing the implicit intention of leaving, by means of elliptical structures:

11. GEORGE. You really don't know what to say?

NICK. All right ... what do you want me to say? [...] You can play that damn little game any way you want to, you know! [...]

NICK. And when my wife comes back, I think we'll just ...

[...]

I *do* think that when my wife comes downstairs... (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 28)

3. Topic Change "Identity" and (Dis)Agreement Markers

The willingness of the speaker to contribute to the topic under discussion, or, on the contrary, to disregard or plainly reject it, and, thus, sometimes, end the discussion, can be marked linguistically. We are dealing with agreement or disagreement markers. It is the latter category that arouses a special interest, since it offers the possibility to view the Cooperative Principle from a larger perspective, at the same time, emphasizing the authority of the speaker. If cooperativeness regards primarily the important or major topic under discussion, then changing it means uncooperativeness. A strong disagreement marker can be as impolite as a blunt topic change.

Without enlarging the perspective on the CP, topic change linguistic markers are rather politeness markers, meant to preserve the faces of the interlocutors and to ensure further cooperativeness, rather than facilitators of concrete cooperativeness in relation to the deictic center.

The markers in the examples 11-13 are mostly agreement markers, associated to a polite attitude and a neutral style (*all right, well*); the disagreement marker *still*, expressing a concessive syntactic value, performs the same function. Of course, the linguistic context and the paralinguistic elements contribute to the re-shaping of the pragmatic value of (dis)agreement markers: in this case, *all right* is downgraded by the tone and the register used (example 12), while *well*, as used in the last reply of example 13, connotes irony, since the speaker mimics the interlocutor's linguistic patterns:

11. GEORGE. Martha and I are having ... nothing. [...]Don't pay any attention to it.

NICK (undecided): Still ... [...] (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 29)

12. GEORGE. You really don't know what to say?

NICK. All right ... what do you want me to say? [...] (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 28)

13. MARTHA. [Daddy] Says the brain can't work unless the body's working, too.

NICK. Well, that's not exactly so ...

MARTHA. Well, maybe that *isn't* what he says ... something like it. *But* ... it was wartime, and Daddy got the idea all the men should learn how to box ... self-defense. (E. Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Act 1, p. 47)

4. Conclusions

The “identity” of topic changes is context-dependent and multifaceted.

Pragmatically, topic changes may express: explicitly linguistically marked cooperativeness, i.e. disagreement agreed to by the interlocutors; implicitly marked cooperativeness including the cases of Relation Maxim flouting and violation; explicit blunt disagreement/ uncooperativeness. Politeness regulates the manner of marking disagreement.

Structurally, topic changes can be anticipated by (dis)agreement markers which are rather flexible, their pragmatic value being influenced by the linguistic context and paralinguistic elements.

Considering the dialogic taxonomy, a topic change occurs both at the level of a reply, which can include one or several movements (beginning, continuing or ending a conversation), or at the level of verbal exchanges which imply turn-taking.

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Amount Relative Clauses in Romanian: Between Raising and Matching

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Abstract: This article aims at offering a syntactic analysis of *cât* ARs in Romanian. Considering the theoretical proposals on relative clauses in the literature, both a head external and a head internal strategy are available for the analysis of restrictive relative clauses (RRCs) in English and in Romanian and these two analyses should also be available for the derivation of the Amount Relatives (ARs). Therefore, in the first part of this article, we briefly present the two analyses, deriving ARs in Romanian (relative clauses introduced by the degree word ‘*cât*’ ‘how much’) based on head raising/complementation and on head external/adjunction. In the second part, we propose that a more suitable structure for the analysis of ARs in Romanian is the head external/adjunction strategy. Since the internal syntax of the RCs is always the same, based on fronting the *wh*-constituent, in ARs, *cât* moves to Spec,CP or SpecForce if we adopt Rizzi’s (1997) Split CP hypothesis or Bianchi’s (2000) version. Moreover, inside the relative clause, there is the internal head, modified by the degree determiner *cât* (Citko, 2001; Sauerland, 2002). For the *cât*+internal NP we adopt the monotonic structure proposed in Cornilescu (2008, 2009) to account for the (internal structure of) Romanian DegPs in comparative clauses (cf. Schwartzschild, 2006). It is this complex constituent that moves to the highest position at the left periphery (to Spec,Force) where *cât* checks its maximality feature and where the internal head is deleted under identity with the external head.

Keywords: *amount relative clauses, degree words, head raising, matching, syntax.*

1. Introduction

In this paper, we offer a syntactic analysis of *cât* ARs in Romanian. Considering the theoretical proposals on relative clauses, their syntactic structure, their advantages and disadvantages, both a head external and a head internal strategy are available for the analysis of restrictive relative clauses (RRCs) in English and in Romanian.¹

¹ In the literature on the syntax of relative clauses, it has been shown that the head-internal and head-external structures for RCs are not competing analyses – rather, they are in complementary distribution, and do not exclude each other (see also Carlson, 1977; Hulsey&Sauerland, 2006, Sauerland, 2000, 2003).

Similarly, these two analyses should also be available for the derivation of the Amount Relatives (ARs).² However, we propose that a more suitable structure for the analysis of ARs in Romanian is the head external/adjunction strategy. Since the internal syntax of the RCs is always the same, based on fronting the *wh*-constituent, in ARs, *cât* moves to Spec,CP or SpecForce if we adopt Rizzi's (1997) Split CP hypothesis or Bianchi's (2000a,b) version. Moreover, inside the relative clause, there is the internal head, modified by the degree determiner *cât* (Citko, 2001; Sauerland, 2003). For the *cât*+*internal NP* we adopt the monotonic structure proposed in Cornilescu (2008, 2009) to account for the (internal structure of) Romanian DegPs in comparative clauses (cf. Schwartzschild, 2006). It is this complex constituent that moves to the highest position at the left periphery (to Spec,Force) where *cât* checks its maximality feature and where the internal head is deleted under identity with the external head.

Considering all the above, this article discusses the following aspects:

In section 1, we briefly present the two analyses, deriving ARs in Romanian based on head raising/complementation and on head external/adjunction.

In section 2 we derive the types of ARs. We firstly look at *atât...cât* ARs and claim that *atât...cât* ARs are syntactically (and semantically) similar to comparative constructions. This is motivated by the structural similarities that exist between comparative constructions and relative clauses (which were discussed in Bresnan, 1973; Carlson, 1977; Chomsky, 1977; Kennedy, 2002 a.o.). Then, we analyse the definite ARs of the form *cărțile câte* (*books-the how-many* 'the students that'), where we focus on the interaction between the definite article and the degree relative determiner *câte* (how-many).

Another type of ARs analysed here is the AR which contains a cardinal in its external NP structure. Its amount/cardinality interpretation is

² Krapova (2010) addresses the same issue in her analysis of Bulgarian *deto*-relatives. In other words, she claims that *deto*-relatives could be derived by both matching and head-raising approach, since both are made available by UG (see also the arguments in Aoun and Li, 2003 concerning the analysis of Lebanese Arabic RCs). Moreover, she proposes that the two derivations can be accommodated in a unitary structure without abandoning the idea of antisymmetry (for which the classical adjunction/matching analysis is problematic given the necessary adoption of a rightward adjunction structure) and that this can be achieved under Cinque's (2003) proposal, which states crucially that the RC is not adjoined to the right of the head but is merged in a specifier of the extended projection of the NP, i.e. prenominal. Nonetheless, we will not adopt this view here.

independent of the use of the definite article (in this case of *cele* ‘the’ in examples like *cele trei ore câtă...* vs. *trei ore câtă...*).

As already stated, in all these structures we assume an adjunction configuration in which the AR is adjoined to the external head (Grosu&Landman, 2016); inside the relative clause, there is the internal head, modified by the degree determiner *cât*. For the *cât+internal NP* we adopt the monotonic structure proposed in Cornilescu (2008, 2009) to account for the (internal structure of) Romanian DegPs in comparative clauses (cf. Schwartzschild, 2006). It is this complex constituent that moves to the highest position at the left periphery (to Spec,Force) where *cât* checks its maximality feature and where the internal head is deleted under identity with the external head.

1. Syntax of Relative Clauses

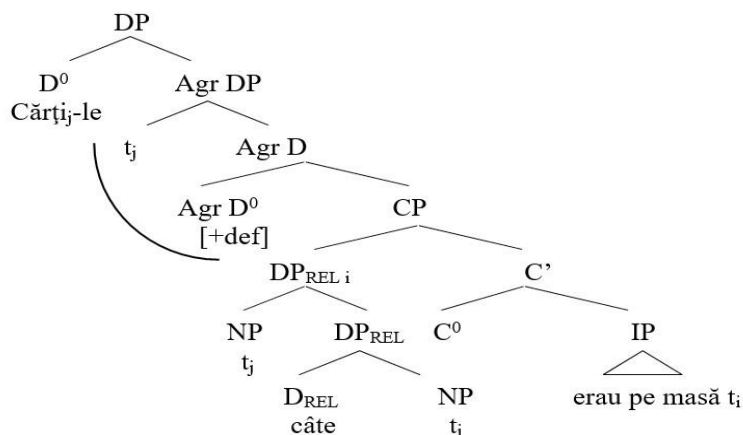
The analyses of RCs can be grouped into two classes – **head internal** (raising/complementation) and **head external** (matching/adjunction) analyses.

1.1. The ‘Head internal’ Analysis

On the one hand, under the ‘head-internal’ analysis, the head NP originates inside the relative clause CP and then moves out, leaving a trace behind (hence, reconstruction of the head in its trace position is possible). The relative CP is the complement of the determiner (Kayne, 1994). We illustrate below the raising/complementation structure based on Bianchi (1999:197, 2000a:130):

- (1) a. Am luat cu mine cărțile câte erau pe masă.
‘I took with me the books that there were on the table’.

b.



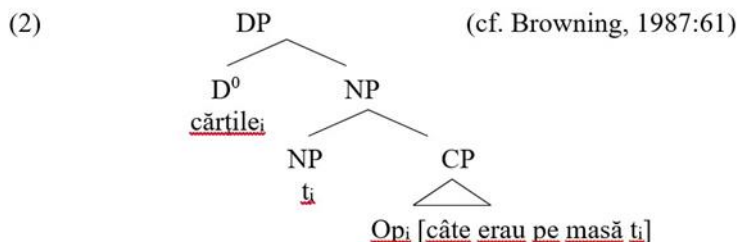
In this structure, the NP *cărți* ‘books’ is inside the relative clause and it is introduced by the degree relative D° *câte*, forming *câte cărți* ‘how-many books’. The whole relative DP (we call it DP_{rel} , following Bianchi (1999: 198) since it is the relativized argument) moves to Spec,CP.

Then, the NP raises to Spec, DP_{rel} , leaving the DP_{rel} in Spec,CP. Bianchi further posits an AgrD head selected by D° and selecting the NP. The strong nominal features on AgrD are checked in overt syntax by moving the NP complement to Spec,AgrD as in (1b), thus “stranding” the DP_{rel} into a lower position inside the CP domain. AgrD is affixal, so it must incorporate to D° to yield an inflected determiner, such as the definite article *le* in Romanian. Subsequently, NP incorporates to D thus forming *cărțile câte* as represented in (1) above (cf. Bianchi, 1999: 198).

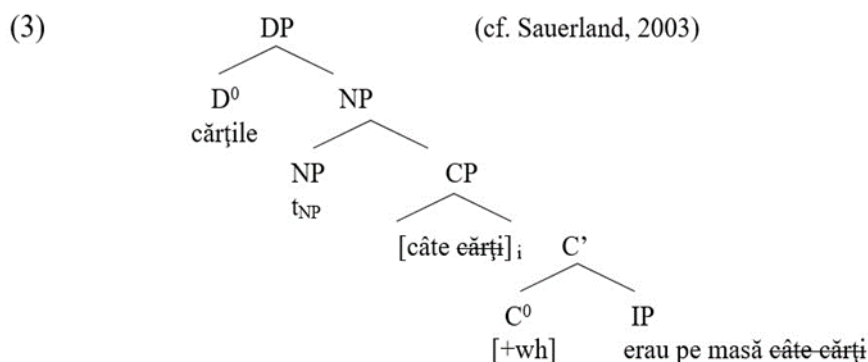
1.2. ‘Head-external’ Analysis

On the other hand, there is the ‘head-external’ analysis of relative clauses. According to this analysis, the relativized argument is inside the relative clause and it is often expressed by a pronominal form (Chomsky, 1965: 145), in our case by the relative pronoun *cât* which functions as a degree operator.

This degree operator moves from its base position of the gap to the edge of the relative clause to ‘match’ the head noun that the relative CP is adjoined to. The head NP is base generated externally to the relative clause CP which modifies it:



Under a more recent version of this analysis (labelled as ‘matching’ in Hulsey&Sauerland, 2006; Sauerland, 1998, 2003; cf. also Salzmann, 2006), both the external and the internal head are present, but the material in the CP-internal copy is phonologically deleted under identity with the external head (Sauerland 1998, 2003, Hulsey&Sauerland, 2006) by a process that Sauerland (2003) calls *relative deletion*³ and Citko (2001) *deletion under identity*, as illustrated in (3):



The immediate consequences of this analysis are related to what Bianchi (2002a:197) refers to as the *connectivity problem* and the *modification problem*. The connectivity problem addresses the observation that the “head” nominal phrase appears to play two roles, one inside the relative CP and one outside. The modification problem concerns how the

³ Relative Deletion states that an NP in a relative clause that is identical to an NP in the matrix clause has to be elided:

- (i) a. cartea pe care o citește Ion
 b. cartea pe care ~~carte~~ e o citește Ion
 c. *cartea pe care carte o citește Ion

In matching relatives, relative deletion states that the internal head must not be pronounced and that the external head must be the antecedent of the internal head. (Sauerland, 2003:31)

relative CP is attached to the nominal head. Under the adjunction analysis, the relative CP is treated as an adjunct of NP head and the two enter into a predication relation. In ARs, the predicate denoted by the relative CP is turned into a singleton predicate by the operation of *maximalization* that takes place in the semantic derivation of these relatives.

Referring to the connectivity problem, since adjunction presupposes that the head noun is base-generated in its surface position, there is no direct syntactic connection between it and the variable site. This accounts for the lack of head noun reconstruction effects. If we take a look at the adjunction structure illustrated in (3) (cf. Sauerland, 2003), we see that an NP identical to the head NP *cărți* ‘books’ is generated at the variable site and then raised to Spec,CP position where it is elided under identity with the head NP at PF. The antecedent licensing this deletion must be the external NP (ellipsis licensing requires identity of meaning).

2. Deriving Amount Relatives (ARs)

In this subsection, we derive Romanian ARs based on adjunction. The derivation involves the following steps: adjunction of the relative CP to the external NP head⁴, fronting the wh- degree relative determiner (or of the constituent that contains it) to the highest left periphery position of the relative CP and deletion of the internal NP in the Spec,CP position under identity with the external head NP at PF⁵. As previously mentioned, this analysis takes the position that the nominal head can be interpreted either outside the relative CP, or inside (for reconstruction purposes). Our analysis is conducted within the minimalist framework and involves the operation of Agree as defined in Chomsky (2000; 2001)⁶ and feature checking mechanisms.

⁴ External head assumption (Grosu&Landman, 2016: 25): *The interpretation of the external syntactic head of the amount relative enters into the interpretation of the gap inside the relative.*

⁵ This derivation could also be formalized within the framework of ‘probes and goals’, as employed in recent work within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 2000).

⁶ We give below a simplified definition of Agree:

AGREE

a. Two categories Agree iff all of the following conditions are satisfied:

- i. one of the categories c-commands the other;
- ii. there is at least one matching feature shared by the two categories; and
- iii. each of the categories is active (i.e., it contains a feature without a value)

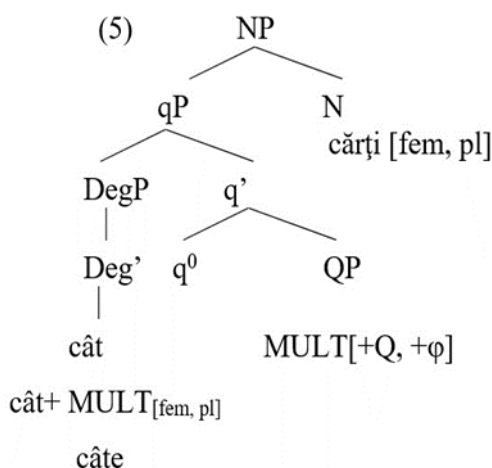
b. When two categories Agree:

- i. the value of any valued matching feature is copied onto an unvalued counterpart; and

Let us now analyse the ARs discussed in this chapter. We begin with the AR of the type given in (4):

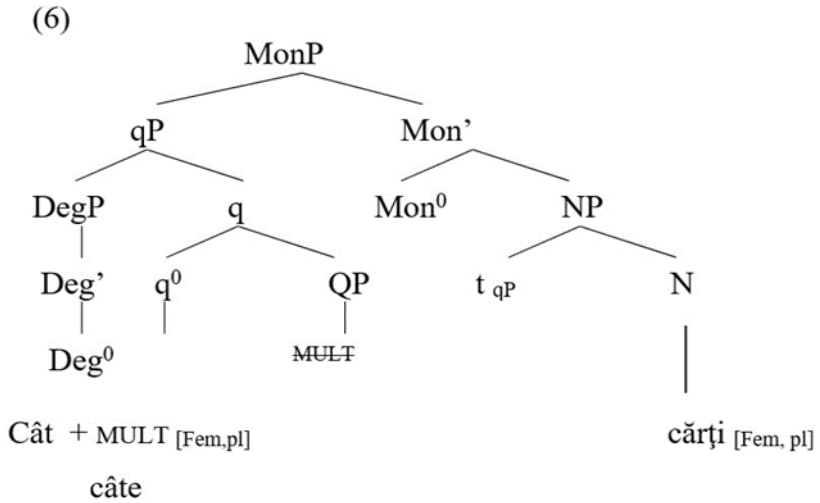
- (4) Am luat cu mine atâtea cărți [câte cărți]_i erau pe masă *t_i*.
 Have_{3sg} taken with me books-the how-many books were on table
 ‘I have taken with me the books that there were on the table’..

The first step we take is to form the relative NP in the position of the gap inside the relative, and thus we merge the qP containing the degree relative determiner *cât* with the relative NP, resulting in the string [*câte cărți*].

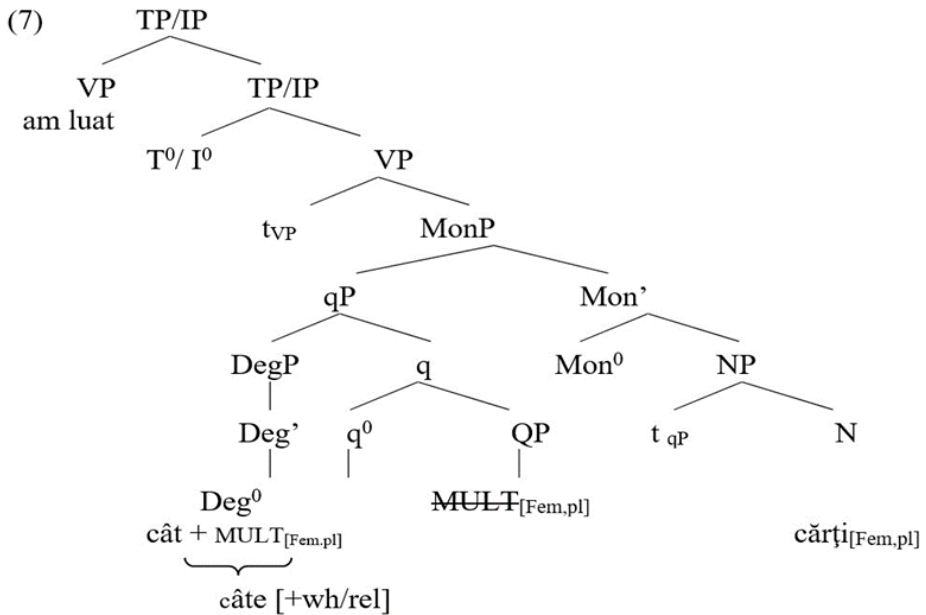


As already discussed in the previous section, we adopt the monotonic structure for the NP inside the RC (Schwarzschild, 2006). *Cât* combines with the NP as a degree determiner as in (5). DegP containing *cât* is part of the extended projection of QP, namely qP (whose head q⁰ is functional *de* in *cât de mult* constructions), and qP is a specifier of the MonP (cf. Schwarzschild, 2006; Cornilescu, 2009). Mon⁰ projects the scalar dimension of its lexical complement against this quantification phrase containing the *cât* DegP. qP containing the degree determiner raises to Spec MonP, to satisfy the Measure theta role assigned by the Mon head, resulting in (6).

ii. semantically, uninterpretable features in the agreeing categories are deleted from the syntactic derivation and passed on to Phonological Form.

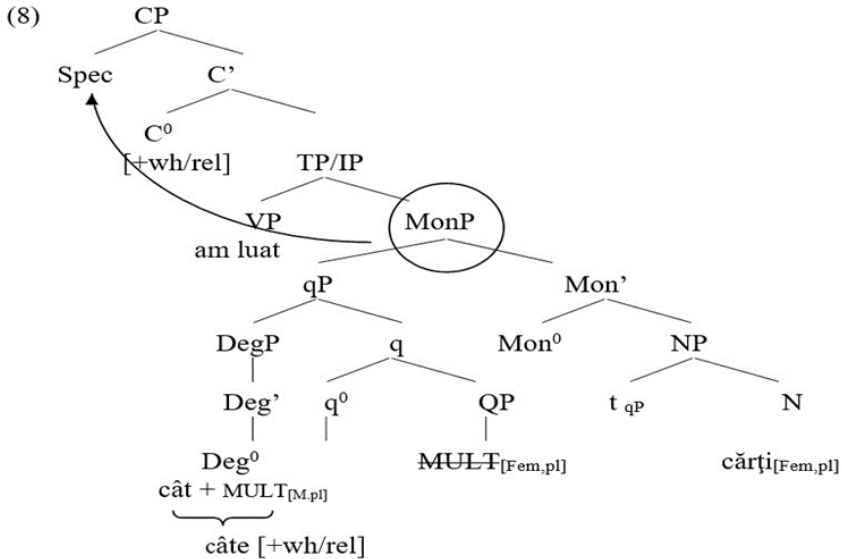


This complex structure is subsequently merged with the predicate *am luat*, yielding a TP/ IP (7).



Then, C head enters the structure and it acts as a probe searching its c-domain for a probe endowed with the same feature [+wh/rel]. The next step in the derivation is part of the basic syntax of RCs: *wh*-movement. In

our case, what moves to Spec,CP is not only the DegP *cât*, but the entire (maximal) phrase dominating DegP which also includes the internal NP.



The Minimalist assumption (Chomsky, 1995) is that movement is triggered by feature-checking. Likewise, *wh*-movement is triggered by the need to check a *wh*-feature in a *wh*-item at a Spec,CP position⁷. In our derivation, the movement operation is triggered by the non-interpretable [+*wh/rel*] feature on CP which forces DegP to move, pied-piping⁸ the MonP that contains it to Spec,CP. (It is interesting to note that in questions *cât* may strand the *de mult* component⁹).

⁷ According to Rizzi (1997), *wh*-movement is driven by the *Wh*-Criterion, which requires that a *wh*-phrase (carrying the feature [*wh*]) must end up in a Spec-head relation with C (also carrying the feature [*wh*] in questions).

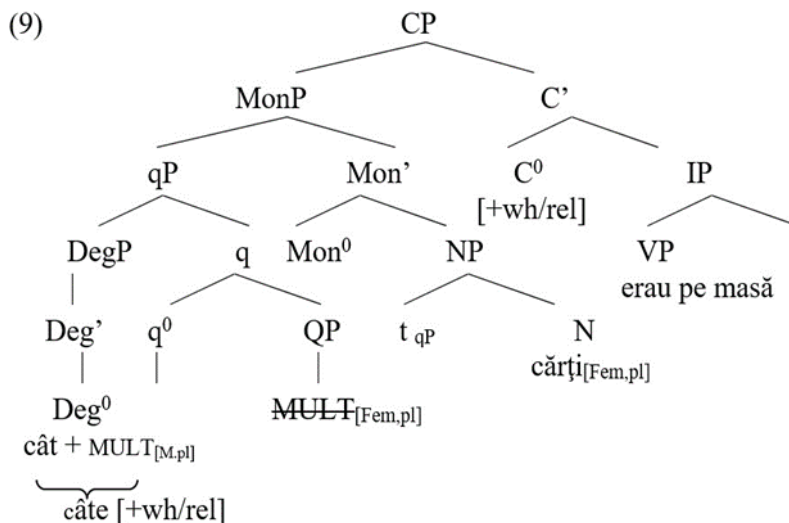
⁸ Generally speaking, the term “pied-piping” describes cases where an operation targeting the features of a particular lexical item applies to a phrase properly containing the maximal projection of that item. This definition is highlighted in (i) (apud. Cable, 2010).

(i) *Pied-piping occurs when an operation that targets the features of a lexical item L applies to a phrase properly containing L MAX.*

⁹ See the questions below:

- (i) Cât de mulți au venit?
How of many have come?
‘How many have come?’
- (ii) Cât au venit de mulți?
How have come of many?
‘How many have come?’

Thus, we have a pied-piped structure where the phrase containing the maximal projection of the *cât* has undergone fronting to Spec,CP to check its *wh/rel* features, as in (9).



If we adopt the SplitCP structure (Rizzi, 1997), we assume that in Romanian, the relative operator raises directly to Spec,ForceP, not to Spec,Top or Spec,ForceP as assumed for English. This happens for two reasons. Both reasons are related to feature checking.

Firstly, because of Bianchi's (1999) Topic parameter¹⁰, for which English is marked positively, and Romance is not. Thus, English has two different heads that are able to bear a [+relative] feature: Force^o and Topic^o, whereas Italian has only one: Force^o.¹¹ We assume that Romanian patterns with Italian¹² in *cât* ARs for the fact that zero relatives are ruled out as a possibility for relativization in Romanian (see Bențea, 2010 based on

¹⁰ **Topic Parameter:** ± *Topic optionally supports the features [+declarative] and [+relative]* (Bianchi 1999: 186).

¹¹ Rizzi (1997) observes that relative pronouns occupy a higher position than interrogative elements within the CP structure outlined above. He identifies this position as being the Spec of Force, the highest position available in the complementizer system, by showing that relative pronouns in Italian can precede topics and foci, whereas interrogative.

¹² According to Bențea (2010), the Topic head in the Romanian complementizer system is underspecified for the [declarative] feature, and does not bear the [+relative] feature, hence it cannot provide a landing site for movement of the relative DP (for more details see Bențea, 2010: 184). In this respect, Romanian patterns with Italian and has a negative setting for the Relative Topic Parameter.

Bianchi, 1999) and because it is impossible to have additional material intervening between the relative head and the relative determiner: for example, the topicalized adverb *ieri* ‘yesterday’ as in (10a) or a subject topic intervening between the NP head and the degree relative determiner as in (10b). Additionally, the presence of *cât* in the left periphery triggers subject-verb inversion (10c-d) due to its quantificational force¹³:

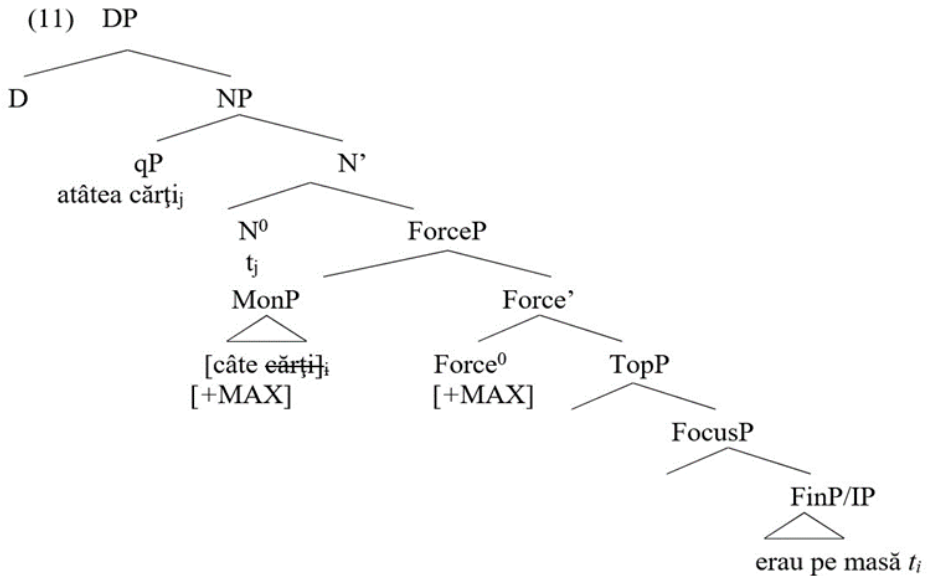
- (10) a. Am luat cu mine cărțile *ieri câte erau pe masă.
Have_{3sg} taken with me books-the yesterday how-many were on table
‘I took with me the books yesterday that there were on the table.’
- b. *Toate cărțile Maria câte a luat de la bibliotecă erau de sintaxă.
All books-the Maria how-many has_{3sg} taken from library were about syntax
‘All the books that Mary took from the the library were on syntax’
- c. Toate cărțile câte a luat Maria de la bibliotecă erau de sintaxă.
c’. *Toate cărțile câte Maria a luat de la bibliotecă erau de sintaxă.

The second reason is that the maximalizing operator MAX *cât* appears at the highest C position, which is Spec,ForceP. If it were to appear in the intermediate position (Spec,Topic for example), it would yield a maximalized degree expression too early, the semantic composition would be void and the semantic types would not match. Such a derivation would leave the feature [Max] unchecked due to the absence of the maximalization operator.

We assume here that the feature bundle base-generated on the amount relative Force⁰ comes with an uninterpretable feature, which enters into an Agree relation with the maximalizing operator *cât*. We call this feature [+MAX]. Since this feature is assumed to be uninterpretable, the phrase consisting of this requires checking upon merger with the operator MAX before Spell-Out takes place. Therefore, *cât* in ARs moves up to Spec,ForceP:

¹³ Similarly, in interrogatives and comparatives *cât* checks its operator features in the highest position where the verb raises in Romanian, namely Spec,TP and it triggers the obligatory post-verbal position of the subject:

- (i) Cât costă merele?
(ii) *Cât merele costă?
(iii) Maria este mai înaltă decât este Silvia.
(iv) *Maria este mai înaltă decât Silvia este.



Applying maximalization to the highest CP projection (ForceP), which denotes the set of books, we obtain a singleton set which consists of the maximal plural number of books. This singleton set is equal to the set denoted by the external NP *atâtea cărți*, and this means that the entities (*books* in our case) described by the ARs have been completely exhausted (the set of the books I took with me equals the set of the books on the table).

3. Conclusions

In conclusion, we provided a syntactic analysis of Romanian amount relative clauses, based on the properties that ARs have in Romanian. We have analysed ARs from the perspective offered by the adjunction/'matching' configuration (MA). We derived the Romanian ARs via adjunction of the relative clause to the head noun. The *cât* relative pronoun is a *wh* operator: this determines the movement to Spec,CP (or Spec,Topic in the Left Periphery cf. Rizzi 1997, Aoun & Li 2003) of the constituent that dominates *cât* (as in comparative, exclamative and interrogative clauses). We considered *cât* a maximalizing operator, endowed with a bundle of features [Q, *wh*, φ , MAX] that get valued during the derivation before *cât* reaches Spec, ForceP.

The adjunction configuration adopted here implies the following: the AR is adjoined to the external head (Grosu&Landman, 2016); inside the relative clause, there is the internal head, modified by the degree determiner

cât; for the *cât*+internal NP we adopted the monotonic structure proposed by Schwartzschild (2006); this complex constituent moves to the highest position at the left periphery (to Spec,Force) where *cât* checks its maximality feature and where the internal head is deleted under identity with the external head.

However, we are sure that complementation/raising could work as well, but since movement of the external head from the RC internal position brings forth the problems of reconstruction (extensively discussed in the literature for restrictive relative clauses) or the issues related to the origin of the copy, we leave such an approach for ARs in Romanian for further research.

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Conceptual Motivation of English and Romanian *Finger Idioms. A Contrastive Approach*

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Abstract: Idiomaticity is considered to be one of the most controversial domains of semantics. The paper analyses from a cognitive perspective a series of English and Romanian finger idioms. While traditional linguists study mainly the formal and functional aspects concerning idioms, cognitive linguists have a completely different view. Without totally denying the traditional perspective according to which the meaning of an idiom cannot be completely inferred from the meaning of its components, these linguists consider that there is a systematic conceptual motivation for a large number of idioms. Most idioms are products of our conceptual system and not simply a matter of language. The cognitive frame attempts to provide an adequate motivation for most of these expressions. Our work is based on the cognitive hypothesis according to which idioms are motivated by conceptual structures: conventional knowledge, conceptual metonymies and metaphors. Idioms which make use of parts of the human body 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. In these cases the notion of embodiment can be easily applied.

We also try to prove that there is a considerable degree of correspondence between English and Romanian in that there are finger idioms in both languages which share the same figurative meaning, as well as the same underlying conceptual strategies.

Keywords: *cognitive semantics, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, cross-cultural cognitive motivation, idiom.*

1. Introduction

The study of phraseology is one of the most debatable fields of modern linguistics. The characteristic feature of phraseology as a discipline is that traditional procedures, criteria and methodological approaches mostly cannot be applied here, and that is for the simple reason that these procedures, criteria and methodological approaches have been created for regular language and its phenomena. However, what is in principle valid for phraseology is that it is always somehow anomalous, irregular. Describing idioms and idiomaticity is a very complex problem which should be seen from the formal, functional and also from the semantic point of view.

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 mostly semantically vague.

A *conventionalized* expression is a phrase which has been used over time so frequently that it has lost its special metaphorical features and with which many speakers of a particular language are very familiar.

A brief presentation of some general aspects on the definition of the term and on the main criteria of idiom classification from the traditional perspective may be appropriate.

In his book *Idiom Structure in English*, Adam Makkai (1972: 122) considers the following criteria decisive for characterization of idioms: 1. the term *idiom* is a unit realized by at least two words; 2. the meaning of an idiom is not predictable from its component parts, which are empty of their usual senses; 3. idioms display a high degree of disinformation potential, i.e. their parts are polysemous and therefore can be misinterpreted by the listener; 4. idioms are institutionalized, i.e. they are conventionalized expressions whose conventionalization is the result of initially ad hoc expressions.

Weinreich's article "Problems in the Analysis of Idioms" (1969) is an attempt to establish the criteria upon which to base the characteristic features of idiomatic phrases. He accepts as idioms only multiword expressions which have literal counterparts. Weinreich (1969: 226) gives his definition of an idiom as "a phraseological unit that involves at least two polysemous constituents, and in which there is a reciprocal contextual selection of subsenses [...]."

In the two volumes of *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*, Cowie *et alii* (1975: VIII-XI) consider the following two features as the most important to characterize idioms: 1. compositeness, i.e. "an idiom is a combination of two or more words which function as a unit of meaning" and 2. semantic unity, i.e. "idiomaticity is largely a semantic matter, and is manifested in much the same way in expressions of different structural types."

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:

1. inflexibility regarding syntax;
2. figuration referring to figurative meaning
3. proverbiality meaning that idioms usually described social activity
4. informality which is generally associated with informal language

5. affect since they usually have an evaluation or affective stance towards what they describe.

Langlotz's book (2006) approaches a central 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 author tries to relate the two principles to idioms. Phraseology is the linguistic branch that analyses phraseological, i.e. pre-established, frozen constructions. So, obviously, phraseology focuses on those linguistic expressions which are closely connected to the idiom principle. Indeed, traditional definitions of the notion of idiom have principally relied on distinguishing these expressions from regularly-generated standard constructions. In this process of defining idioms in opposition to the norm of grammatical regularity, they have almost always been linked to notions such as linguistic irregularity, arbitrariness or anomaly.

The linguist introduces the notion of idiomatic creativity. In his opinion idiomatic creativity captures the varied evocation of a relatively stable idiomatic construction in a specific context of use. Thus, rather than just being reproduced, idioms can be varied in discourse; these constructions may change their conventional aspect: parts of their conventional formal and semantic substructures can be highlighted with others changing or fading away. Idiom-variation data therefore question the rigid dichotomy between the creativity principle and the idiom principle. Rather than leading to a strict opposition between regular standard constructions and irregular idiomatic constructions, 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 merely be described as lexical items; rather, they seem to occupy a position between the lexicon and syntax, leading to a fuzzy dividing line between the productive and reproductive aspects of linguistic competence. Thus, the author concludes that the idioms and creativity does not represent a contradiction in terms. (Langlotz, 2006: 8-9).

2. Idioms Viewed from the Cognitive Perspective

A cognitive linguistic investigation into idiomatic creativity is thus forced to design an appropriate model of the 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 on the basis of this patterning?
3. Along which lines 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.

Originally, 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 intrinsically creative, real proofs for language creativity. (*ibidem*: 11)

While Makkai, Weinreich and other linguists study mainly the formal aspects connected to idioms and Fernando (1996) classifies idioms according to the function they have in discourse, cognitive linguists have a completely different view. The major 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 frame founded by them, based on the way people perceive, conceptualize and categorize the world around them, that the complexity of idioms should occupy an important place.

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 a large number of 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, the majority of 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 or remotivating its 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. Motivation has to be differentiated from prediction. When we say that the meaning of an idiom is motivated, there is no claim that its meaning is completely and easily predictable. Thus, motivation is a much weaker notion than prediction. (Kövecses, 2002: 201)

Idioms are conceptually motivated in the sense that there are cognitive mechanisms such as metaphors, metonymy and conventional knowledge which link literal meaning with figurative idiomatic meaning. This view is also shared by Gibbs (1997: 142) who claims that “idioms do not exist as separate semantic units within the lexicon, but actually reflect coherent systems of metaphorical concepts.”

The term *conventional knowledge*, as a cognitive mechanism, designates what is 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 minds large sets of conventional images of world around them, depending upon their specific culture. Conventional images are context independent and they remain in our subconscious sometimes for the rest of our life.

Lakoff (*ibidem*: 448) also shows that there is a great number of idioms (*imageable idioms*) whose meaning is not arbitrary as traditional theory considers. For an adequate motivation of the idiomatic meaning, all three above-mentioned cognitive sources should be taken into account.

Gibbs and O'Brien (1990: 37) try to infirm the traditional theory which regards idioms as non-compositional expressions from the semantic point of view. They have also shown that people have tacit knowledge about the metaphorical basis of idioms.

Cognitive linguists consider that many idioms are based on conceptual metonymies and metaphors which connect the concrete and abstract areas of knowledge. They regard metaphor and metonymy as cognitive mechanisms that relate a domain (or domains) of knowledge to an idiomatic meaning in an indirect way, without excluding the possibility that a given domain of knowledge can often account for a particular idiomatic meaning in a direct way; that is without metaphor or metonymy.

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. Furthermore, metonymy involves a ‘stand for’ conceptual relationship between two entities (within a single domain), while metaphor involves an ‘is’ or ‘is

understood as' relationship between two conceptual domains such as anger and fire. (Kövecses, Szabó, 1996: 338)

The target-domain of conventional metaphor determines the general meaning of the idiom.

According to Kövecses and Szabó (*ibidem*: 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;
- particular knowledge structures, or inferences, associated with the source domain, i.e. the general knowledge of the world;
- cognitive mechanisms: metaphor and metonymy.

The impossibility of applying the cognitive mechanisms to all idioms represents a weak point of the cognitive theory.

However, the cognitive frame provides an adequate explanation for body parts 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. Idioms which make use of parts of the human body 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 states. (Bílková, 2000: 6)

Idioms can be more easily analysed within a certain conceptual domain and not in isolation. In this respect, Gibbs (1997) claims that if we examine groups of idioms, especially those referring to similar concepts, it is easier to uncover the active presence of conceptual metaphors which structure the way we think about different domains of human experience.

If we consider that some idioms are partly semantically transparent, and also that their meaning can be determined by means of conceptual mappings between source and target domains, it is possible to analyse in detail the idiomatic structures in any language. Are there idiomatic expressions common to several languages? Are there conceptual metaphors, metonymies and conventional knowledge present in all languages? Are

there common concepts resulted from the way people conceptualize the surrounding reality all over the world?

Starting from these aspects the purpose of this paper is to analyse a series of English and Romanian idioms pertaining to the conceptual domain of *finger* from a cognitive perspective. The analysis is based on the cognitive hypothesis according to which idioms are motivated by the above mentioned conceptual structures. Since in the process of deducing the meaning, the speakers activate first of all 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 have many common elements in the way they conceptualize this important part of the human body – the *finger* – and in the way this conceptualization is reflected in the idiomatic expressions.

We will first examine the general conventional knowledge which conceptually motivates the meaning of many idioms containing the word *finger* (*deget*) as the first cognitive strategy which connects the physical (or source) domain of our knowledge about the *finger* with the abstract (or target) domain of knowledge which arises when the word *finger* is used in idiomatic expressions. Next, conceptual metaphors and metonymies which underlie various idiomatic phrases will be presented. To demonstrate that the same conventional knowledge and the same conceptual metaphors and metonymies can be found both in English and Romanian, examples will be given from both these languages, thus enabling us to draw a parallel between them.

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 *Dicționar de expresii și locuțiuni ale limbii române* (1985), but other dictionaries of both English and Romanian have also been consulted.

3. Cognitive Motivation of English and Romanian *Finger* Idioms

3.1. Conventional Knowledge

Conventional knowledge is relevant for the following English and Romanian *finger* idioms:

- *have or keep a finger on the pulse* means ‘to always know about the most recent and important changes and developments in a particular situation or activity’

Keillor has his finger on the pulse of working-class America. That’s where his comedy comes from.

*They're called cool hunters- they're the people **with a finger on the pulse** of the world of fashion and pop culture (LID: 120).*

Conventional image plays an important role. Our pulse is the regular beat that can be felt as your heart pumps blood around our body, but also the metonymy THE FINGER STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY is at work here.

There is no Romanian equivalent.

- *point the finger (of blame) or point an / the accusing finger* often used in law, business, and politics to blame someone or say that they have done something wrong has a Romanian identical expression: *a arata cu degetul*:

English: *Conklin was afraid that if he **didn't point the finger at Justin**, the police would get him for murder.*

*It was very confusing- one minute Mick was encouraging us to break rules, and the next he **was pointing an accusing finger**.*

*After months of name-calling and **finger-pointing**, leaders from both countries have promised to try and stop the violence (ibidem).*

Romanian: *Se saturese **să tot fie arătat cu degetul**, fiindcă se știa nevinovat.*

Conventional knowledge leads to the conceptual metaphor TO POINT THE FINGER AT SOMEBODY IS TO BLAME THAT PERSON.

- *have or keep your fingers crossed; cross your fingers* has an idiomatic equivalent in Romanian, but using the word *pumnii* 'fists' : *a ține pumnii strânși*.

People often cross the first two fingers of one hand when they use this expression. This superstition functions in both cultures, even if we do not have an identical idiom.

English: *I'm going to give my first lecture tomorrow, so **keep your fingers crossed** for me, won't you?*

*Good luck, Ingrid. **Fingers crossed!** (OID: 122).*

Romanian: *I-a **ținut pumnii strânși** prietenului său ca să-i meargă bine la examen.*

- *put your finger on something* means 'to know or to be able to explain exactly what is wrong, different, or unusual about a situation'. It is often used in the negative form.

There is a Romanian corresponding idiomatic expression: *a pune degetul pe rană*.

English: *You look different somehow, but I can't quite **put my finger on it**.*

*I wish I could **put my finger on** why we played so badly last night (LID: 120).*

Romanian: *Perspicace cum e, a știut să pună degetul pe rană și problema s-a lămurit* (DELLR: 187).

• *let something slip through your fingers* ‘to fail to take an opportunity, offer etc. that is good’ has two Romanian counterparts *a scăpa* or *a trece cuiva ceva printre degete* and *a luneca, a se strecura printre degete*:

English: *Don't let this chance slip through your fingers. You've got to think of the future.*

We can't let the opportunity of having better public transit in the area slip through our fingers again (LID: 120).

Romanian: **Să-mi treacă printre degete bunătate de zestre-** nu se poate (V. Alecsandri, ap. DLRC, IV: 487).

I-au lunecat printre degete toate șansele.

• *put two fingers up to* is used in spoken English and means ‘to do something to show that you do not respect someone or something, usually someone in authority or something traditional or official:

They are the kinds of young people who are committing crimes and putting two fingers up to society's rules.

Too many young artists today feel they have to put two fingers up to the art establishment in order to be recognized (LID: 121).

In Britain putting two fingers up with the back of your hand towards someone is a very rude way of showing you are angry with them or do not like them.

There is no Romanian idiomatic equivalent.

• *stick/ stand out like a sore thumb* used in order to say that someone or something is very easy to notice, or looks wrong or strange, because they are so different from everyone or everything around them has no Romanian equivalent.

We live in a village where any stranger, especially a foreigner, would stick out like a sore thumb.

I don't know why they had to build such an ugly office block- it sticks out like a sore thumb (ibid: 349).

• *be all thumbs* or *be all fingers and thumbs* used in order to say that someone is unable to do things neatly and carefully with your hands has a Romanian corresponding idiom, but containing the word *mână*: *a avea două mâini stângi*, conveying the same idea of clumsiness.

English: *Believe me- I'm all thumbs in the kitchen- I would be useless without my gadgets to help me out.*

I was all fingers and thumbs when I tried to disentangle camera and rucksack from around my neck (LID: 349).

Romanian: *Când vine vorba de croitorie, am două mâini stângi.*

• *give somebody or something/get the thumbs up/down* is used to show that something has been accepted /rejected or that it is /is not a success:

I asked him whether I could borrow the car, and he gave me the thumbs up.

I'm afraid it's thumbs down for your new proposal- the boss doesn't like it.

We've got the thumbs up for the new swimming pool (OID: 405).

The origin of this idiom is in Roman antiquity. In contests in ancient Rome the public put their thumbs up if they wanted a gladiator to live, and down if they wanted him to be killed.

In Romanian there is no idiomatic counterpart.

• *snap your fingers* means:

1. 'attract somebody's attention by making a sound with your thumb and middle finger':

Waiters didn't like customers in restaurants who snap their fingers and shout 'Waiter'! (OID: 361)

There is a similar expression in Romanian: *a pocni din degete*. This phrase has also a figurative meaning 'to be able to do something very quickly':

Pocni din degete ca să-i atragă atenția.

Poate să o convingă cât ai pocni din degete.

This meaning is also motivated by the metonymy THE FINGERS STAND FOR THE SKILL.

2. 'to show you do not care about somebody or something':

He snapped his fingers at the committee and walked angrily out of the room. (ibidem).

In Romanian, in the informal style, there is the expression *a-l durea în cot de ceva / cineva*:

Îl durea în cot de soarta proiectului.

The expression *hand in glove* has two idiomatic meanings. In British English (1) the meaning is 'two persons are involved in something illegal' and in American English (2), the idiom has a positive connotation: 'two things fit together and function very well'.

In Romanian we have an equivalent for the second meaning, but using the very lexeme *deget* 'finger' - *a fi cu cineva ca degetul cu mânășă* :

English: (1) *Both men were working hand in glove with extremist organizations.*

*Big business and the government are **hand in glove**, and neither wants wages to rise.*

(2) *Glass's Eastern - inspired music fits the Indian theme of his opera **hand in glove** (LID: 151).*

Romanian: *Vă potriveați perfect. **Erați ca degetul cu mânușa.***

• *lay a finger on somebody* is often used in negative sentences meaning 'to touch somebody with the intention of hurting them physically':

If you lay a finger on her I'll call the police (OID: 203).

In Romanian we have the similar expression *a nu atinge pe cineva nici cu un deget*:

***Nu am atins-o nici cu un deget!** Acesta-i adevărul.*

Here the metonymies **THE FINGER STANDS FOR THE PERSON** AND **THE FINGER STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY** also function.

• *thumb your nose at* meaning 'to show that you do not respect rules, laws or authority, to despise something or somebody' has a Romanian equivalent *a da cu tifla*:

English: *The drawing shows clearly that Picasso was determined to **thumb his nose at his teachers** (LID: 247).*

Romanian: *Nu e frumos **să dai cu tifla** unui bărbat care-și apără iubirea (Ion Vinea, apud DELLR: 713).*

• *tick something off on your fingers* 'to check a list of things by saying them aloud, and touching your fingers one after another at the same time' has a possible Romanian equivalent *a număra, a socoti pe degete*:

English: *He **ticked the guests off on his fingers** again.*

Romanian: *Ca să nu uite ceva **socoti din nou pe degete** ce avea de făcut.* Conventional knowledge may also motivates the Romanian expressions bellow:

• *a se ascunde după deget* or *a se da după deget* means 'to try to hide an obvious guilt':

*Din felul cum vorbea se vedea clar că vrea **să se ascundă după deget** (DELLR: 187).*

• *a-și linge degetele* or *buzele* or *a se linge pe buze* is used in order to say that someone is very excited about something that is going to happen, because it will give them something they want or need:

***Își lingea degetele** când se gândea la foloase.*

A possible counterpart in English would be *somebody is licking his or her lips*:

*The media **has been licking its lips** in anticipation of Harden's speech, hoping for a chance to catch him in a lie and bring him down.*

The drop in utility stock prices has many investors licking their lips at the thought of bargains (LID: 215).

• *a încerca marea cu degetul* means ‘to try to solve something, but with little chances to succeed’:

Cercați voi marea cu degetul, dar ia să vedem cum i-ați da de fund? (Ion Creangă, ap. DLR, VI: 121)

• *a putea număra ceva pe degete* it is used when we speak about few people or things:

Piese originale sunt așa de puține că le-am putea număra pe degete (Ion Luca Caragiale, ap. DLR, VI, : 558).

• *a-și da cu degetul în ochi* ‘not to be able to see because of the darkness’:

Peste tot întuneric și o ceață densă de-ți dădeai cu degetul în ochi (DELLR : 187).

• *a ști* or *a cunoaște ceva pe degete* ‘to know something very well’:

Baci de pe șapte măguri îi cunoșteau viața ca pe degete (Eusebiu Camilar, ap. DLRC, II: 188).

• *Sunt cinci degete la o mână și nu seamănă toate unul cu altul* ‘people are very different’:

Nu seamănă ele degetele de la o mână, dar oamenii... (Bădescu et al.: 42).

3.2. Conceptual Metonymies

THE FINGER STANDS FOR THE PERSON motivates the following English and Romanian idiomatic constructions:

• *have a finger in every pie* ‘to be involved in many different activities and have influence over many people, often in order to get an advantage for yourself’ has no Romanian corresponding idiomatic expression:

Johnston has a finger in every pie and is well known throughout the state as an environmental activist.

The Conservatives do not like change either, because they have their fingers in too many pies (LID: 120).

This idiom is also motivated by the conceptual metonymies THE FINGER STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY and by the conventional knowledge.

• *not lift/raise a finger* meaning ‘to be too lazy to help someone with their work or to not care enough to help someone who is in need or in danger’ has a counterpart in Romanian: *a nu mișca un deget*:

English: *My husband **would not lift a finger** to help me with the kids. He said it was my job.*

*Two of the firm's clerks watched the man being robbed without **raising a finger** to help him (LID: 120).*

Romanian: *N-a mișcat un deget să ma ajute în acele momente grele.*

This phrase is also motivated by the conceptual metonymy THE FINGER STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY.

THE FINGER STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY motivates the following English and Romanian idiomatic constructions:

- *twiddle your thumbs means* 'to do nothing, either because you have nothing to do, or because you are waiting for something to happen':

*We don't want to strike, but we can't just sit around **twiddling our thumbs** until the management produce an offer.*

*Basically, he's getting paid \$20,000 a year to sit in an office and **twiddle his thumbs** (LID: 349).*

In Romanian we have the idiomatic expression *a sta cu degetul în gură*, which means the same, 'to waste time'.

*Eu socotesc, mărite împărate, că cel ce a făcut o asemenea vitejie, nu cred să se fi culcat pe urechea aia, și să **fi stat așa cu degetul în gură după ce a ucis pe zmei** (P. Ispirescu, ap. DELLR: 188).*

In this case, again, we have another cognitive source which motivates the idiom-conventional knowledge.

The idiomatic expression *be caught with your fingers in the till* has the meaning 'to be caught stealing or doing something illegally'. In Romanian, a possible equivalent would be *a fi prins cu mâna în sac/traistă*. Three cognitive strategies function here: conventional knowledge, the metonymy THE FINGERS STAND FOR THE ACTIVITY and THE FINGERS STAND FOR THE PERSON.

English: *I began to suspect that Collins **had his fingers in the till**, and I wondered how I could prove it.*

Maxwell was not the only boss to be caught with his fingers in the till (LID: 150).

Romanian: *N-a mai putut să nege fiindcă a fost **prins cu mâna în sac**.*

The same meaning is conveyed by the Romanian idiom *a avea degete lungi*:

***Avea degete lungi** și nu puteai să-i încredințezi ceva de valoare.*

The same conceptual mechanisms are at work in the case of the idiom *somebody's sticky fingers* used in order to say that someone steals. There is an equivalent expression in Romanian with the word *mână*: *a i se lipi de mână*:

English: *Some of the tourists **with sticky fingers** try to break off pieces from the castle wall (ibidem: 121).*

Romanian: *I se **lipise de mână** bibeloul și a plecat cu el din magazin.*

• *have /get itchy fingers means ‘to be eager to do something or try an activity’ and has no Romanian counterpart:*

*As a full-time mother I do occasionally **get itchy fingers** and long to getback to my word-processor (ibidem: 120).*

• *work your finger to the bone ‘to work extremely hard’:*

*Don’t you realize that your mother **has worked her fingers to the bone** for you?*

*The students see the course as a chance to study abroad and **work their fingers to the bone** (ibidem: 121).*

There is a Romanian equivalent using the word *brâncă*: *a munci pe brânci*:

***Munca pe brânci** ca să strângă ceva bani.*

• *pull/take/ get you finger out* is used in order to tell someone to work harder:

*Wake up, lad! **Pull your finger out**- we have got work to do.*

*If they **do not get their finger out**, they’ll lose most of their business to their competitors (ibidem: 120).*

There is no Romanian counterpart.

THE FINGERS STAND FOR THE SKILL is the cognitive strategy for the following idioms:

• *have green fingers ‘to be good at gardening’ has no equivalent in our language:*

*If you **have green fingers**, you can make even a tiny balcony or patio into a secret garden.*

*Orchids are the supreme test for **green fingers**, because it is extremely hard to get them flower (ibidem: 120).*

In American English we have the similar expression *have a green thumb*.

*She is one of those people who takes care of every stray cat and **has an incredible green thumb**. Her apartment is a jungle (ibidem: 349).*

The metonymy THE FINGER STANDS FOR THREATENING seems to be active in Romanian motivating the idiomatic expression *a-i face cuiva cu degetul* meaning ‘to threaten somebody’:

Zărandu-l în slava cerului printre stolul de corbi, începe **a-i face cu degetul** și-i zise: *Ghidi, ghidi, tâlharule ce ești!* (P. Ispirescu, ap. *DELLR*: 226)

3.3. Conceptual Metaphors

TO POINT THE FINGER AT SOMEBODY IS TO BLAME THAT PERSON functions as a motivating strategy both in English and Romanian as we have already seen in the analysed expressions: *point the finger (of blame)* or *point an / the accusing finger* often used in law, business, and politics to blame someone or say that they have done something wrong with the Romanian counterpart *a arăta cu degetul* (see section 3.1.)

TO TWIST SOMEBODY AROUND YOUR (LITTLE) FINGER IS TO HAVE CONTROL OVER SOMEBODY represents the cognitive mechanism which link the literal meaning of the following expressions with their idiomatic one:

- *wrap/twist/wind somebody around your little finger* ‘to be able to make someone do what you want them to do’ has a Romanian counterpart- *a purta, a învărti, a juca pe cineva pe* or *după degete*:

English: Spencer had always known how to wrap his mother round his little finger.

She is a smart girl and she could easily have Mr Winters wrapped around her little finger (LID: 120).

Romanian: De opt săptămâni mă poartă pe degete și mă fierbe (M. Sadoveanu, ap. DELLR: 187).

Îl învărtea pe degete cum voia ea.

This metaphor is consistent with TO BE UNDER SOMEBODY’S THUMB IS TO BE UNDER HIS OR HER CONTROL:

- *be under somebody’s thumb means to be completely controlled or influenced by another person:*

Now that they are married, she’s completely under his thumb and never sees her old friends (OID: 405).

In Romanian we have the expression *a fi sub papucul cuiva*:

Era complet sub papucul soției sale.

The same idea of control is conveyed by the Romanian idiom *a avea (pe cineva) la degetul (cel) mic* 1) ‘to have somebody under your control’; 2) ‘to be superior to another person’:

Face tot ce vrea el și nu-i iasă din cuvânt; îl are la degetul mic.

Știa atât de multe încât îi avea la degetul mic pe toți.

In all these cases motivated by the above metaphors, the metonymy THE FINGER STANDS FOR THE PERSON is also at work.

4. Conclusions

As can be noticed from this analysis, the conceptualizations of *finger* depend on the conventional knowledge which we have about the placement, shape, and functions of this part of our body and gestures connected with it. The other two cognitive sources, conceptual metaphor and metonymy play a relevant role in the way we store information about finger(s) in our mind. Although there are many more idiomatic expressions both in English and Romanian which contain the lexeme *finger* and which would require further and deeper analysis to confirm or reject the cognitive hypothesis that the meaning of the constitutive parts of some idioms partially motivates their meaning, the previous examples prove that in many cases, this is valid.

Our analysis shows that there is a considerable degree of correspondence between English and Romanian regarding *finger* idioms. Thus, there are 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 and cross language similarity.

Since idioms are products of our conceptual system and not simply a matter of language, it is obvious that there is a systematic conceptual motivation for a large number of idiomatic expressions.

Studying idioms across languages enables us to better understand the conceptualization process and gives us insights into human psychology and into cognitive patterns. Although it is impossible to generalize with confidence about language in general, from a restricted study such as this one, the fact that cognitive mechanisms function in English and Romanian could suggest that metaphorical thinking and all these cognitive strategies may also function in other languages, too. The present study can also be a partial answer to the question concerning a conceptual idiomatic framework common for many languages.

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LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

Literary Cartographies of Timișoara

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Abstract: Reading the text has been a form of reading the city, said Richard Lehan in his study, *The City in Literature. An Intellectual and Cultural History*. The literature written in the last hundred years in Timișoara reveals various literary cartographies of this marginocentric cultural node of Central Europe. Its history reveals its multicultural dimension: Timișoara and the Banat region came successively under the Turkish (1552-1718), Austrian (1718-1778), Hungarian (1778-1849), Austrian (1849-1867) and Dual Monarchy control (1867-1919), before becoming part of Romania in 1919. Under these historical circumstances, several cultural directions interplayed in this area, creating a sort of melting pot in which the concept of identity redefined itself by following the rules of intercultural communication. Several writers who were born here or who came to see and to live in this city after 1919 reveal other sides of it by mapping its reality in very subjective perspectives which complete the historical view.

Keywords: *identity, intercultural communication, literary geography, literary map, multilingual literature.*

Representing a space is a metaphorical act. This needs to contour a unique image by transforming the observed area into a subjective cultural construct, analyzable by each viewer. Such an assumption would often blur the limits between two ways of knowing the world, geography and literature. It may happen that these disciplines to intersect in different ways of observing the space, under the perspective of social sciences and share each one's specificity. In this area of disciplinary interference we should place the study of urban space in literature.

It is very difficult for urban studies to find one definition of the city which should clarify its complexity because of its diversity. The city reveals itself in different ways from the perspective of history, geography, sociology, anthropology, architecture, art and literature. Ronan Paddison takes over two definitions of the city. The first one belongs to Lewis Mumford:

The city, as one finds it in history, is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community. It is the place where the diffused rays of many separate beams of life fall into focus, with gains insocial effectiveness and significance. The city is the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship; it is the seat of the temple, the

market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning. Here in the city the goods of civilization are multiplied and manifolded; here is where human experience is transformed into viable signs, symbols of conduct, systems of order. (Mumford: 1938, Paddison, 2001: 11)

As a sociologist and historian, too, but also orientated to technology, the American author tries to cover very systematically the structure of the city and the main symbols which give the concept its coherence, order and a perfect logic. Paddison observes the missing element from Mumford's point of view: the vital energies that are found in Raymond Williams' commentary:

The great buildings of civilisation, the meeting places, the libraries and the theatres and domes; and often more moving than these, the houses, the streets, the press and excitement of so many people with so many purposes. I have stood in so many cities and felt this pulse: in the physical differences of Stockholm, and Florence, Paris and Milan. (Williams: 1973, Paddison, 2001: 11)

As Richard Lehan proves, the city in the modern acceptance is a heritage of the Enlightenment and during the process of evolution it has new dimensions: "I see the modern city evolving through three stages of development – a commercial, industrial and *world stage city*" (Lehan, 1998: 3). In this way, it becomes a state of mind:

The major writers and thinkers of the Western world have had to come to terms with the city, each era offering us an urban identity that reveals our secret values. The urban drama played itself out against a Europe transformed by the Enlightenment, by an America that offered a New Jerusalem, and by a wilderness and a frontier against which the city assumed its meaning. (Lehan, 1998: 6)

Such a social stage also contains the possibility of failure, as "the meaning of the city becomes more dense, until we see the city through layers of historical meaning, or until it blurs into the opaque vision." (*ibid*: 5). Besides its general meanings, as we could see in Paddison's definition, in Lehan's observations, the city may be considered a subjective cultural construct, recreated by each individual. In this way, we have access to several representations which project unique spaces. The fictional spaces configured in literature are such examples and the instruments are not the concepts, but the "imaginative systems" (*ibid*: 7), which write down personal geographies of the literature writers. These systems rely on the

“societal model” (Nemoianu, 1991: 144), seen as a “cross section through reality [...] an extended topos, a wide image, an esthetic construct carefully selected, for a purpose or another, by an author who exerts his free will; it is a hardened mass of content, this one being sufficiently well known in order to make any reference or allusion to any one of its parts to evoke its totality.” (*ibidem*). Each great period in a space’s history develops such models which become “a convenient version,” “an ideal substitute” (*ibid*: 138) of reality after several negotiation processes. In this case, there is an imperfect attempt to reflect reality, a sort of “considerably distorted self-reflection of social reality.” (*ibid*: 146)

In literature, the “societal model” can be the pretext which is manipulated, explored, discovered or rediscovered (*ibid*: 138) by a literary work as Nemoianu proves in his “*Theory of the Secondary*.” This pretext is also presented in an imitative manner, through “analogy” and “intention” or it is deconstructed without losing contact with its own meanings because the literary act gives reality “the possibility to survive and validity, by reducing its dimension, its perfection and its comprehension – by taming it.” (*ibid*: 130)

Behind its inherent subjective nature, a literary work speaks about its time, its space and the society projected on it in an objective way. We can recognize these objective details in a fictional text through a proper knowledge of the history of the “societal models” which are related to the space we are observing. In this way we can say the literary texts are reference works.

Particularly, if we focus on the urban space’s components: the place, the time and the crowd, we may formulate different “societal models,” through the historical ages of the city and, in the end, we may obtain variants of the city. Without any doubts, the literary works which project their action on such a context would reveal suggestions of objective reality which would cross fiction. In this way, as Richard Lehan proves in his book, “*The City in Literature. An Intellectual and Cultural History*,” “reading the text has been a form of reading the city.” (Lehan, 1998: 8).

1. Timișoara. A Socio-historical Context

“Considering its position between two important geographical spaces at the interference of several cultures and religions, Timișoara stood out in history as a city that had the courage of survival.” (Neumann, Ilieșiu, 2003:9). In this very first sentence of the foreword of Nicolae Ilieșiu’s “*Historical Monography of Timișoara*,” Victor Neumann speaks about a city with the courage of resistance. Here is Marcel Cornis-Pope, John

Neubauer and Nicolae Harsanyi's short version of Timișoara's main historical periods:

Later on, when Timișoara and the Banat region came successively under Turkish (1552-1718), Austrian (1718-1778), Hungarian (1778-1849), Austrian (1849-1867), and Dual Monarchy control (1867-1919), before becoming part of Romania in 1919, they continued to enjoy a special status: first as a multicultural province under the Turks, and later as a free imperial city and Kronland (Crown Land) of the Habsburg Empire. (Cornis-Pope, Neubauer, Harsanyi, 2006: 108)

Therefore, this city mirrors Central Europe's directions because it shares its historical background, it defines itself using the same terms. Both are regions with ethno-cultural pluralism, religious interactions and multilingualism. Such a social diversity, observed and interpreted by historical research projects, social, anthropological, literary or artistic ones, too, shares with us a new concept which describes best this space: "systemic ambiguity" (*ibid*: 106). A quality like that allows the intercultural exchange, but the city manages to keep unchanged its specific meanings. This original aspect of Timișoara leads to unique literary and artistic expressions (for example: the architecture of the 19th century reveals "spontaneous forms" of the Baroque, of the historicism or of the Secession: "the folk Baroque"/the traditional Baroque, the tendency to keep a traditional style which shapes new architectural view or the writers' predilection for confessing texts, very subjective writings, like journals, report/reportage – novels, short stories or travel notes. These are writings in which reality is described).

Adriana Babeți wrote a study, "Literatura – o interfață a culturii urbane a memoriei. Studiu de caz: Timișoara" in "Banatul din memorie. Studii de caz" coordinated by Smaranda Vultur. In this collective volume, together with a group of intellectuals (Cornel Ungureanu, Gabriela Glăvan, Daciana Branea, Alina Radu – for Romanian sources, Simina Birăescu-Melwisch, Patricia Dumescu – German sources, Imre Balázs, János Szekernyés, Aranka Bugyi – Hungarian sources, and Ioan Peianov – Serbian sources), she elaborates a structured list of literary texts that describe Timișoara. From this list I have chosen four authors that write about the years before the First World War and the inter-war period. Each one of them has an unique perspective about this exotic place through a double approach: they recall several well known spaces from their experience and use details from these in order to re-map the new area and, of course, they face the capital of Banat region and let themselves be changed by it. The role of the Other is played by Miloš Crnjanski ("*Lirika Itake i Komentari*"),

Nicoale Iorga (“*Pagini alese din însemnările de călătorie prin Ardeal și Banat*”), George Călinescu (“*Opere. Publicistică I. 1920 – 1932*”) and Méliusz József (“*Orașul pierdut în ceață*”).

2. Literary Cartographies of Timișoara

Miloš Crnjanski is a writer who wanted something different, new ways of writing, new literary patterns. (Babeți, 1998: 241). Timișoara is the city of his childhood (1892-1912):

a sumptuous city, with large boulevards, great gardens, canoeing clubs, but also with industrial outskirts. It had huge instruction fields and graveyards. It was known as the Little Vienna.” It has a Western appearance (“People strolled in here like in Italy”), with Western customs, with “the great Catholic Cathedral, well – known for its Bach concerts, the Catholics’ monasteries amongst which the Piarist Monastery was my school, the Serbian Church, the Bishop’s Palace, [...] completely covered in marble, the little Serbian school of my teacher, Beria, pastries and restaurants filled with people of romantic bohemian beauty, slightly arrogant, with emancipated attitudes. (Crnjanski, 1993, Babeți, Ungureanu, 1998: 159)

Crnjanski’s text gives us information concerning religious and ethno-cultural pluralism of Timișoara. Also, his teacher, Beria, “a man who did not miss a chance to remind us about the historical rights of the Serbians, a great literature connoisseur” (*ibidem*) gifted with acting talents, too, is a sort of local hero who is meant to emphasize the Serbian contribution to Timișoara’s identity, which must be inherited by the young descendants. When his ideal falls apart (Serbia is almost defeated at Verdun), the man commits suicide. There are also other writers who will use such local heroes in their literary works

In the same writing, the author offers maybe the best example of cultural openness, with a considerable mystic underground: the Piarists, *an order not obscurantist, but Masonic. For them, the celebration of the national holyday of Hungary (the Ides of March) started with La Marseillaise*. Two literary journals were coordinated by them, one in Hungarian, *Drapelul* and the other in Latin, *Tineretul. Destinul* is the title of a poem that Crnjanski published in the last one. In his lyrics, he seems to anticipate the inevitable social events: *In that poem, in the first verse, a ship comes out to sea. In the second verse, the storm begins. In the third one, only the wreck reaches the shore.* (*ibid*: 160)

Until his fifth grade of high school, when his father dies, the city accelerates its process of westernization, by developing itself very fast. On

the streets there can be seen the first automobiles, Parisian fashion gets here through Vienna. Here flies the first airplane / sailplane. The theatre is played in Hungarian and Serbian, too. Even an American circus entertains the population of Timișoara. Also, Crnjanski describes the education of the pupils. A city boy or girl, friend with the sons of the Catholic nobles, has the chance to learn French, English, Greek or Fine Art, to frequent a gymnastics club or to play professional football. He denies the snobbism of these practices because this was the reality of his time. The names of his friends also indicate the multiculturalism of the city: Kalinfalvi, Jurka Gyula, Kapdebo Elemér and Gică. Even more, he observes the life of the workers' families. All these events took place near the Titanic's sinking.

Having in mind a national project, Crnjanski presents a double side of this city of Hungarian nobles and proletarians:

It was the Serbian Timișoara, the ruin of ruins, the old dying city, fanatically religious. The Diaspora resembling the Timișoara of the Jews [...] the same with the Timișoara of the foreigners, like two Siamese brothers stick to each other's back. In this Timișoara, each Serbian house needed defense, like a barricade. (*ibid*: 162)

Nicolae Iorga has an analytical tendency doubled by historical and sociologic explanations in describing the new urban area. He discovers here an urban universe and tries to analyze it from its general landscape (the author specifies the main geographical indicators) to its particularities (he observes the heterogeneous society and its ways of living). His style is a descriptive one, with literary accents. The purpose of his writing is to know the characteristics of the Romanian people who live outside the Romanian center. In his travel notes we can notice that a sort of national feeling, justified by his interest and contribution in politics, determined the intellectual to look for new spaces lived by the Romanians.

He describes Timișoara as a chaos of the foreign waste. He notes down its multiculturalism:

Timișoara has a grand train station. From here ahead, on the best concrete paving, plain and clean, you pass near the shining windows from six lines of a great mill, then through the alleys of old trees in a park which refuges, despite the evening's chill, pairs of lovers who enjoy the autumn's moon, once the spring's is lost [...] A big iron bridge crosses the waters of Bega river and leads to a neighborhood of high houses, whitened by the electricity [...] At last, at the entrance of a narrow street with tall buildings, there is a shining palace with a theatre – like façade which looks like a select café, then the alleyway to the grand hotel Kronprinz, suitable for any

big capital. The householder is Swabian, everyone speaks German: in front of it a smaller hotel has only a German firm. From the beginning, Timișoara seems what it really is: the city built upon the former Ottoman structure, with right plans, for the Swabians brought from Banat and for other wanderers from far places and from the French Lorraine and from Spain by the German ruling. (Iorga, 1977: 118-119)

The atmosphere is quiet still, nothing bothers the eyes. Iorga presents its landscape as if he looked to a painting whose elements are registered in detail. Moreover, Timișoara is “the most artificial, the most Habsburg city as far as I am concerned, but in the same time it is the most balanced, the most *tamely*, more submitted to its building and maintenance rules” (*idem*). In our author’s opinion, Timișoara managed to keep what the Other had built, although it had a sort of artificiality not necessarily frivolous. This city assimilated foreign elements which spoke about its identity.

George Călinescu re-configures his inner geography. In July 1928, he comes to the capital of Banat region in order to be a high school teacher Romanian and Italian language at C.D. Loga College for a year. It is imperative that we mention the fact that his arrival in this urban center is a cultural act meant to help this new part of the Romanian Kingdom to assimilate the new political directions. He writes several press articles in which he offers information about the cultural status of the city. His first article, “*Timișoara: un oraș de graniță*,” focuses on a general overview and surprises a mixture of geographical influences and directions which blend in the landscape, without any harsh details. The city has

stupendous squares with lawns of reddish flowers, monumental buildings of an Austro-Italic classicism, between the neo-Germanic Hellenism and the austere Baroque, an appearance like Trieste, a Mediterranean architectonic calmness, cheered by the red roof tiles [...] The crowd is elegant and kind, generally photogenic, but with harsh and superficial expression; the women have graceful silhouettes, a joyful and sweet air, intimate eyes and their voices are kind and helpful [...]. (Călinescu, 2010: 392)

He notes down the multilingualism of Timișoara and observes that there is no difference of accent between the three main languages used here: German, Hungarian and Romanian. But the Romanians do not seem to fit in the recent political structure because the city is not Romanian. Călinescu writes down the following observations:

This is a wonderful city and to turn it into a Romanian city it needs a few people with an ideal. Now, the Romanian is rough-spoken and umbrageous and afflicted by little regional resentments or blind interests. The city does not have a theatre, a proper cinema, although by these means there could be made a discreet propaganda of the Romanian qualities. (*idbiem*)

Călinescu's landscape is composed by cultural allusions, by the experience of other spaces' geographies, like Rome, Italy. The traveler in the Italian space finds in Timișoara elements that describe the Mediterranean architectonic style. The writer recreates in this way two kinds of landscapes while he is writing his article – the one in his memory and the one that he experiences in the new urban space, this landscape being restructured on the first one's format. The mixed architecture formed by several imbricate styles, as we could see in Cornis-Pope, Marcel in the previous lines, recalls other spaces which have impressed and influenced the observer – the one who reconfigures his inner geographies. For our author, Timișoara is a border – city because of its position at the cultural interference of other spaces.

Méliusz József, author of Hungarian ethnicity, feels the need of confession and creates a literary cartography to his native city in his novel, *Orașul pierdut în ceață*, by observing his own bourgeois family. At the beginning of the First World War, this *marginocentric node*¹ lives in an inappropriate relaxed atmosphere, almost romantic. Apparently, it seems that the tolerance is complete, despite its diversity and this is exactly what breaks its harmony because, as Richard Lehan used to say in the work we used in the previous pages, “diversity is the snake in the urban garden” (Lehan, 1998: 8). An autobiographical writing and confessional, too, the novel's aim is to reveal the reactions of the bourgeois, of the city, of the author's family and of his own self under the influence of the war.

Klein Wien, small center of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, is populated with symbols which speak about a mixture of the population, about a permanent exchange between different cultures which complete and reject themselves, according to the historical background. The assassination of Franz Ferdinand will change the map of Europe. The pretext is perfect and the war does not delay to show its sides. However, because of its

¹ “I have called the nodal cities [...] *marginocentric* because of their tendency to challenge the hegemony of the metropolitan centers, offering an alternative to their national pull [...]” (Marcel Cornis-Pope, *Representing East-Central Europe's Marginocentric Cities in History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe. Junctures and disjunctures in the 19th and 20th centuries*, edited by Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2006, p. 11)

geographical position, at the edge of the Empire, Timișoara knows them later, with less impact. The urban landscape contoured by Méliusz József is not just a simple projection screen for the main events that take place. It becomes a real character, shaped from the affective imagination that accompanies the memory.

The city is the birthplace of the author. It has the qualities of the mother tongue. Once learned, it can never be forgotten. The places of childhood are impossible to lose because they are assimilated through emotion:

A city, a street, the parents, the wife, the children, they are all pieces of myself. This nest, even if it does not exist anymore, binds me like the shell is bonded on the snail's back. Why is this connection so strong, why can't we be free like the wilderness of the forest, like the wind, like the rain, like the clouds that aren't tortured by their consciousness, by responsibility or suffering?!... [...] Everything I once felt and understood becomes part of us, [...] the stones and the trees, the gardens and an end of a street are absorbed by us, they enter our being like the sights, the gestures, the people and the facts. (József, 1982: 44)

His house, his family, his grandmother's figure, his uncles and aunts, the friends of the house, the first childish loves, the games and also death are the elements that shape Méliusz József's landscape. Their aim is to individualize the exercise of mapping the city. The described universe belongs to the child who witnesses the social changes, but who is not able to escape his own world. And this world has its own places: the room in which he sleeps with his grandmother, the garden where his first sexual instincts are activated, the castle near his home, the basement of the bloc where he moves with his family, in which he explores unknown parts of his own being. Here, in these places, the child has the possibility to encounter himself.

The metaphor used by the author to structure the society is the one of the bloc where Europe is the floor, the Monarchy is the ground floor and the basement is Timișoara, *the sinful city* of the bourgeois, the space that knows no morality, decency or civic sense. Because of its geographical position, the news about the beginning of the war delays:

On the 28th of July 1914, the shining sun greeted the dawn. Without suspecting anything, the city slept quietly. On the side lands echoing the quails' trills, the Swabian hosts woke up their servants, Romanians or Hungarians. Because here the servants were Romanians or Hungarians [...] the summer morning had an unusual chill. (*ibid*: 6)

Here, life follows its quiet course. A general picture is contoured in the first sentences of the novel. A city with the ability of improving itself in order to become the ideal place for living – ideal for the middle-class – is described as it follows:

I was almost five years old when the slaughter began, when the events disturbed this quiet city of the bourgeois, with musical nights, with banking business, in full wealth, with its new palaces, numerous mansions, workers' settlements which dwelt on rapidly, houses in misery and basements short-sighted by fields lost in the four corners of the earth. (*ibid*: 3)

The antithesis structures the author's vision when he writes about the city. Every seeming intention to idealize this space, to shape it only in bright lights is doubled by the idea that Timișoara is an incomplete artifact whose reality is mirrored in its peripheries. The author's literary cartography will be expressed by this type of discourse in order to express better the aim of the writer who also wants to elaborate a critique of the society of his time.

Quite interesting are the changes that regard the geography of the city. Its industry specializes for the war production. The entire Timișoara is about to reshape itself. Other tracks of transportation will structure the urban space. New indicators appear by redefining the old ones:

the war began. The great shoe factory, the textiles factory, the alcohol, the matches, the leather, the chains factories dwelt along the digging's dirty, green waters, in the last decade. War? The factory is the future. Indeed: from these factories appeared, in this rich area, the great production of war. This war would not end after a couple of weeks. Under its influence, the factories have developed [...] There were new tram tracks, in the nights, wagons came on certain routes from the center of the city. (*ibid*: 13-14)

József marks on his map of the city several important locations where the society can be observed in its daily rhythm. Here, a model of society is designed. The cathedral is the first indicator. It is no longer a spiritual symbol, as a modern city requires. It becomes a simple place in the *urban jungle* and it is meant to reflect a superficial parade of materialism:

The Cathedral's atmosphere, filled with the scent of the frankincense and the noise of the organ! Before the war, this church heavy with gold was the symbol of the megalomania that described the spiritual life of the Hungarian and Swabian middle-class. (*ibid*: 27)

The market impresses through its colors and smells, through a general effervescence typical for a bazaar. Without doubt, this place expresses the tendency to excess because “in our bourgeois city, it is true that people always knew how to eat well and a lot, far more and better than anywhere else” (József, 1982:29). The culinary richness speaks about the identity of Klein Wien, it is a right for the privileged but autistic class:

And all these, all this wealth which was collapsing under its own burden seems to us, the middle-class, the most common thing. Because, indeed, who would have thought in the ideal years before the war or even now, about the suffering and labor that fed the black lands of our country? (*ibid*: 29)

The cafés are the most important scenes for the social life of Timișoara even in the first years of the war. In these special places the political situation of the Monarchy is discussed. Also, the exchange of information takes place here. Real debates concerning the situation of Europe illustrate the dialogue of the population. Sometimes, even strange confessions and personal experiences are being shared with the clients, too. Here, the great conflagration is almost as present as it is on the battle field, but it has different meanings. Under its influence, the brave soldiers let themselves mesmerized by this city’s hedonic charm, choosing the wine’s ecstasy instead of weapons. “Gambrinus,” “The Three Frogs,” “Tic-Tac” or the supreme café, “The Silver Goat” are such examples. The last one has a double meaning and speaks about the past-present contrast:

In the past, at the beginning of the glorious century which knew no worries, the Silver Goat was the most select café from our city, even though even then some relatively nice women, easy to take the fancy of, dancers without any talent, singers with shattering voices and any other kinds of artists used to come frequently. (*ibid*: 71)

This place is a suggestion of the Monarchy, a reminder of its specificity. In the next lines, this becomes the scene for the censorship. The characters that spend their days and nights in here are also interesting because of their social status: Mrs. Nelly, a woman of loose morals, Gyula and his glasses, a man without any importance and Franz Joseph’s portrait hanging on the top of the cash register. We may easily skip them if they did not speak about a world of decadence, almost collapsing.

The fragment which illustrates best the historical changes is “The Beheading of a Habsburg” chapter. This part suggests by means of a

metaphor the falling of the Empire and it contains its revolutionary intentions. The scene when Maria Teresa's Statue is decapitated also has an aesthetic side:

In the young men's hands could be seen a wire rope, which they had made before, like pioneers, and with only few moves it was twined on Maria Teresa's neck. The rope on the Empress' neck! Rope on the Habsburg Dynasty's neck [...] the great pedestal of the statue would not bend, it would not even move, still the neck could not fight the furious power that was pulling the rope rhythmically, but then it broke down and the head flight ahead, creating a great circular arc, it crushed the crown of a callow locust tree and fell hitting its face on the ground. (*ibid*: 177-181)

The metaphorical force of destruction comes out not from hidden meanings, but from suggestion. An entire world falls down by breaking an essential symbol in the geography of the city – it also echoes the downfall of the Monarchy.

Méliusz József's novel tells the story of a world which falls apart. The bourgeois *Klein Wien* breaks down under its own force. Its geography is shaped by the history hidden in the main symbols of the war. Timișoara's structures fade away under the confusion which describes the society forced to embrace resignation. As the autobiographical discourse is critical and deeply subjective, the writer reveals by his literary exercise the atmosphere of his hometown and the middle class' privileges.

Literary cartographies complete the information that describe a space in an objective manner. An autobiographical text, as we could see in Crnjanski and Méliusz József's works, a press article (George Călinescu) or travel notes (Nicolae Iorga) offer the reader the alternative of confession by sharing a personal experience. These subjective perspectives of the literary writings become variants of reality that reinforce history's discourse by clarifying its particular details.

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Re-Shaping Identities in Don DeLillo's *Falling Man*

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Abstract: As a trauma novel, Don DeLillo's *Falling Man* deals with the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, revealing the effects that such an event had not only on people who were directly affected, but also on the nation itself. Exposed to a dreadful tragedy, most of the characters become victims whose experiences of time, self and the world were disrupted. The personal and collective consciousness was painfully injured causing an emotional anguish that led to great changes in the community's sense of identity. The present paper intends to illustrate the iconic relationship between traumatic memory and narrative memory as a basis for the re-enactment, repetition and symbolization to become substitutes for a "frozen" identity in the intention of restoring the traumatized self and to function as psychological and literary strategies.

Keywords: *identity, memory, 9/11, trauma fiction.*

General Reflections upon Trauma Fiction

Before referring to trauma fiction it is needed to introduce the concept of trauma as it is defined and characterized by psychology. As it is already known, trauma may be described as a person's emotional response to an overwhelming event that unfortunately has disrupted the previous manner in which an individual generates his or her own sense of self and the standard by which the same individual evaluates society. According to Cathy Caruth, the structure of trauma represents a disruption of personal history or temporality. Usually, the traumatic event is not fully assimilated at the time it happens, the person trying to delay the painful experience which makes it unavailable in the normal way to memory and interpretation; but, after a period of latency the events return more intrusively (Caruth, 1995: 151). From the psychological point of view, trauma comprises an experience which overwhelms the individual who is no longer able to fully understand and react. The impossibility of dealing with such an event blocks the individual's relationship with his or her own self, changing his or her identity.

It may seem a paradox, or at least a contradiction, to relate the term trauma to what is generally understood by fiction. Since trauma resists not only language but also any form of representation, it cannot be narrated in fiction. Even so, there are few ways of considering the relation between

trauma and fiction possible. Ann Whitehead admits that trauma theory has provided new paths of conceptualizing trauma so that it could become one of the important themes for the novelists (Whitehead, 2004: 9). At the same time, it has also shifted attention away from the question of what is remembered to why and how it is remembered.²

According to trauma theory, the disruption of the individual's identity caused by a traumatic event may serve as a basis for a larger argument which sustains that identity is shaped by the intergenerational transmission of trauma. In order to assimilate the traumatic experience the individual needs to recreate or to abstract through narrative recollections the event; but, accepting the fact that the traumatic experience precludes knowledge and representation, the process of remembrance becomes an approximate account of the past. In the act of recollection there could be noticed a striking paradox: although the re-enactments of the traumatic event are literal and even precise they still remain largely unavailable to conscious recall and control. The capability of recovering the traumatic past is tied up with the inability to have access to it³ (Caruth, 1995: 152). The responses to traumatic experiences are different, from the division of consciousness to the cognitive chaos. They may also be regarded as inherent features of traumatic memory. From the psychological perspective, the traumatic experience may divide the individual's identity and his or her connections to a larger context which consists of important social values that definitely influence the recollections and the reconfiguration of the self. The separation from the self and from society together with all the ways re-shaping the individual's identity, or the attempts of re-shaping it, were transformed into a metaphor used for describing the degree of damage done to the individual's coherent sense of the self and the change of consciousness caused by the trauma experience. (*ibid*: 150-151)

The fictional representation of trauma experiences comes in the form of narratives which are meant to show the disruptions between the individual and his or her self and between the self and the others. Because of these two perspectives, trauma fiction contains two types of literary narratives. First, there are the psychic trauma novels which intend to capture

² Regarding the boundaries between trauma and fiction, the Holocaust literature could be an important example, since the Holocaust fiction, which is based on extensive historical research and documentation, has been delimited from the Holocaust testimony, which is more a subject of the distortions of individual and collective memory. (Whitehead, 2004: 30)

³ Most of times, the traumatic event returns in a very precise form in nightmares and flashbacks and, at the same time, it is accompanied by amnesia. The connection between the precise recollection and the lack or elision of memory can only be approximated.

the effect of suffering on the mind of the individual and secondly there are the cultural trauma novels⁴ which focus on the consequences of the traumatic events. While the former is a narrative representation of a wound inflicted upon the mind that breaks the individual's experience of time, self and the world, the latter represents a wound on a group sharing the common consciousness as a whole (Caruth, 1996: 3-4). In both cases the identity is disrupted and it needs reintegration and reaffirmation or, in other words, it needs to be re-shaped.

Traumatic Memory and Narrative Memory

The process of recollecting the past always involves full access to memory. Considering the fact that traumatic experiences tend to avoid being remembered, it becomes imperative for the individual and/or for the community to find valid ways of accessing the past. Thus, it is obvious that trauma requires integration of the traumatic event into the individual or collective memory both for the sake of testimony and for the sake of cure. Generally speaking, trauma⁵ is more complex than it is known, mainly because of its public nature, although mass denial may take place at some stage in the process of dealing with traumatic collective experiences.

The past could be remembered in different ways. There are different forms of dealing with traumatic experiences of the past, but the most important ones are those which involve the traumatic memory and the narrative memory. It is necessary to make a difference between the two manners of recollecting the past. According to psychoanalysis, the traumatized person's task is to translate traumatic memory into narrative memory with the help of a specialist (Caruth, 1995: 143). The access to traumatic memory is difficult mostly because the survivors usually suffer of post-traumatic stress which is defined as a delayed response that takes the form of repeated nightmares, hallucinations, flashbacks, somatic reactions, behaviours stemming from the event and general numbing (Van der Kolk

⁴ Cultural trauma affects the members of a community in the moments when they feel as being subjected to traumatic events which have affected their group conscious future identity. As a result of exposing the whole community to a traumatic event, the common sense of identity shared by all the members may be either disrupted or solidified.

⁵ When dealing with trauma it is necessary to take into account its sense, which in Greek has the meaning of wound, originally referring to an injury inflicted on a body. In its larger sense (including the psychiatric literature), the term trauma is understood as a wound inflicted not upon the body but upon the mind, which is embodied in the form of an event that is experienced too soon and unexpected and therefore not available to consciousness until it imposes itself again repeatedly in the survivors' reactions.

and Van der Hart, 1995: 173). All these forms of individual reactions to the traumatic experience are unwanted and even unrecalled intrusions of the past into the present which explains the person's need of delaying or refusal. These ways of intrusion could be triggered automatically by anything: a sound or a sight, a smell or similar situations. They seem to take possession of the individual and to hold him or her under control. In the process of recollecting the traumatic event, the individual reclaims the painful experience. The attempt to obtain access to a traumatic history is beyond the pathology of individual suffering. It means dealing with the reality of a history⁶ that is in crisis and it can only be perceived in un-assimilable forms. The act of refusing such experience may be considered rather a way of gaining access to knowledge that has not yet attained the form of narrative memory than an act of denial of knowing the past (Caruth, 1995: 155). In its active resistance to knowledge, this refusal opens the space for testimony which is now able to communicate and to reveal the reality that lies beyond what is already understood. The individual refusal of understanding what had happened may also be seen as a creative act: the blindness was in fact nothing than a vital condition of creation. (Lanzmann, 1990: 279)

The process of accessing the traumatic memory usually ends with the act of transforming the trauma into a narrative memory that allows the traumatic event to become a story, to be verbalized and communicated; in other words, to be integrated into the individual's own knowledge of the past and in other's knowledge of their history too. At the same time, this act of transformation could lose the precision that characterizes the traumatic act of recalling.

From the psychoanalysis perspective, narrative memory represents the conscious attempt of relating the traumatic events, translating them into the form of a story that, most of times, contains a beginning, a development and an ending.⁷ The difference between traumatic memory and narrative memory is given by the degree of consciousness and control which the traumatic event can be remembered with. (Caruth, 1995: 143)

Using the narrative memory, traumatic events could be revealed and transposed into literary forms, some of them as a form of healing, some of them as a form of literary way of remembering.

⁶ As Cathy Caruth has stated, history may speak through the individual or through the community. History itself reveals its traumatic experience in the voice of a person or in a voice of a nation. Its own suffering is not only a site of its disruption but the locus of wisdom. (Caruth, 1995: 156)

⁷ It was already known that the human psychology has an essentially narrative structure.

Psychic Trauma in 9/11 Literature

As a historic event, 9/11 changed the way people perceive and understand the world. The tragic legacy of these events as the attacks and the events which followed is considerable. What happened then has refigured the whole culture. In his writings, Richard Gray describes these events as defining elements in the contemporary structure of feeling (Gray, 2009: 129). The abbreviations of 9/11 are fully and easily understood and considered by Mark Redfield as “a blank little scar around which nationalist energies could be marshaled” (Redfield, 2009: 1). Unfortunately, it was these nationalist energies that shaped the post 9/11 literature, media and cinema.

The shock of the hijacked planes flying into the Twin Towers still continues to haunt the present, defining 9/11 as a historical moment. Most of the responses⁸ to the traumatic event have changed from the immediate days to the months and years that followed the attacks, which shows that individuals and communities need time to fully understand the importance of the event. At first, the responses were the survivor’ or eyewitnesses’ reports that provided information containing empirical evidence of the tragic event. Later some of the fiction writers were asked to give their own interpretation on the meaning of what had recently happened. Their accounts, written in the self-consciously register, were mixing journalism with memoir. Although these writings were not very objective, their importance is huge because they were contributing to the act of shaping the discourses of the tragedy. Thus, a complex narrative has emerged generating a new and contemporary literature of terror which gradually has developed a politics and poetics of representation.

The majority of the books published after the tragic event and constructed on the survivors’ and eyewitnesses’ accounts emphasised the commitment to relying upon the individual testimonies. It is the case of Dwyer and Flynn’s *102 Minutes: The Untold Story of the Fight to Survive inside the Twin Towers* (2005) which is focusing mostly on the accounts of those involved in the events. This journalistic work reflects the contemporary media’s reliance on immediate reactions to new stories but, at the same time, it informs of the experiences that were watched on TV and Internet those days. (Randall, 2011: 3-4)

One of the most representative text published at that time (2004) was the *9/11 Commission Report* which appeared after two years of investigation. As Craig Warren considered, although the report is a

⁸ Most of the first responses to the 9/11 event differ in form and tone from some of the later versions.

government document, it gave a historical context and provided a helpful starting point for the themes that have dominated the literature of terror:

By standing beyond the generic conventions of both popular literature and bureaucratic prose, the Report at once invited and challenged classification. It demanded the reader train their interpretative powers not only on the accessible language of the commissioners but also on the wounds behind that language. In American literary history, few bestsellers have required so much of the reader, or illustrated so clearly the public hunger for literature as a means of shaping national identity. (Warren, 2007: 534)

Described as a means of shaping the national identity, that hunger for literature, described by Craig Warren, was fulfilled by many works of fiction. Unfortunately, realistic fiction failed to represent such a resonant and historically significant event, but there were other forms that succeeded. These were, in fact, attempts to understand the meaning of the tragic event and to assimilate it into the realm of representation. The 9/11 literature comes into being as a commemorative fiction, developing a particular theme: the disparity between those lived experiences of the people actually involved in the tragic event and the experiences of the people watching the same event. The early literary responses⁹ contained poems and plays written in haste. It took some time for the 9/11 attacks to appear in literary fiction. For example one of the first books of fiction published was Béigbéder's *Windows on the World* which appeared in 2004. Later, more writers started to focus on the event among them there should be mentioned McEwan, Martin Amis¹⁰ and Don De Lillo.

When these writers first tried to represent in a literary manner the attacks of 9/11, they focused mainly in psychic trauma and the domestic, disregarding the political and the cultural consequences of the tragic and traumatic event. It is the case of novels like: *The Writing on the Wall* (2004) by Lynn Sharon Schwartz, *Windows on the World* (2004) by Frédéric Béigbéder, *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close* (2005) by Jonathan Safran Foer, *The Good Priest's Son* (2005) by Reynolds Price, *The Emperor's*

⁹ As iconographical responses, there should be mentioned the graphic novel and commix too.

¹⁰ For Amis, fiction itself was under attack and he suggested that writers should consider a change in occupation, mostly because he understood war as being between the individual voices of writers and the voice of the crowd. This opposition is characterized by Amis as intrinsic to literature. Despite Amis' assertion, the writers do not write about what is going on but about the impact that those events have on their characters.

Children (2006) by Claire Messud, *The Whole World Over* (2006) by Jay McInerney, *A Day on the Beach* (2007) by Helen Schulman, *The Submission* (2011) by Amy Waldman and many others. Some of the writers tried to find ways to represent the traumatic experiences through experimental literary techniques, introducing images to capture the horror of these experiences without simplifying it.

Writing about 9/11 has been and will always be difficult. Many writers found themselves in the position of choosing between the political novels and the novels of psychic trauma in their attempt of dealing with this event. Critics have also taken into consideration this division when referring to the 9/11 fiction. Richard Gray considers that there are two types of 9/11 novels: those which domesticated the crisis and introduced it into the realm of the familiar environment and those that offer a transnational context and extend the psychic trauma to further levels, including the political, historical and cultural perspective (Gray, 2011: 17). In his analysis, Richard Gray selects novels like *The Writing on the Wall*, *The Emperor's Children*, *A Disorder Peculiar to the Country* (2006) by Ken Kalfus, *The Good Life* (2006) by Jay McInerney and *The Falling Man* (2006) by Don De Lillo to represent the first type of 9/11 novels while novels like Deborah Eisenberg's *Twilight of the Superheroes* (2007), Moxin Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007), Joseph O'Neill's *Netherland* (2008) and Andre Dubus III's *The Grandfather of the Last Days* (2008) are included in the second type of the same categorization.

All these texts have revealed the major difficulties that the writers had when representing the traumatic event; but, aside from *Windows on the World* and the poem and film *Out of the Blue*, the event itself is mostly absent from an explicit description. This fact could be considered possible mainly because this *looking away* from the vivid reality is in fact a tacit acknowledgement made by these writers for whom the traumatic event is beyond any literary representation or visual symbolism which makes the fictional representation (literary or cinematographic) become unnecessary. (Randall, 2011: 8)

The use of the tragic event only as a background for the narratives is common for most of these texts, because each case of psychic trauma, individual or collective, which is revealed in a literary form should be universal. The accurate description of the 9/11 attacks is not meant for literature, but for journalism and media. Unlike journalism or/and media, the value of these novels is not given by the ability to provide information, historical context and immediacy. As a form of artistic representation, literature is independent from history, it may create and use certain rules but it also may function as an alternative to history. (Salván, 2009: 208)

Don De Lillo's *Falling Man* as Psychic Trauma Novel

In his writings, Don De Lillo has dealt with both types of trauma, personal or psychic and collective or cultural. He used different genres to express the individual and the collective consequences of the tragic event. The essay *In the Ruins of the Future* was written only after three months after the attacks. In this case, the author focuses on the cultural consequences that the traumatic event may have on people and on the nation. A combination between psychic trauma narrative, based on the accidental murder of one of the main character's friend, and cultural trauma generated by the cold war in the United States of America can be found in *Underworld* published in 1997. The novel *Falling Man* deals mainly with the psychological consequences of the traumatic event on few individuals.

Different from journalism and media, De Lillo's novels offer new perspectives upon the 9/11 attacks. His writings could reenact the traumatic effects of those tragic moments in the mind of the survivors. In order to overcome the psychic trauma that haunts their lives, the individuals need to assimilate the event in their personal history, accessing the traumatic memory and inserting the event in their existing mental scheme. Their purpose is to turn the traumatic memory into narrative memory through the process of narrating the events. They have to become able to use the language in order to describe what happened. The same process, the one of verbalizing the traumatic events, can be found in *Falling Man* where several characters are trying to turn their traumatic memory into narrative memory. The struggle between the characters' need to deny the event and delay the narration and their urge to know and to speak up represents one of the major themes of the novel. In fact, the whole text is a literary representation of the characters' struggle with their memory ready to reveal what happened inside the towers but impossible to narrate just because the psychic trauma was not assimilated and thus remains beyond the bounds of language. This struggle affects not only the individuals but also the narrative itself.

The novel *Falling Man* deals with 9/11 tragic events but the literary strategy the author chose is not a traditional one which proved to be inadequate for showing the effects of the psychic trauma on certain characters; it is a strategy based on fragmentation, repetition and intertextuality which are more appropriate to present the chaotic aspects of traumatic experiences. The narrative contains three main parts, each of them being named after a character¹¹: Bill Lawton, Ernst Hechinger and David

¹¹ The critic Joseph Conte sustains that the names of the characters share the attribute of metonomasia sine they have been altered to fit certain purposes. He claims that Bill Lawton

Janiak. Being narrated in the third person, the text shifts from one perspective to another, mostly from Lianne and Keith but also from Hammad, one of the terrorists, and Florance, one of the survivors. The novel is almost circular. It opens with the moment when Keith Neudecker was walking away from the towers, only few minutes after the collapse of the first tower, and ends with the same character coming out on the street, escaping from the burning tower. The author's intention is to relieve the past through compulsively repeated words or phrases, repetitive actions and images, nightmares and flashbacks in a similar way as the traumatic mind would reveal itself. In fact, it is accurate to agree that the traumatized minds of the characters shape the entire narrative. The description of Keith's state of mind is given as a narrative disruption:

He used to want to fly out of self-awareness, day and night, a body of raw motion. Now he finds himself drifting into spells of reflection, thinking not in clear units, hard and linked, but only absorbing what comes, drawing things out of time and memory and into some dim space that bears his collected experience. (De Lillo, 2007: 66)

Considering that repetitions, symbolizations, re-enactments and physical suffering are able to replace memory in trauma fiction, in De Lillo's novel they become literary techniques used to reveal the actions, thoughts and reactions of the main characters in the days, months and years after the traumatic event (Vickroy, 2002: 30-33). It is the case of Keith and Lianne. For example, Keith's programme of physical exercises for his wrist also helps him control the unconnected images that spring into his mind like the chaos. He continues to repeat the exercises even when his wrist is fine turning this repetition into a form of mental therapy. The repetition seems it would never end, since Keith still does the old exercise after three years later, counting the seconds needed for the exercise, five seconds each time, and the days after the collapse of the Twin Towers: "He would need an offsetting discipline, a form of controlled behavior, voluntary, that kept him from shambling into the house hating everybody." (De Lillo, 2007: 143)

Because of the memory lapses, while in hospital, Lianne was asked to count down from one hundred by sevens and she continues to do so at home admitting that the repetition brings her comfort:

represents the anglicized form of Osama bin Laden, Ernst Hechinger is in fact the real name of Martin Ridnour, a former German activist, and David Janiak stands for the real name of the artist known as Falling Man. (Conte, 2011: 569)

It made her feel good, the counting down, and she did it sometimes in the day's familiar drift, walking down a street, riding in a taxi. It was her form of lyric verse, subjective and unrhymed, a little songlike but with a rigor, a tradition of fixed order, only backwards, to test the presence of another kind of reversal, which a doctor nicely named retro-genesis. (De Lillo, 2007: 188)

Both Keith and Lianne are looking for specific patterns in order to re-shape their identity and lives. The repetitions they continue to do seem to provide them a certain structure in their chaotic thoughts. Along with these repetitions, Keith finds in poker another structure because of the guiding principles of the game which he considers easy interludes of dream logic. Lianne does the same when she chooses to go to church three times a week for the regular congregants: "They'd established a pattern, these three, or nearly so, and then others entered and the mass began." (De Lillo, 2007: 234)

A clearer structure could be found in Hammad's life, one of the terrorists who hijacked the plane that crashed into Keith's tower. He has a previously established pattern to follow and for him most of the things were very well defined. On a certain level, there is a similarity among Hammad's narrative, Keith's obsession with poker and Lianne's regular mass attendance: they all share a common need for rules, structures and patterns.

The same need for structure is to be found in the whole narrative and even in small fragments. For example, in a single sentence, describing the situation inside the plane in the minutes just before the crash, two of the main characters, Keith and Hammad, are linked together following a narrative pattern:

A bottle fell off the counter in the gallery, on the other side of the aisle, and he (Hammad) watched it roll this way and that, a water bottle, empty, making an arc one way and rolling back the other, and he watched it spin more quickly and then skitter across the floor an instant before the aircraft struck the tower, heat, then fuel, then fire, and a blast wave passed through the structure that sent Keith Neudecker out of his chair and into a wall. (De Lillo, 2007: 239)

On a larger level, the same structure links the opening moment, which describes the scene in which Keith leaves the towers, with the final moment which refers to the same scene but with few seconds before.

Besides the repetitions, there are also symbolic images¹² which play an important role in the trauma process and in its representation in *Falling Man*. According to Luckhurst, traumatized persons see intrusive images and also have recurrent dreams and nightmares which are meant to replace narrative memory in a traumatized mind. More than that, the psychic registration of trauma may reside in the image which functions as a symbol. (Luckhurst, 2008: 147) Following this point of view, the well-known images of the 9/11 attacks that open the novel achieve the function of symbols:

It was not a street anymore, but a world, a time and a space of falling ash and near night. He was walking north through rubble and mud and there were people running past holding towels to their faces or jackets over their heads. They had handkerchiefs pressed to their mouths. They had shoes in their hands, a woman with a shoe in each hand running past. They ran and fell some of them, confused and ungainly, with debris coming down round them and there were people taking shelter under cars. (De Lillo, 2007: 3)

The power of the image just described lies in the fact that it symbolizes the individual frozen in a free fall, like the traumatic memory frozen in the individual's mind which is no longer able to integrate the traumatic experience into memory, mainly because it lacks a form of reference and narrative. Similarly, the image of free falling¹³ becomes the key symbol in the novel, standing for the falling through time, space and memory. The image of falling ashes substitutes Keith's own disintegration as an individual. He can no longer voice his feelings, he can no longer adapt to his new life, to his new identity and to a new reality which he cannot recognize and thus prefers to lose his time playing poker in Las Vegas, but the image still returns in his mind as flashbacks: "These were the days after and now the years, a thousand heaving dreams, the trapped man, the fixed limbs, the dream of paralysis, the gasping man, the dream of asphyxiation, the dream of helplessness." (De Lillo, 2007: 230)

In *Falling Man* the focus is on visual images rather than on narrative. Traumatic memory cannot be fixed on a linguistic level but on an

¹² Some of 9/11 narratives contain literally inserted images. It is the case of Frédéric Beigbeder's *Windows on the World* and Jonathan Safran Foer's *Extremely Loud and Incredibly Close*.

¹³ This image makes reference to the photograph known as *The Falling Man* taken by Richard Drew and published on the page seven of *The New York Times* on September the 12th 2001. The same photograph was further reproduced in lots of newspapers all over the world.

iconic and/or symbolic one. It is non-verbal, context-free and non-narrative. (Van der Kolk and Van der Hart, 1995: 160-62) The novel reflects this type of memory through imaged, repeated and fragmented episodes. Thus, traumatic memory uses images which re-interpret and transcends the traumatic events in order to find a way to understand them. It is the example of the image representing the shirt which falls down out of the smoke in the air. This image functions as a substitute for the real image of a falling man which Keith interpreted as a falling shirt revealing his incapacity of incorporating the image in a normal narrative memory, causing his cognitive and emotional paralysis. Unlike Keith, Lianne needs art to come to terms with the images that haunt her mind and that are freed through Giorgio Morandi's still lives. She tries to interpret the meaning behind the performance of the artist that re-enacts the image of falling people from the Twin Towers. Trauma can be translated and understood via art, stated Ann Kaplan (Kaplan, 2005: 19). Although it does not provide answers, art may help to work through the pain that trauma causes while the wound is open. This is what Lianne does, uses the painting and the performance as mediators of her own pain.

The two main characters, Keith and Lianne, represent the two sides of the same coin: the one who fails and the one who almost succeeds in the process of overcoming the individual trauma. Their frozen identity remains somewhere between the traumatic memory and the narrative memory. The repetitions, the symbols of the images and the acts of re-enactment the traumatic experiences in order to surpass them represent psychological strategies meant for restoring the traumatic self. At the same time, they could be considered literary strategies for a narrative that shares the same way of functioning as the individual's mind. *Falling Man* intends to describe the chaotic aspects of trauma as they are revealed by a tormented mind and highlighted through literary strategies in a narrative text. All the shifts in time and memory, all the visual images, the textual gaps, repetitions, narrative disruptions, the entire variety of subject changing points of view render the disorienting positions of the characters who have experienced tragic events.¹⁴

The novel presents trauma by internalizing the rhythms processes and uncertainties of traumatic experience within the characters' sensibilities, structures and identity (Vickroy, 2002: 4). Trauma was introduced in the

¹⁴ Both, Keith and Lianne act out their trauma but prove to be incapable to distinguish between past, present and future, feeling their perception of time altered by the tragic events.

human consciousness as a temporal dislocation and anamnesis disrupting the individual's sense of identity.

“What is produced in the post-war world is, then, a disrupted temporality in which the dynamic relation between past, present and future which we saw as intrinsic to modernity is forced to co-exist with elements of frozen time: a lost past, a traumatic present and a blighted future. (Armstrong, 2005: 19)

In the world offered by the novel *Falling Man* the identity of the characters becomes fluid and loses its form. It has to be re-integrated within the narrative memory together with all the other traumatic moments. The ambiguous ending shows an atmosphere of suspension, reflecting the same inability of assimilating the traumatic reality. This unclear manner of closing a novel may be another literary strategy meant to determine the readers become witnesses of the tragic events and fully understand the characters' trauma.

Conclusion

The novel *Falling Man* as a psychic trauma narrative reflects the effects of a traumatic event on the individual. The 9/11 attacks¹⁵ affected not only those who were directly implicated in the event but also society at large, disrupting the attachments between self and others. The very same event is impossible to be assimilated and integrated in the individual's mind since he or she can no longer take as a reference his or her identity. The individual wounds tend to re-shape the nation's sense of identity just as it tends to re-shape the victim's identity. The literary strategies used in the novel reflect, at a formal level, the traumatic effects of trauma on individuals. The narrative does not represent trauma as a cultural subject matter but it re-enacts the influence that the events had on victims' traumatic memory. The novel is using repetitions, fragmentations, temporal disruptions, symbolic images, shifting perspectives as literary strategies for a particular trauma aesthetic. Thus it renders the manner a traumatic mind works, trying to re-shape reality and identity, being based on the contradiction which states that traumatic experiences resist verbalization and representation. This contradiction causes the rejection of the linear representation of traumatic events in trauma fiction and the use of unsettling temporal structures and various ways of indicating referentiality, figuration and indirection become more appropriate and specific for 9/11 psychic trauma novels.

¹⁵ As a mediated event, the 9/11 attacks were traumatic more in the symbolic way and rather for what it represented than for the actual damage that it caused. (Redfield, 2009: 4)

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The Problem of Security Through the Gendered Lens

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Abstract: The paper presents the question of security analysis through the prism of feminist theories. The examinations cover the main dilemmas and challenges in political science, which are framed by feminist rhetoric. The paper discusses the issues of feminist research, which can be used in the analysis of armed conflicts and non-military threats. The main thesis of the article consists of the claim that a certain kind of “male skew” dominates and is perpetuated in scientific considerations, while a feminist approach would considerably extend and broaden security-related phenomena analyses. The article concludes that the origins, structure, and functioning of any security system without a gendered lens is incomplete and needs further reflection.

Keywords: *gender, feminism, terrorism, security, violence.*

Introduction

Feminist research in the area of security focuses primarily on reformulating theories and evaluating empirical assumptions. It re-visits the concepts of sovereignty, state and security, expanding the discourse by research questions regarding the presence (or in fact the reasons for the absence) of women among the entities shaping security and defense policies. Moreover, the goal of feminism is to re-establish the presence of women in many areas of social life, including security studies. The intention is to analyse women as actors and their experiences assuming that men’s experiences are distinct. The social determinants may differ in view of the gender roles and the meanings assigned to them. The feminist approach is particularly useful in the analysis of security threats like: wars, armed conflicts, asymmetric threats, e.g. guerrilla warfare or terrorism. (Gasztold, 2017)

According to a feminist perspective, security is perceived through the prism of human needs. As J. Ann Tickner notes, the broadening of our understanding of security per se to encompass economic and ecological aspects means the state ceases to be an adequate (and self-sufficient) provider of security (Tickner, 1997a: 187). Feminism focuses not only on the very concept of security and its new dimensions, but also on entities that provide and ensure security. Therefore, the analysis is often conducted using a bottom-up approach, starting at the level of the individual, then the local community, the state and finally at the level of the international system.

This is to demonstrate the double-track nature of the interaction, i.e. how the security of the individual is linked to national and international security and how international relations affect the security of the individual even at local levels. (Tickner, 2007: 193)

This article aims to outline the basic issues of feminism in security research. To this end, selected assumptions and conceptions – situated mainly within the domains of liberal, radical and postcolonial feminism – shall be presented. The method of critical analysis of texts that moulded feminist research in the field of international relations and security studies, particularly in Anglo-Saxon countries, is applied. The main intention of the author is to expose unequal gender relations, which shape the perception of security, and to attempt to answer the question of whether including a female perspective will allow to develop a broader definition of security as well as a more comprehensive analysis of threats. Due to the traditional understanding of internal and external functions of the state in the area of ensuring security through a predominantly military prism – one associated with masculinity – the roles and experiences of women were marginalized and thus such an interpretation of reality seems to be incomplete and devoid of objectivity.

Violence Against Women

Jane Addams, the founder of the Woman's Peace Party, made a pioneer contribution to the debate on security. Among other things, she took part in organizing a congress of over 1,000 women from Europe and North America, which took place in The Hague in the midst of World War I, from April 28 to May 1, 1915. The main topics of discussion included ceasing military actions and the chances of restoring peace. The event marked the foundation of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). It was Jane Addams, together with other activists of the women's movement for peace, Emily G. Balch and Alice Hamilton. Addams was actively calling for a new internationalism while criticizing nationalism as the main cause of the war, and pointing out that it is the women and the children who are the main victims of armed conflicts (Addams & Balch & Hamilton, 1916). For her work, Addams was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931, and Balch in 1946.

Violence against women, especially as a consequence of a political situation, was part of the international discourse after World War II as well. The United Nations periodically published situational reports on the situation of women, including those in regions affected by armed conflict. An extreme case was, and is, regarding the so-called honor killings,

mutilations and the rejection of unmarried and childless females as the norm of violence. Throughout the years women and children have constituted the largest group of refugees, as they are primary victims of injustice, whether in times of war or peace. Nevertheless, the interest in the role and situation of women during wartime was marginal, especially within the scope of traditional political sciences. A change in perception was brought about by female political scientists, who were not necessarily feminists. Their works, however, did not trigger a broader debate within the history of militarism or prompt the development of a “feminist theory of war.” The *gender* variable remains on the of the main discourse. And the history of wars remains a history of men. (Goldstein, 2001: 34-36)

Armed conflicts lead to an intensification in the use of sexual-based violence against women, both physical and psychological. Susan Brownmiller – when considering the situation of women in the 1960s in the US – even remarks that being defeated was long equated with females, and that over time became a component of the female role (Brownmiller, 1970). This conclusion can be transferred to the situation of women in times of war: winning is the domain of men, the role for women is to seek refuge or become a victim. A general phenomenon is the re-sexualization of violence, including incidents of rape towards ethnically different communities e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Congo, and Myanmar (Stiglmayer 1994; Askin, 1999; Hayden, 2000; Skjelbæk 2006). Both the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) included rape as a crime against humanity. The tribunals issued indictments for sexual violence, and the defendants were found guilty of rape, abduction and torture, and of crimes committed with specific intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a certain group (crime of genocide by rape) and of violating the laws and customs of war. The intentionality of rape and its physical and psychological effects bring it closer to the concept of torture. It has also been recognized as a form of discrimination against women, an act committed against women because they are women. The rules developed by ICTY and ICTR have been incorporated into the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in article 7 (g) and article 8 (vi), which has been in effect since July 1, 2002. The inaugural meeting of the ICC was held on March 11, 2003¹⁶. Herfried Münkler recognized the method of rape as one of the characteristics of new war economy (Münkler, 2002). The re-sexualization of violence also brings about the humiliation of men, or even a deprivation

¹⁶Document:https://www.icc-cpi.int/nr/rdonlyres/ea9aef7-5752-4f84-be940a655eb30e16/0/rome_statute_english.pdf (2.02.2018)

of masculinity through the mechanism of transferred guilt (for not being able to protect their women), with which the victims are burdened. Thus armed conflicts cause double harm to women: the violence they experience from the aggressors as well as the rejection, or “secondary victimization,” they suffer after the trauma from their own ethnic/national groups. The myth that women are protected by men in times of armed conflict or in times of peace should therefore be redefined. (Stiehm, 1983)

Violence against women, especially sexual gender-based violence, cannot in any way be compared with such violence experienced by men. It is widely believed that aggression towards women is more prevalent in militarized societies and acceptable or endorsed in patriarchal systems (e.g. through legislation, controlling women’s rights to their own bodies or their image and other customary practices). The main institution that perpetuates this state of affairs and reflects the society on a microscale is the family (Millet, 2005: 42). Not without significance is socialisation and a universally accepted prejudice about the superiority of men which both sustain their dominant, superior position. This male supremacy is not based on physical strength, but rather on the acceptance of a certain system of values. Thus, violence against women sanctioned within the family by the superior position of the man relates to violence in general, including public, state and political violence. These relations are linked and bound by the phenomenon of power where authority is defined through the possibility of using force. The role of a man as the perpetrator and the woman as the victim derives from a general acceptance of such a state of affairs by both sexes, that is, their perception of power through the prism of managing and administering violence.

Kate Millett emphasises that patriarchal communities generally tend to combine cruelty with sexuality, not so much as a display of evil but as a display of power. While sadism is associated with the “male role,” the experience of being a victim is associated with the “female role.” These observations also came up in the psychoanalysis and study on pornography. Biological sex(sex) is – as Millett puts it – a status category with political implications since it comes down to a relationship of dominance and subordination and outlines the phenomenon of authority (*Herrschaft*) as defined by Max Weber (Millet, 2005: 38). Women are subjected to “cultural training” and “conditioned from a young age by opinions on which »we all agree« and which »cannot be challenged« and thus are trapped in a web of social expectations, standards, and instructions” (Hołówka, 1982: 17). However, relations developed within the family, based on male dominance, i.e. on discrimination against women, do not entail a lack of choice for women. Sexism, characteristic of male dominance, is not always

associated with oppression. One clear example would be the significant areas of freedom for women in capitalist countries – or in fact, as black feminists argue, “appearances” of those as they mainly apply to white middle class women for whom being a feminist means achieving success on equal terms with men.

Domestic violence, affecting mainly women and children, also exposes the weakness of the state as it takes place in a space that is allegedly covered by legal regulations. Women constitute half of the world’s population and one-third of the active labour force and they account for two-thirds of all working hours, yet they only receive 10% of global revenues and own less than 1% of world property. Women earn less than men, they experience poverty more often than men and have greater difficulty in securing employment. Also, when they act as the head of the family (e.g. single mothers, unemployment or illness of the partner) they transfer poverty onto their children (“intergenerational transmission of poverty”). In addition to the living conditions (material position of women) their social situation is problematic as well. This undermines the role of the state as an organization that provides care and security to all its citizens (UN Women, 2000). In 2010 a global initiative called United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) was established with the aim to further the agenda for women and girls. This project drew from the framework of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action elaborated fifteen years earlier during the Fourth World Conference on Women. However, to this day there is no international database that would include a gender variable in the study of e.g. poverty levels. (Chant, 2008)

Maggie Humm in the Dictionary of feminist theory (Humm, 1989) under the term aggression invokes researchers who took it upon themselves to analyze the problem, including biological and psychological differences (feminist psychoanalysis), recognizing the phenomenon of male aggression as a product not of biology but of social and cultural context. This is confirmed by anthropological research that has shown that both women and men can generate aggression (Mead, 1949). However, the dispute within the framework of feminism has not been resolved. Susan Brownmiller argues that genetics is responsible for the aggression of men, which is a form of expressing rage and anger (Brownmiller, 1975). Whereas Ruth Bleier claims the term has undergone a certain anthropomorphization (Bleier, 1984). The assumption that men are more aggressive than women was scientifically confirmed and said to be determined by, for example, physicality, a tendency to limit the feeling of repentance or guilt as well as conditioned culturally, by gender roles (Zięba, 2016: 30-32). Differences between women and men in regards to aggressive behaviour, including physical and

verbal abuse, have been proven and it has also been shown that women are able to refrain from the use of force for longer than men. This was attributed to women being likely to feel the fear of consequences. These differences in the use of force are confirmed in studies on all the different cultures, also among children (Archer, 2004). In their research, B. Ann Bettencourt and Norman Miller found that women become aggressive in specific situations. A catalyst could be, for example, a provocation, which is a frequent element of social life. Its intensity, type of influence (negative/positive) and whether it can trigger a feeling of fear of danger all play a role. Negative provocations include insults, pejorative evaluation, physical assault or causing frustration. Similar reactions to provocation were observed among men that do not confirm assumptions on the differences between genders. (Bettencourt & Miller, 1996)

Impulsive behaviour was affiliated with a high level of testosterone. This hormone positively affects the level of aggression and may manifest itself in antisocial behaviour (Dabbs & Morris, 1990). However, studies have shown that the level of testosterone among children aged 1 to 7 is similar regardless of sex. As a boy grows up, the level of testosterone rises and this increase can be associated with the need for dominance, but understood rather as achieving social success than using physical aggression (Mazur & Booth, 1998). Therefore, this does not confirm the natural tendency of men to participate in political violence. A different premise could be the need for a man to prove himself in the role of a warrior, which is related to competition with other men and upbringing. The status of a warrior, especially in traditional cultures, embodied this heroic ethos. The related prestige and fame had an impact on the access to certain goods and prompted an increase in the number of sexual partners. (Van Vugt & De Cremer & Janssen 2007)

Women in Armed Conflicts

In most countries, citizenship is correlated with a military version of patriotism and a vision of sacrificing life for homeland. According to J. Ann Tickner, women, who were excluded from armed combat, were thus considered second-class citizens or victims, assuming that they did not possess any defensive skills. The political identity of citizens was largely based on the protector–protected relationship, being a stark manifestation of gender inequality. Such an approach to defining security is incomplete. The ever-widening understanding of the notion, encompassing economic, social, cultural and ecological aspects has revealed to many researchers just how exposed to women vulnerability (Tickner, 1997: 191-192). On the other

hand, especially within the realm of postcolonial feminism, there has been growing criticism of the discourse on the perception of women in times of armed conflict. Notably, the portrayal of women as in need of protection by men, a certain form of protectorate and rescue from peril, and the ignorance of the conditions that make up the lives of women in particular regions of the world have been strongly disputed. Especially in the era of new wars, the position of victim-woman (followed by rescued woman) is being exposed in an excessive and simplified manner, reinforcing gender stereotypes (Stiehm, 1983). The fetishization of weapons, armed conflicts as a form of men proving their courage, and external threats regarded as total wars (e.g. the Global War on Terrorism) strengthens certain ideas and attitudes about gender roles in the context of patriotic mobilization of the civilians.

A natural element of protecting the defenceless (i.e. in local context: women) is also their subordination (control). Nobody asks those who are to be saved (Muslim women in danger) from all the evil of this world (from Talibans, Al-Qa'ida, Saddam Hussein, the so-called Islamic State, that "dangerous Muslim") whether they want to be saved and whether it is to be by the hand of the "civilized" liberator (European/ American). Lila Abu-Lughod emphasizes that we need to be vigilant when neat cultural icons are plastered over more complicated historical and political dynamics. (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Róžalska, 2016)

In the realm of postcolonial feminism, efforts have been made to highlight the cause and effect relationship between racism and political, economic and cultural colonialism, and the non-white (non-western) woman who participates in political violence (Yuval-Davis 1997; Bulbeck 1998; Chowdhry & Nair, 2002; Berger & Guidroz 2009; McLeod, 2010). Still, the central dimension that is the focus of research on relations between communities and the state is the role of women. Such an approach underlines the importance of internal and external conditions of the postcolonial world as well as the racial/ethnic differences that affect the direction of action and the engagement and visibility of women in public space. Thus the trend of liberal feminism is subject to criticism, especially for its inclination to promote emancipation, its arrogance resulting from the sense of infallibility and superiority, and its tendency to conduct so-called "rescue actions" by "us" of those "others" whose position is often different and complicated due to poverty and backwardness.

One problem here is tagging and generalization (e.g. „all Arabs”) and the exposure of the term "nation." In the Western world, this term, alongside nationalism, is usually a historical fact and these were the main driving forces of independence movements, building state identity and

creating the concept of a nation state with defined borders (Yuval-Davis & Athias, 1983) “White” feminists and activists of aid organizations are accused of a lack of understanding of the very specific and multifaceted conditions in other regions. This rings especially true when they emphasize oppression in traditional cultures and patriarchal systems, which – in their view – objectify women, “oppressing” their personality and development. The effort to “save” that suppressed and passive woman, modeled on Western solutions, ignores the spectrum of diverse roles and positions of women in non-European cultures. (Tripp, 2002)

In the United States, the public debate on the participation of women in armed combat was connected to the events of the early 1990s (the Gulf War) and it revolved around issues such as the nature of war and gender differences, including competence and biological inclinations. The debate was influenced not only by ideological factors such as religious beliefs, but also political affiliation, perception of national security, social status (including affiliations to the military) and education, familiarity with feminist issues and attitudes towards feminism. These made up a wide range of conditions for dominant assumptions, prejudices and stereotypes, and myths about what is perceived as masculine and what is perceived as feminine, thus shaping what was “natural” or “adequate” to gender roles and behaviours (Code, 1991). The presence of women in the army does not affect the effectiveness on the battlefield nor does it hinder combat capabilities. Nor were any differences in ensuring security confirmed in instances of women participating in other militarized formations. (Woodward & Duncanson, 2017)

The history of women involved in armed conflicts exhibits, according to Linda Grant DePauw, four distinguishable roles. The first role consists of performing a traditional function in which a woman, while also being a victim, encourages the combat. The second role is associated with the type of courage that is described as “male,” where the woman focuses on survival and her position does not undermine the stereotyped perceptions of gender (female leader, mother, protector of the family home, woman working in the arms industry). Then there are women who fulfil auxiliary and nursing roles on the battlefield (e.g. nurses, couriers). Finally there’s the role of the soldier when in special historical moments women were permitted to perform male functions (DePauw, 1998: 17-25). Also Jean Bethke Elshtain does not dismiss the idea of women performing roles that are shaped by culture and relate to social constructs of man as “*Just Warrior*” and woman as “*Beautiful Soul*” (Elshtain, 1987). These assumptions are inconsistent with the concept proposed by Sara Ruddick which is based on *maternal thinking* and *caring*. For example, Ruddick

distinguished three stereotypical identities that can be observed in women in times of war: *mater dolorosa*, *outsider* and *peacemaker*, while assuming that these may overlap or interfere with one other. *Mater dolorosa* is the image of a mother of sorrows, who holds the family together and has the potential to reconstruct the social structure in communities affected or ravaged by war. It is the most deeply rooted image of a woman in the context of war. The *outsider* persona is a woman who is, by force or by choice, alienated from the men's war as war is attributed to masculinity. War is perceived as a form of extraordinary misogyny that induces, validates, and rewards behaviours which lead to violence against women. Finally, the *peacemaker* identity exhibits skills related to building relations and resolving conflicts in a non-violent way. In this approach, war is an inherent element of culture (war culture); counteracting it should focus on 1) introducing social changes, in line with the premise that women have the ability to build relations in a peaceful manner, and 2) promoting maternal thinking among men (Ruddick, 1998). Cynthia Enloe, however, disputes such an approach warning that the peaceful attitude limits the impact on militarized masculinity. Limiting or reducing one to the role of the mother may reinforce certain social norms and hence perpetuate the roles of each gender within the realm of war. Enloe also doubts a real change in the very essence of war and the military can occur through an active participation of women soldiers as their percentages are not high enough to battle sexism that comes with militarism. (Enloe, 1983: 17)

Liberal feminism is making the argument that equal rights of women and men also apply to women participating in military activities in the same scope as men. At the same time, it expresses the hope that the participation of women in armed forces could lead to a transformation of those hierarchical structures in a direction of democratic and equality standards. Then there are radical feminists who are among the biggest supporters of women's military service. Radical feminism, in a way, tries to free women from their corporeality by painting a vision of androgyny (bisexuality). New regulations and trends regarding mainly women's reproductive capacities (abortion, in vitro fertilization, birth control) and customs (polygamy, free relationships) enable women to grow in all areas of life, including the sphere of the military. Men's and women's features are losing importance. Noticeably, though, it is the women who adopt masculine behaviours not features who benefit from the concept of bisexuality. It allows them to function effectively in a world based on male-centred notions, because behaviours can undergo modification. In contrast, copying male traits still causes dissonance between that expression and biological sex. Military

service can be a liberation from patriarchy and an expression of solidarity among women echoing the idea of “sisterhood.” A woman-soldier strengthens the position of women. These assumptions, however, did not hold when confronted with reality. Throughout the centuries, limited access to the military meant to guarantee a *status quo* of male dominance in almost all cultures, not only those strictly patriarchal. Modern armies continue to perpetuate stereotypical gender roles, block the promotion of women and frown upon their active participation in military operations. The illusions of equality and departure from ossified hierarchical structures that replicate the foundations of patriarchal systems turned out to be just that – illusions (D’Amico, 1998). Notably, conflicts tend to employ the notions of sexuality and stereotypes on the biological perception of women. Joshua P. Goldstein talks of means that stimulate men’s engagement in the fight, some aimed at the enemy, some raising morale. Positive stimulation includes prostitution that accompanies military operations, images of young scantily clad women (so-called pin-up girls) that trigger intense desire (and therefore the soldier’s masculinity), pornography, reinforcing the phallic symbolism of weapons and the myth of protecting women from danger. Methods and techniques used to feminize the enemy include primarily degrading epithets and actions, such as executions of the male community, castration, enslavement and rape – both on women and men. (Goldstein 2001: 331-371)

The so-called male gaze, encountered in analyses of the role and significance of women in the context of political violence, centralizes the processes of representations wherein the male point of view is foregrounded. The term itself was coined in 1973 by Laura Mulvey and published in the prestigious “Screen” magazine in 1975. It refers primarily to the way women are presented through the prism of the privileged male (and heterosexual) spectatorial position within visual arts and literature (Mulvey, 1975). This approach indicates an unequal power relationship and the objectification of women, but it works in both ways, having an influence – usually a different or opposite one – on both the observed and the observer. There is clear emphasis on women as objects which are pressured by social norms, religion, race and a “sense of hopelessness” to certain acts and behaviours in the public sphere. Women are not perceived as individuals who are responsible for themselves and able to take independent decisions and create their own narratives. This is often due to the fact that it is a man who is telling the stories of those women, denying them the right to have a voice (his story instead of her story). While the image of harm and suffering is highlighted, at the same time a thought out choice of particular actions in the public/political sphere is contested (Tickner 1997b; Wibben, 2011). Some, especially advocates of feminist empiricism, emphasize that

presenting history while excluding the participation of women, as researchers and as narrators of own experiences, is largely incomplete. A reconstruction of any historical event should take into account women's issues. The history of women and the history of men should not be treated as separate as they in fact complement each other. The study of positions, roles and relations of women in the events that shape the political sphere contributes to the development of various research disciplines, not only the science of politics or security.

Conclusions

Among the various feminist factions, certain common elements regarding security studies can be distinguished. Firstly, the feminist approach uses, as its research method, critical analysis of existing paradigms, theories, concepts and language. The main goal is to avoid in scientific considerations a certain kind of "male skew." The feminist approach assumes that using the gender variable (cultural sex) and including the experiences of women in the analysis of political life and security issues leads to a fuller study of the public space and the interactions within it. Traditional theories of political sciences marginalize the significance of women, as well as the role of gender as a category of social and political life, by, for example, employing a simplification in the form of individual-citizen-man. This generalization also applies to security studies. The dominant stereotypical thinking, the replicating of patriarchal structures and the perpetuated masculinization of militarism do not encourage scholars to take a feminist perspective. This is largely due to the perpetuation of the hegemony of men in the community of researchers and overzealous censors who have the power to interpret and shape reality. Assuming that gender is a social construct related to the assignment of roles and norms, it is also related to the identity of the individual, their social identity and way of life. It has an impact on the distribution of power, privilege and prestige. The system of gender roles and their inter-relationships conditions every aspect of human life, including security and political violence. The primary mission of feminism is to raise awareness and thus strive for the inclusion of the place and position of women, not in contrast to men, but on equal terms in relation to both scientific theory and the practice of social life. At the same time, the role of quantitative research is being marginalized as those are perceived as a patriarchal tool that confines the science within the male vision.

The gender category is of importance in studying the entirety of security issues, including the conditions and processes that shape the genesis, structure and functioning of individual security systems. Consequently, proponents of the feminist perspective also point out that, at least within political science, avoidance of the gender aspect excludes from research certain determinants and processes that are essential to the world of politics. The feminist theories and gender lens can also be used to analyse security-related phenomena such as armed conflicts and non-military threats. A feminist approach can broaden the scope of analysis of motives behind women undertaking certain particular actions, which thus allows researchers to showcase the specificity of security-related behaviours. It should be emphasized that “including women,” their perspectives and experiences, does not mean the marginalization of men. Adding a female perspective is complementary and warranted since in traditional scientific research their role and significance have been omitted. However, the ideal of objectivity of science might still remain out of reach since cultural sex may condition the cognitive perspective of the male or female researcher.

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Psychoanalytische und Interkulturelle Aspekte in Virginia Woolfs *Orlando*

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Abstract: In meiner Arbeit werde ich Virginia Woolfs Gebrauch der freudschen und jungschen Psychoanalyse und Psychopathologie analysieren, um auf die Abgründe des menschlichen Verstands Licht zu werfen. Weil sie sowohl Carl Gustav Jungs Archetypen anwendet, als auch das Motiv des Traums in ihrem Werk verarbeitet, schafft Woolf die geeignete Umwelt für die Lebensentwicklung ihrer Figuren. Das Motiv der Androgynie steht im Mittelpunkt in *Orlando*, was zur Trübung der Hauptfigur beiträgt. Das Vorhandensein eines Mandala rahmt das ganze Dasein von *Orlando* ein, und der Kontakt mit verschiedenen Kulturen hebt umso mehr seine Geisteswirrung und -störungen hervor.

In der fortdauernden gegenwärtigen internationalen territorialen Mobilität mit dem Fremdenstatus wirksam und richtig umzugehen ist mit der Zeit ein wichtiger Aspekt der Weltgesellschaft geworden. Ausgesehen davon, ob man sich als Dritter, als Fremder in einer neuen unbekanntenen Kultur befindet, oder ob man die Rolle des Einheimischen, des kulturellen Reiseführers und Vermittlers für Individuen mit einer anderen Staatsangehörigkeit übernimmt, prägen interkulturelle Erfahrungen die Ich-Identität eines Einzelnen entweder positiv oder negativ. Die Bedeutung der Übernahme einer wirkungsvollen interkulturellen Verhaltensweise und der Beseitigung der Kenntnislosigkeit mit Bezug auf den Dialog zwischen den Kulturen verlangen eine kulturorientierte Anschneidungsweise der zwischenmenschlichen Kommunikation außerhalb der Grenzen des eigenen Kulturkreises.

Keywords: *Androgynie, Archetypen, Hybrid, Kulturdistanz, Psychoanalyse.*

Einführung

Die Psychoanalyse ist eine Theorie des Verständnisses des menschlichen seelischen Lebens, aber auch eine Art Psychotherapie, die den Individuen mittels der Elementen, auf die sie sich konzentriert, zu helfen versucht. Das schafft ein Psychoanalytiker durch die Anamnese, freie Assoziationen, die Deutung der verfehlten Akten, die Traumdeutung, die Deutung der Symbole und das Versetzungsproblem. Auch in der Literatur wird dieses Heilmittel angewandt, wie es der Fall von Virginia Woolfs Roman *Orlando* ist, Aspekte, die in der vorliegenden Arbeit analysiert werden. Welche psychopathologischen Aspekte finden sich an der Hauptfigur dieses Romans wieder? Als Ausgangspunkt dieser Analyse würde der Ansatz des Professors Constantin Enăchescu berücksichtigt, der sich mit mannigfaltigen Problemen des psychischen Lebens eines

Individuums auseinandergesetzt hat. Mittels einer Literaturobwertung, sind wir von den interkulturellen und kulturvergleichenden Studien von Gerhard Maletzke und Petia Genkova ausgegangen, die sich mit der praktischen Anwendung verschiedener Kulturbegriffe in der Wirklichkeit, in der Gesellschaft auseinandersetzen, die die interkulturelle Erfahrung besser schildern kann und sie in einem theoretischen Kontext einrahmt, um Licht auf die Vielfalt der Merkmale der Völker und auf einige grundsätzliche Aspekte oder Probleme zu werfen, die im Falle eines interkulturellen Kontakts und Dialogs vermieden werden können oder berücksichtigt werden müssen.

Der Dritte als Fremder

Was ist ein Fremder?

Man spricht von Fremden, aber auf welchen Bezugssystem beziehen wir uns? Die Figur des Dritten verfügt von keiner festen Abgrenzung der Ich – Identität von der Alterität. Sie stimmt weder mit der eigenen Identität überein, noch kann sie gänzlich dem Fremden eingefügt werden, sondern der Dritte stellt eine Mischform dieser beiden Instanzen, einen Hybrid dar. Fremd ist jede andere Person, die nicht Ich ist. Die Alterität sowohl als verschiedene unabhängige Entität, aber auch als Alter-Ego, der noch zu meinem Körper gehört, aber mir als fremd vorkommt. Die Ich – Identität, die ich als bekannt und eigen wahrnehme, wird zum Fremdbild für andere Individuen. Fremd ist demzufolge ein subjektiver und relativer Begriff, der seine Tentakel nach jedem Einzelnen streckt und zu einem weltweiten Netzwerk wird. Fremd kann also in zwei Subsysteme eingeordnet werden. Einerseits, bezieht sich das Konzept auf alles, was nicht zur Ich-Identität gehört, was einem unbekannt ist, ohne die Bedingung der Angehörigkeit an einer anderen Kultur zu erfüllen, sondern es beruft sich darauf, was mein kognitives Gedächtnis oder meine Sinneserfahrungen als nicht früher Erlebtes erkennen. Fremd ist in diesem Fall ein Synonym für unbekannt. Bei Menschen, die entweder an Geistesstörungen oder an neurologischen Erkrankungen leiden, wie zum Beispiel Alzheimer, wird das Ich sogar zu einem fremden, bzw. unbekanntem Entität, oder Schizophrenie, in deren Fall man mit Sinnestäuschungen und demgemäß mit einem als unbekannt vorkommenden Erfahrung rechnen muss.

Die Erkennung und Anerkennung findet daraufhin bei der ersten oben erwähnten Fremdenkategorie und auch bei der zweiten mittels und nur infolge der Gehirntätigkeit statt, die, wie Henri Bergson zu sagen pflegte,

unsere äußere Wirklichkeit beeinflusst und schildert, weil es die Letztere nicht gebe, sondern sie nur eine Vorstellung unseres inneren Lebens wäre.

Die zweite Kategorie des Fremden übernimmt die Abhängigkeit von Raumrichtpunkten, Identitätsrekonstruktion und der Beziehung zur kulturellen Inhalt. Die Reaktion jedes Einzelnen auf eine fremde Umwelt beruht auf einer Häufung von endogenen und exogenen Faktoren, die den Übergang von einem Kulturkreis zu einem anderen gestalten, wobei sie sogar Statusveränderungen verursachen können. Fremd heißt unbekannt, unbekannt heißt Dunkelheit und im Dunkeln wie ein Blinder herumzutasten und der Unsicherheit ausgesetzt zu werden setzt die Ich-Identität in Gefahr. Weil es einem infolge der Erfahrung im Fremden zwei Wege zur Wahl stehen, entweder fördert man den interkulturellen Dialog und pflegt ein harmonisches Miteinander und wirkungsvolle Verhältnisse zu den Einheimischen innerhalb der mehrheitlichen Sozialgruppe und dann wird man zum Kandidaten für Integration oder Assimilation durch Anpassung, oder man isoliert sich und schafft eine Parallelgesellschaft als Alternative außerhalb des Ingroups, der Referenzgruppe wegen seiner Unfähigkeit, die kulturelle Identität zu finden, da der Kulturschock zu groß war, oder der Abweisung der Gesellschaft, was eine Randexistenz als Marginal Man (Stichweh, 2010: 11) voraussetzt.

Fremd heißt also nicht am Rande einer Gesellschaft oder Kultur platziert zu werden, sondern eher lässt sich dieser Begriff durch den englischen "sojourner" definieren (Stichweh, 2010: 10), ein ewiger Ankömmling, der von einem Ort zum anderen wandert und sich die Kulturdistanz verinnerlicht, indem man alles von der Seite beobachten kann. Der Außenseiter, oder marginal man, wie er von Robert Ezra Park genannt wurde, bezeichnet ein nicht integriertes Bevölkerungsteil, das an ein Outgroup anschließt und aus dem öffentlichen sozialen Leben der Gesellschaft ausgeschlossen wird. Mit Bezug auf die Kultur, gehört er zu der Kategorie des kulturellen Hybrides (Stichweh, 2010: 11), der seine kulturelle Identität in zwei verschiedenen Kulturräumen geteilt und Elemente aus beiden Kreisen übernommen hat, oder der sich auf einer Randstellung sowohl in seiner Herkunftskultur, als auch in der Gastkultur befindet, wobei er einen Zwischenraum ins Leben ruft. Das führt zur Exklusion, die entweder als eine Befreiung, oder als eine Marter fungieren kann und Kreativität der Sperre gegenüberstellt. Die Randexistenz zwingt zu nichts, sie zieht nach sich keine Erwartungen seitens der Mehrheit und es gibt keinen Druck von der öffentlichen Meinung, ein bestimmtes Kulturmodell zu übernehmen und auf andere Denkmuster zu verzichten.

Die Interaktion mit einem anderen Kulturkreis setzt die unvermeidliche Inkulturation (Einfluß einer Kultur auf die andere) voraus,

die nicht nur das wandernde Individuum beeinflusst, sondern auch die Gastgesellschaft, in der sich unbewusst Elemente aus der fremden Kultur einschleichen. Der dritte Raum ist demzufolge dieser Zwischenraum, Hybridraum, Weder-Noch- und Sowohl-als-auch-Raum, der an der Grenze zweier interagierenden oder sich nie berührenden Kulturen entsteht. Der Einwanderer möchte der Herkunftskultur nicht loswerden, weil sie als definierend für seine frühere Identität wirkt und als einen möglichen Ausweg betrachtet wird, falls es ihm die Integration nicht gelingt und er sich nie wirklich sicher in der neu-betretenen Kultur fühlen (Stichweh, 2010: 14), trotz einer teilweisen Identifikation mit den Wertvorstellungen der neuen Gesellschaft. Eine Rückkehr zu der ursprünglichen Kultur würde ihn auch zu einem Fremden wegen der Entfernung als Verrat seiner ehemaligen Wurzeln und der Unfähigkeit machen, sich an die alten Werten und den Puls anzuschließen oder rückanzupassen.

Werner Sombart fasst die Merkmale des Fremden zusammen: “Sie hat gleichsam für den Ankömmling keine Seele. Die Umgebung bedeutet ihm nichts. Höchstens kann er sie als Mittel zum Zweck des Erwerbes benutzen” (Stichweh, 2010: 18). Sie ist ein Rätsel, das noch viel Mühe und Zeit braucht, um gelöst werden zu müssen. Derjenige, der es schaffen wird, erhält seine Belohnung: Integration oder Assimilation. Akkulturation und einen endgültigen Bruch mit der Vergangenheit und Vorbereitung auf die Zukunft. “Fremde sind alle diejenigen, die nicht Mitglieder der Nation sind,” meint Rudolf Stichweh (Stichweh, 2010: 22). Aber wozu gehören dann die Minderheiten eines Staates? Gehören sie zu keiner Nation, dann heißt das, dass sie als ewige Fremde zu Hause gelten?

Fremde hatten im Altertum aber einen weniger privilegierten Status unter den Hochkulturen und den großen Kaiserreichen und der Begriff hatte eine engere Bedeutung als heutzutage. Mit Barbaren bezeichnete man in dem römischen und chinesischen Reich die Völker, die jenseits der Grenzen des Reiches lebten (Stichweh, 2010: 25) und mit denen man sich nicht einmischte und den Kontakt so viel wie möglich vermied. Ein Barbar würde der Gemeinschaft schaden, weil er eine ungesittete Verhaltensweise und Anstände aufwies, welche die Einheimischen beleidigen könnten. Der Name eines Barbaren in China hingte von der Himmelsrichtung ab, aus der sein Volk abstammte: Man, Jung, Ti, I (Stichweh, 2010: 25) und manche Barbarenstämme wurden mit Tiernamen benannt, um ihre Minderwertigkeit anzudeuten (Stichweh, 2010: 28). Sie hatten aber Allirte im Falle der Kriege mit den Nachbarvölkern, was sie zu der Genehmigung der Anwesenheit der Barbaren unter ihnen zwang. Wenn man eingehend die Bedeutung des Wortes “fremd” in verschiedenen Kulturräumen des Altertums analysiert, fällt die Vielfalt der Nuancen und die Veränderung des Sinnes dieser Wörter

oder Worte mit der Zeit auf und wie sie von anderen Sprachen übernommen worden sind:

Man denke hier an der *ger* (im Land siedelnd) und den *nokhri* (vorüberziehend) im israelitischen Fall, den *metoikos* (im Land siedelnd), *xenos* (Fremder als Gast) und *barbaros* (fremd in Sprache und Ritus) in Griechenland und den *hospes* (Gast einer Familie) und *hostis* (Gast einer politischen Gemeinschaft, später dominant der Feind) in Rom. (Stichweh 2010: 30)

Die Bezeichnung der Fremden war wichtig für die Referenzgemeinschaft, indem man mit einem bestimmten Benehmen ihrerseits rechnete und sie infolgedessen nicht gleich behandelte. *Xeno* wird in der Gegenwart sowohl für "Xenophilie" ("Fremdenliebe"), als auch für "Xenophobie" ("Fremdenhass") benutzt, während *hostis* als "hostil," "feindlich" in mehreren Sprachen geblieben ist. Später, im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert wurde Barbar mit "wild" und "Bestien" ersetzt und den ersten Theorien betreffs des Ursprungs des Menschen, wobei man die religiöse Erklärung, die Vorläuferin der darwinistischen Evolutionstheorie und die Theorie eines gemeinsamen Ursprungs (Tier und Mensch) förderte. (Stichweh, 2010: 35)

Psychoanalytische Aspekte

Eng verbunden mit der Psychoanalyse ist das Angstgefühl, das der Erzeuger einiger tiefen konfliktreichen Zustände ist, weil das Objekt Angst vor einem Verlust der Beherrschung mancher Aspekte seines Lebens hat. Das kann einfach im Falle von Orlando beobachtet werden, bei dem die Furcht davor, dass Sascha, die Frau, die er liebt und heiraten möchte, ihn verlassen könnte und er ihre Liebe verlieren würde, weiterbesteht und ihn foltert, indem auf diese Art verlängerte nervöse Zustände und verschärfte innere Unruhe vorkommt. Die Beklemmungs- und Obsessionsneurose wird manchen erfolglosen Unterdrückungsversuchen unterworfen, weil seine Krisen mit derselben Stärke wiederkommen. Hinzugefügt werden muss, dass dieser pathologische Zustand immer intensiver wird, indem er die Quelle der Traumzustände ist, wie jener ist, als Orlando die russische Prinzessin in den Armen des schmierigen und reizlosen Seemanns überraschte. Im Vergleich dazu, ist diese Episode derjenigen aus Hesses Werk, *Der Steppenwolf*, ähnlich, wobei Harry Hermine und Pablo in einer Loge entdeckt. Der Traum ist, laut Sigmund Freud, die Vorstellung eines zurückgedrängten Wunsches. Vielleicht was Orlando sich tatsächlich

wünscht ist nicht ein Leben samt der schönen Russin, sondern sein Unbewusste oder sein Selbst, indem sie sich unter dem regulierenden Einfluss des Unterbewussten, beziehungsweise des Über-Ich, befinden, versuchen, ihm mitzuteilen, dass die Verbindlichkeit einer adligen Abstammung und eines edlen Verhaltens bündige Merkmale seiner zukünftigen Ehefrau sein sollte. Der Mythos der Androgynie könnte so übersehen werden sein, weil Orlando's spätere Verwandlung in eine Frau als ein Symbol des Vorhandenseins einer dissoziativen Identitätsstörung betrachtet werden kann.

Laut Constantin Enăchescu (Enăchescu, 2005: 292), zählt der Ohnmachtsanfall zu den Symptomen der hysterischen Neurose, was auch im Falle der Hauptfigur dieses Romans festgestellt werden kann, wenn Orlando seine Geliebte mit einem anderen Mann sieht, aber auch die dissoziativen Störungen, wie der Dämmerzustand. Was man als "dämmriger hysterischer Zustand bezeichnet, wird durch das Hervortreten der Sinnestäuschungen gekennzeichnet, und als Beispiel für das Gesagte lässt sich die Episode aus dem Laderaum des russischen Schiffes anführen. Orlando weist auch Elemente einer der klinischen Formen der exogenen Psychosen, und zwar, die Geistesverwirrung, wenn der Betroffene nicht mehr dazu in der Lage ist, sich ein klares und unverzerrtes Bild der Realität vorzustellen, aber auch Elemente einer Art endogener Psychose, der schizoiden Bekundungen auf. Er hat ein impulsives und explosives Benehmen, leidet an einer Verdoppelung des Ichs (später), Negativismus (seine ständige Angst davor, dass er verlassen werden wird), Sinnestäuschungen. Es könnte, laut DSM II R (Enăchescu, 2005: 355), die Rede von einem Paranoia – Typ oder undifferenzierten Art von schizoiden Bekundungen sein.

Laut Sigmund Freud, gibt es eine Serie von Prinzipien der Psychoanalyse, von dem sich das psychische Leben eines Individuums leiten lässt. Das erste kann man auch bei Orlando beobachten, indem das Gleichbleibensprinzip eine regulierende Rolle hat und ein psychisches Gleichgewicht durch die Befreiung der in dem menschlichen Verstand vorhandenen Energie behält. Diese Figur bildet sein ganzes Leben um das Prinzip des Vergnügens und der Unlust, weil sie versucht, das Vergnügens in jeder Handlung zu versorgen, die sie führt. An dem Hof der Königin Elisabeth I., wird Orlando von ihr überrascht, während er eine andere Frau küsst. Orlando hat Affären mit verschiedenen Frauen, will drei Frauen adliger Abstammung vom Königshof heiraten, begibt sich fleischlichen Lüsten mit der russischen Prinzessin Sascha. Der Karneval, den der König auf dem gefrorenen Fluss veranstaltet, ist Dantes Inferno, die Vorstellung des Unbewussten, mit all den verdrängten Aspekten und primären Naturtrieben. Orlando schaut unvermögend durch das dicke Eis in den

Tiefen hinunter, weil er das Wasser, das unter dem Eis liegt, d. h. der unbewusste Teil seines Verstandes, nicht anfassen kann.

Andererseits, macht Carl Gustav Jung den Unterschied zwischen dem individuellen Unbewussten, wo sich die Komplexe bekunden, und dem kollektiven Unbewussten, das für die Archetypen verantwortlich ist. Da sie Elemente sind, die zu den Naturtrieben gehören, kommen die Komplexe verschieden und in mannigfaltigen Stärken bei jedem Individuum vor. Zum Beispiel, wenn man an Orlando denkt, entdeckt man die Anwesenheit eines Überlegenheitskomplexes wegen seines Wunsches, eine Frau adliger Herkunft zu heiraten, wie er selbst war, um ein größeres Ansehen seinem Namen zu bringen. Man kann auch die getarnte Anwesenheit des Ödipuskomplexes durch die Eifersucht feststellen, die Orlando aufweist, wenn er das überschwengliche Verhalten von Sascha sieht, weil sie auch die Rolle der Mutter hat. Ein dritter Komplex wäre der Schuldkomplex, denn, trotz der Wut, die er wegen Saschas Flucht fühlt, Orlando wird auch von einem Schuldgefühl wegen ihrer plötzlichen Abfahrt verzehrt. Auch die Natur scheint die Flucht der Russin zu erleichtern, der Fluss beginnt zu schmelzen und so hat der Schiff die Möglichkeit auf das Meer hinauszufahren.

Das kollektive Unbewusste, meinte Jung, ist für die Einlagerung jener gemeinsamen ursprünglichen und vererbten Merkmalen, einer Art von entwickelten Naturtrieben verantwortlich, die unsere Entwicklung als Identitäten in einer hohen Maße prägen. Eigentlich, werden die Archetypen nicht erworben, sie sind angeborene Neigungen, die das menschliche Verhalten und Reaktionen leiten. Der Unterdrückungsversuch dieser Archetypenbekundungen wird unvermeidlich zu einer intrapsychischen Spannung und, möglicherweise, auch zum Erscheinen eines psychopathologischen Zustands führen. Die Archetypen sind, demzufolge, Verhaltensmuster, die allen Individuen gemeinsam sind, indem unsere Aufmerksamkeit darauf mit Hilfe der Träume gezogen wird. Von der jungschen Archetypen wird hier auch der Archetyp des Schattens erwähnt, den man ziemlich einfach im Falle von Orlando wegen seiner wilden Seite feststellen kann, die während Orlandos Eifersuchtskrise enthüllt wird, aber auch das Chaos um ihn, das Leben, das er führt, ohne zu einem Ziel zu neigen, ist ein Zeichen dafür. Der Wald, in dem er und die russische Prinzessin sich treffen, aber auch der dunkle Laderaum des russischen Schiffes, wo sich auch die Fässer befinden, über die Orlando stolpert, sind Vorstellungen des Archetyps des Schattens, die äußerliche Darstellung der dunklen Seite der Persönlichkeit, die abgelehnt wird.

In Orlando leben auch der Animus und die Anima zusammen, mittels seiner Verwandlung in eine Frau, seiner häufigen Verkleidung in

männlichen Kleidern, nachdem er schon zur Weib geworden ist, die Erzherzogin Harriet von Rumänien ist eigentlich der Erzherzog Harry, der weibliche Kleider getragen hatte, weil er sich in den Mann Orlando verliebt hatte. Der Animus stellt die männlichen Merkmale einer Frau, die vernunftige Seite der Hauptfigur dieses Romans dar. Die Anima aber, seine weibliche Seite, ist seinen seelischen Bekundungen schuldig. Der Archetyp der Mutter ist mit dem letzten eng verbunden, da das Überleben ohne die Anwesenheit der Mutter oder ihres Ersatzes erschwert wird. Sascha hat auch die Rolle einer Mutter, indem sie Orlando zuhört und ihm die Zuneigung schenkt, nach der er schmachtet.

Orlando wird einem psychoanalytischen Verfahren mit einem therapeutischen Zweck unterworfen, indem der Psychoanalytiker derjenige ist, der sich sein Biograph nennt. Die von ihm angewandten Methoden mit dem Zweck der Unterdrückung der Bekundung der psychopathologischen Zustände sind verschieden: außer der Benutzung der Träume als kognitive Therapie, um die unterdrückten Aspekte aus dem Unbewussten zu befreien, verwendet der Psychoanalytiker auch die verfehlten Akten. Was als einfache Zustände betrachtet werden können, ohne einer pathologischer Herkunft zu sein, sondern nur das Ergebnis der Müdigkeit, spielen eine wichtige Rolle in dem kathartischen Prozess der Hauptfigur. In dem zweiten Kapitel, erweckt Orlando eines Morgens, indem er feststellt, dass er sich nach einem Dämmerzustand (einem Symptom der hysterischen Neurose) (Martin, 2015: 515), der sieben Tage lang dauert, an viele Sachen von seinem bisherigen Leben nicht mehr erinnert. Die Symptome des Nervenzusammenbruchs tauchen auf, indem der Mann sich dafür entscheidet, die nächsten Monate in der Einsamkeit seines Hauses zu verbringen, wo er nur mit den Dienern in Kontakt tritt und indem er über den Tod nachdenkt und die Gräber seiner Ahnen besucht. Die Literatur ist diejenige, die ihn am Leben hält, während das Schreiben ihn befreit, indem sie ihm die Lebenslust zurückgibt. Er wird genauso wie der Phönix aus der läuternden Kraft des Feuers durch die Verbrennung seiner Werke wieder geboren.

Der Kugelmensch ist ein Lebewesen mythologischer Herkunft, das von Aristophanes in einem von Platons Dialogen, *Symposio*, beschrieben wird, indem dieser das Vorkommen der beiden Geschlechter und der Liebe erklärt. Das Vorhandensein dreier androgynen Lebewesenarten (zwei Frauen, zwei Männer, eine Frau und ein Mann, die am Rücken verbunden sind) beunruhigte die Götter, indem sie die von den Kugelmenschen erlangene Kraft beängstigte. Sie haben folglich beschlossen, sie zu trennen; die Sehnsucht nagte aber an ihnen und schmachten nach der Anwesenheit des anderen. Die Götter haben Eros geschaffen, der Liebe auf der Welt gebracht hat. Aristophanes beschreibt sie folgendermassen: "Zweitens,

zeigten sich die drei damaligen Menschenarten, alle drei, wie ein vollständiges und rundes Ganze, indem ihr Rücken und ihre Seiten einen Kreis bildeten; sie hatten vier Arme und ebenso viele Beine; ihr einziges Haupt, auf einem runden Hals, hatte zwei gleiche Gesichter und jedes von ihnen sah in seiner Richtung; vier Ohren, zwei Geschlechter und alle anderen demgemäß” (Popovici, 2011: 1). Der Kreis ist eine Darstellung des Universums, der Vollkommenheit.

Orlandos Haus hat 365 Räume, genauso viele wie die Jahrestage, die die Erde für die Rotation braucht. Das stellt eine zyklische Bewegung, den Lebenszyklus, der wiederaufgenommen wird, das zarte Gleichgewicht seines psychischen Lebens dar. Man behauptet, dass, wenn man einen Kreis gezeichnet hat, man ihn nicht mehr abwischen kann, genauso wie es einem nicht mehr möglich ist, in die Vergangenheit zurückzukehren, um die Fehler wiedergutzumachen. Ein Ort, wo sich alle Energien vereinigen, wo die Essenz des Lebens liegt. Diese Beschreibung entspricht einer Mandala, einer Darstellung des Universums in dem östlichen Glauben, die die Form eines Quadrats mit vier Toren hat (je eines für jede der Vier Edlen Wahrheiten), die auf der Seite jeder Himmelsrichtung liegen (eine Verbundenheit mit der Natur und ihren Gesetzen), wie der Buchstabe T aussehen, von einem Halbkreis umgeben sind und einander gegenüber gelegt wurden. Ihre Achsen treffen sich in die Mitte des Quadrats, wo sich alle Energien vereinigen und zu der der Blick angezogen wird. Es ist die Verbindung zwischen dem Makrokosmos (die Außenwelt) und dem Mikrokosmos (die Innenwelt) und sie ist von einem äußerlichen Kreis umgeben, der ein Symbol der Weisheit und der Reise ist, die Orlando von dem äußerlichen zum inneren Universum unternimmt, und die Art, wie sein Haus für ihn in verschiedenen Momenten seines Daseins aussieht, ist eine Widerspiegelung seines Innenzustands (Simu, 2013: 165). Laut Carl Gustav Jung, ist die Mandala die Darstellung des Selbstes, die Vollendung der Persönlichkeit (Jung, 1997: 195f). Das Erfordernis, eine Verbindung mit einer Mandala zu schaffen, kommt während des Individuationsprozesses, des Individualitätsaufbaus vor. Auch wenn die Mandala ein Symbol für Ruhe und Ordnung in dem psychischen Leben ist, liegt das im Gegensatz zu Orlandos intrapsychischem Konflikt.

Sie könnte gleichzeitig auch eine Darstellung der Struktur der menschlichen Psyche sein: der äußerliche Kreis – das Bewusstsein, der Quadrat – das Unterbewusste, wo die aus dem Unbewussten kommenden Antriebe zur Probe gestellt werden, die der Unterbewusste entweder zurück zu ihrer Quelle schickt und den Übergang zu dem Bewusstsein erlaubt, der innere Kreis – das Unbewusste, die Kluft des menschlichen Verstandes, wo man verborgene Inhalte findet und das die Quelle der Antriebe ist. Orlandos

Haus hat 52 Treppen; das macht die Nummer 7, die heilig ist. Es gibt 7 Entwicklungsebenen, 7 Chakras des Menschen, die Treppen sind ein Symbol für die Entdeckung der Identität, für die Entwicklung des Menschen als Individuum.

Der Einfluß von Carl Gustav Jungs und Sigmund Freuds Theorien dringt durch alle Werke Virginia Woolfs durch, die nicht einfach etwas erzählen, sondern sie überqueren die Grenze zwischen dem, was sichtbar ist, und dem, was man nur bei einer genaueren Analyse jedes einzigen Elementes, indem sie in die abyssale Region des Unbewussten hinuntersteigt, das die Lösung dieser komplexen Gleichung – des Menschen – anbietet.

Interkulturelle Aspekte

Kulturdistanz

Kulturdistanz hat ein überwiegendes Gewicht und eindeutige Auswirkungen was die zwischenmenschliche Verhältnisse betrifft, indem sie den interkulturellen Kontakt und die Formen der Akkulturation bewirkt. Die Kontaktkulturen beeinflussen die kulturelle Reaktion und Verhaltensweise einer Referenzkultur je nach Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen den beiden und Merkmale der Angehörigen eines bestimmten kulturellen Raums. Es ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen, dass das Bild des einen und desselben Menschen maßgeblich variieren kann, indem sich jede Nation auf ihr Wertesystem bezieht, wenn es sich um die Beurteilung eines Fremden handelt. Umso mehr Gemeinsamkeiten, desto geringer die Kulturdistanz und besser entwickeln sich die kulturellen Verhältnisse (Maletzke, 1996: 34). Bei größeren Unterschieden gerät der interkulturelle Dialog ins Schwanken oder findet gar nicht statt.

Die Figur des Russen bekommt verschiedene Wertigkeiten in Virginia Woolfs Roman "Orlando." In der britischen Gesellschaft scheint die Russin Sascha sich über eine anscheinende Integration und Annahme in der Mitte der adligen Gesellschaft am Königshof zu erfreuen. Ihre Anwesenheit strahlt einen besonderen Reiz aus und obwohl sie Orlando bezaubert hat und ihr nichts vorgeworfen werden kann, sind Orlandos Benehmen und Gedanken ihr gegenüber von den Vorurteilen stark geprägt.

Sascha wird auch als eine sehr elegante, schmale und anmutige Frau, mit außergewöhnlich schönen Zügen und aristokratischen Bewegungen und Anständen vorgestellt. Die Russin flieht, wenn sie mit der Aussicht einer eventuellen Assimilation durch ihre Heirat mit Orlando konfrontiert wird. Sie wird mit Freude und wohlwollend in der neuen Kultur empfangen, das

Betreten dieses ihr fremden kulturellen Raums findet so natürlich statt, ihr wird eine große Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, indem Männer ständig um ihr schwärmen und sich ständig erfolglos bemühen, sich mit ihr auf Französisch zu verständigen. Sie haben sich vorgenommen, die Kulturdistanz zwischen ihrer Kultur und der der Fremden zu reduzieren, aber die östliche Kultur hält den Abstand mittels einer westlichen Sprache. “Von den Moskowitern wusste man nicht viel. Mit ihren langen Bärten und ihren Pelzmützen saßen sie fast stumm da und tranken eine schwärzliche Flüssigkeit, die sie ab und zu auf das Eis spien. Keiner von ihnen sprach Englisch” (Woolf, 2012: 21). Die Prinzessin Sascha wird als eine exotische Fremde, eine Rarität empfangen, die man bis zum letzten Tropfen auskosten muss.

Zwischenraum

Identität kann nur in Bezug auf Alterität definiert werden. Wenn ich selbst für mich und Alterität für andere bin, so kann sich der Andere aus einer Alterität in ein Selbst für sich selber verwandeln. Die Bestimmung der Identität wird von einem Individuum zum anderen weitergeleitet, weil sie, genauso wie ein Puzzle, aus mehrfachen Teilen zusammengesetzt wird. Da der Individuationsprozess auch Subjektivität bzw. kulturelle Einflüsse voraussetzt, wird manchmal mit Krisensituationen gerechnet, in denen man die identitären Umrisslinien verwischt erblicken kann. Der Fremde und gleichzeitig Einwanderer wird zu einem “Reisenden auf einem Bein.” wie der Titel eines Romans von Herta Müller lautet, indem er auf eine Zwischenposition zwischen den beiden Kulturen landet, die ihn zu nichts verpflichtet oder zwingt. Die Ausweitung des Ichs kann in keine der zwei Richtungen erreicht werden, und von einem Gleichgewicht kann auch nicht die Rede sein, weil die kulturelle Identität immer auf die eine Seite oder die andere gleitet. Das Labyrinth verfügt über einen Endpunkt, in dem man all seinen Ängsten, unterdrückten Antrieben und verlorener oder wackeliger Identität gegenübergestellt wird, den man aber heil und unversehrt erreichen muss.

Die Prinzessin Sascha aus “Orlando” entscheidet sich für eine strategische Positionierung außerhalb beider Kulturen, aber jedoch auch innerhalb. Sie hängt noch an ihrer Herkunftskultur, aber eine Rückkehr wird außer Acht gelassen.

Die Russin in “Orlando” nimmt eine mittlere Position unter den Engländern ein. Sie schleicht sich in die Lücken der englischen Gesellschaft, weil “Fremde in traditionellen Gesellschaften in Statuslücken einwandern. Das heißt, sie besetzen nicht etwa Positionen, die auch von Einheimischen besetzt werden und die dann eine Konkurrenz mit

Einheimischen zur Folge haben, sondern sie kommen typischerweise dort vor, wo Lücken in einer Sozialordnung erkennbar sind" (Stichweh, 2010: 134). Da ihr Aufenthalt kurzfristig ist, weil sie mit dem Moskowiten Gesandten um der Krönung willen gekommen ist, legt sie keinen großen Wert auf eine Inklusion in die Gastkultur und -gesellschaft, wenngleich sie sich mit dem falschen Eindruck und Anschein zufrieden gibt, dass sie als eine Eingeborene akzeptiert wurde. Nur solange sie diesen sozialen Stand einer Tolerierten beibehalten darf, pflegt sie den Kontakt zu der neuen Kultur, ohne kulturellen Austausch, aber wenn sich die fremde Kultur der Engländer durch einen ihrer Angehörigen die Russin anzueignen versucht, und zwar durch Orlandos Heiratsantrag und seinen Plan, zusammen zu fliehen, tritt sie sofort zurück und verlässt alles ihr vorher Unbekannte. Das Fehlen eines wahrhaften interkulturellen Dialogs hat seinen Einfluß auf die Wechselwirkung und Verhältnisse ausgeübt.

Osten vs. Westen. Identitätsdiffusion

Der Misserfolg der kulturellen gegenseitigen Annäherung zweier Völker ist eng mit der Kulturdistanz und demzufolge mit den Charakterunterschieden zwischen den Individuen, die den entsprechenden in Kontakt tretenden Kulturen angehören, verbunden. Die zwei kulturellen Pole, die man auf keinen gemeinsamen Nenner bringen kann, der Westen und der Osten, diese zwei Satelliten, die eine Rotation um die eigene Achse ausführen, erreichen tatsächlich nie die Umlaufbahn des anderen, sie sind sich des Vorhandenseins einer Alterität bewusst, aber bleiben trotzdem verschlossen in ihrem identitären Kreis. Die zukunftsorientierten westlichen Kulturen werden den vergangenheits- und gegenwartsorientierten östlichen Völkern gegenübergestellt, was ihre kulturellen Merkmale hervorhebt und zu unversöhnlichen inter- und intrapersonlichen Konflikten führt. Der zukunftsorientierte Orlando stellt sich ein Leben mit Sascha in Form einer Heirat mit der launischen Russin vor, obwohl er heftig von Stereotypen und Vorurteilen diesem östlichen Volk gegenüber geprägt wird, während die an die Vergangenheit ihrer Kultur noch gebundene Prinzessin sich vor solch einer Perspektive durch eine heimliche Flucht wehrt. Die Zukunft will sie in der Vergangenheit ihres eigenen kulturellen Raums, der ihre Identität bestimmt, erleben, und nicht in der Zukunft einer ihr völlig fremden Umgebung.

Der materialistische (Maletzke, 1996: 40) Abendländer Orlando strebt nach einer Vergegenständigung seiner Beziehung mit Sascha durch die Heirat, während die Morgenländerin Sascha nur in das Geistige dieses Verhältnisses interessiert ist, in die Befriedigung des psychoanalytischen

Lustprinzips. Auf der anderen Seite, gesteht Orlando seiner Geliebten die Zustände und Gefühle, die er erlebt, seine ausgesetzte Halbidentität legt er in ihre Hände, aber er ist sich nie genau bewusst, woran sie wirklich denkt oder was sie sich wünscht, sodass er auch von ihrer plötzlichen und unerwarteten Abfahrt überrascht wird.

Orlando versucht die Gründe für die Abfahrt der Russin mittels der Technik der Wiedererinnerung zu begreifen, während die Russin sich den Merkmalen ihres kulturellen Raums anschließt. Sie entscheidet sich kraft der synthetischen Denkweise für das eine oder das andere, ohne viel darüber nachzudenken. Die Russin fährt in derselben Nacht des Heiratsantrags und der Flucht zurück nach Russland.

Die nach Disziplin strebende westliche Kultur hat Orlando dazu veranlasst, seine Gefühle zu klären, sich von seiner Verlobten, Lady Margaret O'Brien O'Dare O'Reilly Tyrconnel, zu trennen, und sein Schicksal mit dem von Sascha durch die Heirat, wie es sich ziemt, zu verbinden. Aber die Russin verlässt den vorläufigen Zufluchtsort, weil sie die Freiheit, und nicht die Gebundenheit, die Einschränkung und den beschränkten Raum ihrer identitären Bekundungen begehrt, da sie die Gefahr einer Anpassung an das Fremde wegen ihrer ethnozentrischen Sichtweise der Alterität gegenüber vermeiden möchte.

Saschas ziemlich langfristiger Aufenthalt in England bietet ihr die Möglichkeit, sich selber besser kennen zu lernen, ihr Selbstvertrauen und Selbstbewusstsein zu stärken und eine erfolgreiche oberflächliche Anpassung an die englische Gesellschaft zu genießen (Maletzke, 1996: 170). Das Problem der Identitätsdiffusion wird am besten durch das Motiv der Androgynie dargestellt, weil, als Orlando Sascha das erste Mal zu Gesicht bekam, er sich nicht sicher war, ob es sich um eine Frau oder um einen Mann handelt, und Orlando sich in eine Frau und die Erzherzogin Harriet von Rumänien in den Erzherzog Harry von Rumänien verwandeln. Diese Zerteilung der Identität der Individuen kann durch die zwei Archetypen der jungschen analytischen Psychologie, Animus und Anima erklärt werden.

Sie entstehen im kollektiven Unbewussten aufgrund bestimmter Urbilder kollektiver Erfahrung, die sich in einem latenten Zustand in der menschlichen Psyche befinden. Die Bestimmung einer Identität vollendet sich durch den Individuationsprozess, infolge dessen das psychologische Individuum als Ganzes entsteht (Jung, 2014: 309). Die bruchstückhafte kulturelle Identität der Figuren teilt die Welt in binäre Oppositionen, auf denen man dauernd besteht und die zu der Fortentwicklung der handelnden Personen beitragen, wie zum Beispiel "wir/ sie," wobei sie die interkulturellen Verhältnisse erschweren.

Verfäulte Kongruenz zwischen Selbst- und Fremdbild

Um eine gelungene interkulturelle Kommunikation zu schaffen, muss man Selbst- und Fremdbild in Einklang bringen, die Hand in Hand miteinander gehen und sich gegenseitig beeinflussen. Die Wertvorstellungen der eigenen Person und der Alterität fallen selten zusammen, weil das Fremdbild nicht von der Subjektivität der Selbstwahrnehmung gesteuert werden kann. Die Feststellung der Uneinheitlichkeit der zwei Bildwahrnehmungen kann der Bestimmung der Ich-Identität und der Alterität Schwierigkeiten bereiten und zu Krisensituationen auch im Umgang mit einem Dritten führen.

Das Problem der Inkongruenz zwischen Selbst- und Fremdbild wird deutlich in dem Roman "Orlando" behandelt, das zu einem unlösbaren Konflikt und Bruch in Orlandos Beziehung mit der russischen Prinzessin Sascha führt. Die Prinzessin hat ab und zu Reaktionen, während derer sie ihre Abscheu vor der englischen Gesellschaft am Königshof äußert: "»Bringt mich fort! Ich hasse Euren englischen Pöbel!«, womit sie den englischen Hof bezeichnete" (Woolf, 2012: 23), weil sie die alten Frauen, ungesitteten jungen Männer und die engen Räume satt hatte. Orlando hat den Eindruck, dass Sascha ihm etwas verheimlicht und das Schicksal wird ihm beweisen, dass sein Gespür ihn nicht geträgt hat. Er selbst ist nicht ehrlich zu Sascha, weil seine sanftmütigen Gesten einen Fremdenhass verbergen: "er hatte gehört, in Moskau seien die Frauen bärtig und den Männern wüchse von der Taille abwärts Fell; zudem schmierten sich beide Geschlechter mit Talg ein, um die Kälte abzuhalten, zerrissen das Fleisch mit den Fingern und wohnten in Hütten, in denen ein englischer Adelliger nicht einmal sein Vieh unterstellen wollte." (Woolf, 2012: 25)

Die englische Sprache findet er für Sascha nicht passend, weil ihr trübes Innere, ihr unstetes Wesen und ihre übertriebenen Reaktionen dem Geist dieses Volkes nicht entsprechen würde. Die Prinzessin bleibt ihrem Herkunftsland und ihrer Sprache treu, da sie selbst Orlando gesteht, dass sie ihr Leben in dem wilden Russland mit "Barbaren" verbringen möchte. Im Unterschied zu Sascha, die eine Anpassung an die englische Kultur ablehnt, ist Orlando dazu geneigt, sie nach Russland zu begleiten und auf sein ganzes bisheriges Leben und Laufbahn zu verzichten. Die Idee der Integration in einem Kulturraum der Primitiven und Mörder ist für ihn furchterregend, weil die Kulturdistanz zu groß ist, auch wenn er die Entscheidung trifft, seine Identität in Gefahr zu setzen. Auch Sascha kommt ihm primitiv vor, wenn er sich daran erinnert, als er sie einmal mit einem Talglicht am Königshof gesehen hatte, das sie eifrig und jedoch heimlich in dem Mund kaute. Er empfindet ein Gefühl von kultureller Überlegenheit und sogar

Abweisung, wobei er sich die Prinzessin als ein abstoßendes Lebewesen vorstellt: “treulos, wankelmütig, launisch hieß er sie, Teufelin, Ehebrecherin, Betrügerin” (Woolf, 2012: 32). Das Selbst- und das Fremdbild koinzidieren folglich nicht, was zu Krisensituationen wie Saschas Flucht führt.

Marginalität

Orlandos randseitige Erfahrung in Form einer Frontier Society (Grenzland Gesellschaft)

Nach der plötzlichen und verräterischen Abfahrt der Russin, rast Orlando ohne Rast und Ruh durch den Korpus zweier entfernter und seiner eigenen Kultur verschiedenen Kulturen, ohne seinen Platz je wirklich zu finden. Dieses viereckige Pendeln von einer Kultur zur anderen leitet ihn noch mehr in die Irre, wobei er nicht einmal sich selbst als Entität wiedererkennt. Er taucht seine Identität in ein Gemisch, einen Babelturm der Kulturen und Sprachen, aus dem er sie nicht mehr herausholen kann. Um sich von der alten erfolglosen Erfahrung mit einer fremden Kultur zu verabschieden und sie zu überwinden, begibt sich Orlando einem wieder ergänzenden Erlebnis, das ihn aber zu einer Zersplitterung führt: Der androgyne Mensch. Orlando verwandelt sich in eine Frau. Selbst dieses Motiv zeugt von ihrer Platzierung zwischen andersartigen Kulturkreisen, d. h. in einer Frontier Society (Grenzland Gesellschaft). (Toennes, 1998: 280ff)

Als Außerordentlicher Gesandter des Königs Charles in Konstantinopel tritt er einer scheckigen und barbarischen Landschaft und Gesellschaft entgegen, in der lärmenden Stadt, wo sich hungrige herumstreunende Hunde, Esel, entstellte Menschen mit Turbanen, Karren und saure Gerüche vermischen. Dank seines hohen Status als englischer Gesandte wurde Orlando mit Beachtung empfangen und behandelt, aber er stellt fest, dass traditionelle Bräuche wie das Rauchen der orientalischen Wasserpfeife nur Scheingewohnheiten waren, da man nur die Gesten nachahmte. Die Monotonie der feierlichen Staatsakte treiben ihn zur Verzweiflung, Langeweile und Wehmut, so dass er sich nachts verkleidet und mit den Einheimischen vermischt. Die Letzteren zeigten ihm Respekt und Schätzung, wobei sie ihn auch in ihren Liedern erwähnten. Er blieb trotzdem außerhalb des Epizentrums ihres kulturellen Lebens und wurde nie als einer der ihren betrachtet, sondern als ein fremder Dritter. Der launische Orlando blieb in ihrem Gedächtnis als derjenige, der die Juwelen in den Springbrunnen geworfen hatte.

Obwohl Orlando als Außerordentlicher Gesandter fließend Türkisch spricht, wird er nie als ein gebürtiger Türke behandelt. Am zweiten Tag nach seiner Ernennung zum Herzog, deckt Orlandos Dualwesen seine weibliche Seite auf, indem er sich in eine Frau verwandelt. Das Verlassen einer Kultur und das Betreten einer anderen hat eine entsprechende Veränderung auch in der Wirklichkeit durch seine Verwandlung.

Der Fremdenhass nimmt durchgreifende Extremformen durch den Aufruhr der Türken gegen den Sultan an, indem sie sich all der Fremden "entweder mit dem Schwert oder mittels der Bastonade" (Woolf, 2012: 62) entledigten. Orlando schenken sie das Leben, wobei sie sie dank ihres tiefen Schlafes für tot halten, nachdem sie sie ausgeplündert hatten. Da ihre englische Gesellschaft getötet wurde, bleibt Orlando wieder allein und mit einer gefährlichen Zugehörigkeit. Die Unbeständigkeit der Hauptfigur in diesem Roman bekundet sich mittels der Mühelosigkeit des Wechsels zweier Kulturen, weil Orlando auf eine Integration oder sogar Assimilation in der ihr fremden Kultur der Zigeuner hofft. Am Anfang scheint sie ihre Identität inmitten dieses neuen Mikrouniversums gefunden zu haben. Sie übernimmt Tätigkeiten der Mitglieder ihrer Pflegegemeinschaft und ist mit dem einfachen Alltag zufrieden. Ihre Akkulturation ereignet sich teilweise, weil die Zigeuner sie infolge ihrer erfolgreichen Bemühungen für eine der ihren halten: "und ihre dunklen Haare und ihr brünetter Teint unterstützten die Idee, sie sei eine geborene Zigeunerin und sei als Säugling von einem englischen Herzog von einem Nussbaum geraubt und in das barbarische Land entführt worden, wo die Menschen in Häusern wohnen, weil sie zu schwach und zu krank sind, um die frische Luft zu ertragen" (Woolf, 2012: 65). Es ist schwer, in dem geschlossenen Kulturkreis der Zigeuner durchzudringen und ihr Anpassungsprozess läuft so gut, dass es die Rede von einer Überanpassung sein kann und dass sie sogar dazu bereit sind, in eine Heirat Orlandos mit einem der ihren einzuwilligen.

Doch der Anschein ist trügerisch und das wahre Wesen der Engländerin lässt sich allmählich erblicken. Manche ihrer Redewendungen und "ihre englische Krankheit," die Liebe zur Natur, wegen derer sie Zeit verschwendete und ihre Aufgaben, insbesondere die Tiere, vernachlässigte, gefährden ihren Status innerhalb der Gemeinde und ihre Gruppenangehörigkeit. Der Alte Rustum el Sadi, der Zigeuner, der sie aus Konstantinopel mitgebracht hatte, beginnt an ihrem wahrhaftigen Glauben zu zweifeln und sich Sorgen um ihre Zukunft in der Gemeinde zu machen. Ihre Begeisterung fällt langsam ab und ihr glühender Eifer betreffs der Ausführung der täglichen Aufgaben schwindet.

Zigeuner als Vagabunden und Orlandos gescheiterte identifikationale Assimilation

Die Gemütlichkeit innerhalb des Zigeunerlagers wird nicht mehr empfunden, sondern man stößt auf Gezwungenheit in der Sippe. Orlando fühlt sich nicht mehr wohl in der Sippe, als ob ihre Freiheit gezähmt worden wäre und sie die Gleichgültigkeit und die Unbekümmertheit der Zigeuner vor der Schönheiten der Natur, vor dem Abstraktum anekeln und aufregen würde. Der Zorn der Zigeuner stieg immer mehr auf und sie wünschten sich, dass sie das Lager verlässt und nie wieder zurückkehrt. Der Inklusion folgt die Exklusion. Die Kulturdistanz kommt jetzt auch Orlando deutlich vor und dass sie fast nichts gemein haben, weil sie in der letzten Zeitspanne inmitten einer unwissenden und wilden Minderheit gelebt hat. Wo die Kulturdistanz früher als gering und die Assimilation als erfolgreich empfunden wurde, wird sie jeden Tag größer und die unwiderlegbaren Meinungsverschiedenheiten verstärken sich. Das friedliche Zusammenleben wird zu einer Qual und bald unmöglich.

Sie fühlt sich diesen wandernden Zigeuner überlegen, da ihre Vorfahren vier- bis fünfhundert Jahre weit zurückreichten. Die Verlegenheit der Zigeuner kommt ihr als ein Minderwertigkeitsgefühl vor, aber sie wird von einem Schamgefühl ergriffen, als ihr der wahre Grund ihres Benehmens gestanden wird: "Keiner von ihnen werde sie dafür verachten. Daraufhin empfand sie ein nie zuvor gekanntes Schamgefühl. Es stand außer Frage, dass eine Herkunft von lediglich vier- bis fünfhundert Jahren für Rustum und die anderen Zigeuner denklich jämmerlich war" (Woolf, 2012: 68). Die Besitztümer von Orlandos Vorfahren verschmähen die Zigeuner, weil sie zu keinem festen Ort gehören. Sie sehnen sich nach Freiheit, nach einer ewigen Existenz unter freiem Himmel, und hängen von keinem Territorium ab, um sich komplett zu fühlen. Als Vagabunden-Prototyp sind sie staatenlos, überall und nirgendwo, ständig in einem verschwommenen Raum, wo die Zeit still zu stehen scheint.

Die Meinungsverschiedenheit betreffs der Figur eines Herzogs ist in den zwei Kulturen sehr auffällig. Da man einen Herzog als einen ansehnlichen Adligen in England, aber bei den Zigeunern als einen geizigen Mann und Räuber betrachtet, führt zu unversöhnlichen Unterschieden und zu Orlandos endgültigen Überzeugung, dass die Zigeuner grob und barbarisch seien. Sie kann deswegen nicht vollständig auf ihre ursprüngliche Kultur verzichten. Einen echten interkulturellen Kontakt, eine interkulturelle Kommunikation und einen gerechten Austausch zwischen zwei Kulturen kann es nicht geben, denn "jede dieser Parteien strebt für sich weit eher Seelenfrieden und Unterordnung als den

Triumph der Wahrheit und den Lobpreis der Tugend an” (Woolf, 2012: 68-69) und der Bruch ist unvermeidlich.

Orlando befindet sich in einer Zwickmühle, es ist ein wichtiger Wendepunkt in ihrem Leben, weil sie je einen Fuß in den beiden Kulturen hat. Sie weigert sich weder wieder als ein Außerordentlicher Gesandter des Königs zu arbeiten, noch bei den Zigeunern zu bleiben. Das Heimweh überwältigt Orlando, wenn sie an die Heimat denkt, wobei sie die Blitzentscheidung trifft, am nächsten Tag in ihr Geburtsland zurückzukehren. Der Kulturschock hat sich mit der Zeit vertieft und kann nicht mehr überwunden werden. Um ihre Identität erkunden und beibehalten zu können, hat Orlando selbst ihr eigenes Leben in Gefahr gebracht, weil die Lösung des interkulturellen Konflikts eine primitive Wendung erfährt, da die Beseitigung des Eindringlings aus ihrem Kulturraum durch den Tod geschafft werden muss.

Schlussfolgerungen

Die Figur des Fremden wirkt als einen problematischen Aspekt nicht nur in der Wirklichkeit, wo sie zu verschiedenen Unterbrechungen der kulturellen Identität und des harmonievollen Zusammenlebens führen kann, sondern auch die Literatur hat gespürt, dass sie als einen Spiegel der Realität fungieren muss. Die Durchbrechung der kulturellen Schranken mit der Beibehaltung des Nationalspezifikums stoßt manchmal auf die tief eingewurzelten Auffassungen der Völker, die sich in einem geschlossenen fast undurchdringlichen System zu isolieren bevorzugen. Die vorliegende Arbeit hat bewiesen, dass es keine richtige Akkulturation erfolgen kann, weil jedes Individuum von seiner Herkunftskultur im Laufe der Zeit gestaltet und geprägt wird; es bleiben Spuren, die hin und wieder unbewusst ausgelöst werden und die Einzelnen voneinander entfernt.

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The Tumultuous Transition from Modernism to Postmodernism. Fictional Representations

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Abstract: *Lucky Jim*, 1954, by Kingsley Amis, is considered by everyone an extremely funny academic novel; a novel of the genre. A third millennium close reading may uncover, however, side-meanings at the time of publication which, in the meantime, have become central meanings. The humoristic ingredient of the novel has dwindled dramatically, whereas the underestimated conflict between modernist rituals and postmodernist reactions has spiralled upwards.

Keywords: *hierarchy, Lucky Jim, Kingsley Amis, postmodernism, academic hostility*

“Think of the people who do kind things in an unkind way!” Bernard Shaw (1958: 288)

The fifties can be considered a bridge between high modernism and incipient postmodernism. While artistic standards were at the highest and least friendly (meaning communicative) level in high modernism, the emergent postmodernism did not know exactly what was to be built from that moment on, but it knew very well what was to be demolished. It is about the epistemological and artistic conflicts of this transitory period that the present article treats about. The hypothesis is that halfway through the 20th century modernism was already ossified, ritualized, and institutionalized, whereas postmodernism took shape from a quasi-chaotic attitude of contestation. Modernism had ceased to be modern and masked its dramatic situation through presumptuous and censorious reactions. The repressive agony of modernism stimulated the rebellious postmodernism to organize its discourse and create epistemological categories for its advancement.

Lucky Jim, 1954, by Kingsley Amis, is considered by everyone an extremely funny academic novel; a novel of the genre. A third millennium close reading may uncover, however, side-meanings at the time of publication which, in the meantime, have become central meanings. The humoristic ingredient of the novel has dwindled dramatically, whereas the underestimated conflict between modernist rituals and postmodernist reactions has spiralled upwards. This submerged dialectic can be made more

obvious with the help of an analysis realized with the instruments of the cultural studies. The humour-embalmed hostility is rooted in an academic milieu which favours mediocrity and intellectual submission, if not sheer flattery. Thus, the intellectual environment accumulates traces of acute hostility and repression.

1. Central versus Peripheral Mentalities

From the first pages of the novel we are shown the old-fashioned type of provincial life, when compared to the life in London. Provincial life depends on ritual, sophistication and uncompromising hierarchy. The tip of the iceberg is represented by those academics who want to be perceived not only as self-demanding professionals, but as arty high-brow intellectuals. The masked crisis is generated by their snobbish amateurism. They want to be modern and sophisticated when, in fact, they are only conventional. Christopher Butler insisted on the de-familiarizing side of modernism, in line with the Russian formalists' *ostranenie*: "modernist art is far more indirect - it can make the world seem unfamiliar to us, as rearranged by the conventions of art" (Butler, 2010: 2). Mimicking modernism, which means frequenting art in a polite and conventional way, can trigger a comedy of situation, but not spiritual shivers.

Professor Welch impersonates all these cultural habits of provincial high-life society. As David Lodge remarked:

Amis drew an immortal portrait of the absent-mindedness vanity, eccentricity and practical incompetence that academic institutions seem to tolerate and even to encourage in their senior stuff (or, at least, did before the buzz-word 'management' began to echo through the groves of academe in the 1980s). (Amis, 2000: VIII)

A first opposition to the stiff-upper-lip-ness of late-modernism was the arrival of *The Angry Young Men* in 1950s. Amis's protagonist is a direct descendent of these university educated, but of humble social extraction, individuals. He is a "hero of humble origins ill-at-ease in a university milieu." (*ibid*: IX)

In the *Introduction* to the 2000 edition of the novel, David Lodge remarked that Jim is ill-at-ease and out of place in the university because he does not at heart subscribe to its social and cultural values, preferring pop music to Mozart, pubs to drawing rooms, non-academic company to academic. (*ibid*: XI)

Later on, Lodge's charismatic Professor Zapp will master both academic culture and pop hits or cartoon series. Proficiency in these opposed cultural fields is a later date gain. The emergent postmodernism is not as tolerant as the full-blown postmodernism will be: "It is part of Jim's loathing for all high-cultural affectation that he will never admit, even to himself, to remembering the names of the books and authors he has read." (*ibid*: VI) Jim plays the ignorant in a conscious and purposeful manner, preferring to be peripheral in the universe of academe, but central in the world of non-conventional, updated intellectuals.

2. Bad Habits, Soft Drugs, Less Work

Actually, Jim Dixon is not bothered by the challenges in intellectual life, but by the amateurishness and empty ritualistic style of its protagonists. Between him and the rigid intellectual milieu there is an outsmarting competition. The young faculty member has an untidy aspect, but he cannot be taken for an idiot, not even for a Dostoyevskian mystical idiot. Sally Shuttleworth described the pre-modern type of idiot:

The idiot in mid-nineteenth-century culture was a figure of ontological indeterminacy, not only crossing boundaries, but troubling and disturbing them: at once animal and human, child and adult; an adult who is always childish, and a child who is never a child. (Shuttleworth, 2001: 17)

The postmodern outcast does not have such an outstretched personality. In fact, his existence is quite transparent, as he functions as a critical mirror for the other characters. The readers are only informed that he enjoys smoking and light-drinking, that he mimics ludicrous people and plays all sorts of practical jokes. He even dares to drink in a bus full of students, who were drinking in their turn. (Amis, 2000: 155) Regarding his other bad habit: "As long as he could remember he'd never been able to smoke as much as he wanted to." (*ibid*: 154) The new type of intellectual has very many habits specific to the emerging counterculture.

When it comes to writing academic articles, Jim tries to improvise and remix data: he "cheered up at the thought of being able to do himself so much good without having to think at all." (*ibid*: 166) Postmodernism is less creative than prone to corroborate and shuffle previous creations. Fact is, neither his colleagues bring forth peremptory evidence about their creativity or sagacity. All along the plot we are informed about one article written by Jim but its publication is indefinitely postponed, until the editor of the respective academic magazine will publish it in his name. The omniscient

narrator abruptly describes Dixon's intellectual policy: "to read as little as possible of any given book." (*ibid*: 17) This does not mean a rejection of reading as such, but a strategy of fast and various reading of as many books as possible with the purpose of staying tuned and informed in different fields. The new type of culture is characteristic for the postmodernist versatile approach to culture.

3. How Intellectual are the Intellectuals of the 50s?

The issue is: what is an intellectual like in the 50s? The more professor Welch parades his arty inclinations, the more Jim Dixon considers him and Bertrand, Welch's son and a mediocre painter, "stock platitudes" (*ibid*: 51). Welch is involved in all sort of artistic activities and sees himself as a gifted dilettante. Jim, in exchange, ventures deprecatory appreciations upon his superior's shallow personality: "Desperately he tried to listen to Welch's song, to marvel at its matchless predictability, its austere, unswerving devotion to tedium." (*ibid*: 64) Without being a connoisseur, the all-encompassing snobbery determines Jim to discard even masterpieces and geniuses: "The piece was recognizable to Dixon as some skein of untiring facetiousness by filthy Mozart." (*ibid*: 61) Actually, Dixon's attitude is not anti-intellectualist, but against artsy amateurish pretensions. He foregrounds the anti-aestheticism of a later date:

The high-water mark of anti-aestheticism arguably coincident with the emergence of the so-called 'culture wars' of the late 1980s and early 1990s, wherein anxieties concerning the erosion of the high culture/popular culture divide gained considerable publicity and became an industry in their own right, though mostly, it has to be said, the preoccupation of media pundits rather than academics. (Joughin and Malpas, 2003: 4)

What is an intellectual about, anyway, in this context? It seems that the traits of British provincial intellectuals in the 50s are snobbery, social sophistication and hierarchical mentality. Their productivity consists of correct, but mediocre articles, and once in a while books, especially compilations. These are the pillars of a decrepit modernism, figment of social respectability, but not of originality and profundity.

The approach is a Hegelian one:

The extension of universality implies the erasure of difference, and the notion of mediation implies that universality and difference can be reconciled only through the subordination of the difference to universality;

harmony is thus achieved through domination and mediation turns out to be the erasure of difference rather than its recognition. (Butler et al, 1992: 4)

Indeed, what suffocates Jim is the lack of recognition which is caused by his inability to wear a “serious” mask. In order to contain his disgust in relation to the intellectual pretensions surrounding him, he braces up in a binge drinking manner. These evasionist tendencies offer Kingsley Amis the opportunity to exaggeratingly insist on physical disasters. Only some similes are fortunately-chosen: “his mouth had been used as a latrine by some small creature of the night, and then as its mausoleum.” (Amis, 2000: 61)

There is no social implication or establishment contestation in the life of these intellectuals. Modernism disputed tradition whereas the nascent postmodernism enlarged the scope of culture by giving the accolade to counterculture and even to underculture. In this complex context, the *aequa anima* and the conformism of the “big-wigs” in the city seems suspect. Can authentic intellectuals remain so passive or closed to experiment? The inflexibility of their mentality is reflected by Bertrand, who always uses two ‘No’s to negate and these ones accompanied by a very suggestive non-verbal posture (*ibidem*). If “every aspect of life has a politics” (Berube, Bergin & Garvey, 2002: IX), as postmodernism proclaimed, then there is very little postmodernism in the novel. Nor does the intellectual ebullition characterize these academics. In Berube’s terms, they do not qualify for the intellectual caste: “for me, the term intellectual has come to mean something different, not necessarily a creator of culture, but one who deals specifically in the realm of ideas.” (*ibid*: VI)

4. Melting the Solids

In postmodernism intellectuals were supposed to de-congeal the fossilized structures of modernism. In its turn, modernity had triggered a liquefying process and this favoured the melting of spatialized representations: “Fluids, so to speak, neither fix space, nor bind time. In a sense, solids cancel time; for liquids, on the contrary, it is mostly time that matters. Was not modernity a process of ‘liquefaction’ from the start?” (Bauman, 2000: 2) Once modernism lost its flexibility and intellectual alertness, it was the turn of postmodernism to take over; to demythologize the ‘profaning of the sacred’:

for disavowing and dethroning the past, and first and foremost ‘tradition’ – to wit, the sediment and residue of the past in the present; [...] to clear

the site for new and improved solids; to replace the inherent set of deficient and defective solids with another set. (*ibid*: 3)

The modernist intellectuals are reduced to the status of museum exhibits in postmodernism. Accordingly, they lost the dynamism of the intellectual condition and became sediments: “Rigidity of order is the artefact and sediment of the human agents’ freedom.” (*ibid*: 5) Re-fluidization of space is symbolized by Jim’s funny faces when ridiculing his betters or colleagues. There is a whole collection of twisted, mocking faces in the novel, like a broken, extreme-baroque architecture. When Jim pulls faces, he externalizes his inner monologue in non-verbal communication. When this would be too dangerous, he transfers it inwardly: “mentally, however, he was making a different face and promising himself he’d make it actually when next alone.” (Amis, 2000: 8) Imagination can compensate for the repressed irritation. For instance, Welch drives in such a disastrous manner that Jim construes sophisticated penalties:

He pretended to himself that he’d pick up his professor round the waist, squeeze the furry grey-blue waistcoat against him to expel the breath, run heavily with him up the steps, along the corridor to the Staff Cloakroom, and plunge the too small feet in their capless shoes into a lavatory basin, pulling the plug once, twice, and again, stuffing the mouth with toilet-paper. (*ibid*: 9-10)

When he is obliged to be part of Welch’s arty week-end he drinks so heavily that during the night he unconsciously burns with a cigarette the bed sheets and the table in his sleeping room. He will manifest his relief in getting rid of the incriminatory objects like this: “In the junk-room he nudged aside an archery target, making his crazy-peasant face at it – what flaring imbecilities must it have witnessed? – and dumped the table behind the screen.” (*ibid*: 75)

Even the first elaborate dialogue with Christine Callaghan, his future girlfriend, whom he will snatch away from Bertrand Welch, irritates him to the degree of a provoking the face-twisting silent reply. He produces “his Chinese mandarin’s face, hunching his shoulders a little”; this because “he disliked this girl and her boyfriend so much that he couldn’t understand why they didn’t dislike each other.” (*ibid*: 69) This expressive non-verbal communication is accompanied, when Jim Dixon is alone, by rhythmical imprecations, meant to reflect Welch’s artistic amateurishness: “you ignorant clod, you stupid old sod, you *havering slavering*” or “you wordy old *turdy old scum*, you *gripping old piping old bum*.” (*ibid*: 87) When he

hears somebody calling Professor Welch, he produces his “Martian-invader face.” (*ibid*: 91) If he is successful in playing practical jokes upon his adversaries, he manifests his joy hyperbolically: “he threw back his head and gave a long trombone-blast of anarchistic laughter.” (*ibid*: 103) If not, he may compensate with “his lemon-sucking face” (*ibid*: 7141). All these acting abilities have a criticising side and he is aware of this aspect: “he thought what a pity it was that all his faces were designed to express rage or loathing.” (*ibid*: 250) Besides his critical inclinations, Jim Dixon is a morphotic and a vengeful person. His character’s strong points are the somehow mild spirit of revenge and his disinterestedness in obtaining financial advantages. His way of reacting to negative stimuli rediscovers the biological, as Judith Butler will demand fifty years later (Butler et al, 1992: 109). His disrespect towards hierarchy functions as a critique of essentialism, from a postmodern point-of-view: “The conventional way of understanding essentialism is a position that accepts the notion of a pre-given or pre-constituted identity.” (*ibid*: 2108) As Dixon seems impervious to theory, we have no reason to assume a postmodernist reaction from his part. Maybe postmodern, but not postmodernist! However, the democratic, corrosive and flexible approach is obvious. Zygmunt Bauman remarked the negative and contesting side of postmodernism: “The postmodern mind seems to condemn everything, propose nothing. Demolition is the only job the postmodern mind seems to be good at. Destruction is the only construction it recognizes.” (Bauman, 2002: X) This remark is not completely disqualifying, as it admits the existence of a constructive demolition. It is a responsible freedom, like that of the art: “the exhilarating freedom to pursue anything and the mind-boggling uncertainty as to what is worth pursuing and in the name of what one should pursue it.” (*ibid*: VII) From this standpoint, Jim Dixon is an artist who attacks an art whose symbolism loses its polysemantism at a fast pace. It is an unstable interval, imbued with an obnoxious minimalism: “How farcical it seems to fight for genuine art when one can no more drop anything incidentally without the dropped object being proclaimed art.” (*ibid*: VIII) Such deregulatory passages intervene regularly in the history of culture. Modernity emerged on the stage in the same combative coordinates: “The war against mystery and magic was for modernity the war of liberation leading to the declaration of reason’s independence.” (*ibid*: X)

5. Between Essentialism and Literalism

Jim Dixon is an unintentional agent of postmodernity as he supports a desultory and dubious lifestyle, whereas he also criticizes and mocks the

vain pretensions and lack of abilities of the others. His interior monologue is a cannonade against bad driving, petty domestic manias, male domination in couples, infidelities in love affairs, pecuniary arrangements, low professional performances, and so on and so forth. For instance, Dixon cannot stand those snobbish gatherings wherein Bertrand, the failed painter, uses phrases like: “contrapuntal tone-values” (Amis, 2000: 112). That is why he elopes with Bertrand’s girlfriend and feels: “like a special agent, a picaroon, a Chicago war-lord, a hidalgo, an oil baron, a mohock.” (*ibid*: 113) No remorse whatsoever! Modernism cultivated a vertical spirit of adventure; postmodernism preferred a horizontal, more physical one. The physicality of the young lecturer is highlighted during the fight with Bertrand, when he simply knocks his rival down. Being so physical, laid-back and self-indulgent, it is obvious that Dixon could not be fond of sophisticated or elitist art.

Postmodernist art is not against *indirectness*, but its message is friendlier as it is interspersed both with parody and sentimentality. Dixon hates the literalism of some of the historical articles he has to write. An example in point would be the “flatulent work on textile trades in the time of the Tudors.” (*Ibid*: 170) What is the issue here? “The hallmark of literalism is a text’s ability to compel our attention to its physical features, and more generally, to make us think of language in terms of its material constituents.” (Ashton, 2005: 5)

Neither is Jim Dixon an essentialist, nor a literalist, that is a realist. He likes plotting, farcical scenarios and dynamic repertoires. This is a possible explanation of the title: Jim is lucky as he leaves the novel with the beautiful girlfriend of his pestering boss’s son and with a job in London, which was offered him by Gore-Urquhart, Christine’s influent uncle. Why does Gore-Urquhart choose him? On account of his qualifications? On the contrary: “It’s not that you’ve got the qualifications, for this or any other work, but there are plenty who have. You haven’t got the disqualifications, though, and that’s much rarer.” (Amis, 2000: 234) This is symptomatic of a new brave world: communicative skills supersede specialised professionalism. The post-industrial epoch encourages the tertiary sector: services and education understood as a profitable and productive activity: “Equally, the rapid decline of the primary and secondary sectors of the economy has negatively impacted men’s employment and incomes.” (Synnott, 2009: 1) Dixon likes teaching, but dislikes the servile implications of building an academic career. Actually, he does not want a career, but a casual job which will not invade his private life. It is the beginning of a free-style jobs interval; jobs, not professions. This does not mean necessarily an irresponsible attitude. Dixon is a responsible man as he is on the verge of

losing Christine's affection because he wants to protect Margaret, a fellow-lecturer who repeatedly pretends to commit suicide and who throws fits of hysteria. Actually, he possesses an extra-sense which forbids him "being starchy" (Amis, 2000: 136). His stance in life is paradoxical: a medievalist who loathes scholasticism. Paradoxical and oxymoronic. His final public lecture gets him the push. He is supposed to glorify the *Merrie England* but, instead of making a bow to tradition, he appears on stage in an advanced state of intoxication and formulates shocking conclusions: "it was about the most un-Merrie period in our history. It's only home-made pottery crowd, the organic husbandry crowd, the recorder-playing crowd, the Esperanto..." (*ibid*: 227) Not only shocking, but aberrant. His thinking process advances in conformity with a ricochet technique. Moreover, he feels possessed by an evil spirit who commands him to imitate the preposterous manners of speaking of Professor Welch and of the Principal. Dixon is a natural-born parodist and *pasticheur*. In any case, he despises plagiarism. This is the initial phase of postmodernism. Only the last phase will accept the semi-plagiarism of arresting the foreign content but of watching it from a different angle. As a fresh postmodernist, Dixon distrusts ready-made explanations: "One of the best Ways of describing postmodernism as a philosophical movement would be as a form of scepticism – scepticism about authority, received wisdom, cultural and political norms, etc." (Sim, 2001: 1)

6. Conclusion

Lucky Jim can be read as a narrative about the conflictual relationship of late modernism with the incipient postmodernism. As it is obvious from Professor Welch's and Jim Dixon's behaviours, the last phase of modernism was characterised by amateurishness, pretence, stiff-upper-lip-ness and lack of creativity, whereas the budding postmodernism adopted a superficial, all-criticising, improvising and laid-back, even debauched manner. The elitist attitude ends up as dry pastiche and mannerism. The new cultural direction absorbs consumerism and low-middle class appetites. In the same time, the rigid profile of provincial intellectual life loses ground in favour of metropolitan underculture. In terms of professional developments, low-qualification jobs take precedence over tedious, life-consuming respectable professions. What is gained in sincerity and frank sentimental manifestations is lost in refinement and ritual. The non-conformist protagonist of the novel behaves like a knight errant *à rebours* in the search of the last dragons' modernist dens. The question still hovers after so many years from the publication of the book: is Jim Dixon conscious about the

theoretical implications of his chaotic life, infringing all academic rules, or his opposition and intoxicated demise are only a chance synchronization with the emerging *zeitgeist*, the postmodernism?

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Diplomatic Language – Means of Facilitating Intercultural Communication in Joseph Conrad’s Novella *Heart of Darkness*

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Abstract: The current paper is intended to focus on the analysis of the most relevant examples of diplomatic phrases that can be found within the text of *Heart of Darkness*. Throughout the novel, diplomatic language plays an important part in disguising the real reason for the presence of a European ivory trading company in a remote territory situated in the middle of the jungle.

Keywords: *Diplomatic language, colonialism, civilization, noble cause, savagery.*

Definitions of Diplomatic Language

To begin with, it must be stated the significance of diplomatic language. According to Merriam Webster Dictionary, language is defined as “the system of words or signs that people use in order to express thoughts and feelings to each other.” while diplomacy represents “the work of maintaining good relations between the governments of different countries.”

In Sir Ernest Satow’s opinion expressed in his work called *Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, diplomacy consists in “the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states and between governments and international institutions.” (Satow, 1932: 1)

Another definition was given to diplomacy by Henry Kissinger who describes it as “the art of relating states to each other by agreement rather than by the exercise of force, by the representation of a ground of action which reconciles particular aspirations with a general consensus...; diplomacy depends upon persuasion and not imposition.” (Kissinger, 1957: 326)

Ambassador Stanko Nick notes that the term “diplomatic language” can be interpreted in several ways. First of all, it refers to the common language used by the parties involved in an actual interstate negotiation process. Secondly, it refers to the lexicon of specialized words and of other technical terms employed by diplomats during their bilateral or multilateral meetings. The third meaning consists in a polite vocabulary, manner or tone of expression used by a person to deal with other people. (Nick, 2001)

The Significance of the Novel's Title: *Heart of Darkness*

The central theme of *Heart of Darkness* is represented by imperialism and colonialism and its subsequent effects on the native population. During the novel, the relationship between the western European "civilisation" and the African "savagery" is scrutinized from different perspectives.

Language is regarded as the main tool used in order to hide the profit-oriented intentions of the colonizers who motivate their actions into the Congo Free State by a noble desire of civilising the primitive population from that region of the world.

In *Heart of Darkness* the events are narrated from the point of view of Charles Marlow who is appointed as captain of a river steamboat for the ivory trading company which controls the area surrounding the Congo river. A strong emphasis is put on the descriptions he provides about the real life of native people and his feelings when he encounters scenes of torture and cruelty. The experiences of the story's main narrator are based upon those of the author, Joseph Conrad, but this issue is going to be explained later in this paper.

In the following lines a particular attention will be paid to the significance of the novel's title. "*Heart of Darkness*" itself acts as a symbol of diplomatic language which alludes both to the evil nature of human soul and to the colour of the skin of those who inhabit the African continent. With regard to its first meaning, "darkness" also symbolizes the lack of morality that can affect any human being and manifests through lies, deceit, manipulation having as an aim to achieve wealth and power. On the other hand, it refers to the Congo environment characterised by people described as strange savages who are in need of the European colonizers' civilisation. Besides this, "darkness" suggests the way in which people who go to that part of the world can be affected morally and ethically by the interaction with a totally different social group.

The Hypocrisy of the European Colonizers

After having explained briefly the connotations of the title, I am going to analyze some of the most important diplomatic phrases used by the author in order to show how exploitation to which the native population is forced is intended to be justified by a humanitarian ideology.

First of all, it is worth highlighting Marlow's words while telling his fellow sailors on the yawl *Nellie* anchored on the river Thames about the time he was a child and he dreamt of getting to various places on the map

especially to the central part of Africa, but when he had that opportunity, the area “had ceased to be a blank space of delightful mystery- a white patch for a boy to dream gloriously over” (Conrad, 1988: 10). This description hints at the difference between the way the Congo region used to look when it was still wild and unexplored and the way it changed after the Europeans started doing business there.

In addition to this, referring to the former captain of the steamboat that he was going to command who was killed after a quarrel arisen from a misunderstanding about some hens, Marlow says the crew members depicted Fresleven as “the gentlest, quietest creature that ever walked on two legs” (Conrad, 1988: 12). This characterization aims at underlining the negative effects of a long period of time spent in a harmful environment on a completely inoffensive individual’s behaviour.

Marlow recounts that after Fresleven had been killed by the son of the tribe’s chief, his dead body was left untouched because he was considered a “supernatural being” (ibidem). In fact, this reinforces the idea that all white men were regarded as having extraordinary powers and the local people were afraid of them and their possible revenge even after their death.

During the last meeting with his aunt before leaving to Africa, Marlow realizes that she presented him to very influential dignitaries who had a strong contribution to his appointment as a captain. The image created by his aunt is that of “an exceptional and gifted creature-a piece of good fortune for the Company-a man you don’t get hold of every day” (ibid. 17). He also seems to be portrayed as “something like an emissary of light, something like a lower sort of apostle” (ibidem). These examples of diplomatic language prove once more the status of the Europeans among the so-called savages. Colonizers are seen as deities who are entitled to decide who has the right to live or who will die. They can also dispose of the natural resources of the region and take advantage of the natives’ labour force. Marlow’s excellent recommendations cause the envy and suspicion of many of the Company’s employees who are interested in pumping him in order to find who are his protectors in Europe.

Marlow is intrigued to hear from his aunt that she believes in the official ideology promoted by the western powers. The words “weaning those ignorant millions from their horrid ways” clearly show the woman’s convictions about the benevolent mission of the Europeans up the Congo river and their good intentions of transforming Africa into a land of liberty and prosperity.(ibidem) Marlow blames the intensive propaganda spread out through newspapers for intoxicating honest citizens with the false idea of a humanitarian intervention into the heart of Africa.

A very important diplomatic phrase which appears several times throughout the novel and deserves a special attention in its analysis is the “noble cause” (ibid. 12). Under this name, it is hidden the real activity carried on by the Company’s workers on the territory of the Congo Free State. The main goal of the agents is to collect as much ivory as possible using methods that can hardly be called human. The possibility of earning large sums of money makes the ivory traders be in a permanent competition which leads to chaos and a cruel treatment applied to the natives. Meanwhile the administrative officials of the Company try to maintain an appearance of order and legality of their actions motivating all by a philanthropic plan of bringing European culture and civilisation in Africa.

Another example of diplomatic phrase meant to emphasize the dehumanization of the Company’s agents in their obsession with finding more and more ivory is that uttered by a Swedish captain “It is funny what some people will do for a few francs a month” (Conrad, 1988: 21). This makes reference to the continuously increasing greed demonstrated by the ivory traders and the harsh conditions in which they obliged the natives to work without caring about their basic needs. This is the reason why often many of the so-called savages died from starvation or from lack of drinking water.

The above mentioned facts are being confirmed by the following quotation “They were dying slowly-it was very clear. They were not enemies, they were not criminals, they were nothing earthly now- nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation”...The outraged law, like the bursting shells, had come to them, an insoluble mystery from over the sea” (ibid. 23). The conclusion that can be drawn from these lines is that natives are mere victims of an absurd law by which European colonizers justify their acts of torture and slavery which finally lead to the physical extermination of so many innocent people.

As a reinforcement of the hypocrisy of the European actions in the Congo Free State, it must be also mentioned an ironical declaration of Marlow “After all, I also was a part of the great cause of these high and just proceedings.” (ibidem)

Moreover, I think it is worth highlighting another proof of the usage of diplomatic language in *Heart of Darkness* that is relevant for understanding which are the Company’s main interests in the region. The chief accountant who works at the Outer Station tells Marlow about Mr.Kurtz and describes him as “a first-class agent and a very remarkable person who is in charge of a trading-post, a very important one, in the true ivory-country at the very bottom of there and he sends in as much ivory as all the others put together” (ibid. 28). The immense amount of ivory that

Kurtz manages to collect makes him to be highly appreciated by all the workers, but it also represents a reason to be envied by those who want to take his place.

The accountant goes on by saying about Kurtz that “he will go far, very far. He will be a somebody in the Administration before long. They, above-the Council in Europe, you know-mean him to be” (ibid. 29). Kurtz is considered by the accountant and by many others, as it is going to be revealed in the next pages of my paper, a person with a very promising future inside the Company due to his unquestionable professional skills, his very good knowledge of the territories and his relationship with the native population. In addition to these, a major advantage is represented by the support Kurtz has from important people in the leadership of the Company. All these aspects transform Kurtz into a potential candidate to the position of General Manager which makes the current Manager feel threatened.

Once arrived at the Central Station, Marlow meets the Manager who starts expressing his worry about the state of health of Mr. Kurtz which is said to be pretty grave and also praises him as being “the best agent he has, an exceptional man, of the greatest importance to the Company” (Conrad, 1988: 34). From the way the Manager speaks about Kurtz it results clearly that his contribution to the profit of the Company is essential which explains why he became such a famous individual.

In a conversation with a man described as “a first-class agent, young, gentlemanly, a bit reserved” who is considered to be the Manager’s spy, Marlow is told about Kurtz that “He is a prodigy, an emissary of pity and science and progress and devil knows what else” (Conrad, 1988: 39). The man continues his laudatory discourse by speaking about the noble goals of the Company and in this respect he claims that “We want for the guidance of the cause intrusted to us by Europe, so to speak, higher intelligence, wide sympathies, a singleness of purpose” (ibidem). It is obvious that all ideals and principles invoked by the young trader reflect the hypocrisy of the commercial colonialism conducted by Europeans into the Congo environment. Neither the leadership of the corporation in Europe nor the agents working in Africa are interested in anything else except the ivory that is so precious because it brings them huge sums of money.

An additional proof of the fact that Kurtz is regarded by the Manager as a serious threat is the statement of the young agent “Yes. Today he is chief of the best station, next year he will be assistant-manager, two years more and...but I dare-say you know what he will be in two years’ time. You are of the new gang-the gang of virtue. The same people who sent him specially also recommended you” (ibidem). These lines clearly demonstrate that the Manager and the people who are loyal to him do not take a

particular interest in helping Kurtz, on the contrary he seems to be considered the representative of the new wave of European leaders who sent him to the Congo region in order to supervise the activity there and gradually take the lead of the Company's Central Station.

Civilisation vs. Savagery

One day, Marlow accidentally hears the Manager talking to his uncle who arrived at the Central Station leading a band called the Eldorado Exploring Expedition. The dialogue between the two men includes many references to a third person whose name is not explicitly uttered. "I am as harmless as a little child, but I don't like to be dictated to. Am I the manager-or am I not? I was ordered to send him there. It's incredible... He has asked the Administration to be sent there with the idea of showing what he could do and I was instructed accordingly. Look at the influence that man must have. Is it not frightful?" (ibid. 50). At this point, Marlow begins to suspect that the person the two men are talking about is Mr.Kurtz himself. The Manager's tone of the voice indicates a very clear disapproval of being given orders because he perceives this action as an offence. Both men seem to be scared by the influence that the person they are talking about has over the members of the European Administration of the Company.

Afterwards the uncle adds "The climate may do away with this difficulty for you. Is he alone there?" and the answer of the Manager is "Yes" (Conrad, 1988: 50). It becomes clearer and clearer the fact that Kurtz is the subject of this conversation and that he became a target for the two men who try to find a solution to get rid of him because he jeopardizes their authority and consequently their income. This idea is reinforced by the following quote which pertains to the Manager's uncle "That's what I say; nobody here, you understand, HERE, can endanger your position. And why? You stand the climate- you outlast them all. The danger is in Europe; but there before I left I took care to" (ibid. 52). It appears again the issue of Kurtz's support coming from influential European dignitaries and it is also brought into discussion the reason for the current Manager's endurance.

The Manager harshly criticises the absurdity of Kurtz's discourse while he was at the Central Station "Each station should be like a beacon on the road towards better things, a centre for trade of course, but also for humanising, improving, instructing."(ibidem) This type of diplomatic speech held by Kurtz was obviously intended to motivate the Company's employees and instil a greater confidence in the principles and values promoted by the European colonizers. The irony consists in the fact that later in my paper I am going to show how Kurtz is the one who denounces

the humanitarian intentions of the European campaign into the Congo Free State and starts to rule by his own law.

The most powerful quality possessed by Kurtz is his oratorical talent. The quote previously mentioned is one of the many clear evidences of this extraordinary ability. In a report written for an organisation called the International Society for the Suppression of Savage Customs, Kurtz praises the intellectual and spiritual superiority of the white race in comparison with the Africans claiming it is the duty of the Europeans to impose their will and extend their supremacy in those remote lands of Africa even if this happens by using force. The following extract from Kurtz's document is meant to support the idea expressed above "We whites, from the point of development we had arrived at, must necessarily appear to them (savages) in the nature of supernatural beings-we approach them with the might of a deity"... "By the simple exercise of our will we can exert a power for good practically unbounded." (ibid. 82)

Marlow is deeply impressed by the power of persuasion of the phrases used by Kurtz in his report and he says it makes him "tingle with enthusiasm..". "This was the unbounded power of eloquence-of words-of burning noble words." Kurtz has the capacity to convince Marlow about the charitable mission of the Europeans in the Congo region. This fact is confirmed by the statement "It gave me the notion of an exotic Immensity ruled by an august Benevolence." A single phrase added in handwriting at the end of the report has the effect of revealing the true way of thinking of Kurtz "Exterminate all the brutes." (<http://www.academia.edu>) This recommendation made by Kurtz shows that his only interest consists in obtaining profit based on the sale of the ivory collected from the natives and in order to achieve his goal he is ready to do any kind of despicable act.

In spite of his speech which helps to promote the official ideology of the European colonialism, Kurtz is aware of the substantial amount of hypocrisy that lies behind its humanitarian role. This is what makes him to act according to his own rules and adopt a brutal way of treating the native people by exploiting them and forcing them to work all day long in improper conditions that do not have anything in common with the concept of humanity. Kurtz does not bother any more to pretend that he respects the human rights, he is capable of committing all types of atrocities in the name of the sacred purpose of finding ivory.

Kurtz is said to have acquired the same traits of character possessed by the "savages" and this makes him to be considered by the native population one of their fellows which gives him an immense authority over the tribes that inhabit the innermost part of the Congo Free State. Little by little Kurtz builds his own empire and he begins to be perceived as a sort of

God who can dispose of the people's destiny as he wants without being asked to give any kind of explanation to anybody. His cruel practices actually reflect the real face of colonialism, but the Company's officials demonstrate once more their hypocritical attitude by blaming Kurtz for his "unsound methods." (<http://www.academia.edu>)

Kurtz's dying words "The horror! The horror!" are given various connotations depending on the point of view from which they are perceived. On the one hand, they may reflect his repentance towards the way he behaved in his relationship with the Africans and his mental transformation from the moment of his arrival to the Congo to the time he left those territories. The utterance of these words can be interpreted as a reaction to the revelation of his self-destruction. On the other hand, Kurtz's exclamation is often seen as a refusal of leaving his sanctuary, the empire he created where he is worshipped like a God or like an emperor. Returning to a mundane life similar to all the mortals seems to be unconceivable for him. The "horror" may also allude to Kurtz's failure of becoming more than a human and of establishing his own set of laws so he is left no other option than judge himself according to the laws of society. (www.enotes.com/topics/heart-of-darkness/themes)

Taking into consideration the clear moral degradation that affects Kurtz and the other workers of the Company as the effects of their actions are gradually revealed, it can be argued that between the Western European "civilization" and the African "savagery" there are many similarities. Neither of these two types of societies proves to be superior in terms of ethical methods of interacting with the representatives of other culture.

The evil nature of the human race is brought to the surface in the case of Kurtz when he has to face the challenge of leading a very important trading post, a great responsibility but also a position that allows him to handle huge amounts of ivory which consequently means money and power. The illusion of becoming rich overnight perverts the souls of the colonizers who are transformed in insensitive and unscrupulous human beings.

Conclusion

As I mentioned at the beginning of this analysis, many of the events narrated in the novel by Charles Marlow are inspired from Joseph Conrad's real journey in the Congo as the captain of a river steamboat that took place in 1890. In order to have a better understanding of the way in which Conrad through the voice of his main character sees the African population, I consider it is of high importance to briefly describe the social, cultural and ethnical background of the author.

Firstly, it should be said that Conrad's family pertained to Polish aristocracy, then after his father's death, his uncle sent him to France and he finally moved to London also becoming a British citizen. So the origins of his family and the education received during his childhood and youth make Conrad the quintessential cosmopolitan European. It is worth emphasizing these aspects of Conrad's past because they portray him as an authentic representative of the classic European mentality.

A very popular theory in the nineteenth century consisted in an uneven evolution of the human species. According to this manner of thinking called social Darwinism some peoples like the Europeans evolved more than others on the evolutionary ladder while the least significant progress was made by the Africans. The main argument in supporting this theory was that each time the Europeans tried to extend their colonial empire, they proved to be superior to the local population. Their social, economical and military superiority was falsely interpreted as a biological one too. (<http://www.academia.edu>)

Although Conrad criticises the colonizers exploitation and abuse of the natives, he represents the Africans as a primitive sub-species of humans who have not evolved. This idea is supported by the following statements "we were traveling in the night of first ages" and "they still belonged to the beginnings of time" which make reference to a travel back to prehistory. The author seems to highlight the innate savagery of the natives by depicting them as "Fine fellows, these cannibals...After all they did not eat each other before my eyes." Nevertheless, by using the phrase "they were not inhuman." Conrad admits the fact that the Africans are part of the same species as the Europeans which implies there is not such a big gap in evolution between the two groups of people. (ibidem)

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Sprache Und Identitätsbildung In Der Migrationsliteratur

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Abstract: Die Migrationsliteratur im Feld des deutschen Sprach- und Kulturraumes bildet sich heutzutage als einen wichtigen Bestandteil der gegenwärtigen Literatur. Die Preisträger des Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preises (eine Auszeichnung für deutsch schreibende Autoren nicht deutscher Muttersprache) schaffen eine sehr heterogene Gruppe von Autoren mit einem Migrationshintergrund. Was aber diese Schriftsteller zusammenbindet, ist die Wahl der deutschen Sprache. Diese Arbeit versucht zu zeigen, welche Rolle die deutsche Sprache in der Integration der MigrantInnen in der neuen Gesellschaft hat, und wie die Herkunftskultur und die Deutsche sich einblenden. Am Beispiel der Autoren Emine Sevgi Özdamar und Ilija Trojanow kann man zeigen, wie das Treffen mit dem Anderen die deutsche Sprache bereichert. Werke dieser Schriftsteller haben die Identitätsbildung als Thema: Der Ortswechsel bedeutet die Integration in einer anderen Kultur und auch einen Sprachwechsel. Die Suche nach einer neuen Heimat bringt gleichzeitig auch eine Suche nach einer neuen Sprache und der linguistische Umgang ist oftmals spielerisch. Wenn Özdamar die Hybridisierung drei Sprachen darstellt (in Mutterzunge, wo Arabisch – die “Großvaterzunge” –, Türkisch und Deutsch hybridisiert werden), “sammelt” Burton nicht nur (physische) Welten, sondern auch Sprachen. Man kann sich fragen, ob im Roman von Ilija Trojanow, *Der Weltensammler*, das Projekt der Mehrsprachigkeit (der zentralen Figur, Burton) scheitert oder nicht. Die Migrationsliteratur umreißt daher neue Dimensionen der Literaturszene, und die ausgewählten Texte beschreiben, wie das Identitätsbewusstsein und die innere Kartografie umgestellt werden.

Keywords: *Der Weltensammler, Emine Sevgi Özdamar, Ilija Trojanow, Migrationsliteratur, Mutterzunge.*

Einleitung. Migrations als Zersplitterung der Identität?

“Jeder Mensch ist ein Geheimnis” (Trojanow, 2006: 7), so lautet die Widmung des Romans *Der Weltensammler* von Ilija Trojanow, der 2006 erschienen ist. Die Individualität ist ein Geheimnis zugleich für die anderen und für sich selbst. Identität ist keiner fixierter und transparenter Begriff, sondern ein fluides, dynamisches Merkmal, bzw. im Kontext der Nachkriegszeit, in dem man mit der Auflösung der territorialen, physischen Grenzen handelt: “In postmodern culture the subject has disintegrated into a flux of euphoric intensities, [it is] fragmented and disconnected. [...] The decentered postmodern self no longer possesses the depth, substantiality, and coherence that was the ideal and occasional achievements of the modern self” (Kellner, 1993: 143-144). Die instabile kollektive Identität (auch im

Falle Deutschlands), die durch Prozesse wie Kriege, Globalisation, Migration defragmentiert wurde, führt auch zur Erosion der individuellen Identität: Das Nationale, das Lokale verlieren ihre Bedeutung, der Mensch wird weniger und weniger durch die Beziehungen mit den anderen charakterisiert. Warum aber geschieht so? Das Phänomen der Migration kehrt in der Geschichte zurück, aber Carmine Chiellino und Natalia Shchyhlevska stellen fest: "Von den Einwanderungen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert unterscheidet sich diejenige der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zusätzlich durch die breite Vielfalt der Kulturen und Sprachen, die in engster Berührung mit der deutschen Sprache kamen." (Chiellino, Shchyhlevska, 2014: 7)

Zugleich setzt diese Enträumlichung die Schaffung einer persönlichen Heimat voraus, die oft anhand der Sprache gegründet wird. Was passiert, wenn die Literatur mit der Migration zu tun hat? Der Ortswechsel bedeutet die Integration in einer anderen Kultur und bringt auch einen Sprachwechsel. Die Suche nach einer neuen Heimat bringt gleichzeitig auch eine Suche nach einer neuen Sprache. Es gibt jetzt keine Art von "writing the narration of a nation," weil verschiedene Kulturen auf der Bühne gebracht sind. Daher bleibt diese Literatur mehr ein Ausdruck der persönlichen, individuellen Identität, und nicht einer kollektiven, obwohl die eingewanderte Erfahrung sowohl ein personales Erlebnis, als auch ein politisches und soziales Phänomen ist.

Wie die Migrationsforscher meinen, gibt es sehr unterschiedliche Schub- und Sogfaktoren (die sogenannten *push- und pull-Faktoren*) der Migration, und nach dem Grad des Zwanges kann man zwischen objektiven und subjektiven Ursachen differenzieren: "Stets ist M. ein Versuch, die eigene Lebenslage zu verbessern, bzw. den widrigen Bedingungen der jeweiligen natürlichen wie sozialen Umwelt zu entkommen. Idealtypisch unterscheidet die Migrationsforschung hinsichtlich der Migrationsmotivation zwischen Flucht und Arbeitsmigration und in Bezug auf die betroffenen polit. Einheiten zwischen grenzüberschreitender M. (Einwanderungs-; Asylpolitik) und Binnenmigration." (Riegen, 2005: 574)

Die Fragen nach der Bedeutung von Migration, Heimat oder Identität sind aktueller denn je. Diese Fremdheitserfahrung wird auch in die literarische Szene gerückt, wo sich zahlreiche Auseinandersetzungen mit diesen Themen finden, und allerdings "haben die Autoren mit nichtdeutscher Muttersprache in den letzten zwanzig Jahren mit ihren Themen und Erzählstilen, zum Teil auch mit ihrer Sprachgestaltung zur Belebung einer spannungslosen deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur" (Bürger-Koftis, 2008: 9). Aber die Preisträger des Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preises (eine Auszeichnung für deutsch schreibende Autoren nicht deutscher

Muttersprache, also die meisten haben einen Migrationshintergrund) bilden eine sehr heterogene Gruppe von Autoren. Wie die Frankofone- oder die Commonwealthliteratur, stellt diese Migrationsliteratur eigentlich die Kraft der deutschen oder der deutschsprachigen Literatur infrage: “mount a challenge to hegemonic notions of ‘Germanness’, and indeed to totalizing discourses of all kinds” (Haines, Littler, 2004: 4). Welcher wäre aber der Kern des Deutschtums im Bereich der Literatur? Die deutschsprachige Literatur umfasst eigentlich verschiedene “Nationalliteraturen,” aber auch die Literatur einigen Minderheiten (z.B. die rumäniendeutsche Literatur). Oder ist dieses Konzept der “Nationalliteratur” heute gar noch gültig, wenn Goethes Begriff der Weltliteratur wieder verstärkt in den Blick kommt? Manche Autoren behaupten, dass der Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis auch eine Exotisierung der Migrationsliteratur sei. Das bringt auch die Vernachlässigung ihrer Ästhetik, weil die Migrationsliteratur der Randliteratur zugeordnet wird und die Funktion hat, ein Gruppenbewusstsein und eine Gruppenidentität zu schaffen: “western literary critics and academics often take the position that migrant writers are a ‘special category.’ [...] ‘they’ are different; therefore they have to be dealt with differently.” (Schipper, 2005, 117)

Die Diskussion über diese flüssige Zugehörigkeit findet aber kein Ende: Inwiefern gehört Franz Kafka oder Elias Canetti zu deutscher Literatur? Und welche Legitimität haben diese Autoren oder die Migrantenautoren, sich als deutsche Literaten zu nennen oder über die deutsche Gesellschaften zu schreiben? Die Literatur befindet sich immer im Übergang, verschiedene Kanonrevisionen werden gemacht. In den letzten Jahren deutschsprachige Autorinnen und Autoren, die einen Migrationshintergrund haben, wurden mit verschiedenen Preisen ausgezeichnet, und diese Tatsache zeigen, wie bedeutend die Interkulturalität für die Gegenwartsliteratur ist.

Ich möchte jetzt keine Schubladisierung der Werke oder der Autoren machen, mein Ziel ist nicht diese terminologische Diskussion im Zentrum zu haben, sondern möchte ich zeigen, inwiefern der Kontakt mit der neuen Kultur und der neuen Sprache oder die interkulturellen Beziehungen eine Identität verändern, wie Eva Hausbacher behauptet, dass “alle diese Figuren dazu dienen, Fixierungen, Stabilitäten sowie eine transparente Selbstidentität zu unterlaufen” (Hausbacher, 2008: 71). Ob man diese Werke als Migrationsliteratur, Migrantenliteratur¹, Ausländerliteratur,

¹ Auf jeden Fall, auch diese Bezeichnungen sind nicht so streng gedacht: “The [understanding of] literature of migration [should] include all works that are produced in a time of migration or that can be said to reflect on migration.” (Walkowitz, 2006: 533)

interkulturelle oder transkulturelle Literatur nennt, geht es immer um eine "topografische Literatur" (Hausbacher, 2008: 65), wo die Grenzüberschreitungen die Multiplizität der Zentren darstellen: "The award-winning Turkish writers of Germany, among them Yuksel Pazarkaya, Aysel Ozakin, Alev Tekinay, Feridun Zaimoglu, as well as Şenocak and Ozdamar, are certainly products of multiply centred histories" (Seyhan, 2005: 214). Man kartografiert nicht nur einfache Orte in diesen Werken, sondern auch Identitäten, und das Treffen mit dem *Anderen* bereichert das Eigene. Aber ich soll nicht verallgemeinern und nun die Weisen zeigen, wie die Umsetzung mit der Migration, mit neuen Sprachen in ausgewählten Werken dargestellt ist.

Ich werde mich um Emine Sevgi Özdamars Zyklus *Mutterzunge* (1998) und Ilija Trojanows Roman *Der Weltensammler* (2006) beziehen, bedeutend für zwei verschiedene Arten von diesem Umgang mit den neuen Kulturen.

Emine Sevgi Özdamars *Mutterzunge*

Erstens habe ich den Erzählband *Mutterzunge* von Emine Sevgi Özdamar gewählt, eine Autorin mit türkischer Herkunft. Sie wurde 1946 im osttürkischen Malatya geboren, war zwischen 1965 und 1967 als Gastarbeiterin in Berlin tätig, besuchte die Schauspielschule in Istanbul, dann kehrte sie sich nach Berlin zurück. Die Protagonistin der Erzählungen kommt, wie die Autorin selbst, als eine Gastarbeiterin nach Berlin, und versucht sich ein neues Leben zu schaffen. Was sie aber hier entdeckt, ist den Verlust der Muttersprache, und das wiederholt die namenlose Figur: "Wenn ich nur wüsste, wann ich meine Mutterzunge verloren habe" (Özdamar, 1998: 9); "Wenn ich nur wüsste, in welchem Moment ich meine Mutterzunge verloren habe" (Özdamar, 1998: 11). Die Wörter der Muttersprache (Türkisch) kommen jetzt meistens im Traum vor. Auch beim Rückkehr nach der Türkei sagt die Mutter: "»Du hast die Hälfte deiner Haare in Alamania gelassen" (Özdamar, 1998: 9), sodass, nach dem deutschen Erlebnis, scheint Türkisch eher als Fremdsprache: "[D]ie Sätze selbst kamen in meine Ohren wie eine von mir gut gelernte Fremdsprache" (Özdamar, 1998: 9); "Die Schriften kamen auch in meine Augen wie eine von mir gut gelernte Fremdschrift." (Özdamar, 1998: 11)

Das Problem der Muttersprache ist aber nicht neu und nicht das Einzige: "Ich bin unglücklich in meiner Sprache. [...] Die Wörter sind krank. [...] Wie lange braucht ein Wort, um wieder gesund zu werden? Man sagt, in fremden Ländern verliert man die Muttersprache. Kann man nicht auch in seinem eigenen Land die Muttersprache verlieren?" (Özdamar, 2003: 23). Weil der Großvater die arabische Schrift vor Atatürks Schriftreformen

lernte, und die Erzählerin nur die lateinische Schrift kann, fühlt sie, dass ihre Wurzeln fehlen. Das Verbot, die arabische Schrift zu verwenden, bedeutete eine Abspaltung des Seins: “Dieses Verbot ist so, wie wenn die Hälfte von meinem Kopf abgeschnitten ist” (Özdamar, 1998: 29); “[M]ein Großvater konnte nur arabische Schrift, ich konnte nur lateinischen Alphabet, das heißt, wenn mein Großvater und ich stumm wären und uns nur mit Schrift was erzählen könnten, könnten wir uns keine Geschichten erzählen. Vielleicht erst zu Großvater zurück, dann kann ich den Weg zu meiner Mutter und Mutterzunge finden” (Özdamar, 1998: 14). Deswegen wünscht die Protagonistin zurück nach Ostberlin zu gehen, um dort Arabisch zu lernen, und sie wird dann eine “Wörtersammlerin” (Özdamar, 1998: 48). Die neue Schrift führt zu einer Gedächtnislosigkeit, die sowohl das Individuum, als auch die Familie betrifft. Die Erzählerin will diese zurückgewinnen, und entdeckt den Lehrer Ibni Abdullah, pendelt zwischen den zwei Seiten von Berlin, um Arabisch zu lernen: “The cultural transition from West back to East is reversed, as she has to cross from East to West Berlin to receive her tuition. Ibni Abdullah is both a teacher and embodiment of Islam” (Haines, Littler, 2004: 124). Das Schriftzimmer Ibnis, wo sie lernt, wird ein Erinnerungsraum und bedeutet die Verknüpfung von Gegenwart, Vergangenheit und Zukunft.

Das Arabische blieb wie eine “heritage language” für die Protagonistin: “[D]ieser Terminus bezieht sich traditionell auf eine Familiensprache, die nicht die dominante Sprache der Gesellschaft ist, seit der 1990er Jahren wird er jedoch auch zunehmend verwendet, um eine Sprache zu bezeichnen, zu der ein Mensch zwar eine kulturelle Beziehung hat, die er aber selbst nicht beherrscht, wie z.B. wenn man die angestammte Sprache der eigenen ethnischen Gruppen nicht aktiv spricht.” (Petersen, 2015: 19)

Obwohl sie sagt, “In der Fremdsprache haben Wörter keine Kindheit” (Özdamar, 1998: 44), bedeutet das Deutsche nicht nur sich integrieren zu lassen, sondern auch eine Rekonstruktion der Vergangenheit. “Der Blick zurück wird durch den Blick nach vorn ersetzt” (Kremnitz, 2004: 181), als die Erzählerin die deutsche Sprache des neuen Landes lernt. Aber gleichzeitig kann die Figur nur mithilfe dieser neuen Situationen und Personen die Großvatersprache lernen, also scheint diese Erzählerin mehr als eine Janus zwei-köpfige Figur zu sein: Sowohl die Vergangenheit als auch die Zukunft projiziert sie in einem neuen Konstrukt. Um seine eigene Identität zu erfüllen, braucht sie alle diese drei Sprachen: “a Turkish woman living in Berlin who decides to learn Arabic as a way of filling in some of the gaps in her identity” (Haines, Littler, 2004: 4). Sie entdeckt die Schichten des Eigenen, ihre Wurzeln, aber auch die Herkunft seiner ganzen Kultur: Das Arabisch als Großvaterszunge und religiöse Sprache des

Korans, das Türkisch als Mutterzunge und das Deutsche als Fremdsprache (“The love affair with her teacher [...] enables her to encounter the various historical layers present in contemporary Turkish culture and to explore the complex and ambivalent heritage of Islam” (Haines, Littler, 2004: 4). Die Identität wird als ein Palimpsest gebildet, die individuelle Geschichte folgt die Struktur der Kollektiven.

Am Ende dieser Reise durch die Sprachbiografie stellt die Erzählerin fest: “Ich habe mich in meinen Großvater verliebt. Die Wörter, die ich die Liebe zu fassen gesucht habe, hatten alle ihre Kindheit” (Özdamar, 1998: 46). Die Herkunft bleibt immer eine Spur der Identität und wird wieder durch neue Erlebnisse entdeckt: “Origins do not disappear, but they occasionally fade in order to reappear. History slouches, memory lurks.” (Venkat Mani, 2007: 117)

Ilija Trojanows *Der Weltensammler*

Vielleicht nicht kohärentes, oder, besser gesagt, vielleicht uneinig scheint der Roman *Der Weltensammler* (2006). Wenn Özdamars Figur nur Wörter sammelt, schafft Richard Burton an ganze Bräuche und Kulturen sich zu gewöhnen. Die komplizierte Struktur des Romans, die zerfallende Erzählung, mit verschiedenen Perspektiven entspricht dem vielseitigen Wesen Burtons: “Each time narrators and narrative focalisers are undermined, each version of an event is shown to be a partial appropriation of an episode which can be challenged or reversed” (Preece, 2010: 221). Das Werk folgt chronologisch die Biografie des Britischen Abenteurer Richard Burton (1821-1890), eingerahmt von Burtons Sterbeszene (Richard Burton erscheint als fiktionaler Charakter schon 1996 im Roman *Die Welt ist groß und Rettung lauert überall* von Trojanow²). Die drei Hauptkapitel (‘Britisch-Indien’, ‘Arabien’ und ‘Ostafrika’) beziehen sich auf die drei geografischen Orte der Handlung. Aber man kann auch die eigenen biografischen Elemente aus Trojanows Leben finden: Der Text ist eigentlich eine Fiktionalisierung Burtons Schicksals, aber angereichert durch die persönlichen Einfügungen aus dem Leben Trojanows, der selbst als “Global

² Obwohl Trojanow nicht zeigt, wo das Faktuale endet und das Fiktionale beginnt, beschreibt er sein Verfahren in der Widmung des Romans: „Dieser Roman ist inspiriert vom Leben und Werk des Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890). Die Handlung folgt der Biographie seiner jungen Jahre manchmal bis ins Detail, manchmal entfernt sie sich weit von dem Überlieferten. Obwohl einige Äußerungen und Formulierungen von Burton in den Text eingeflochten wurden, sind die Romanfiguren sowie die Handlung überwiegend ein Produkt der Phantasie des Autors und erheben keinen Anspruch, an dem biografischen Realitäten geme.

Player unter den deutschsprachigen Schriftstellern, ein Nomade zwischen den Kontinenten und ein Apologet kultureller Vielfalt, ein Sprachwanderer und Angehöriger der zweiten Migrantengeneration mit verschiedenen Sprachen und Heimaten” ist. (Zetsche, 1978: 88)

Im ersten Kapitel, tragen drei Erzählfiguren ihre Erlebnisse rund um Burton vor: in Form von zwei Beobachtern, die unmittelbar am Geschehen teilhaben und ein ‚halbwissender Erzähler‘, wie Trojanow im kurzen Aufsatz *Komplot(t) – Wie plant der Autor den perfekten Plot* diese Figur beschreibt. Die zwei Beobachter sind der ehemalige Diener Burtons Naukaram und ein Schreiber (Lahiya). In ‚Arabien‘, nimmt Burton 1853 an dem Hadsch in Verkleidung als Mirza Sheikh Abdullah teil. Es gibt auch hier zwei Perspektiven. Die eine nimmt den Blick des ‚halbwissenden Erzählers‘ auf Burton ein, wie schon in der Indienepisode, die andere ist eine dialogische Auseinandersetzung zwischen wichtigen Funktionären der arabischen Welt, dem Sharifen Abd al-Muttalib bin Ghalib, dem Kadi Sheikh Jamal und dem Gouverneur Abdullah Pascha.

Im dritten Kapitel (in Ostafrika) geht es um die Erforschung der Nilquellen. Für diese Forschungsreise, die Burton zusammen mit John Hanning Speke ausgeführt hat, ist Burton bis heute bekannt. Hauptperson in der Erzählung ist aber eine andere geschichtlich belegte Figur: Sidi Mubarak Bombay, der, wie Naukaram, ein Diener ist.

Kennzeichnend für den Roman ist das Spiel mit den Perspektiven und den Beobachtungen. Die Geschichte Burtons ist mehr durch die Blicke der anderen Personen erzählt, als ob er für sich selbst nicht sprechen kann. Richard Burton ist ein Erforscher der anderen Kulturen, aber die Menschen sind diejenigen, die ihn untersuchen: “Trojanow inszeniert die Sicht auf Fremdes und Befremdliches in allen drei Episoden durch den Kunstgriff der Spiegelperspektive.” (Rath, 2011: 448)

Im Laufe des Romans lernt der Leser verschiedene Verwandlungen kennen, die Verkleidungen Burtons ebenso wie die Veränderungen seiner Persönlichkeit: Er will immer anpassen: “Zeige mir die Orte, wo sich die Einheimischen vergnügen,” sagte Burton zu Naukaram, der Diener. Diese kulturellen Anpassungen Burtons führen zu einer zerrissenen Identität. Die Figuren weisen auf das Interesse für den Anderen – eine Art Übersetzung einer Kultur durch den Spracherwerb: “Es gab nur eine Möglichkeit, sein Leben nicht zu verplempern: Sprachen lernen. Sprachen waren Waffen” (Trojanow, 2006: 52). Kennzeichnend also sowohl für Burton als auch für Trojanow ist die “aktive Rezeption des Fremden” (Hübner, 2008: 89). Die Annäherung an anderen Kulturen, das Treffen mit dem Anderen nimmt eine Sammlung der Welten an, durch die Burton reist: Sie beeinflussen ihn, sodass das Individuum in einem “Ozean des Wissens” (Trojanow, 2006: 59)

verwandelt. Es gibt hier eine Sammlung der Masken, Burtons Identität kann als Mosaik verstanden werden, und er wählt aus, was er werden will. Für Trojanow, die “Wurzeln folgen keinem teleologischen Prinzip. Sie treiben in alle Richtungen.” (Trojanow, 2000: 10)

Fazit. Körperliche Sprache. Sprache als Geliebte

Ich will feststellen, dass während bei Özdamar die Identität als Palimpsest gekennzeichnet sein kann, weil die Figur verschiedene Stufen oder Schichten der eigenen Kulturen entdeckt, bleibt die Figur Burtons bei Trojanow ein wahrer Geheimnis. Bei Özdamar scheint die Interiorisierung des Geheimnisses in sich, in der Figur, und Ibni gibt die Möglichkeit, die externe Perspektive auf der eigenen Kultur in einer Internen zu wechseln. Paradoxerweise braucht die Protagonistin der Erzählzyklus *Mutterzunge* in einem anderen, fremden Ort zu fahren, um die Herkunft zu finden, muss in einem fremden Mann und in der Sprache ihres Großvaters verlieben. Ich würde sagen, bei Özdamar kann man nicht auf eine verlorene Heimat zu reden, sondern auf eine gewonnene Identität.

Bei Trojanow, kommt die Interiorisierung des Geheimnisses von Außen vor, bis Burton selbst ein Geheimnis wird, in eine Metabiografie, in der die Identitäten nivelliert sind – keine ist wichtiger, keine scheint das Eigene oder das Andere noch.

Es gibt keine Entbindung bei Özdamar, sondern das Gegenteil – die Reise im Außen führt zum Kern, Selbstzentrum, Selbstraum, während bei Trojanow eine Deszentralisierung vorkommt, eine Ansammlung der Anderen, bis das Hauptsächliche verschwindet.

Trojanows Liebeserklärung zum Deutschen und Özdamars viszeral verstandene Sprache (“Man sagt, die Zunge hat keine Knochen. Ich drehte meine Zunge ins Deutsche, und plötzlich war ich glücklich – dort am Theater, wo die tragischen Stoffe einen berühren und zugleich eine Utopie versprechen” – Özdamar, 2005: 129³) zeigen, dass die neue Sprache in verschiedene Weisen die Identität artikuliert. Mit dem dynamischen Chamäleon Burton und die Wortsammlerin Özdamars scheint “Migration nicht mehr als Randphänomen,” sondern als Paradigma des kritischen Nachdenkens über mögliche andere kulturelle Formen des Zusammenlebens” (Weber, 2009: 10). Egal ob diese “Migrantenliteratur” ein “toter Kadaver” ist, wie Feridun Zaimoglu sie

³ Oder: “Ein japanischer Sprichwort sagt: Nur die Reise ist schön – nicht das Ankommen. Vielleicht liebt man an einer fremden Sprache genau diese Reise. Man macht auf der Reise viele Fehler, aber man kämpft mit der Sprache, man dreht die Wörter nach links und rechts, man arbeitet mit ihr, man entdeckt sie. Meine deutschen Wörter haben keine Kindheit, aber meine Erfahrung mit deutschen Wörtern ist ganz körperlich. Die deutschen Wörter haben Körper für mich.” (Özdamar, 2005: 131)

bezeichnet (Zaimoglu, 2006: 162), oder ob heute eine "neue Weltliteratur" herauskommt, das Scheitern der Namensfindung ist Folge des Reichtums und der Vielfalt dieser Literatur (Trojanow, 2000: 14). Die persönliche Identität, als auch die Kanonbildung sind diskursive, prozesshafte Konstrukte, eine Tatsache, die auch die Postmoderne kennzeichnet: "[In] the postmodern culture, the subject has disintegrated into a flux of euphoric intensities, fragmented and disconnected." (Kellner, 1993: 144)

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Loss of Identity. The Tale of a Korean-American Man

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Abstract: By basing the study on the analysis of the main character in Leonard Chang's social novel, which is clearly inspired from a real event that occurred during the Los Angeles riots, the present paper offers a unique research into the struggles, both internal and external, a second generation Korean American faces when reconciling his identity as an American citizen and as a person of Korean descent. Moreover, the paper also underlines that the main character tries to adapt to the American way of life by using each of the four types of strategies of acculturation, as defined by Berry (2005), at one time, but ends up losing all identity through the deculturational process due to the fact that he cannot assimilate both cultures or accept at least one of them.

The research will also focus on the image created by a second character that depicts America as a dystopian land in which the majority of people are thieves, burglars and drug addicts. Furthermore, the life of Mr. Rhee's daughter will also be analysed, as well as the way in which she becomes American or Asian American. Lastly, the paper will underline the stressful relationship between Asian Americans and African Americans, and how Asian Americans usually discriminate against African Americans, action that lead to protests and violence in 1991 and 1992.

Keywords: *acculturation, deculturation, discrimination, Leonard Chang, Los Angeles riots.*

Introduction

Nowadays, upon reading contemporary well known books written by American authors and watching the most popular television series and movies from the United States of America, it is doubtless that they depict America as a Utopian land or, at least, as the place where any major problem can be solved, starting with youth issues and carrying through to zombies or nuclear apocalypses.

Unfortunately, serious and realistic topics such as discrimination, acculturation, alcoholism, drug addiction and domestic violence, are less often represented in the works of the majority of American authors, but these topics are more readily found in ethnic American literatures. Works from these literatures adopt the aforementioned themes because authors from ethnic minorities want to give a warning signal about the current state of the American society, which is not a Utopian land, but a dystopian world in which actions such as discrimination, juvenile delinquency, domestic violence and drug abuse are daily habits for some of today's young and old generations of Americans.

Historical Context

Considering that the Chinese minority in America, which is composed of 2,422,970 (Markus, 2007: 2) Americans of Chinese descent, is one of the largest minority groups in the United States, it stands to reason that the Asian community, as a superordinate group, constitutes a large part of the population of the United States. Unfortunately, although their numbers are significant, they are still discriminated against by white and African Americans, because they fear that Asian Americans will steal their jobs and business opportunities.

Moreover, the discrimination and the lack of ability to adapt to the new American culture makes Chinese Americans isolated from the rest of society, and it becomes evident that the Chinese have constructed special Chinese towns in the major cities in order to preserve their traditional culture and their segregation from others.

The Korean minority, which is composed of 1,500,000 million Korean Americans (Hurh, 1998: 11), is another important Asian American community and is the result of several waves of Korean immigrants. Furthermore, the first Koreans came to the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century and they continued to come in constant waves, although they encountered some problems starting from 1910, when they became part of the Japanese Empire.

The integration of Korea into the Japanese Empire made the Koreans seem like Japanese nationals, which made them undesirable to the United States because the Japanese and their collaborators were banned, in 1907, from entering America through the *Gentlemen's Agreement* (Choi, 2007: 11-18). Fortunately, after 1910 "students, diplomats, merchants, and wives of men already in the United States" (*ibid*: 18) still managed to get into America. Moreover, "the 1950s witnessed new Korean immigration to the United States of America, including military brides, orphans, and college students" (*ibid*: 19) and after 1965, because of "the dramatic change in American immigration policy" (*ibidem*), a large wave of Koreans from the South and refugees from the North came to the promised land.

Unfortunately, the fate of Korean immigrants and Korean Americans from the second and third generations is similar to the fate of other Asian immigrants, who had to face direct and indirect discrimination and conflicts; in 1992 the discrimination against Koreans culminated with the Los Angeles Riots, during which African American protestors destroyed several Korean stores (*ibidem*).

Acculturation

When discussing texts written by American authors of Asian descent, in general, and particularly of Korean origin, the processes of acculturation needs to be taken into account. This process of acculturation may be defined as “the cross-cultural adaptation process where individuals learn a new cultural system in their new host society but still maintain their own cultural integrity” (Somani, 2008: 120). Moreover, this process may have numerous factors which determine its success and formal education, social networks and the age of contact with the new culture are just some of the factors that have a great impact. (Cucuș, 2000: 126)

Usually the acculturation means a process of fusion between the original culture and the new culture, because by “encountering the other, I am forced to recognize my identity, to evaluate myself and defend my own identity” (ibid: 126) and this sometimes leads to the immigrant exhibiting symptoms such as “stress towards acculturation, anxiety, depression, feelings of marginalization and exclusion, confused identity.” (*ibidem*)

According to Bery’s theory we find four strategies of acculturation depending on the ethno-cultural group (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization) the immigrant makes use of, after answering to himself about how important it is to maintain their original identity and cultural characteristics and which group they want to be part of. The first type of acculturation process posits that the immigrant assimilates the new culture and forgets their own culture, whereas in the case of integration, it can be said that it is a process through which a person preserves their own culture in their private life, but embraces the dominant culture in the public sphere (Bery, 2005: 705). The third type of acculturation process, separation, is a process during which the person has to live in a separated community because they want to preserve their own culture or because the dominant others consider them to be strangers and do not approve of their existence in society. The fourth type, marginalization, is the process during which the person who adapts to the new culture has to suffer either from being ignored by the members of dominant society or from fun being made of their cultural background (*ibidem*). When the immigrant reports themselves to the society of the majority, the aforementioned strategies transform into the acculturation strategies of large societies (multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation, exclusion), where multiculturalism is a consequence of the integration of the individual, melting pot is the consequence of the assimilation of the new culture, exclusion is the consequence of marginalization and group segregation is the consequence of living in a separated community. (*ibid:705-706*)

Oftentimes acculturation can lead to the process of deculturation and through this process “a person or a group [ends up] denying his/their own culture, and also any other form of culture, as a consequence of an inadequate manner of adapting to a different culture. Moreover, sometimes this process is accompanied by personality disorders” (Anghelache, 2006:116) and suicide. These types of symptoms were exhibited by the Africans brought to America at the beginning of the sixteenth century. (Cucoş, 2000: 128)

Between Loss of Identity, Separation and Marginalization

Through his first novel, *The Fruit 'n Food*, Leonard Chang, a second-generation Korean American, introduces the seemingly ignorant American and the unknowing European to a dystopian world where immigrants that are forced to become American lose their identities and those few brave Asians who manage to find their place in their new society have battle being discriminated against or discriminating against other ethnic groups. Moreover, his work “indubitably recalls the Riots” (Chung, 2010: 4) that occurred in Los Angeles in 1992.

The riots the book references began at the end of April when hundreds of poor Hispanic, African American and white people took to the streets to protest against the jury’s decision that found the four police officers, who had violently beaten Rodney King, to be not guilty (Hughey, 2007: 381-383). Unfortunately, one year earlier “Empire Liquor Market owner Soon Ja Du shot and killed 15-year-old Latasha Harlins in South Los Angeles [...] believing that Harlins was trying to steal a bottle of orange juice” (Kim, 2011: 107). When the riots began, the angry mob remembered the incident and expressed their rage by attacking Korea Town, which “led to the destruction of more than 2,000 Korean-owned businesses, amounting to over \$400 million in damages.” (*ibid*: 10)

At a first reading, the novel may seem to start in a peculiar vein because it presents a confusing conclusion, wherein main character Tom, a second-generation Korean American, is presented as a young shopkeeper who went “blind” (Chang, 1996: 1) after getting into a fight with a group of protestors. But on a closer reading, the placing of the conclusion at the beginning of the novel can be understood, due to the fact that the blindness can be used as a key to interpret the whole novel. In fact, Tom’s blindness may be interpreted as a metaphor for losing one’s identity, and thereby the entire text can be interpreted as a failed journey to find one’s identity.

The novel has another metaphor for the loss of identity. When Tom loses his wallet, he not only loses the wallet, but his identity as well,

because without “wallet he had no identification. He had no identity” (*ibid*: 8). Moreover, it can be thought that he never had an identity to begin with, because those whose duty was to teach him to be Korean or Korean American simply passed him from one to the other and never taught him anything. Furthermore, the metaphor of the lost wallet can be also interpreted in a different manner, where it can be considered that Tom was a simple Korean American citizen who had assimilated into American culture until the moment when he entered the shop, but he lost his wallet and his American identity by entering the Korean shop because he had reentered in the world of his ancestors.

Although Tom is Korean American and had lived for a while with “his grandmother in Korea” (*ibid*: 13), he could not speak Korean which is evident in the beginning when Mr. Rhee asks him something in Korean that he cannot understand or answer. Moreover, he does not know the names of Korean food and mistakes guksoo with noodles, nor does he know how to eat Asian food, because when Mr. Rhee gave him food “he handed it to Tom with chopsticks, but paused and also gave him a fork” (*ibid*: 15). Furthermore, it can be said that, although he did not understand Korean and could not eat like a Korean, he wanted to learn the names of Korean food and to understand Koreans due to an integration process where he tried to understand his original culture during work hours while maintaining the dominant culture during his free time.

Unfortunately, although Tom tries to remain American and he adapts to the new society, he is trapped in Korea Town, because “the attraction of the Fruit’n Food was some inexplicable link to his past” (*ibid*: 13) and all his efforts of watching television, eating pizza or going out with a girl are futile because he cannot forget his adhesion to his Korean inheritance.

Not only does Tom work at a Korean store, but when he goes out with June, he goes to a café that looks more like an Asian tea house than as a western café, because there were some “Japanese rice paper lamps hanging from wires running high over the customers” (*ibid*: 70). Moreover, when the two young Korean Americans go out for a drink they go to a bar where “almost everybody [...] was Asian and he thought this was strange” (Chang 1996, 79). Therefore, it is emphasized that Asian Americans, in general, and Korean Americans, in particular, usually separate themselves from American society by going to places designed especially for them. Furthermore, Tom seems to find this segregation as strange at first, but after getting into the atmosphere and enjoying his date with June “he thought that this didn’t seem so bad” (*ibid*: 80), as he could simply enjoy himself without having to worry about getting into a fight with some African American who liked June’s looks.

Although Korean immigrants wanted to earn a decent living in their new country, they could not find decent jobs despite the fact they were educated as they were marginalized. This situation is exemplified by Mr. Rhee who “had gone to college in Korea; he had studied electrical engineering, but couldn’t get a job here” (*ibid*: 72) and was finally forced to open a grocery store. Moreover, not only Mr. Rhee had trouble finding a job, Tom was probably also marginalized because of his Korean looks and “he couldn’t seem to find [...] work” (*ibid*: 8) that would offer him enough money to live a decent life, although there “were minimum wage jobs in fast food places that he could have taken” (*ibid*: 8), until he was hired at the Korean shop.

Tom is not the only Korean American that needs to adapt to the segregated Asian American society, but June, or Jung-Me, Mr. and Mrs. Rhee daughter, a second-generation Korean American young girl, also has to fight between her attraction to the Asian American world and her parents’ desire for her to obtain a better American life. Therefore, on the one hand, her parents want for her “to go to college and all that” (*ibid*: 72) so that she can get a better job and have perfect life, which meant that “they’re putting a lot of pressure” (*ibidem*) on her, and that she had to study a lot, which she does not want to do, and on the other, she wants to explore Asian American society by working at her parents’ shop, going out with Asian friends or with people of Asian descent, like Tom, to Asian-style coffee houses or to bars frequented mainly by Asians.

June makes use of syncretism in order to find an identity, because she wants to go to coffee houses and bars like any other American youngster, but she chooses establishments that cater mainly to an Asian clientele when she decides to go out. Moreover, in an act of rebellion against society and her parents, not only does she drink, but she also smokes cigarettes and sleeps with Tom.

The whole structure of the novel is based on Mrs. Rhee’s discriminatory attitude, as she suspects each person, in general, and gumdngee, African Americans, particularly, of shoplifting, because she thinks that every gumdngee is a member of a gang and that all of them take drugs and steal things. Unfortunately, this discriminatory attitude is the consequence of there having been five hold-ups in the store and during the last one “the man hit her and take all the money” (*ibid*: 83). Moreover, during the two years of the shop’s existence numerous products had disappeared from the shop, because “they put in coat, in pocket, in bags” (*ibid*: 16) and left the shop without paying anything. Even Tom finds this attitude to be disturbing and judges Mrs. Rhee as being “racist” (*ibid*: 17). Unfortunately, after working for a long time at the store, and after a child

runs away with a bottle of water, he also becomes racist and suspects every African American of shoplifting. Therefore, it is not surprising that he became obsessed with watching clients that may be shoplifters and that, the moment when two African Americans tried to run with stolen goods, he takes the gun from under the counter and threatens to shoot the thieves in order to protect the shop, although Mrs. Rhee only asked him to push the alarm button.

The existence of a small gun in a store located in a bad neighborhood may be useful and it may offer some help in case of a robbery, but it denotes the lack of confidence in the police and it shows that the owners, or shopkeepers, want to answer violence with violence, which is decidedly not a good idea, as it motivates the relatives of the victims (would-be robbers) to seek revenge and thus the whole cycle of violence will repeat endlessly. Moreover, Tom's violent reaction brought with it a large wave of discontent from the African Americans in the neighborhood, who started protesting against Mrs. and Mr. Rhee's discriminatory attitude in front of their store.

The protests against Mr. Rhee shop are not a novelty in American society and the author warns the reader about this type of manifestation throughout the novel. Firstly, the narrator mentions that "a new story came on the radio about the continuing boycott of a Korean grocery in Brooklyn's Flatbush section after a Haiti woman accused the owners of assaulting her" (*ibid*: 25). After the robbery, Tom hears "news about recent gang activity, especially the shootings involving neighborhood Asian gangs against other local gangs" (*ibid*: 91) on the television. Furthermore, after the incident, Tom witnesses the protest against the Korean shop where he works, which starts as a peaceful protest, but the protestors became violent when their numbers increased and the media and police became involved, which led to the destruction of the store in the end.

Tom, as a second-generation Korean American who has lost his identity, can be considered the cause for all the incidents, because if he had had a clearly defined self-identity he would not have been influenced by Mrs. Rhee's opinions on African Americans and he would not have responded violently when the two gumdngee had tried to steal from the shop. Moreover, if he had had a clear identity, he would have accepted that he was a stranger in someone else's country and that he had to behave, but he could not accept this, unfortunately. Furthermore, this lack of identity will force him to show the protestors that he does not care about them or about Koreans because, when he left the store, he "knocked over the snack food stand" (*ibid*: 188) leaving the snacks scattered on the floor and he

showed his middle finger to the African American protestors, which provoked the protestors to attack him and the shop.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that Leonard Chang's social and realistic novel truly is a contemporary masterpiece because it offers a clear picture of the dystopian American society wherein Asian immigrants and second- and third-generation Asian Americans try to find their place, either in the segregated and marginalized Asian American society, either in the American dream land. Moreover, the novel offers a clear picture on how first- and second- generation Korean Americans try to adapt to the new society and how they usually end up living in segregated groups or wander around the country with no direction and without any sense of identity.

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Cultural Conceptualizations of Home and Identity in British and Bulgarian Advertisements

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Abstract: The paper deals with the concepts of home, identity and family in British and Bulgarian advertisements. It takes into account these concepts as part of the cultural codes of the respective societies and the way they are used as language manifestations. The idea of home, identity and family and the conceptualizations connected with them are conditioned by various characteristics elaborated in the paper. Their complexity is related to the existing myths, stereotypes, traditions and symbols rendered with the help of language. As emotional arguments are the prevalent ones in ads, they “allow” advertising agents to make human relations (mainly within the family) salient and exploit them to the greatest extent in manipulating their audiences. The concept of home has a lot in common with the human factor but approached from different perspectives depending on the culture specific characteristics as it takes into consideration spatial and temporal parameters about human knowledge of the world and its representations in language. The functions of home and the links this concept has with identity and family relations harp on people’s feelings and help advertisers fulfill their aims by showing products and services against the background of something familiar and well known to people from the respective cultures.

Keywords: *advertisements, belonging, cultural conceptualization, identity.*

1. Introduction

Conceptualization of the world acquires various dimensions due to the different points of orientation, beliefs, cultural, ethnic and other value systems of representatives in a given society. Thus, the way of depicting the world can coincide with its interpretation in some cases but it can also differ greatly in others because cognitive models are structured on the basis of the respective people’s previous conceptual experience (see Johnson, 1990; Rubba, 1996). In principle, linguistic manifestations are closely related to people’s thinking and culture. That is the reason why the language used in a text renders fully the way of thinking of a certain cultural group which is also reflected in the way of conceptualizing the world (see Lakoff, Johnson, 2003; also Sharifian, 2011). According to Maya Pencheva (1998: 13), language phenomena should be analyzed by taking into account the fact that there is ‘double mediation’ as they are viewed through the ‘categories of thinking’ and through the ‘categories of language’. All this also has its

consequences in the ways reality is structured in texts such as advertisements where apart from simply presenting information about certain goods and services advertising agents are trying to manipulate their audiences in the best possible and elegant way against the background of something familiar and well known to text receivers (such as identifiable cultural symbols), thus touching upon their personal and culture-specific identities. It is not an easy task to do, however, as we as consumers would very much like to be part of the “global village” but we would also like to preserve our national and cultural identity as well as our belonging to a certain social group. The processes taking place at present are quite contradictory, but at the same time symbiotic and dynamic in a way, as together with unification of cultures emphasis is put on the national imaginary communities with their specific cultural identities and changing value systems. The existing myths, stereotypes and prejudices are also having an impact on identity although they are changing together with the world processes, thus leading to changes of identities (see Todorova, 2014). All this is rendered in different ways in advertising texts as in some cases the maps of the world are identical and even coincide in various cultures, while in others they differ. What advertising agents sometimes do in the postmodern highly technological world is “borrow” these maps from a given culture and impose them onto another one. In such cases they should be very careful as linguistic messages can be misinterpreted either because of lack of knowledge of the corresponding cultural realia on part of text receivers or the latter may turn out to be the wrong target group.

2. The Notions of *Home*, *Identity* and *Family* in Bulgarian and British Societies

The notions of *home*, *identity* and *family* are conceptualized differently in Bulgarian and British societies. Yet, they are interrelated in a number of ways. Nowadays the concept of *home* has changed a lot and has practically become a relative term as more and more people live at one place (which may turn out to be different from their permanent location), work at another and go on business or spend their holidays at yet another one, but still in their thoughts they are somewhere else. Another important reason for elaborating on that topic is the fact that quite a lot of people decide to leave their native country and seek a job elsewhere either because they cannot find one in their own town, city or country, or because they will not get paid as much as they would somewhere abroad. That is often the case with people from the former European socialist bloc countries, especially in the past twenty or thirty years, after the Democratic changes, at times in which most

people thought they would feel and live better in a western country. These people's sense of belonging and identity was and still is much undefined because in some cases their birthplace and the place they have spent their childhood at does no more exist physically and literally. So, there is sometimes a mismatch between the real place one belongs to and the building and representation of the idea of place, space and belonging. The feelings one has about the idea of home and identity are also different depending on a number of circumstances related to family, relatives, friends and acquaintances. The concept of *family* varies in various cultures as well as regards the interrelations between the members of the "community." Thus, the sense of belonging can be approached from two different perspectives: belonging to a physical space, having to do with the idea of *home*, and the idea of belonging to a certain social or cultural group, connected mostly with the value system of *family*, but also with that of *relatives, friends, colleagues and acquaintances*.

In this line of thought we should ask ourselves the questions:

1. Should we live where we belong? and
2. Should we live where we feel ourselves at home (although sometimes this place is not our real home)?

The reason for posing these questions originates from the fact that *mental spaces* and *wish spaces* differ with each person. In principle, the cultural maps of certain spaces constructed by people belonging to one and the same social group should coincide more or less, although each one of us as an individual constructs and maps their own world in their own ways which can coincide, overlap or be completely different from the other members of this group. The mental model is based on temporary knowledge about the real world and is structured with the help of the idea of space, time and reference points of orientation (see Rubba, 1996). The expected norms of behaviour of an individual as well as their sense of belonging to a certain geographical location and the idea of each person's origin play a significant role in the answers to these questions.

The sense of identity and belonging can be discussed from two different perspectives and as referring to two different fields: to a person's belonging to a certain social group or culture or to a physical space. Quite often physical space is identified with a given culture. In fact, our idea of belonging to a certain place depends on our centre of orientation which can be an imaginary one rather than real (see Rauh, 1981). The idea of *home*, however, can be connected with a person's identity, behaviour and value systems such as *family* and *family relations*. The confines of home are not always related to a specific space or geographic location but to the people

we know. This fuzziness of boundaries is often due to the greater dynamics in present-day life and changes about the world at large.

In a number of cases we carry the idea of home in our hearts and then there is no need to connect it with a real physical space. That is the reason why one can stop materializing things and then there will be no need to constantly think of the place you call *home*.

Last but not least, there are the so called *citizens of the world* for which the sense of belonging has no definite geographical boundaries. For them the idea of a national imaginary identity is kept in them irrespective of where they are. All this leads to a national pride, spirit and strength. In a period of globalization the relations between people and the differences between their interests, beliefs and views are often reconsidered. Concepts such as *territory*, *distances* and *place* are devoid of their original meaning as there is constant movement and transfer of information, people and objects (Robertson, 1995). There are people who have more than one home at different geographical places and can develop a sense of attachment to a number of homes as well multiple identities due to their experience in communicating with people from other cultures (Lynn-Ee Ho, 2006: 385). So, the fact that we call *home* the place we live at permanently is just a myth which is quite often disproved at present days.

There are different words related to the concepts of *home* and *family* in English and in Bulgarian. Some of their sense components fully coincide, others differ to some extent, while there are cases in which a word existing in one of the two languages does not have a respective equivalent in the other. In principle, the concept of *home* is part of the culture of a society and part of the universe. The complexity of this concept is preconditioned by various characteristics related to time and space, as well as to a person's life course. In Bulgaria we talk about 'zhilishte' and 'dom' which are both rendered by 'home' in English. The first word can also mean 'abode' or 'shelter' or 'property', or even 'place of residence'. In relation to the second English word (shelter), it has its reason because a place you live at should be defended in a way and you should feel secure in it. Most probably that is the reason why the British have a saying 'My home is my castle'. Bulgarians often talk about a 'family nest' where coziness rather than security comes to the fore. There are also words which express part of a building and will never be used with the meaning of *home* in English, e. g. 'kat' (area, corner, nook), 'stryaha' (eaves), 'ognishte' (hearth). These words collocate with either 'roden' (country or native) as a modifier to 'kat' (roden kat; the equivalent of 'country nook') and 'stryaha' (rodna stryaha), or with 'bashtin' (literally father's; bashtino ognishte/father's hearth), or with 'semeen' (semeino ognishte/family hearth). *Home* is a toponym equivalent

to 'fatherland', 'temple', 'family', etc. *Home* is also the equivalent of the existential place a person lives at. In this respect, *home* can be a macro cosmos if referring to someone's country of origin, or micro cosmos if related to one's native home. Obviously, the idea of well-being, when possessing a home of one's own, is present in both cultures, but expressed in a different way. We are not going to discuss the semantic equivalents of the physical place such as flat, house, etc.

3. The Issues of *Home*, *Identity* and *Family* in British and Bulgarian Advertisements

The issues of *home*, *identity* and *family* are treated differently in British and Bulgarian advertisements but the fact that they are the object of attention speaks of itself that they are values which should be cherished and exploited to the greatest extent in such types of texts because they are connected with positive feelings and emotions, emphasize one's identity and lead to the desired effect from the ad, namely buying the product and availing ourselves of the services offered.

Some of the advertisements that play with the notion of homeness are those offering hotel services. We put them in the first place because it is quite surprising and unexpected for such ideas to be exploited in those texts. Some of them emphasize the luxury, others – the atmosphere, and so on, because various people have different understandings of the idea of something resembling home. In principle, hotels try to meet international standards but in a different way by adding some of the local flavour of the respective place they are in. If for people living in the USA *home* is a mobile concept, for people living, say, in Europe, *home* is partially, if not wholly, linked to territory. Nowadays, with globalization, internationalization and grobalization (for the last term see Ritzer, 2004: 73), contemporary interests reconfigure differences and redefine relationships. So, the hotel can be considered and identified as home, especially in cases in which you are in a foreign country and notice a familiar hotel chain. That is why some hotel slogans try to attract customers' attention by putting a special emphasis on this particular feature. Thus, for example, a Hilton ad reads in the following way:

Homewood Suites. Make Yourself at Home.
Another ad for Ametyst Hotel in Praha states:
Stay with us, and feel like home...
Ametyst. I feel comfortable here.

An ad about *Guoman* hotels in The Financial Times supplement *how to spend it* (June 4, 2011) uses the word *home* as well:

SEE WHERE INSPIRATION TAKES YOU.

There are buildings and views that define a city: you couldn't be anywhere else but here. In former lives, the four London landmarks that make up the *Guoman* collection have been home to poets, Prime Ministers and spymasters. In recreating them as world-class luxury hotels, we've stayed true to their unique history and heritage. Making them the perfect places from which to enjoy the other wonders that surround them.

The lexemes used in the text with more or less the same meaning forming one isotopic line apart from *home* are *hotels* and *places*. The last two do not render the same idea as *home* but the fact that they are modified by 'luxury' and 'perfect' speaks of an environment which provides a nice atmosphere.

There is displacing of notions of international public space by presenting it as warm, cozy and inviting as home. Hotels are also shown as imaginary homelands where customers can feel safe and protected. The sense of belonging and the idea of inclusiveness can be strongly emphasized in such ads as is the case with the above mentioned ones. On the one hand, the space/place is connected with the world; on the other hand, it is connected with identity and rootedness. On the one hand, these notions are very well balanced, so that they could meet different standards and requirements and satisfy all kinds of consumers irrespective of their self-awareness and self-perception. On the other hand, different identities are more or less based on the time and the situation they are in. Nowadays one speaks of national identities and European or even global identities as well as of cultural identities which means that an individual may have multiple identities. One of them may come to the fore at a certain moment and place and even come into conflict with the others depending on the respective situation or circumstances (see Smith, 2001). Quite often, advertising agents use familiar global cognitive models with cultural maps identical for both text producers and text receivers within the frames of one and the same constructed space. The reason for this is that these knowledge patterns should be easily recognizable and identifiable by consumers.

The concept of *home* is oriented towards two ideas: the place one lives at and the country one comes from. In connection with the second meaning we can point out an ad about *British Airways* published in the Metro newspaper from February 7, 2014, in which part of the text goes as follows:

London City
To Florence
One way from: £ 65
Prices that lead to
Lasting memories
Home to awe-inspiring architecture
and artistic treasures, a visit to
the ancient city of Florence is truly
unforgettable...

In some cases the idea of *home* is expressed by the objects in it as in the following commercial broadcast on Bulgarian TV channels:

Aron furniture turns every place into a home.

In this commercial the notion of *home* stays for a building or a place in which there are people, families and property.

In Bulgaria, IKEA runs a commercial generalizing the idea of home thus leaving text receivers to fill it in with the content they like depending on their identities:

Home means a lot
IKEA

or

Home means sweet moments

Neither of these commercials says much but obviously the idea of home is a precious legacy.

One of the British commercials of the same idea conceptualizing the notion of home goes as follows:

The home of all the things we have
That's the joy of storage
IKEA The wonderful Everyday (<https://www.youtube.com/user/ikeauk>)

These lines are a continuation of the non-verbal narrative expressed in the following way as an explanation, most probably by copywriters, to what is actually happening against the background of a lovely music:

‘In this advert we focus on the joy that comes from giving the things you love a proper home. Our story follows a flock of much-loved T-Shirts as they go on an epic journey to find a home. After travelling across seas and mountains, they eventually come to rest in a beautiful IKEA PAX wardrobe.’ (op. cit.)

No matter in what way the notion of home is explicated it is associated with a place for spending pleasant and peaceful moments, having a rest and enjoying the atmosphere in it. As Smith has put it:

The worldwide spread of consumer commodities, of art styles in furnishing, of architecture and the visual arts, not to mention the mass media and tourism, is evidence of a global nexus of markets for similar products and the ability of consumer industries to mould shared tastes, in some degree at least. (Smith , 2001: 66)

One of the characteristic features of Bulgarians as a people and their identity is also taken into consideration in the construction of some ads, especially the ones promoting bank services. Again, it is the idea that every Bulgarian would like to have a home of one’s own, which is related to times well spent, sweet memories and meetings with friends. Having a home of one’s own is considered a sign of prosperity and well-being for Bulgarians. Thus, a text about the services of a bank called *DSK* reads:

In one’s own home memories stay.

Or, in another one of the same bank:

Every house will give you shelter but only your own home will keep the memories.

The prompts related to the notion of *home* are *house* (having in mind the building) and *shelter* (a place you feel safe, secure and protected).

In another ad for another bank the text is:

Choose your home.

The services are related to mortgages or loans you can take from the banks. These examples have a lot in common with myths, stereotypes and culture of the respective society. If the British saying ‘My home is my castle’ refers mainly to the idea of having a place to live in which is one’s own for a period of time but not necessarily a permanent possession, for Bulgarians they should have one, either built or bought, in most cases at the

cost of a lot of privations. In both cases home acts as a shelter, a protection from the outside world where the whole family gathers together.

The idea of *home* is often connected with the notion of the happy family, usually consisting of four members in ads. Yet, there comes the difference in cultures. In Bulgarian culture the family usually consists of the father, the mother, two children and either a granny or a grandpa, or both. The oldest member of the family is always conceptualized as the wisest one who does wonders (just like a fairy in fairy tales) by giving advice and helps with the housework by cooking the most delicious meals in the world. That is the case with a commercial about mince meat called *Narodna* (Folk) in which an old lady, either the woman's mother or her mother-in-law (presented like a godmother because that is the way they refer to her in the commercial) tells the woman how to prepare delicious meals by using this mince meat (see <http://vbox7.com/play:mdea43a> 529). The presence of the young couple's parent/s is in the Bulgarian tradition's model of a family. The idea of home with a cozy atmosphere, warmth and a nice smell from cooked dishes is also implied in the narrative. The two concepts are so interrelated that sometimes it is difficult to separate them. As opposed to Bulgarian ads presenting families consisting of more than four members, British ads do this by showing happy families of four in their nonverbal component. An example of such an ad is the one in The Economist from May 5-11 2012, in which in the nonverbal component a car is foregrounded and there is a house at the background, and in between there is a happy family of four playing a game. There is no explicit mentioning of the family in the verbal component but it is implied. In some cases, in British ads the family can be of a single mother and her child as in The Financial Times from April 4 2012. In some Bulgarian ads, however, there is a hint of a member of the family who is absent, most probably because of some business appointments. Such ads promote detergents, washing liquids and powder, fabric softeners used by a caring husband looking after his child/ren at home. In a British ad (London Lite, December 21 2007) the nonverbal component represents a man with an unhappy face, holding a baby in his arms as if breastfeeding it. The idea is explicated in the text: his wife has gone to play Bingo:

Where
have all
the Women
gone?

Play for free to win Gucci handbags
And huge cash prizes.*
paddypowerbingo.com

*See paddypowerbingo.com for terms and conditions.

The text is built as a parody of the well-known American song “Where have all the flowers gone,” which appeared in 1955.

Another typical Bulgarian feature which is not to be found in the United Kingdom has to do with savings. They are made within the whole family (parents, children and grandparents). It is expressed on the basis of continuity between generations. Usually, grandparents open a bank account in their child/ren’s or grandchild/ren’s name not to meet their spending but for saving goals. It is expressed in an ad about DSK bank services:

In our family
We’ve learnt how to
save money. Because
we have plans.
The account in DSK Bank
set up by Grandpa in
my father’s name,
helped my parents
to sort out their life.
They on their turn
Opened my first
child bank account.
With this money I started
my own business –
my first
studio. Thus, since
early childhood I found out that
savings
mean a lot. (Standard Newspaper, August 5, 2005)

Nowadays, with the social and financial changes of life in Bulgaria this kind of a family scheme has also changed. A few parents, even in cases in which they can afford it, decide to help their children in this particular way. One of the reasons is that with globalization people’s way of thinking changes and parents prefer to keep some money for themselves for the years when they retire as the pensions people get are not that high.

Something that has not changed much in Bulgaria and is exploited in ads is young people’s way of living. Most young people prefer to live with their parents either because they do not work at all, or because they earn too little money, or simply because they will not have to run the house, cook or do the washing and cleaning. Parents and children stick together no matter whether they want it or not. In this way, they often lose their identity.

However, with the help of bank loans the situation is gradually changing for the better:

My Zhorko, mum's precious wants to move out
(the mum is holding a photo of her son who is about 40)
And all this because of a low interest.
For some people our loans are quite attractive... (DSK Bank ad)

The conceptualization of the situation is done thanks to the paradox and the parody in the ad based on false and misleading expectations. The inconsistency and the humorous effect are caused by the presence of two referential frames, the first one being eliminated with the progression of the narrative (see Dimova, 2006: 155).

And yet, something that has changed in this respect in the last couple of years is that young people rely more and more on credits, mortgages and loans from the banks to secure their future at least to a certain extent and for a certain period of time. Thus, young people's identities in Bulgaria are gradually beginning to resemble the ones of their peers in western countries, although they can never be the same. The reason for this is very concisely stated by Marieke de Mooij (2014: 5): 'There may be global products but there are no global people'. Another reason for this is the fact that although youngsters in Bulgaria would like to live lives similar to the ones from developed western countries such as the UK, for they know a lot about them, the situation in our country will not allow it.

We mentioned the fact that nowadays there are a lot of people who are citizens of the world. In this respect, the way one of Heineken commercials broadcast in 2013 is constructed is quite surprising and unexpected. It targets high-sensation seekers and citizens of the world who are challenged to change their original destination by going somewhere else at random. This idea supports the slogan of the company "Open your world" (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2NyVO5fP8-0>; <http://www.theguardian.com/media/video/2013/may/31/heineken-the-voyage-tv-ad-video>). The conclusion in the commercial can be that citizens of the world may take risks, yet we all definitely turned into consumers – something typical for the cultural representations of various social groups in the 21st century. So, the myth of the "global village" is still in force, though there are opposing tendencies as for localization and globalization in ads leading to changes of present-day identities.

Interesting issues worth mentioning are the issue of the effectiveness of cultural segmentation as well as 'the matching of identity and image across cultures which is even more difficult than within cultures (de Mooij 2014: xx).

4. Conclusions

To sum up, we can say that most people identify the place they belong to with their home or the place they have spent the best years of their life (childhood) and their roots. Others connect their home with sweet memories and experiences, safety and happiness. The second interpretation has its roots in the lyrics of a 19th century song “Home! Sweet home!” (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Home!_Sweet_Home!). It can refer to those people who are far away from their country and miss their home. In English there are two words for this kind of feeling: “nostalgia” and “homesickness.” The second one can also contain in itself the ideas of “home” and “sickness.” It can be related to people who have lost their sense and place of belonging. In Bulgarian, it is only the first one that exists.

The way family values are presented is demonstrative enough for the existence of common human universals such as feelings and emotions. They can be more or less the same on surface level but their interpretation in the various cultural groups can be different because of the text producer’s and text receiver’s existing global knowledge patterns, their map of the world and their personal experience.

As for identities, nowadays people usually have more than one according to the respective situation or circumstance they find themselves in.

It was pointed out that the notions of *home*, *identity* and *family* are conceptualized differently in Bulgarian and British ads depending on a number of factors such as various views about the world, existing global cognitive models in the respective cultures and each person’s living experience, although there are cases in which their conceptualizations are similar because of the processes of globalization, grobalization and internationalization.

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Exile and Migration. New Reflections on an Old Practice is a continuation of a series of publications, which address vital problems connected with the modern world. The concepts of “exile” and “migration” have accompanied humanity since the beginning of its existence and have been the foci of discussion throughout history and across cultures. The present study offers a selection of topics, which try to put the familiar notions in new contexts in order to illuminate their contingent nature. The editors of the present volume have adopted an interdisciplinary approach, selecting articles that allow “new reflections on an old practice.” The choice of an interdisciplinary approach allows to demonstrate how the meaning of “exile” and “migration” shifts along with the changing public discourse. Talking about the actual experiences of voluntary or forced dislocation of groups of people, or looking at exile and migration as certain states of mind or linguistic concepts, the present collection provides new voices in a discussion that aims to describe and explain our world.

“Victorian madness, marginalization and exile: Institutionalization as a Metaphor in Sarah Waters’s *Affinity* (1999) and *Fingersmith* (2002)” offers a re-reading of neo-Victorian novels. The metaphorical nature of the motif of exile is explored in order to demonstrate gender and sexual otherness as responsible for silencing women’s voices from the Victorian mainstream literature. The Victorian disciplinary institutions, such as a lunatic asylum, a prison, and a workhouse as well as a patriarchal household exemplify places to which the gendered Other is “exiled.” The novels of Sarah Waters give voices to lesbian women who do not conform to the norms of Victorian femininity and, therefore, are separated from the rest of the society. Sexual difference, as a form of “exiled womanhood,” is the topic explored in both novels, against the backdrop of a patriarchal Victorian society. In an attempt of reclamation and redress, Walters’ narratives bring lesbian protagonists to the center and discuss their estrangement from the society and from the literary discourse altogether.

A linguistic perspective is presented in “Human Experience of Exile and Migration and Spatial Particles Encoding the Concepts of Distance and Path.” Through geometric, mathematic, and linguistic definitions, the article

explains how language informs our understanding of spatial experience and shows how spatial concepts are encoded in various linguistic expressions. A detailed discussion of spatial prepositions, such as “over,” “across,” “away” and “away from,” in relation to the concepts of “path” and “distance” allows the author to conclude that “all the particles analyzed can encode both concepts depending on a verb used for the conceptualization of a given spatial scene.”

The context of Canadian literature and culture is employed by three authors, who discuss the works by Henry Beissel, Alistair MacLeod, and the cultural practices of the First Nations. A contemporary Canadian poet, Henry Beissel, not only migrated from Germany, via London, to Canada but also made his life journey one of the key motifs of his poetry. Through a confessional mode of his poetry, the author tries to come to terms with his traumatic childhood and attempts to discover his identity in the present world. The play between autobiographical memory and poetic devices illuminates the ways in which he tries to negotiate his identity with himself and with his readers. Alistair MacLeod’s short stories are presented through the lens of individual and collective memory. Memorization strategies, as mechanisms that help cope with exile and migration, are used in the text to show the importance of memory in an individual and collective identity construction. Looking at the selection of short stories, the author discusses the importance of landscape and the language of custom and ritual as objects and agents of memory, noting also the existence of the irrational and the magical in the process. The last article that uses the context of Canadian culture is entitled “Native Commemoration as Exile – Canada’s Indigenous People and the White Man’s Wars.” The author uses the concept of “cultural exile” to describe the situation of Indigenous peoples in Canada and their ongoing struggle against the white hegemony. The author claims that the attempts at commemorating the First Nations soldiers, who joined the Canadian Expeditionary Forces in the two world wars, result from their need to adapt their past to an ever-changing world. Yet, the acts of Native commemoration are more dialogic than idolizing in nature. Through orality, rituals, narrative, and material signifiers, they offer a diverse range of accounts and responses to the experience of warfare. Drawing on Joseph Boyden’s novel *Three Day Road* (2005) and Stephen McGregor’s *Two Trails Narrow* (2008), the author claims that “Boyden’s text of native self-identification puts the healing effects of orality, of words and stories, over the moral plea we find in traditional European anti-war novels.” McGregor’s novel, on the other hand, “blends neatly with the traditional white notion of the soldier” and emphasizes the Aboriginal contributions to the Allied victory on the European battlefields of World War II. The last

mentioned text, Eli Bryan Nelson's "A true Story," praises the Native principles of respect, strength and reciprocity as vital to the maintenance of the warriors code of honor, no matter when and where the wars are fought. In conclusion, the author observes that the Native involvement in the "white" wars and the practices of commemoration also involve the problem of cultural survival within the framework of Canadian culture.

Literature as a form of escapism in respect to young adult fiction is discussed in "Exile, Quest and Eucatastrophy: Why (Modern) Readers Need Escapist Literature." The author uses the example of fantasy literature to discuss a "coming-of-age" story as parallel to the experiences of exile and migration, where the quest in phantasy is compared to a symbolic journey to maturity. The journey read as a "rite of passage" can take various forms and involve different scenarios, just like the stories of migration can never be fully controlled. The Tolkien's term "eucatastrophe," meaning a "sudden and joyous turn," is employed by the author to discuss lucky coincidences in such texts as, *The Lord of the Rings*, *A Song of Ice and Fire*, and *Witch World*. The importance of averting evil is important both for the protagonists of fantasy fiction and in adolescence, however "evil" is defined, because it helps the teenage reader to cope with his or her own stress and anxiety.

The American South provides a cultural context for the article entitled "Migrating South. The *Julie & Julia* Affective Franchise," which discusses the commercial success of the film *Julie & Julia* (USA, 2009). Via the focus on two protagonists, Julia and Julie, the author traces how the South has been refigured and culturally appropriated, which finally rendered it "culturally attractive." The discussion of filmic performance, narrative voices, voice-over, and autobiographical elements illuminates the changeable/migrant character of the southern democracy and its drive towards cultural de-standardization. Cooking, as a form of cultural performance, allows the protagonists to bring this American region to attention, offering a reevaluation of its validity for American culture as a whole.

The memory constructions employed by the Polish World War II veterans in Great Britain constitute the subject matter of the next article entitled "The Polish Army in Exile: Cultural Constructions and Reconstructions of the British Other." The analysis of the veterans' memoirs, which were published after World War II, reveals that their idea of the British Other has largely been the result of a socio-cultural construct. Autobiographical memory, as revealed by the texts, is selective and susceptible to change and distortion, defying a single interpretation of the past events. The author emphasizes the importance of the political context in

the publication and distribution of the war memoirs, with a special attention to a post-war communist government of Poland and the Cold War sentiments. Oscillating between stereotypes and clichés, the initial contacts between Poles, Scots, and Britons were largely informed by mutual distrust, whereas women were seen mainly through the patriarchal lens. The author concludes stating that “as cultural, political and military migrants [the veterans] remained in outer as well as inner exile, which may have alleviated not only the construction of the Other but also of the Self.”

The final article in the collection, “Nomads and Migrants in Affective Spaces: Krzysztof Wodiczko’s *Sans-Papiers* and *The New Mechelenians Project*,” discusses artistic installations of the Polish-American artist, Krzysztof Wodiczko, in the context of nomadic ways of thinking in public domains. Looking at the artistic installations of Krzysztof Wodiczko as reflections on the artist’s statement in the public debate about the marginalization of migrant communities, the author claims that Wodiczko’s “affective projects display repressed forms of oppression and exclusion to open up new channels of a socio-cultural dialogue.” The artistic creations, such as *Sans-papiers* or *The New Mechelenians*, adopt deregulating practices and rituals in order to argue against the centralizing logic. So do the artist’s critical writings, which accompany his art. The article explains how Wodiczko questions and re-imagines public spaces to reclaim their significance for the historically, politically, and technologically excluded immigrant communities.

